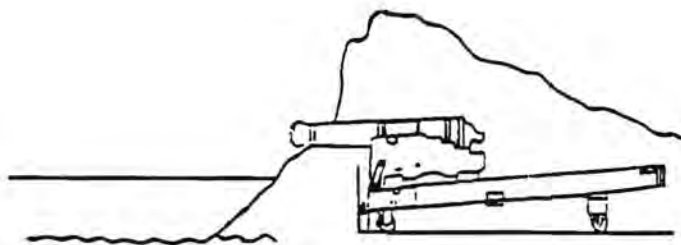


105

**FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS AT THE
CAPE PENINSULA
1781 - 1829**

**A survey of defence works with special reference
to the Hout Bay forts**



**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the degree of
Masters of Science in Archaeology**

**Ute A. Seemann
University of Cape Town
September 1993**

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In memory of my maternal grandfather Otto Hermann Paul
Hoffmann (1882-1933), architect and fortifications
engineer in Cologne, Germany, and my paternal
grandfather Christian Friedrich Kähler (1868-1908),
fortifications worker at the Düppeler Schanzen in
Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, during his service with
his regiment Countess Auguste Victoria of Schleswig-
Holstein - Sonderburg - Glücksburg.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the degree of Masters of Science in Archaeology at the University of Cape Town.

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Martin Hall for his excellent guidance, tremendous support and encouragement. He let me 'get on with it' and I appreciate it very much. The result is entirely my own.

Mr Hugh Floyd, chairman of the board of trustees of the Hout Bay Museum entrusted the excavation of the Hout Bay Forts to me and provided the initial funding from the Roland and Leta Hill Trust. Pam Wormser, curatrix of the Hout Bay Museum, was helpful in so many ways. Thank you.

The fieldwork would not have been possible without the enthusiastic volunteers: Anita, Jorge, Ruby and Sebastian E'Silva, Gordon Fowles, Mary Millar, Hennie Prince, Ethel Seidel, Jens Wormser, the students Tanja, Wilhelmina and Brett, the girls from Std 7 (1992), Strandfontain High School. Rita, Paul, Ernest, Mzima, Sassa, Lorraine and many others worked hard over many weekends, thank you all.

My son Jan Christian surveyed the sites and did the drawings of the East and West Fort and Fort Klein Gibraltar. Jorge E'Silva provided the other excellent drawings. Hennie Prince did the photography on the sites and, in addition, spent many hours in the libraries and the Cape Archives, as did Ethel Seidel. It was a great help. Bernhard Greeves photographed otherwise inaccessible manuscripts and the artefacts. The librarian at the Library of Parliament, Ms Jooste, and the staff of the South African Library were especially helpful. Daphne Skinner went on my behalf to the Public Records Office, Kew, England, and retrieved the valuable drawings of the

forts. The staff at that institution went out of their way to get the copies as quickly as possible to South Africa.

Malcolm Cobern gave me the first leads in my understanding of the fortifications and allowed me to read his manuscript on the False Bay fortifications. Hennie Louw from the Devil's Peak Forestry Station led us to the York Redoubt and the military camp sites, which he had discovered on the slopes of the mountain. Dr Daniel Sleigh, as always, kindly parted with his expertise, especially of the Dutch period. Members of the Military History Society and the van Prophalow Society advised and guided me in military matters. John Wilkinson took a great interest in my work and provided references and suggestions. So did my 'colleague in fort studies', Anton van Vollenhoven of the National Cultural History Museum, Sunnyside, Pretoria. I am also indebted to Cdr W.M. Bisset, Senior Staff Officer, South African Naval Museums. Marian Robertson kindly invited me to her home and gave me access to her research material on Muizenberg. Peter Michaels, chairman of the Muizenberg Historical Society and Owen Kinahan shared their records with me. So did the staff of the Western Cape Branch of the National Monuments Council.

The South African Navy permitted access to the sites of the former North and South Batteries in Simon's Town. The Simon's Town Municipality allowed us to excavate the so-called "hot-shot-furnace". The Cape Regional Council had the sites in Hout Bay cleared and was always willing to assist.

For the analysis of artefacts I am indebted to: Jorge E'Silva, in addition to all his other work, analysed the faunal remains, Jane Klose did the ceramic analysis, Glenda Dixon the glass, Barry Berkovitch the cartridges, Otto Graf the pipe stem fragments and Lalou Meltzer the Ottoman coin from Fort Klein Gibraltar.

A grant from the Harry Oppenheimer Institute for African Studies to conduct research in the William Cullen Library at

the University of the Witwatersrand and the Brenthurst Library in Johannesburg is gratefully acknowledged. The staff at both libraries were extremely kind and helpful. Research grants from the Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town and the Cape Nature Conservation, CPA, were also thankfully received.

My family, friends and colleagues in the Chemistry Department, University of Cape Town, put up with many hours of forts and fortifications talk. Thank you all for your help and patience.

Cape Town, September 1993

Ute A. Seemann

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Barbette mounted gun - gun mounted on an iron carriage with large wheels
- Battery - a fortified emplacement for heavy guns, either a building or rampart walls with a guard house and powder magazine
- Blockhouse - a reinforced [concrete] shelter used as an observation point, historical: a one-storeyed [timber] building with loopholes, used as a fort, i.e. a one- or multi-storeyed building of masonry with embrasures
- Casemate - a vaulted chamber built in the thickness of the ramparts of a fortress, with embrasures
- Embrasure - a small opening, fan-shaped outwards, in a parapet or rampart of a fortified building
- Fleche - a breastwork, a wall
- Fort - a fortified building or position
- Fortification - a defence works fortifying a position
- Glacis - a bank, sloping down from a fort, on which attackers are exposed to the defenders' missiles
- Lines - a connected series of fieldworks of defences facing the enemy
- Rampart - a defensive wall with a broad top and usually a stone parapet
- Redoubt - an outwork or fieldwork, usually square or polygonal and without flanking defences
- Terreplein - a level space where a battery of guns is mounted
- Traversing platform - a platform for mounting guns which turns horizontally.

(1)

1. Allen, R.E. (1990). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Eighth Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

A BRIEF NOTE TO THE READER

A number of difficulties and discrepancies exist in this work. One of the problems is the question of the number of ships in a fleet or squadron. The count depends on the archival or secondary historical source, whether frigates and merchant ships were counted along with ships of the line, when the count took place etc, etc.

A second difficulty arose with the titles and/or ranks of persons mentioned in the narrative. When directly quoted there was no problem, but often the title or rank did not agree with those given in other sources.

The naming of forts and batteries seems to have been rather erratic. Often, names were repeated, i.e. given to fortification works in two different places at the same time. One example might be the Battery Gordon for the East Fort in Hout Bay and the unfinished Battery Gordon on the slopes of Devil's Peak in 1794/5. Different names for the same fort also appear in documents from the same time.

Finally the question of measurements and money value. It is, so it seems to me, quite unrealistic to compare the buying power then and now. People had different priorities in life, different expectations and value systems.

Measurements were so confusing as to be partly unintelligible. At the Cape the engineers, surveyors, draughtsmen and builders were French, German, Dutch, Italian, British; and all used their own measurement system. So I worked with approximations, which will have to suffice.

PREFACE

The forts and fortifications at the Cape Peninsula, with the exception of the Fort De Goede Hoop and the Castle, have to date received very little attention from archaeologists and historians. The Fort de Goede Hoop and the Castle excavations, however, did not concentrate solely on the military aspect, but attempted to answer questions of domestic importance (1). One historical-archaeological study was conducted on the remains of the Amsterdam Battery in 1989 (2). The history of this battery has been traced through archival records and corroborated by the archaeological investigation. Prof A. Smith partly excavated the Conway Redoubt on Constantia Nek in 1980. His paper mentions the French assistance to the defences of the Cape and the influence they - the French garrison - had on the morals of the Cape burghers (3). A short description of the fortifications of the Cape appeared in 1925, but proved to contain mostly secondary information, some of which was erroneous (4).

The Cape Peninsula lies at the southern tip of Africa at the junction of the warm waters of the Agulhas Current of the Indian Ocean and the cold waters of the Benguela Current of the South Atlantic (Fig. 1). Table Bay and False Bay are the two natural harbours, which have been used since the first

1. Gabeba Abrahams' research article on the Fort de Goede Hoop excavations appeared in the South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. XLVII, No 157, June 1993. Dave Halkett, University of Cape Town, Archaeology Contracts Office tells me that as of September 1993 only one paper on the Castle excavations has been published, which will be referred to in the chapter 'The First Interlude'.
2. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation. University of Cape Town. 1989.
3. Smith, A.B. (1981). *The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: a report on excavations at Conway redoubt, Constantia Nek. Milit. Hist. Journ.*, Vol. 5, No 3, June 1981.
4. Roux, P.E. (1925). *Die Verdedigingstelsel aan die Kaap onder die Hollands-Oosindiese Kompanjie, (1652-1759 [sic])*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1925.

Europeans circumnavigated the African continent. The wind blows mainly from the southwest or the southeast, gale force winds up to 180km/hour are not infrequent in the southern spring and autumn. Throughout the year the wind blows directly into Hout Bay, never changing direction. It was therefore difficult, before the advent of steamships, to manoeuvre ships out of Hout Bay. In addition the bay could only hold about six Dutch East India men and was, in the first hundred years of the Cape settlement, difficult to reach by road. Ships in the bay could not be provisioned with fresh foodstuff from farms nearby.

Table Bay has been used as the natural anchoring place since before Jan van Riebeeck founded the settlement in 1652. All ships have to enter the bay from the southwest between Robben Island and the mainland, due to the current flowing into Table Bay and the wind direction. The bay's shore is partly rocky and partly sandy. Heavy winter storms caused much damage to shipping in the open roadstead, so in 1743 Simon's Bay was declared the winter anchoring place, i.e. May to October, for the Dutch East India fleet.

The Cape Peninsula consists mainly of steep mountainous terrain. The Cape Town city bowl and the Cape Flats, the sandy isthmus connecting the Peninsula to the hinterland, and a few level pieces of ground along the numerous shallow bays were inhabited from early on by European settlers. These had displaced the indigenous Khoikhoi inhabitants.

The Cape settlement was administered by the Dutch East India Company. The sole official purpose of this station was the provisioning, repair and refitting of its fleet and ships of other friendly nations. As such it needed some form of protection and defence from, at first internal, and later external enemy forces. The history of some of these defence works will be presented in this thesis.

Today many of the forts and fortifications in the Cape Peninsula are in danger of being torn down, vandalised or simply left to decay. It seemed to be prudent, in the face of renewed general interest in military history, to undertake a mapping/surveying of those military installations that survived and then select one site for an in-depth historical archaeological study.

This thesis is restricted to the time span 1781-1829. It was thought that this period, spanning the last years of the Dutch East India Company's rule, the First British Occupation, the Batavian interlude and finally the Second British Occupation, would yield a rich body of data, highlighting the role the military establishment played in the so-called "transitional period". This period was marked by short, intense fortification building and repair programs in reaction to a perceived external threat from European powers, especially Britain. The period can be divided into five phases:

1. 1781 - 1783, the Fourth Anglo/French war, during which it was feared that the Cape might be invaded by British forces.
2. 1783-1795. The last days of the VOC. The Dutch as reluctant allies of revolutionary France. Preparations for the defence of the Cape.
3. The first British occupation, 1795-1803 and an intense permanent building program.
4. 1803-1806, when the Batavian Republic expected a second British take-over and upgraded the Simon's Bay and Hout Bay forts.
5. British consolidation, 1806 - 1829.

The years 1795 to 1814 have generally been termed "the transitional period". From a military point of view it emerges that this labelling cannot be defended. From the research undertaken so far it seems that the British occupation of 1795 was meant to be permanent. The military planned to secure the

Cape as a half way station for England's East India trade and the traffic to their newly acquired Eastern colonies.

During the 1780s the British navy was well on its way to dominance in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. "The Admiralty was eager to secure naval harbours across the globe, partly to gain advantageous positions alongside the major trade routes but chiefly to eliminate enemy bases from which commerce-raiders might operate (5)".

By 1795 the industrial revolution in England was ready to enter its second phase. Export markets had to be found and the colonies were there for the taking, supplying raw materials. The Cape was to play a vital role in securing these markets.

The period of the Batavian Republic left a few alterations of some coastal batteries to more modern standards, but was otherwise remarkable by its absence of extensive military documentation. A serene view of the inevitability of the return of the Cape to British rule prevailed.

After 1806 the British consolidated their holdings in the Cape and the colony expanded. The military had to turn their attention to the eastern frontiers, where clashes between white settlers and Xhosa seemed inevitable.

By 1829 the world of the British colonial influence was largely at peace. Sea routes had been secured. A workable European political solution had been found. As a consequence most coastal forts and fortifications at the Cape Peninsula were becoming obsolete. A great many were dismantled, but some built of masonry were spared.

Today there are the known remains of some fifteen or so forts and redoubts left which were built in the period under review. These are:

5. Kennedy, P. (1976). *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Fontana Press, third edition, 1991, p. 152.

Hout Bay - East and West Fort, Fort Klein Gibraltar,
Conway Redoubt on Constantia Nek,
Kyk-in-de-pot Battery, which became Fort Wynyard,
Amsterdam Battery,
Central Redoubt and Hollands Redoubt in Woodstock,
King's, Queen's and Prince of Wales' Blockhouses, York Redoubt
on Devil's Peak,
Muizenberg - High and Low Batteries, 2 Magazines and several
defence lines on the mountain side between the Main Road and
Boyes Drive,
Simon's Town - North and South Batteries.

For various reasons, including a great interest in developing the sites as open-air museums, the Hout Bay forts were chosen for an archaeological investigation. They were found to yield data encompassing the whole period from 1781 to 1829, a constant occupation of about fifty years. The forts' buildings are reasonably well preserved. But as already experienced from the Amsterdam Battery excavation, the artefactual remains connected with the people stationed there were few. Some aspects of their daily lives and their interaction with the civilians in the area can be gleaned from documentary evidence and will be presented.

This study is by no means comprehensive. The aim was to initiate the first phase of a study of military installations in the Cape Peninsula. A great many sites were identified which warrant further detailed studies. The interest and support of military-historical interested individuals and societies, which was experienced during the course of the fieldwork, bodes well for the future.

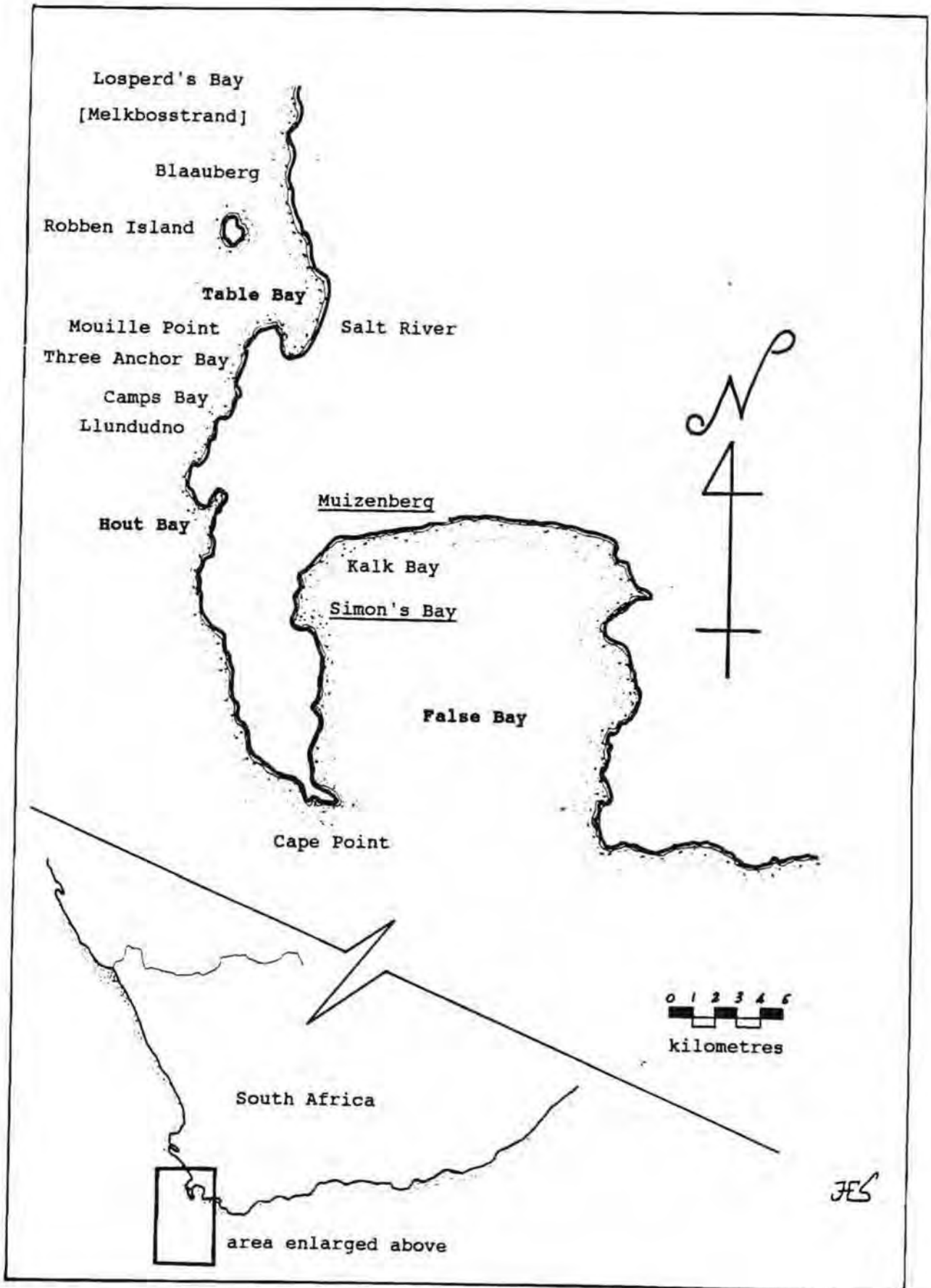


Fig. 1 Map of the Cape Peninsula, 1993.

CHAPTER 1

THE "GIBRALTAR OF INDIA", THE KEY TO BRITAIN'S INTEREST IN INDIA

When Commodore George Johnstone's fleet of 46 vessels, amongst them 10 ships of the line and 7 armed cruisers, appeared off Hout Bay at the end of July 1781 most coastal defences along the Cape Peninsula had just been hastily erected to repel a British attack. The news of renewed hostilities between The Netherlands and Britain (the Fourth Sea War) had reached the Cape only on 31 March of that year. The British Navy was partly tied up in the American War of Independence, which was supported by France and the Netherlands. Thus the French became allies of the Dutch, whose exploits in the West Indies at the expense of Britain during this time led directly to the British declaration of war in December 1780 (1).

It was one thing to declare war on the weak Dutch naval power, but the prospect of facing the French who had built up their Navy to about eighty ships of the line and who, together with Spain, dominated the British Channel was rather daunting. Commodore Johnstone knew that a French contingent of 14 ships under commander Pierre Andre de Suffren (later Admiral Baille de Suffren) had beaten him to the Cape (2). They had arrived in Simon's Town between 21 and 30 June to strengthen the garrison at the Cape and assist with the building of such defence works as could be erected in a very short time.

The economic and naval power of the Dutch East India Company (hereafter referred to as the VOC) had declined rapidly in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Their settlement at the

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1. Boucher, M. and Penn, N. (Eds.) (1992). *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803*. Houghton: The Brenthurst Press, p. 17.
 2. Kennedy, P. (1976). *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. Fontana Press, third edition, p. 132, 1991.

Cape of Good Hope was coveted by the English East India Company as a half-way station, as increasingly British merchants, goods and warships moved into the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. The British naval establishment also gave serious consideration to the establishment of a base in South Africa (3). Strategic control of sea routes and land bases was fundamental to European trade and the acquisition of colonies, especially in the East Indies (4). The Admiralty was increasingly anxious to eliminate enemy bases, such as the Ile de France (Mauritius), from which privateers might operate.

Since Table Bay was obviously well defended and de Suffren's fleet was anchored in False Bay, Commodore Johnstone tried to approach Hout Bay, which was, as will be seen in chapter 4, aborted when it seemed that the bay was strongly defended.

Thus, for the time being ended the first attempt to take the "Gibraltar of India", as the Cape was known, the key to Britain's interests in India (5). However, it was not a completely unsuccessful raid for the British since they were able to capture five richly laden Dutch East Indiamen which had taken shelter in Saldanah Bay.

The garrison at the Cape consisted at this time of, on paper, some 530 troops, who were commanded by Captain Robert Jacob Gordon, who had succeeded Lieutenant Colonel Prehn on 22 February 1780 (6). Gordon's rank and duties, apart from the responsibility for the armoury and the VOC's military equipment at the Cape, were rather unclear at the time and it took two years to get formal instructions from the Heeren XVII from the Netherlands (7). He was to be only in charge of the permanent troops of the VOC, the commanders of the hired

3. Kennedy, *ibid.* p. 140.

4. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.* p. 19.

5. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.* p. 20.

6. Cullinan, P. (1992). *Robert Jacob Gordon, 1743 - 1795. The Man and his Travels at the Cape.* Cape Town: Struik Winchester, p.131. Gordon was of Scottish descent and served in the Scottish Regiment in the Netherlands. He was a third generation Netherlander.

7. Cullinan, *ibid.*, p. 131.

mercenary regiments of their units. In the event of war the Governor, J. van Plettenberg, would coordinate all operations.

The capable head of the artillery was Major P.H. Gilquin, under whose direction most of the fortification works were to be constructed. In this task Major Gilquin was aided by the Pondicherry Regiment, which had sailed with de Suffren's fleet. The regiment consisted mostly of *sepoys*, recruited in India, and were commanded by an expatriate Irishman, Count De Conway.

The next year, 1782, the Luxemburg Regiment, mercenaries in the hire of the VOC and in 1783 the Regiment De Meuron, one of its members being the architect and fortifications engineer Louis Michel Thibault, arrived at the Cape. Thus began "the French Period" at the Cape, a time of prosperity and *joie de vivre* for the burghers, merchants and innkeepers.

With it also came a good deal of revolutionary French and American philosophy, which was eagerly picked up by the Patriotic Movement. A group of them drew up a list of grievances and presented it to the new Governor van der Graaff. The corruption, greed and gross mismanagement of the Company's officials had sunk to a new depth, as many of them sensed the imminent demise of the VOC (8).

As the 1780's advanced events both in Europe and at the Cape were moving towards a violent solution. The Netherlands as well as the Cape burghers were split between the revolutionaries and the supporters of the House of Orange. In 1788 the leading merchants and most of the civil and military officials at the Cape were good Orangemen (9). The fortifications built with so much urgency in 1781 were left to fall into ruin, despite Major Gilquin's request to be prepared

8. Walker, E.A. (1928). *A History of South Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, p. 111.

9. Walker, *ibid.*, p. 111.

at all times for a foreign invasion (10). Apparently little or no money was granted.

In 1789, on a voyage of inspection of the VOC territories Captain J.O. Vaillant visited the Cape. He described the fortifications as being in bad repair and soon would be quite useless, if nothing was done about them (11). The Württemberg Kapregiment, replacing the Meuron Regiment, had arrived in July 1788 and had just staged a mutiny. They demanded that wages honestly earned by them must be given to them and not to their officers (12).

The visit of the commissioners Nederburgh and Frykenius in July 1792, who came with powers to effect some political and military reforms, was overshadowed by the fact that they suspected that the Company would go bankrupt. They received the memorials of 1789 and 1790 with detailed plans for the defense of the settlement should war break out again, which seemed very likely (13). Thus a second period of fortifications building and repair was initiated.

The settlement at the Cape was, after all, only one of the territories of the VOC and the VOC formed part of the structures of the Netherlands (14). These structures were rapidly disintegrating. When the French revolutionary armies overran the Netherlands at the end of 1794, the Stadholder, Willem V, Prince of Orange fled to England. These events had their effect on the Cape. In October 1794 the chief advocate

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10. Cape Archives, VC 117. Beredeneerde memorie over den staat van defensie van Cabo De Goede Hoop, 1786.
 11. University of the Witwatersrand Library, A 81, 1789. Journal Ms of a voyage of inspection ... to inquire into the state of defences ... at the Cape of Good Hope.
 12. Prinz, J. (1932). *Das Württembergische Kapregiment, 1786-1808. Die Tragödie einer Söldnerschar*. Stuttgart.
 13. Cape Archives, VC 64. Memorie aan Zyne Hoogheid van die Militaire Commissie 25 September 1789 en Brieven en Rapporten van die Militaire Commissie 1790.
 14. Schutte, G. (1989). *Company and colonists at the Cape, 1652-1795*. In: Elphick, R. and Gilliomee, H. (Eds). *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, p. 317.

of the Company, P.J. Guepin, wrote a letter to commissioner-general A.J. Sluysken, who had replaced C.J. van de Graaff as governor of the Cape. Guepin warned Sluysken to be wary of European invaders of whichever nation (15). This warning could not have come at a worst time. The troops under the command of Colonel Gordon were sadly depleted and consisted of the National Battalion, the artillery and a corps each, composed of *Pandours*, Khoikhoi and free blacks (16). The rest had left for Batavia.

The supervisor of the fortifications building program was Lieut. L. M. Thibault, who had been trained in France in modern methods. With the help of fortifications workers, *reconvalescenten* and Company slaves new batteries and gun emplacements were added along likely landing places in Table Bay, False Bay and Hout Bay. Existing fortifications works were repaired and extended.

"The great fear was that an invading French fleet would use first-hand knowledge of the Colony's defenses, gathered during the French regiments' presence at the Cape from 1781 to 1784", wrote Cullinan, "the great irony, however, was that the fleet that invaded the Colony ... was not French. It was British" (17).

A British fleet under Admiral Elphinstone arrived in Simon's Bay in August 1795 (18). Superior British forces, equipment and logistics carried the day and on 16 September 1795 the British flag was raised over the Castle.

Thus began what historians call "the transitional period", characterised by the First British Occupation, the Batavian Interlude and the Second British Occupation. However, " the

15. Cullinan, *ibid.*, p. 173.

16. An artillerists corps, consisting solely of Muslim gunners was known as the *Pandours*.

17. Cullinan, *ibid.*, p. 173.

18. Nel, H.F. (1972). *Die Brietse verowering van die Kaap in 1795*. *Archives Yearbook for South African History*, Vol. 2 of 1972.

Cape ", wrote Sir Francis Baring, a director and former chairman of the English East India Company, "was not commercially viable as a colony, but keeping it out of French hands was a vital necessity" (19). Britain's government was committed to securing the route to the vital possessions of India, Ceylon and Malacca, the last two taken from the Dutch at this time.

The first British occupation was a time of civil disorder at the Cape (20). Considerable hostility towards the British existed but they were firmly in control. The years 1795 to 1797 were spent under military rule and the nucleus of a colonial service was established. The Dutch constitution and the Council of Policy had been replaced with rule by decree. The Military commanders were General Craig, who was succeeded by Major-General Francis Dundas. When Macartney took office as the first civil governor on 5 May 1797, Major-General Francis Dundas was appointed lieutenant-governor of the colony (21). Thus a continuation of military personnel in high government was secured.

The Military set about the task of consolidating their forces and reviewing the state of the forts and fortifications. The implied goal was - in the words of Charles Grant, a director of the English East India Company - in a letter to Henry Dundas, Secretary of War, London: "... [to] maintain there a strong force - magazine of war-like stores and some ships-of-war - making it a seasoning station for European troops destined for India, and, in a word, as a grand fortress to command and overawe that country and to discourage & repress the designs of European powers against our interests there" (22). Thus the gathering of reliable information, the chartering of the coasts, the mapping of the defence works

19. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.*, p. 20.

20. Freund, W.M. (1979). *The Cape under the transitional governments 1795-1814*. In: Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (Eds.): *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, Longman, 1979.

21. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.* p. 69.

22. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.* p. 84.

became a priority. Detailed information on likely landing places of an enemy and the securing of these was taken up immediately and professionally executed by the Royal Engineers under Major W.M. Kersteman and Captain G. Bridges (23).

A large number of British regiments was stationed at the Cape during this time. Amongst them, in October 1797, were two regiments of Light Dragoons, four Foot Regiments, the Artillery and Engineer Corps and the Hottentot Corps. The latter was intended to act as a counter to the intentions of a suspected Freeburgher population (24).

The strength of the British government did not solely rest on the maintenance of a British garrison of some eight thousand men. A greatly expanded internal market was created, the economy of the Cape Colony improved considerably and with it went tight financial control and good government (25). However, the high military expenses of the Cape gave Governor Macartney cause for concern and he assured Henry Dundas, Secretary of War, in 1798: "I have incurred no new ones since my accession to the government and never allowed any old ones but such as General [Francis] Dundas has recommended to be necessary "(26).

Governor Macartney's successor, Sir George Yonge, was a weak administrator and his term of office one of mismanagement and corruption. Despite this the spread of British culture and influence was steadily gaining ground, not least because of economic advantages. Some influential British merchants and professional men had settled in the Cape with ties to both London and the Far East.

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23. See, for instance, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Ref. No. A 24, Craig Papers: Memorandum of General Craig on the Cape Defences, 1796.
24. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town, p. 45.
25. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.*, p. 132.
26. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.*, p. 203.

Meanwhile in Europe the fighting against revolutionary France had been resumed. The Royal Navy's successes were so decisive, that their command of the sea was never seriously challenged in a fleet action after 1805 (27). A great deal of this success could be attributed to the superiority of British gunnery, especially the introduction of the carronade, a squat quick-firing gun. Yet, by the Peace Treaty of Amiens in 1802 the British and French acknowledged that a stalemate existed, Britain dominated the seas and the colonial world, France, the European continent, and neither could get at the other (28). Under the conditions of this treaty the Cape was to be handed back to the Batavian Republic.

The Batavian interlude under Commissar-General J.A. de Mist and Governor-General Janssens was marked by good intentions of reforms, both civilian and military. However, both men were prevented from accomplishing much, both by lack of resources and by their need to preserve the shaky social order (29). This extended to the repair and maintenance works on the fortifications, the upkeep of the local militia and the number of foreign mercenaries in the pay of the Cape government. As the shadow of renewed hostilities came nearer, Janssens' best troops were ordered to Batavia. He retained only some 2000 men in garrison at the Cape: mercenary regiments, the Hottentot Regiment, the *Pandour* Corps, and the local burgher militia.

The treaty of Amiens, however, brought no lasting peace: relations between Britain and France deteriorated again and on 1 September 1805 an invasion fleet under Major-General David Baird sailed from Ireland to reach the Cape in January 1806. This time, the British were determined to stay.

The following years were marked by the consolidation of British power and influence. "The foundation of this power was the Royal Navy", wrote Paul Johnson, "and, indeed, it was the needs of the navy, in harbours, docks and arsenals, which

27. Kennedy, *ibid.*, p. 146.

28. Kennedy, *ibid.*, p. 157.

29. Freund, *ibid.*, p. 325.

increasingly dictated the points at which this growing empire, fundamentally a maritime one, touched land "(30). Added to this came the expansion of foreign trade, particular exports, which allowed Britain to pay her way in the world and thus tried to get the Cape Colony on a sound financial basis (31).

The Military simply carried on where they left off in 1803. Fortification works and others of a military nature were regularly inspected and kept up. The British troops were professionally managed and well disciplined. The garrison, at its peak numbered 6407 men, more than were stationed at Gibraltar or Malta (32).

Under the Peace Treaty of 1814 Britain restored to the Netherlands her East Asiatic possessions, but retained the Cape Colony. Legislation had gradually brought the Cape into the system of British imperial preferences with the English East India Company losing its Eastern trade monopolies (33).

The Cape Colony was secure from foreign invasion. A new, widely accepted European order had been worked out at the Congress of Vienna. At the Cape the army was well established, the finances regulated. There was no shortage of food and fodder. The Eastern Frontier Wars had begun and Grahamstown had been established. The troops were regularly inspected. Officials for the military were appointed and came out on a regular basis from England with their families and possessions (Fig. 2). On the whole normal routine matters were seen to (34).

By 1829 many of the fortifications works around the Cape Peninsula had been partly or wholly dismantled in order to

30. Johnson, P. (1991). *The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, p. 336.

31. Kennedy, *ibid.*, pp. 138-141.

32. Freund, *ibid.*, p. 329.

33. Freund, *ibid.*, p. 329.

34. Brenthurst Library, MS 64, Lieut.-General William Warre Papers, 1814-1821.

reduce military expenses, a few were renovated to more modern standards. The military force was largely dispatched to India.

The only exception to these economic measures was the Royal Navy. At the end of 1815 it was able to move from the inadequate harbour of Table Bay to that of Simon's Town. This superb natural harbour became the headquarters of the Cape Squadron and remained so until the 1960s (35).



Fig. 2 A 74 gun-ship lying off the Cape, 1818. By T. Whitcombe (Africana Museum, ref. no. 1009).

35. Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 339.

FIRST INTERLUDE :

THE ART OF FORTIFICATION

"Fortification is defined [as] the art of applying the Doctrine of Plain Trigonometry to the Calculation of the Lines, Sides and Angles of a Fort".

Admirals Howe and Rodney, defenders of Gibraltar, 1786.

(in: Ancell, Samuel (1786). *A Journal of the late and important Blockage and Siege of Gibraltar.*)

Until the latter part of the eighteenth century warfare in Europe was conducted according to almost medieval tactics. Guns, gunnery and weapons technique, with the exception of the introduction of the use of hot-shot-cannon balls had not made any great stride during the preceding three centuries. War strategies and battle tactics were only to be revolutionised during the coming Napoleonic wars.

Under the system developed by the military engineer and architect Sebastian le Pretre Vauban and his Dutch contemporary Menno van Coehoorn, fortresses of various sizes and designs were placed at major towns or strategic points (1) (Figs. 3 and 4). An invading army would have had to besiege the fortress, capture it and claim victory over the whole area under its influence (2).

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1. Vauban, Sebastien LePrestre (1740). *A Manual of Siegecraft and Fortification*. Translated, with an introduction by George A. Rothrock. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1968.
Note: The spelling of Vauban's name seems to be erratic.
 2. Hogg, I.V. (1981). *The History of Fortification*. London: Orbis Publishing (Pty) Ltd, p. 132.

With the spread of European settlements this type of fortification was exported to various American and Asiatic coasts and also to the southern tip of Africa (Figs. 5 and 6). To set up works of this nature was invariably the first task any would-be colonisers had to perform.

During the Anglo-French Sea Wars, between 1740 and 1790, Britain, France and Holland embarked on large fortifications programs. The charisma of Vauban was then at its peak and French engineers especially began devising elaborate systems. Since this conflict was to a great extent conducted at sea and the threat of an enemy's landing and invasion ever present, special attention was given to coastal defences.

Coastal fortifications were essentially defensive works. The enemy approached from the sea. The combat was simply one between two or more powerful batteries, the ship's guns, in tiers of two to four (Fig. 7), often outnumbering those of the fort (3). Under these circumstances the less relief a coastal battery had, the better. Its glacis had to be so constructed as to absorb the enemy's cannon balls. The magazines and quarters for the men ideally would have been bomb-proof. So were the casemates, if any, from which the guns were fired.

Coastal fortifications were of various sophistication. The simplest would have been a parapet or defensive wall on a cliff mounted with guns. They were generally built in concealed positions. Next in importance was an M or U shaped work with substantial ramparts, embrasures, magazines and quarters for the artillery. These could have been connected by 'Lines of Defence', a system of breastworks, trenches and small redoubts. Depending on the resources available and the strategic importance of the defence work this was elaborated on until a substantial 'sea fortress', such as the Castle and

3. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *The History of Artillery*. London: Hamlyn.

later the Amsterdam Battery, resulted (4). Both forts were deliberately placed in full view of the anchorage in Table Bay, a forceful architectural statement acting as a visual deterrent to any would-be invader.

Most of the remaining coastal fortifications at the Cape were placed in positions such that the hostile ships would not perceive them until the batteries actually opened fire. The invading force, if able to repel the fire, would have to land its troops under constant bombardment which would occasion heavy losses in men and materials. The best defence against a raiding force or a full scale invasion once it had landed was a new type of gun shot. This will be shown to be the case in Hout Bay.

The Martello Tower, a British adaptation of a watch tower in Corsica on Martello Point, whose garrison only surrendered after heavy bombardment in 1793, became the prototype of a new and relatively cost-effective coastal defence system for British engineers (Fig. 8). These round towers were built in masonry or brick with accommodation inside for the men, magazines and stores. The traversing gun was placed on the open, parapet protected roof area (5). This simple, yet effective, defense tower seems to have been developed further in the Cape Peninsula to become a square blockhouse, built high up on Devil's Peak and in Hout Bay (Fig. 9). The development of, and adaptations of, the Martello Tower as influenced in the context of the Cape's defences warrants a study of its own.

Eventually, with the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 and the subjugation of rival sea powers during the course of the nineteenth century, the British Navy and her allies brought peace and stability to European and South African shores. Coastal defence works at the Cape Peninsula became obsolete. The growing spread of urban and semi-urban development

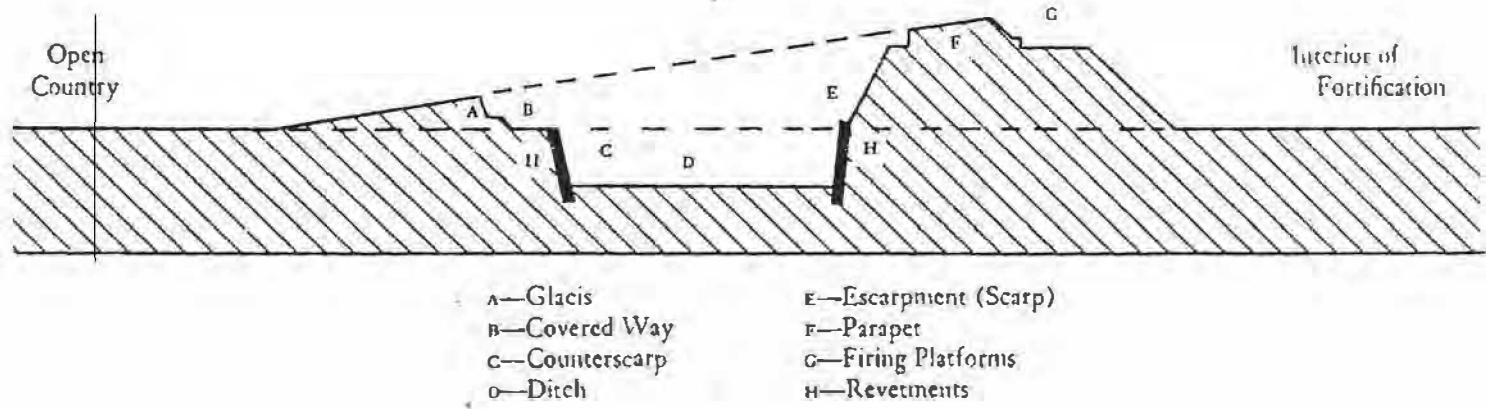
4. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town.
5. Hogg, *ibid.*, p. 134.

encroached on military land and the works thereon until they were almost all obliterated.

Throughout the European colonisation a great proportion of the Cape settlement's human and material resources has gone to support the military establishment. Yet, they were almost always inadequate to support the new projects perceived by the engineers, who were not even able to repair decrepit ramparts and decayed redoubts. Memorials on the state of the forts and fortifications between 1780 and 1830 were numerous and extensive. The government's ability to grant the necessary finances, mobilise the manpower and avoid corruption and embezzlement appeared to be rather limited.

At every point in the Cape's colonial history one is confronted with military considerations. Let us now turn to the beginning: Table Bay and its environs.

Cross Section of Simple Fortification



Cross Section of Fortification with Outworks

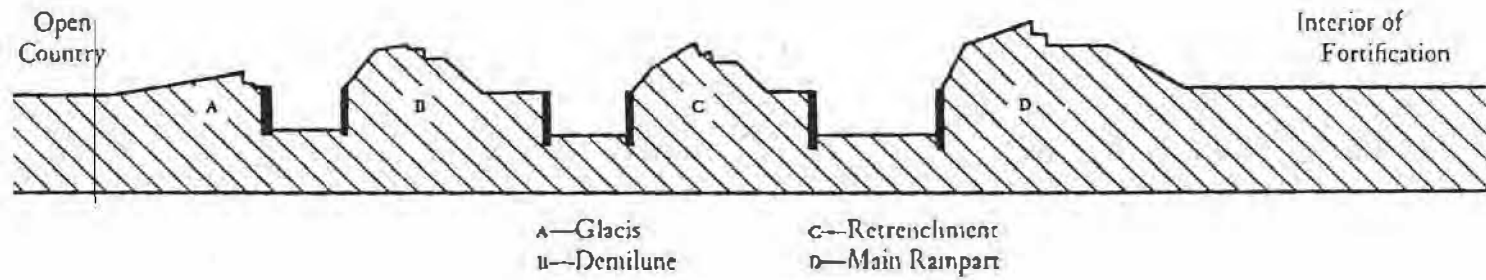


Fig. 3 Fortifications system according to Vauban (Vauban, 1740).

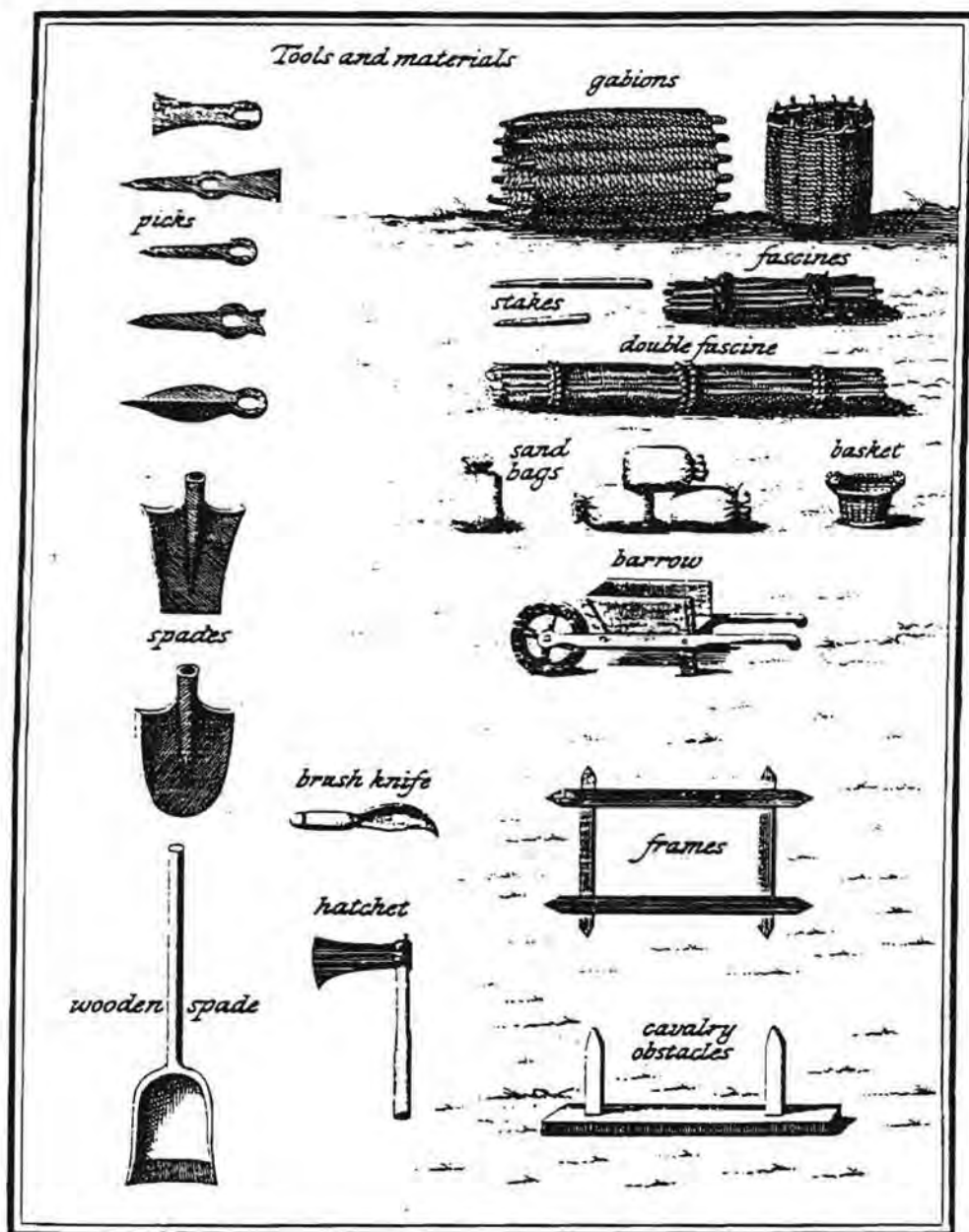


Fig. 4 Fortifications workers' tools (Vauban, 1740).

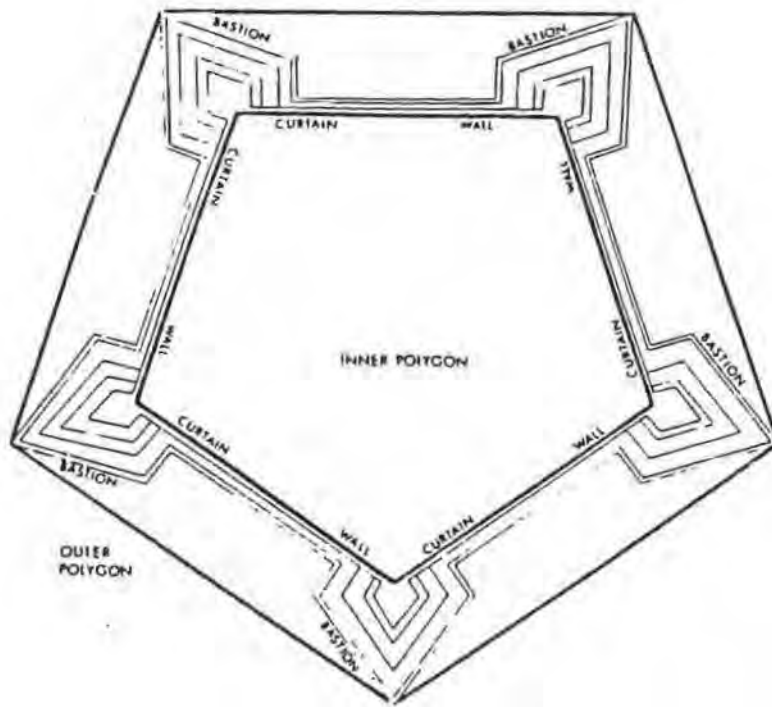


Fig. 5 The geometry of the Castle, Cape Town (Hall et al., 1990).

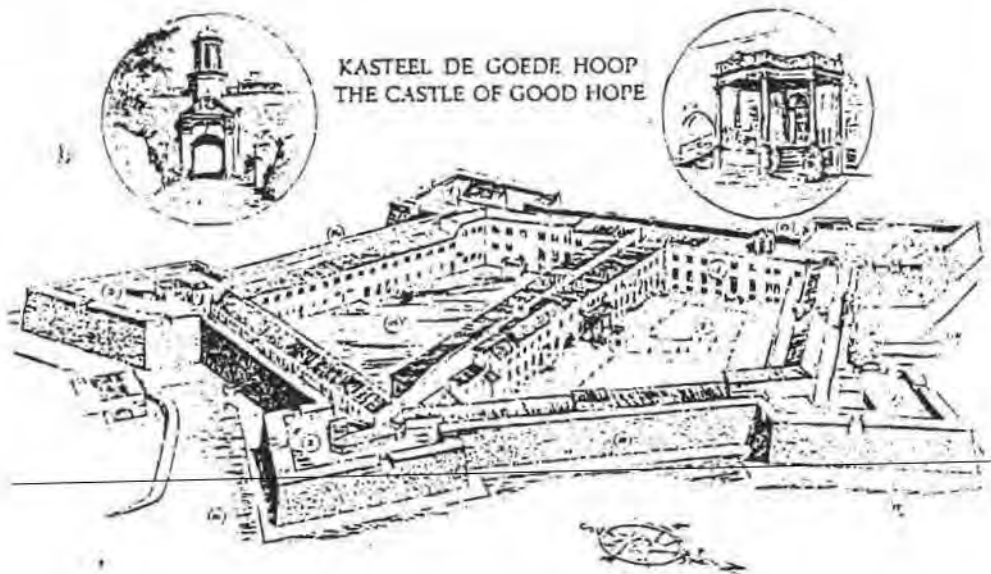


Fig. 6 The Castle, Cape Town (Ploeger, 1970).

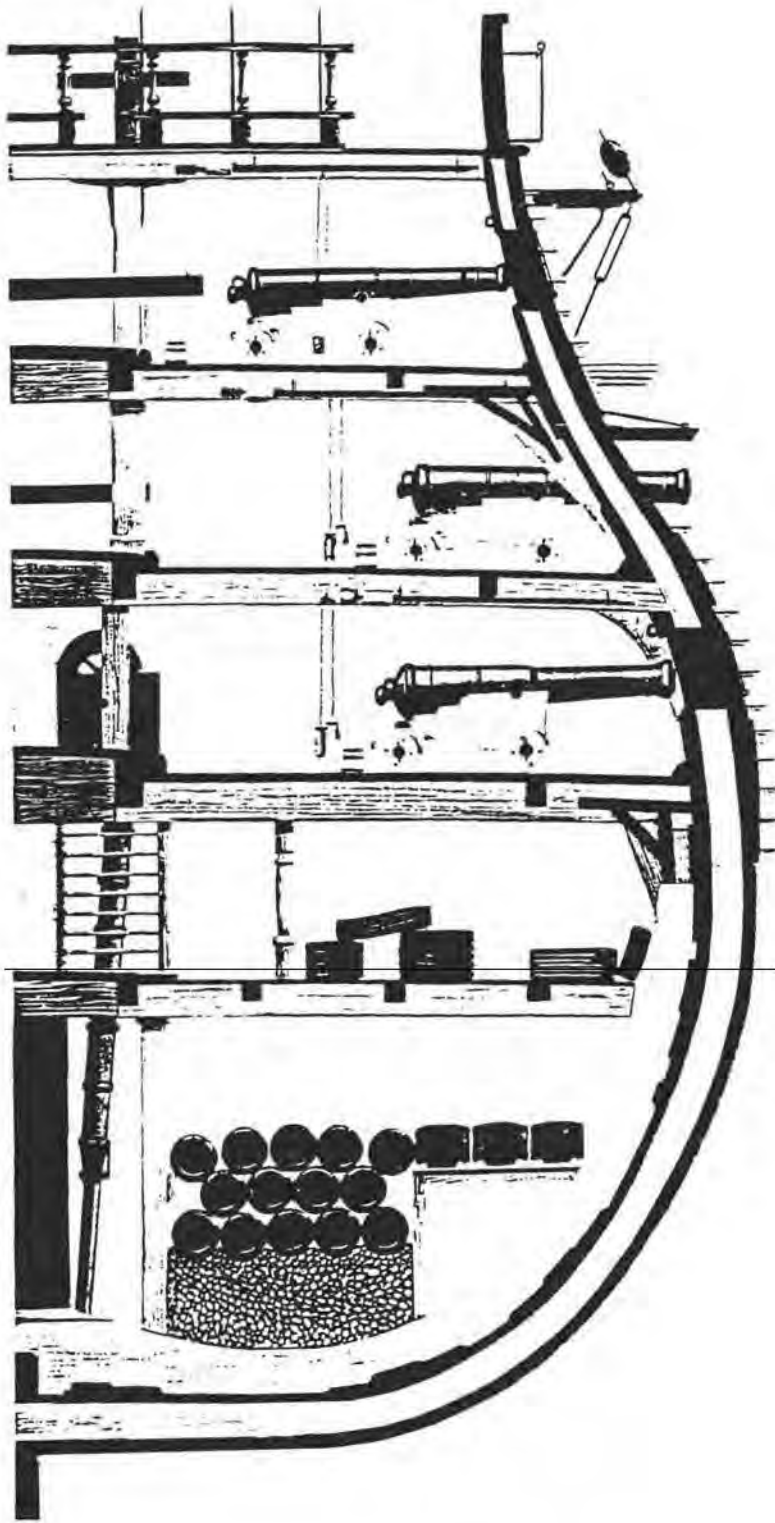


Fig. 7 A section through HMS Victory showing the arrangements of gun decks. (Hogg, 1974).

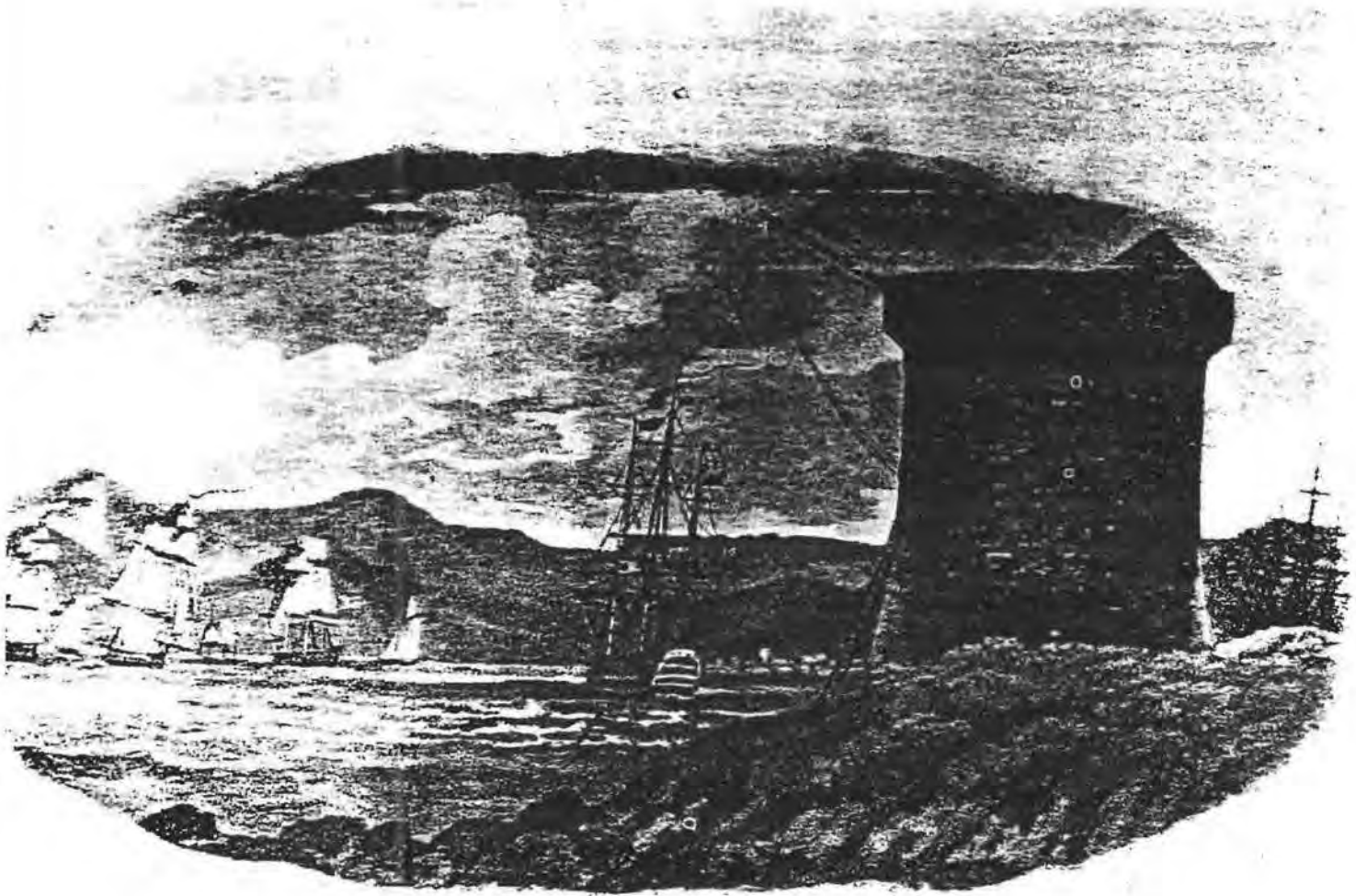
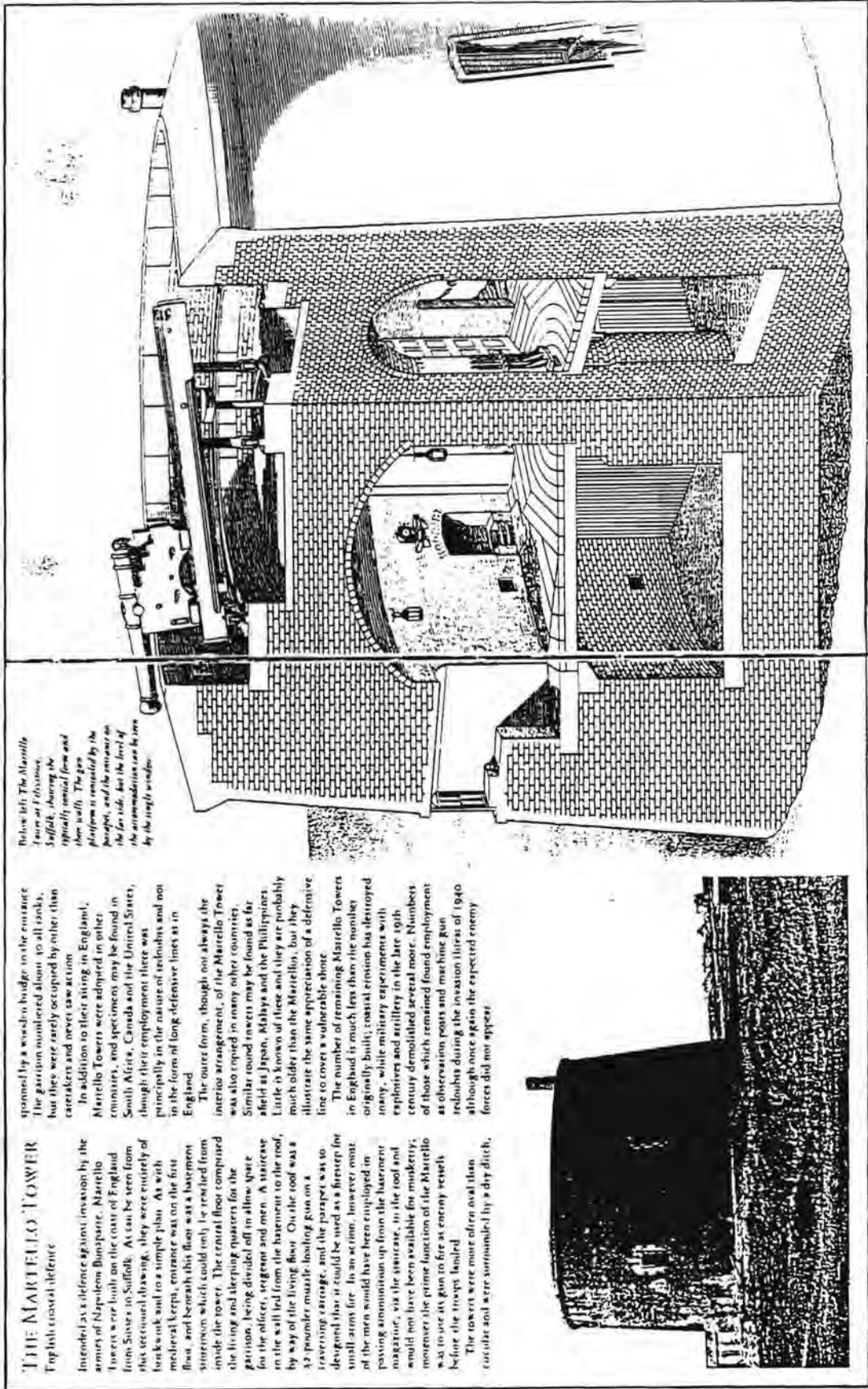


Fig. 8 The original Martello Tower, St. Fiorenzo, Corsica
(*The Martello Tower, Simon's Town, no date*).



Below left: The Martello Tower at Flessingue, Suffolk, showing the typically circular form and three walls. The gun platform is connected by the parapet, and the entrance on the far side, but the level of the accommodation can be seen by the single window.

spurred by a wooden barge to the entrance. The garrison numbered about 30 all ranks, but these were rarely occupied by other than caretakers and never saw action.

In addition to their siting in England, Martello Towers were adopted in other countries, and specimens may be found in South Africa, Canada and the United States, though their employment there was principally in the nature of redoubts and not in the form of long defensive lines as in England.

The tower form, though not always the interior arrangement, of the Martello Tower was also copied in many other countries. Similar round towers may be found as far afield as Japan, Malaya and the Philippines. Little is known of these and they are probably much older than the Martello, but they illustrate the same appreciation of a defensive line to cover a vulnerable shore.

The number of remaining Martello Towers in England is much less than the number originally built; coastal erosion has destroyed many, while military experiments with explosives and artillery in the late 19th century demolished several more. Numbers of those which remained found employment as observation posts and machine gun redoubts during the invasion threat of 1940 although once again the expected enemy forces did not appear.

THE MARTELLO TOWER
Typical coastal defence

Introduced as a defence against invasion by the armies of Napoleon Bonaparte, Martello towers were built on the coast of England from Sussex to Suffolk. As can be seen from this section drawing, they were entirely of brickwork and in a simple plan. As with medieval towers, entrance was on the first floor, and beneath this floor was a basement storeroom which could only be reached from inside the tower. The ground floor comprised the living and sleeping quarters for the garrison, being divided off in three parts for the officer, sergeant and men. A staircase on the wall led from the basement to the roof, by way of the living floor. On the roof was a 32-pounder muzzle-loading gun on a traversing carriage, and the parapet was so designed that it could be used as a firetrap for small arms fire. In an action, however, most of the men would have been employed in passing ammunition up from the basement magazine, via the staircase, to the roof and would not have been available for musketry; however the prime function of the Martello was to use its gun to fire at enemy vessels before the towers landed.

The towers were more often oval than circular and were surrounded by a dry ditch.



Fig. 9 The prototype of the British Martello Tower (Hogg, 1981).

CHAPTER 2

THE ATLANTIC SEABOARD

"No ship can lie at anchor under the fire of even a single gun".

General Craig, 1796.

(University of the Witwatersrand Library, A 24, p. 7, Craig Papers)

From its inception in 1652 the Table Bay settlement had grown from a small military village and supply station for the VOC ships to a town of about 20 000 people in 1780 (Fig. 10). The Heeren XVII had instructed its first commander, Jan van Riebeeck, to defend Table Bay against other European powers and the increasingly hostile indigenous inhabitants of the Peninsula (1).

On 8 April 1652, two days after van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay, a gathering of the first Council of Policy decided to begin immediately with the erection of a fort to be known as Fort De Goede Hoop. Its location had been designated as "dichte bij de strand op de cant aen die oostsijde van't oostelijckste Versse Rivierken", as van Riebeeck stated in a letter dated 13 May 1652 (2). The remains of this first fort are located today below the western end of the Grand Parade in Central Cape Town (Fig. 11) (3).

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1. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town. See also: Hall, M. (1989). *Building power; the British colonization of the Cape of Good Hope after 1795*. Paper for the Archaeology Research Centre, University of Cape Town, Seminar Series 1989.
 2. Ras, A.C. (1959). *Die Kasteel en ander vroeë Kaapse vestingswerke 1652-1713*. Kaapstad: Tafelberg. Translated as: near the beach at the east side of the easternmost river.
 3. Abrahams, G. (1993). *The Grand Parade, Cape Town: archaeological excavations of the seventeenth century Fort de Goede Hoop*. SA Arch. Bull., Vol. XLVIII, No 157, June 1993.

The Fort de Goede Hoop was basically a square-sided courtyard, surrounded by earthen ramparts with some clay walling and on each corner a V-shaped bastion: the basic star-shaped tetragon of the "Old Dutch Fortifications System" (4). The courtyard contained a series of wooden buildings (barracks, stores and workshops) with a central brick building, the governor's residence, and a cellar underneath it. Diverting the water from the nearby stream into a moat was an additional means of protection. At the rear a hornwork, an enclosed area surrounded by clay and earth walls, served as a cattle pen. The fortified entrance was used for the hospital, as a storage area and for the latrines.

Over the years the earthworks, reinforced with clay and brushwork, were subject to constant repairs, renovations and additions. They were unable to withstand the storms and heavy winter rains and constantly collapsed. This was to be a theme all too familiar with fortifications builders and engineers during the next two hundred years. Eventually the defects of the Fort De Goede Hoop could not be overcome and in April 1665 instructions were issued from Amsterdam to begin the planning and building of a new fort, henceforth to be known as "The Castle of Good Hope".

The Castle's foundations were laid in 1666 under the supervision of the engineer Pieter Dombaer. By 1679 the Castle was completed except for the moat. It was a stone fortress with five regular bastions, a pentagon. Bastions and flanks were built in a rectangular way on the adjoining *coutines* in accordance with the principles of the Old Dutch System of fortifications (5) (Fig. 12). This system preceded that of Vauban and his contemporary Menno van Coehoorn. It was typified by straight flanks. Vauban and Coehoorn were to introduce the principle of curved flanks in the bastion

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4. Ploeger, J. (1970). *Military Architecture in the Netherlands and her former Colonies (1500-1800)*. *Militaria*, 2/2, 1970, pp 61-71.
 5. Ploeger, *ibid.*, p. 66-67.

designs and added *oreillons* (curved towers) in the bastions. Neither of those were introduced into later fortification works around Table Bay although they appeared on a draft by Governor C.J. van de Graaff of a line of redoubts and entrenchments running from the Castle up the slope of Devil's Peak (Fig. 13).

"It is ... apparent that, rather than being an architectural design that took into account local landscape and conditions, the plans for the Castle were an idealized solution: an application of engineering theory", wrote M. Hall, and this was only to be changed with the arrival of L.M. Thibault, a French architect and fortifications engineer, in 1783 (6). Thibault was trained in the system of Vauban, who had declared that he always adapted himself and his structures to local conditions (7).

The Castle of Good Hope soon became inadequate to protect the expanding settlement. Its guns only covered a small part of the anchorage. Van Riebeeck had begun to build a line of earthen ramparts and wooden redoubts along the Liesbeeck River to protect the freeburgher and Company farmlands granted there. This line ended with a fairly unpenetrable wild almond hedge, of which a small remain has survived in Kirstenbosch. By 1710 the Council of Policy began to debate the necessity of building additional defence works in Table Bay (8). When in 1714 the VOC sent a professional soldier, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, to govern the Cape, he noticed immediately the vulnerable position of the Castle. De Chavonnes reported to the Heeren XVII that the defences of the Cape were in a poor state. He was given permission to erect a battery at the foot of the Lion's Rump, at the place where the Alfred Basin is located now. The Mauritius Battery (later, in 1744, to be

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6. Hall, M., Halkett, D. et al (1990). "Stone Wall out of the Earth that thundering Cannon cannot destroy"? Bastion and Moat at the Castle, Cape Town. Social Dynamics, 16(1), pp. 22-37, 1990.
 7. Ploeger, *ibid.*, p. 68.
 8. Cape Archives, C 7, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, pp. 511-518. 10.2.1710.

renamed the Chavonnes Battery) was erected between 1715 and 1726 (Figs. 14, 15 and 16). It was also known as Waterkasteel (9). O.F. Mentzel, employed in the service of the commander of the Castle, R.S. Allemann, was impressed with the fire power of the Chavonnes Battery and wrote in his reminiscences that:

"Close to the shore there is an elevation of about 50 feet above sea level, where a house has been built, which is proportioned into three sections . The first is occupied by the postholder, ... the second by a corporal and nine men from the Castle who are daily posted on duty at this battery; the last is a lock-up for the hard-labour prisoners who have been sentenced to be flogged and branded ... upon the reef of rocks in front of this house, but below the rise, a battery of 15 or 16 guns has been planted. Under the gun-platforms are several vaulted casemates. The guns of this battery are trained horizontally upon the sea, hence they are very dangerous to enemy ships ...(10)".

Mentzel continued: "A small battery has been set up to the north between the Castle and the Sout River and faces the Bay". This might have been the Nieuwe Battery. "The other small battery is to the west of the Lion's Tail ... it commands a small inlet that is free from rocks ... this battery was reconstructed in 1736 ... these batteries are little more than square redoubts, protected by masonry and crowned with a parapet of earth. To each of these two smaller batteries a house is attached for a corporal and six men in plain clothes". The second battery 'to the west of the Lion's Tail' might have been the Three Anchor Bay or the Little Mouille Battery (Fig. 17).

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9. Cape Archives, M 152. Drawing of the Caap De Goede Hoop, 1759, No 10 in the picture. See also: de Smidt, J.H.R. (1917). *Fortifications of Cape Town*. Handwritten MS in the Library of Parliament.
 10. Mentzel, O.F. (1785). *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1925, pp. 106-107.

On the other side, to the east of the Castle, a star-shaped fort, known as Fort Knokke had been erected in 1743/4 on the recommendation of Commissioner Van Imhoff. The fort's ramparts were built of earth and mortar and it was not highly regarded by later fortifications engineers (Figs. 18 to 21). "Colonel Guilquin considered it of little value, while Governor Sluysken stated that an enemy could reach its walls without fearing a single cannon shot, due to the poor field of fire from its loopholes (11)". Fort Knokke was to be constantly modernised and was only demolished in 1926 to make way for the railway lines.

Commissioner Van Imhoff also directed that a line of defence was to be thrown up to connect Fort Knokke with the Castle (12). By 1744 four batteries in the Line had been constructed: Elizabeth, Helena, Charlotte and Tulbagh. These were connected by breastworks constructed from earth and masonry, which ran along the edge of the firm shore above the high water line. Behind the breastworks were powder magazines and the hospital. The whole system was known as 'the Sea Lines' (Figs. 22 and 23).

Van Imhoff's last military decision was the construction in 1745 of the Imhoff Battery, also known as the 'couvre-face Imhoff', intended to cover the face of the Castle (13) (Figs. 24, 25 and 26). Heavy guns were placed on it and it was therefore a useful supplement to the firepower of the Castle and Chavonnes Battery.

Between the Castle and the Chavonnes Battery above the dunes of Rogge Bay a small redoubt, Heeren Hendricks Kinderen (also known as Groote Battery), was erected in 1744 (14). It

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11. Burman, Jose. (1962). *Fingers in the Dyke*. The Cape Argus, 1 December 1962.
 12. *Reports of De Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, Vol. 1, No 1, pp 69-70.
 13. Burman, J. (1976). *The Bay of Storms, Table Bay 1503-1860*. Cape Town and Pretoria: Human & Rousseau.
 14. Cape Archives, VC 26, Dagregister, 21.11.1744.

consisted of a small earthen rampart with a nearby guard house and a few guns. This was the forerunner of the Amsterdam Battery (15).

It seems that the commander of the combined military forces of the VOC in Batavia, under whose jurisdiction the Cape station fell, was satisfied with the state of the defences for the time being. Yet R.S. Alleman, the military commander of the Castle and member of the Council of Policy, in mid-eighteenth century considered the Cape as being:

"... very clearly ill defended ... [if] the English intend to sail into False Bay ... and attack the Castle from the land side, then assuredly the Cape is lost (16)".

The American War of Independence (1777-1783) had gradually escalated with France and the Netherlands on the side of the Americas. The Cape, a vital supply and trading station, became now a strategically important place. The defences had been neglected during the intervening years. This was to change drastically with the arrival of the French fleet in June 1781: "Since the war the Dutch have bestowed a considerable Share of attention on this Settlement, which has been strongly urged to them by their Allys - the French", wrote George Forster, Traveller in the service of the English East India Company, in 1786 admiringly (17).

The additional defences in Table Bay consisted of the Amsterdam Battery, erected between 1781 and 1786 (18), a massive work, the only fully casemated fort in the Cape Peninsula (Figs. 27 to 32). It was to be supplied with ovens

15. Seemann, *ibid.*, p. 19.

16. Mentzel, O.F. (1784). *Life at the Cape in mid-eighteenth century*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, pp. 148-151, 1919.

17. University of the Witwatersrand Library, f A 154, Letter from George Forster to Lord Melville, dated 22 January 1786.

18. Seemann, *ibid.*, pp. 22-28.

for heating shot red-hot which General Gordon wanted to introduce at the Cape.

The erection of a new battery between the Amsterdam Battery and the Castle was approved by the Council of Policy in 1781. The Roggebay Battery (Figs. 33 and 34) was built entirely by slaves during the following year, modelled on the Chavonnes Battery, and consisted of a 'large' and a 'small', curved battery (19). In 1786 it was still called 'provisional', i.e. it had not been finished according to plan, but nothing was done about it.

Beyond the Chavonnes Battery there existed, in 1781, according to a French report: "At Gallows Hill, ... an entrenchment suitable for the infantry. To the left of this entrenchment is a small battery of 3 iron pieces of 18 pounds ... further on there is a small barbette battery, whose object is the defence of a small bay" (20). The writer might have described the Mouille Battery (Figs. 35 and 36), built in April 1781 and the Three Anchor Bay Battery (Figs. 37 and 38), provisionally erected in 1779 (21). The first plans were made for the Kloof Nek Battery: "We can built trenches on top of the col near the little house there, and throw riflemen at intervals into the gullies ... the importance of this entry requires that we have there a large detachment of troops ... (20)". The battery consisted of a U shaped earthen embankment situated at the Camps Bay side of Kloof Nek, capable of holding three to four guns. The soldiers manning the battery were housed at the Kloof Nek Signal station (Figs. 39, 40 and 41).

To the East of Fort Knokke further along the shore the French soldiers under Commodore de Suffren and Colonel Conway erected in 1781 the Intermediaire Battery between it and the Nieuwe

19. Cape Archives, VC 117, Memorie over den Staat of Defensie, 1786, p. 22.

20. Appendix to : Smith, A.B. (1981). *The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: a report on excavations at Conway Redoubt, Constantia Nek. Milit. Hist. Journ.*, Vol 5, No 3, June 1981, pp 111-112.

21. Cape Archives, VC 117, p. 21.

Battery. The Nieuwe Battery at the mouth of the Salt River was begun in 1755 with an armament of eight to ten pieces and was ready for action in 1759 (22). The Battery appears on a map of 1767 (23); and by 1785 was in such a terrible state that some repairs had to be effected (24). Yet by 1786 all was as before: the guns rusting, the artillery officers departed, the trained artillerists back on their farms and outposts. "The Cape is in bad shape again and England and France know it", lamented the writer of the Memorial (25); and Grandpre, who visited the Cape in the same year, said "that the 'noirs' stole the wooden palisades around the fortifications to burn them ... (26)".

The 'French Lines', running up from Fort Knokke to Devil's Peak had been likewise neglected. They had been erected with much bravado and enthusiasm by the Pondicherry Regiment, members of the garrison, the burghers of Cape Town and their slaves in 1781/2. For many years these military lines were to form the boundary of the town (Figs. 42 and 43).

The French Lines consisted of three redoubts: Hollands (Fig. 44), Centre (Figs. 45 and 46) and Burgher Redoubt. The redoubts were either triangular or quadratic with an earth rampart and a dry ditch. The works were connected by a zig-zag line of breastworks and ditches. The purpose of this line at right angles from the sea was to prevent an attack on Cape Town from the Eastern side, outflanking Fort Knokke, and using the roads from the Cape flats and Rondebosch.

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22. Dr Daniel Sleigh, pers. comm., see also: Sleigh, D. (1993). *Die Buiteposte van die VOC onder Kaapse bestuur, 1652-1795*. Pretoria: HAUM, Holland/Afrika.
 23. Plan en Caart van Het Fort en Vlek an Cabo De Goede Hoop, 1767. (Cape Town City Council, City Planner's Department, Land Survey Branch).
 24. Cape Archives, VC 455, 1 November 1785 - January 1786, pp. 60-62.
 25. Cape Archives, VC 117, p. 42.
 26. Smith, A.B., *ibid.*, p. 109.

By 1786 there were also two small batteries in Camps Bay (27) (Figs. 47, 48, 49 and 50). Dr Daniel Sleight, an expert on VOC *Buiteposte* [outposts], admitted that "Die presiese datum van die eerste besetting [of Kamptz Baaij] is nie bekend nie, mar die regering het die eienaar op 31 Januarie 1786 vir sy verlies vergoed. Die pos het daarna nog ander funksies bygekry. Op die suidelike hoek van die baaie is 'n geskutbattery gebou ...(28)". The last mentioned was erected in 1791.

When the French left in 1784 they left a second line of defence unfinished, running from the Castle up the slope of Devil's Peak: Project Retrenchment. Work on it carried on in fits and starts. Only two batteries were partly finished and fell soon into disrepair again: the one nearest the Castle was 'Coehoorn', the other 'Gordon', named after the commander of the garrison (Fig. 51).

The threat of invasion was over. During the last years of the VOC government the upkeep of the fortifications was not high on the agenda. A memorial of 1789/90 lamented the disgraceful state of affairs: the Cape was again wide open to attack by any enemy force, who could choose to land in Table Bay, False Bay or Hout Bay with impunity (29). In 1790 the batteries Gordon and Coehoorn were still half finished, the construction of the flanks of the two bastions posed a great danger: the firing lines seemed to have been directed at perpendicular angles. The *Intermediaire* and *Nieuwe* batteries beyond Fort Knokke were in total disrepair. Between the Amsterdam Battery and the town palisades had been erected serving as a

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27. Na de Kaart No 839, Alg. Rijksarchief, Den Haag, dated 1786.
 28. Sleight, D. (1987). *Die Buiteposte in die ekonomie van die Kaapse Verversingstasie 1652-1795*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, pp. 30-31. Freely translated: The precise date of the first occupation of Camps Bay is not known, but the government had paid the owner on 31 January 1786 for his services. A gun battery was build at the south end of the bay.
 29. Cape Archives, VC 64. *Memorie aan zyne Hoogheid van die Militaire Commissie 25 September 1789, en Brieven en rapporten van die Militaire Commissie, 1790.*

retrenchment line which also went along the walled-in churchyards nearby on the slightly higher slopes of the Lion's Rump. Only the Amsterdam Battery had been kept in good repair and served as a powder magazine in addition to the one recently erected in the vicinity. "The Chavonnes Battery is a 'formidable' defence work which can act in concert with the Amsterdam Battery. Six Hundred toises [1200 m] to the west of the Chavonnes Battery at the Oude Mouille [the old mole] there is a totally derelict battery", the report carried on (30). And further on, a little bay, [today known as Three Anchor Bay], accessible by small sloops, which should be defended by a temporary retrenchment.

"An invading force could easily debark at Paarden Eiland ... but it will then be impossible to overcome the Zonneblom entrenchments [French Lines]" (31). The Bastions Gordon and Coehoorn should be strongly fortified as a second line of defense, the commission of 1789/90 advised.

Lieut.-Engineer L.M. Thibault, together with Lieut.-Engineer M.B. Barbier, was commissioned in 1785 with the supervision of the fortifications of the Cape. Thibault's particular responsibility was the coastal defences. In 1793 he drew a plan for the reconstruction of the batteries Elizabeth and Charlotte (Fig. 52), which had been greatly damaged by the heavy winter rains of 1792 (32). Thibault was then ordered by his superior, Colonel Gordon, to inspect Robben Island and Paarden Eiland with the view of fortifying these places. Thibault begged the Governor after his return in a written report not to force him to collaborate with 'this man' [Gordon], who could not see the impossibility of installing fortifications with insufficient means and would blame him afterwards for the errors (33).

30. Cape Archives, VC 64, p. 21.

31. Cape Archives, VC 64, p. 32.

32. De Puyfontaine, H.R. (1972). *Louis Michel Thibault 1750-1815, his official life at the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

33. De Puyfontaine, *ibid.*, p. 6.

There seemed to have been a great discrepancy between the military needs, even the minimum requirements for protection of Table Bay, and the financial and manpower resources available at the Cape.

General Gordon's experiments with hot-shot cannon-balls had been successful (at least in his eyes). Lieut.-Eng. Thibault was ordered to have the batteries in Table Bay, and one in Camps Bay, fitted out with hot-shot cannon-ball ovens (34), nineteen in all, "which together could heat up 450 cannon balls within fourteen minutes" (35). One of Gordon's other activities during the months preceding the surrender of the Cape was bizarre. "One of his projects was to heighten the breastworks of the large and small Mouille Batteries. To this end he employed the somewhat eccentric means of filling Cattle hide sacks with the hair of Cape sheep "(35). The Mouille Point Batteries were immediately attacked by the dog population of Cape Town, attracted by the strong stench of the skins. It is said that this was the only time a battery had been stormed and taken by dogs. Gordon also had the new governor Sluysken's permission to instal a new battery, Kijk-in-de-Pot, on Gallows Hill (Figs. 53 and 54). No one, and certainly not Thibault, had any wish to be associated with this endeavor. The battery was erected on sand dunes, far from the rocky shore, which was already secured by a battery.

These seemed to have been the only additional preparations for the invasion, which was expected at any time after the news of renewed war between France and the Republic of the Netherlands had reached the Cape in May 1793 (36). Yet, the Council of Policy and Governor A.J. Sluysken were only concerned about the costs of repairs (37) and directed Colonel Gilquin to restrain from and not built any additional fortifications

34. Cape Archives, VC 75, Lt. Marnitz account of the surrender of the Cape in 1795, p. 29.

35. Cullinan, P. (1991). *Robert Jacob Gordon 1743-1795*. Cape Town: Struik Winchester, p. 173.

36. Cape Archives, VC 75, p. 27.

37. Cape Archives, C 184, Resolusies van die Politeke Raad, December 1789.

(38). When work was stopped, the enlargements of the Chavonnes Battery, designed by the former Governor van de Graaff, were not quite completed (39).

Governor Sluysken's last-minute preparations in Table Bay (although Lieut. Marnitz stated that these would "place the Colony in a proper state of defence") made no difference to the British force, which in 1795, advanced from the direction of False Bay. Before the British landed their troops, they sent a frigate, HMS *Echo*, around the Peninsula to sound out the defences. It drew fire from the Hout Bay Batteries, Camps Bay Battery and the Amsterdam Battery.

The document, dated 20 September 1795, which specified the VOC's fortifications works which had to be handed over to the British, listed these works along the Atlantic coast:

"Kasteel de Goede Hoop,

De linie langs de zee kant loopende van de battery Imhoff tot aan't fort de Knokke en de plaats de Zonnebloem,

De battery Gordon aan de voet van de Duiwels Berg,

De onvoltooide battery Coehoorn,

't Casteel en de Duiwelsberg [?],

De battery in de Roggebaay,

De battery Amsterdam,

de battery Chavonnes,

de battery Kyk in de pot tusschen Chavonnes en de groote Mouille,

De battery aan de Groote Mouille,

De battery aan de Klyne Mouille, De Batteryen in de van Campsbaay,

Eenige pasfagiere werkjes geleege ... in de Cloof tusschen de Tafelbergen, Leeuwenkop en tusschen de Klipkuilen en Kerkhoven ... "(40).

38. Cape Archives, Resolusies van die Politike Raad, 15.2.1791.

39. Theal, George M'Call. (no date). *History of South Africa before 1795. Vol 4: The Cape Colony to 1795.* Reprint. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964.

40. Cape Archives, VC 65, p. 301.

As soon as the British were in charge General Craig set about strengthening the defences of Cape Town. The Castle was vulnerable to attack from the higher slopes of Devil's Peak. General Craig, a thoroughly professional man, left a memorandum on the Cape's defences to his successor in 1796 "... [to] reduce to some order so as to bring into one point of view the various memorandums ... upon the subject of defence and particularly with respect to the Works which have been constructed by my directions ..." (41).

One of these works was the erection, at the end of 1795/beginning of 1796, of "the Tower in the rear of the old redoubt, [so that] that battery is effectively secured " (42). That was to be Craig's Tower and battery (Figs. 54 and 55) in place of the ruined Nieuwe Battery. Craig's Tower "is eight feet thick except that side towards Fort Knock [sic] which is no thicker than was indispensable ... the magazine [inside Craig's Tower] is bomb-proof and there is a cistern of water ... and furnishes an excellent flank to the Lines at that side " (43). Craig's Battery was equipped to deliver 'a heavy fire'. The ditch around Fort "Knock" should be completed and palisaded and it would be wise to surround the front towards Craig's Tower with a good covered way and glacis.

General Craig carried on briskly: "In order to save time the Lines have been repaired nearly upon the plan on which we found them; Fort Knock [sic] is defective in every shape with acute angles - without flank and with a bad ditch. The Hollands redoubt is better - indeed as a square Redoubt is respectable - the object has been to put all the Redoubts in a state capable of resisting any attack ... " (42).

And speaking of the heights above the Castle, which General Craig had secured: "On the right the principal and most

41. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Ref No A 24, Craig Papers, Memorandum of General Craig on the Cape Defences, 1796, p. 1.

42. Craig Papers, *ibid.*, p. 40.

43. Craig Papers, *ibid.*, p. 42.

important point is the redoubt and battery of 5 twenty four pounders on the height immediately over the ... lines which I have named the York redoubt (Figs. 56 and 57) and [York] battery (Figs. 58,59 and 60), - these guns have a most effectual command particularly in the ground under them in front of the Burgher Redoubt. We have done what we could to secure it [the French Lines] ... the construction of a ditch was impracticable and we have stockaded it" (44).

Another work, the Prince of Wales Redoubt (Figs. 61, 62 and 63) was in progress at the time of writing. "To secure these two Points it is necessary to possess the whole Range of Heights as far as the Shoulder of the devil's [sic] Hill and too much cannot be done to strengthen and secure that point particularly the summit where we have constructed a sort of redoubt or block House of dry Masonry - this was done in a hurry and is by no means sufficient something should be done effectually to secure the whole of that ... either [with] a Tower or a good Stone block House but at any rate capable of containing provisions and ammunition ... ", General Craig continued modestly describing the construction of King's Blockhouse (Figs. 64, 65 and 66), "this shoulder to the Devil's Hill is the **Key to the Key** and should be maintained at every risk" (45).

Richard Renshaw, military man and traveller arrived at the end of May 1796 in Table Bay and was very impressed with the place: "... not far from this [landing place] stands the Castle, a strong and extensive building, having excellent barracks for the troops. The works in this place are extremely well defended with numerous artillery, which point in all directions; and for the additional strength of this place it is indebted (as well as other positions on this coast) to the skill and indefatigable labours of Colonel York, of the Royal Artillery. The batteries erected at the different posts round the Cape are very numerous, of which the principal are Craig's

44. Craig Papers, *ibid.*, p. 43.

45. Craig Papers, *ibid.*, p. 44, my emphasis.

Tower, Yorke's Redoubt, Charlotte, Chevonne, Hey-now [sic], Rocky-bay [sic], Groutmoley [sic], Kick-in-the-pot [sic], Elizabeth, Prince of Wales, and Antelope [sic, not identified], the centre and old redoubts, & mounting in the whole nearly 350 pieces of cannon. The fortifications here are all well calculated for defence, and while the British remained in possession of them, they are kept in good repair. Many blockhouses were erected in situations which secured the mountains from any attempt of the enemy from crossing them (46).

These observations were echoed by John Bruce, historiographer to the English East India Company, in 1797, when he observed that "Table Bay is surrounded with Batteries of which no notice has been taken, all mounted with a considerable number of heavy Guns furnished with furnaces for heating shot; perhaps there is not a spot in the world on which a greater fire can be concentrated than be brought to bear on the anchoring ground of Table Bay" (47).

And maintained they were. "General Abstract of Works performed in the Engineers department from the Capture of the Cape of Good Hope to the present period" (48), and, after that yearly reports listed, under the heading 'Fortifications about Cape Town', for instance, 19 October 1797:

"Fort Knokke - The Scarp Wall raised all round 4 feet, New Gateway + Gates, the Parapet and Platform completely repaired, the Ditch stockaded & a Glacis raised in front.

Hollands Redoubt - This work entirely New, the Profile on average 14 feet high, 6 feet of which is of Masonry, the rest of Turf, the Gateway of Masonry, the Platforms of Wood, and the Ditch Stockaded -

46. Renshaw, Richard (1821). *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea with Travels into Egypt*. Manchester: M. Wilkson, Barlows Court, Market Street, 3rd Ed.

47. University of the Witwatersrand Library, A 88, The Earl Macartney Papers, 91(67), paragraph 146.

48. Cape Archives, Acc 33/1, Military - abstracts of works performed.

Centre Redoubt - New and similarly executed to the Hollands redoubt -

Burgher Redoubt - New entirely, and finished in the same way as the Centre Redoubt.

Position above the York Redoubt -

A Tower 24 feet square and 3 stories high projected, with a Battery of 2 heavy Guns under it to command the Redoubt below and secure its possession against an Enemy.

N.B. The Foundation of this Tower is laid, and the works raised now about 4 feet high - the Slave Masons proceeding with its erection. The Tower walks up to the 2nd Floor, the Roof putting on the cistern & Magazine completed.

Brow under the Lion's Rump - A Tower and Battery under it ... that in case an enemy landed ... this work Sir James Henry Craig [was] to have erected had he remained in the Cape.

Chavonnes Battery - Complete Repair of Parapet and Platforms.

Amsterdam Battery - Complete repair of Parapet and of the circular Platforms.

Imhoff Battery - Complete Repair of Parapet and Platforms.

The above, I believe, are the principal Works that Sir James Henry Craig thought of completing during the War, but in case of keeping the Cape after Peace his ideas were more extensive. Signed: G. Bridges, Captain Comm. R. Engineers" (48).

In the list of "Works performed ... between 19 October 1797 and 12 July 1798" the York Blockhouse [now Queen's Blockhouse] was listed as completely finished (48). King's Blockhouse was called "a strong Stone Tower 34 feet long and in the inside 3 stories high". Below, under its protection, a stone battery for 4 twenty four pounders had been completed. This time soldier masons had been employed to do the work.

Keyt in der Pot Battery [sic], [Kyk-in-de-pot Battery, built in 1795, the fore runner of Fort Wynyard in Green Point] was mentioned for the first time: four new platforms had been laid (49).

49. Bisset, W.M. (undated). *A short History of Kyk in de Pot Battery and Fort Wynyard*. Museum of Coast and Anti-Aircraft Artillery, Fort Wynyard, Cape Town.

When the British handed over the Cape to the Batavians, Commissary De Mist and General Janssens, the defence works were in excellent condition. The Batavians, during their short stay, concentrated on civilian matters. "The batteries and the fortress in Table Bay ... may be considered adequate for this [defence] purpose," wrote Commissary J.A. De Mist in 1802, "all the lines and earthworks further inland, and also those constructed in and about Cape Town ... seem to us superfluous, useless and far too expensive to maintain ... the money has unfortunately been expended on them, but it may be possible to conserve them by spending a small annual sum in keeping them in repair" (50). The return of the British seemed just a matter of time.

In 1804 General J. W. Janssens instructed Major Küchler, commander of the Artillery and Major Paravacini di Capelli to inspect the fortifications along the coast of the Peninsula and make recommendations for repairs and upgrading. They reported that the batteries at Camps Bay, Mouille Point and Three Anchor Bay could be got in a state of readiness for very little expense (51).

In January 1806 the British landed in Losperd's Bay [Melkbosstrand], and they experienced very little resistance (Figs. 67, 68 and 69).

After 1806 the defences in Table Bay had to be repaired again and were thoroughly re-surveyed. "The sea lines sweep along the strand, as far as the Castle, a distance of five or seven hundred yards", wrote Captain Dougal Carmichael disappointedly in 1806 when he saw the extent to which the Sea Lines had been neglected by the Batavian government, "they are strengthened

50. De Mist, J.A. (1802). *The memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1920, p. 263.

51. Erasmus, L. J. (1972). *Die Tweede Britse Verowering van die Kaap, 1806*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Potchefstroom, p. 91.

by four batteries, on each of which is mounted from five to ten pieces of heavy ordnance. But the whole are in very bad order. The buttresses, undermined by the surge, have yielded to the weight of the platform (Fig. 70); and the parapet is choked up on both sides by the shifting sand" (52).

A new Battery, Cradock Battery (Figs. 71, 72 and 73), on the slopes of Devil's Peak above the termination of the French Lines appears on a Royal Engineer's map of 30 March 1815 (53). So far, it has not been possible to trace the date of its construction. It seems likely to have been erected during the governorship of Sir John Francis Cradock between 6 September 1811 and 6 April 1814.

Visitors started flocking to the Cape, amongst them Captain Robert Percival, who remarked about the fortifications on Devil's Hill:

"This space is strongly fortified with lines, redoubts, and batteries, most of them by the English; for the Cape on our first arrival here [1795] was but in a poor state of defence, compared with that in which it was left by us" (54). These words were echoed by many travellers and diarists in the years to come. Amongst them, Lieut.-Col. Robert Wilson of the 20th Light Dragoons, who left a 'Description of the Cape Colony in 1806' (55): "A barrier line of works advanced half a mile but not sufficiently for military defence, and extending from the sea to the mountains, covers the site and no more of the town". Captain Wilson was one of the many European writers who recognised early on that the Cape was indefensible and that the only protection of the Colony was the well-being of its inhabitants in the security of the British Empire. Nobody thought to ask the indigenous inhabitants about their opinion.

52. *Journal of Captain Dougal Carmichael's account of the occupation of 1806. Cape Monthly Magazine*, August 1859, p. 112.

53. Public Records Office, Kew, London, Ref MPH/691.

54. Percival, Captain Robert (1804). *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope ...* Reprint, New York: Negro University Press, no date, p. 107.

55. Cape Archives, VC 58, Description of the Cape Colony in 1806.

By 1827 most of the batteries in Table Bay were becoming obsolete and strong recommendations were made to dismantle those that were not built of masonry (56). The exceptions were: "The Batteries and works at Camps Bay Kloof, the Anchor Bay Battery [or Little Mouille Battery], the Kyk-in-de-pot Redoubt, the Amsterdam Battery, the Rogge Bay Battery, the Linien in front of the Town with the exception of Fort Knock [sic], and the Blockhouses and Batteries (of Masonry) on the Devil's Hill".

On 1 July 1829 the following military buildings and defence works "were transferred from the Military Secretary's office , the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of Good Hope to the Ordnance Department, Cape of Good Hope:

Fortified position in advance of Cape Town: Craig's Tower and Battery,

King's Blockhouse,

Prince of Wales, ditto,

York, ditto,

York Redoubt,

Cradock Battery,

Burgher Redoubt,

Centre Redoubt,

Hollands redoubt,

Fort Knokke,

Riebeek Battery,

Sea Lines,

Castle and Outworks,

Rogge Bay Guard House,

Rogge Bay battery,

Western defences: Amsterdam Fort

Chavonne Battery,

Kyk in de Pot redoubt,

Groote Mouille battery,

Three Anchor Bay Battery,

Camps bay and Kloof batteries,

56. Cape Archives, GH 1/60, pp. 85-95.

Black Battery [sic]," (57).

Today there are probably only the remains of the Amsterdam Battery left, the Central Redoubt in Trafalgar Park in Woodstock, part of the boundary wall surrounding the Hollands Redoubt, the Blockhouses and York Redoubt on the slopes of Devil's Peak. All of these, except the Amsterdam Battery, which has been described, and the Castle, warrant further archaeological investigations, as they seem well preserved.

57. Cape Archives, CO 477, No 1, accompanied to a letter dated 5.1.1838.

FORTIFICATIONS IN TABLE BAY, 1815

Redrawn from a map by the Royal Engineers, signed by Captain G. Bridges, 1798 (Cape Archives M1/1980-1984).

by Jorge E'Silva, September 1993.

1. The Castle
2. Imhoff Battery
3. Battery Elisabeth
4. Battery Helena
5. Battery Charlotte
6. Battery Tulbagh
7. Fort Knokke
8. Intermediaire Battery
9. Nieuwe Battery, later Craig's Tower
10. Holland's redoubt
11. Centre Redoubt
12. Burcher Redoubt
13. Battery Cochoorn
14. Battery Gordon
15. Cradock Battery
16. York (later Queen's) Blockhouse
17. York Redoubt
18. Prince of Wales Blockhouse
19. King's Blockhouse
20. Rogge Bay Battery
21. Amsterdam Battery
22. Chavonne Battery
23. Kyk-in-de-pot Battery
24. Groote Mouille Battery
25. Three Anchor Bay Battery
26. Kloof Nek Battery
- 27/28. Camps Bay batteries

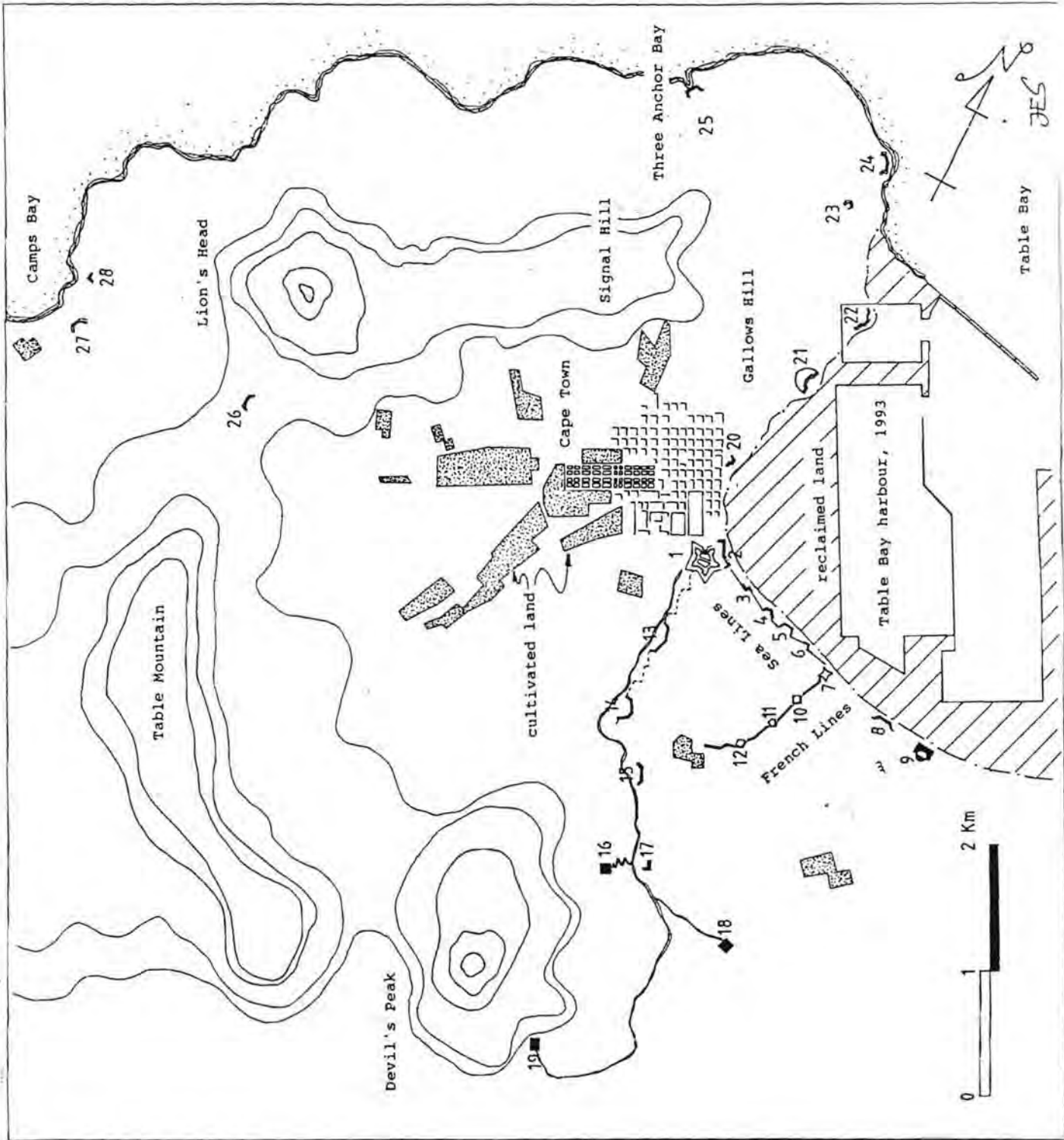


Fig. 10 Fortifications in Table Bay, 1815.

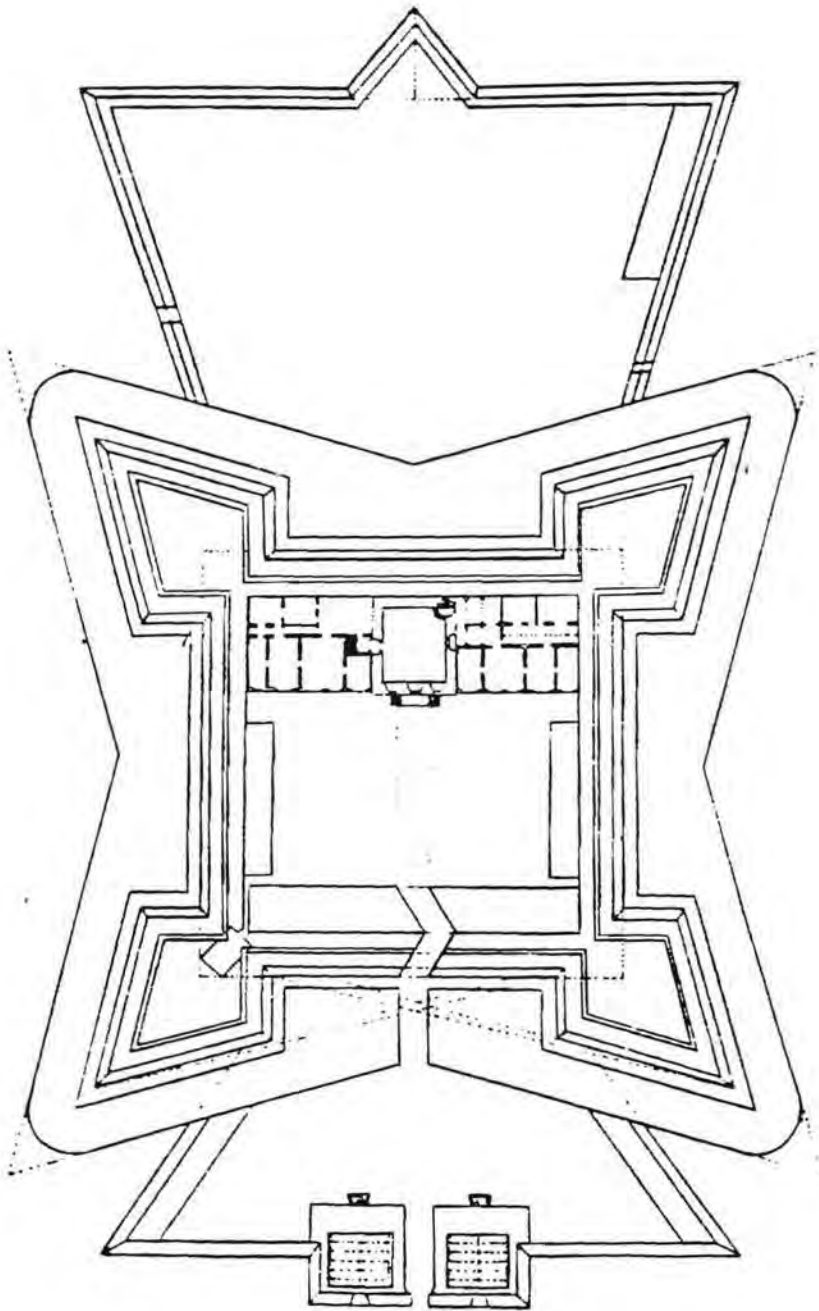


Fig. 11 Ground plan of the Fort de Goede Hoop, 1652 (Ras, 1959).

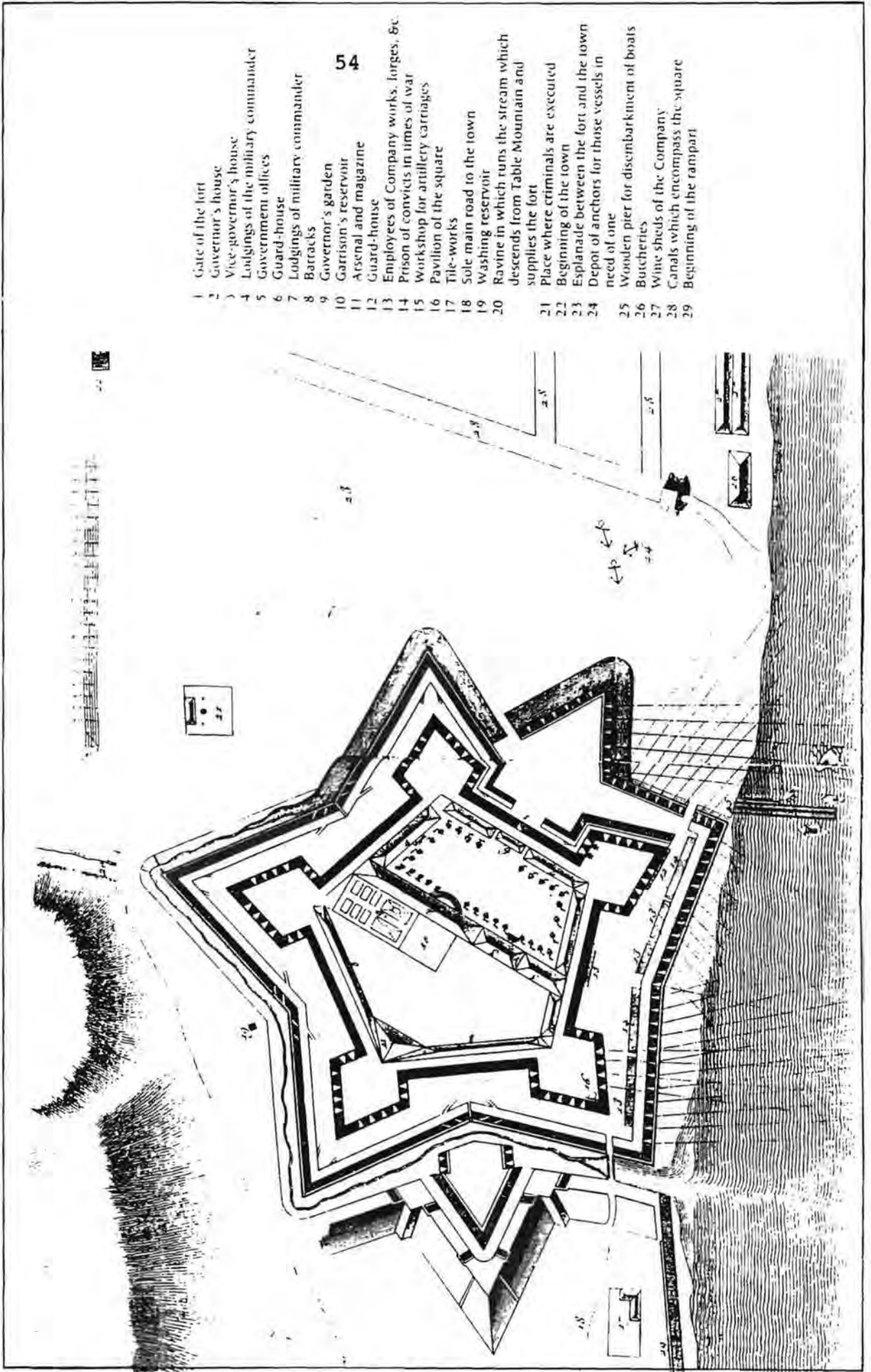


Fig. 12 The Castle of Good Hope during the VOC period (Boucher and Penn, 1992).

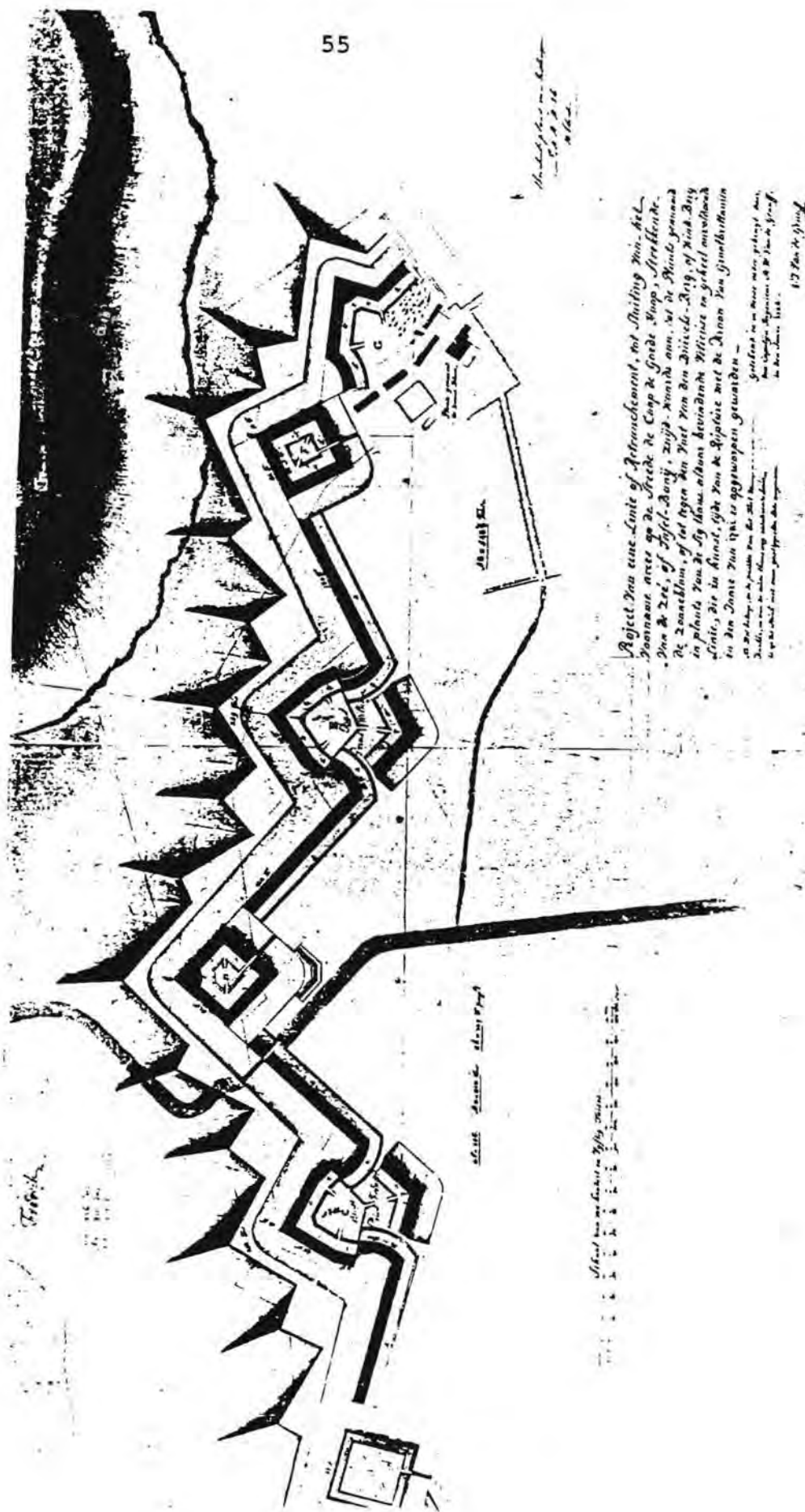


Fig. 13 Projected plan for the reinforcement of the French Lines, 1786, drawn by A.W. Van de Graaff (Cape Archives, no reference number).

Plan de la Batterie Chavonnes.

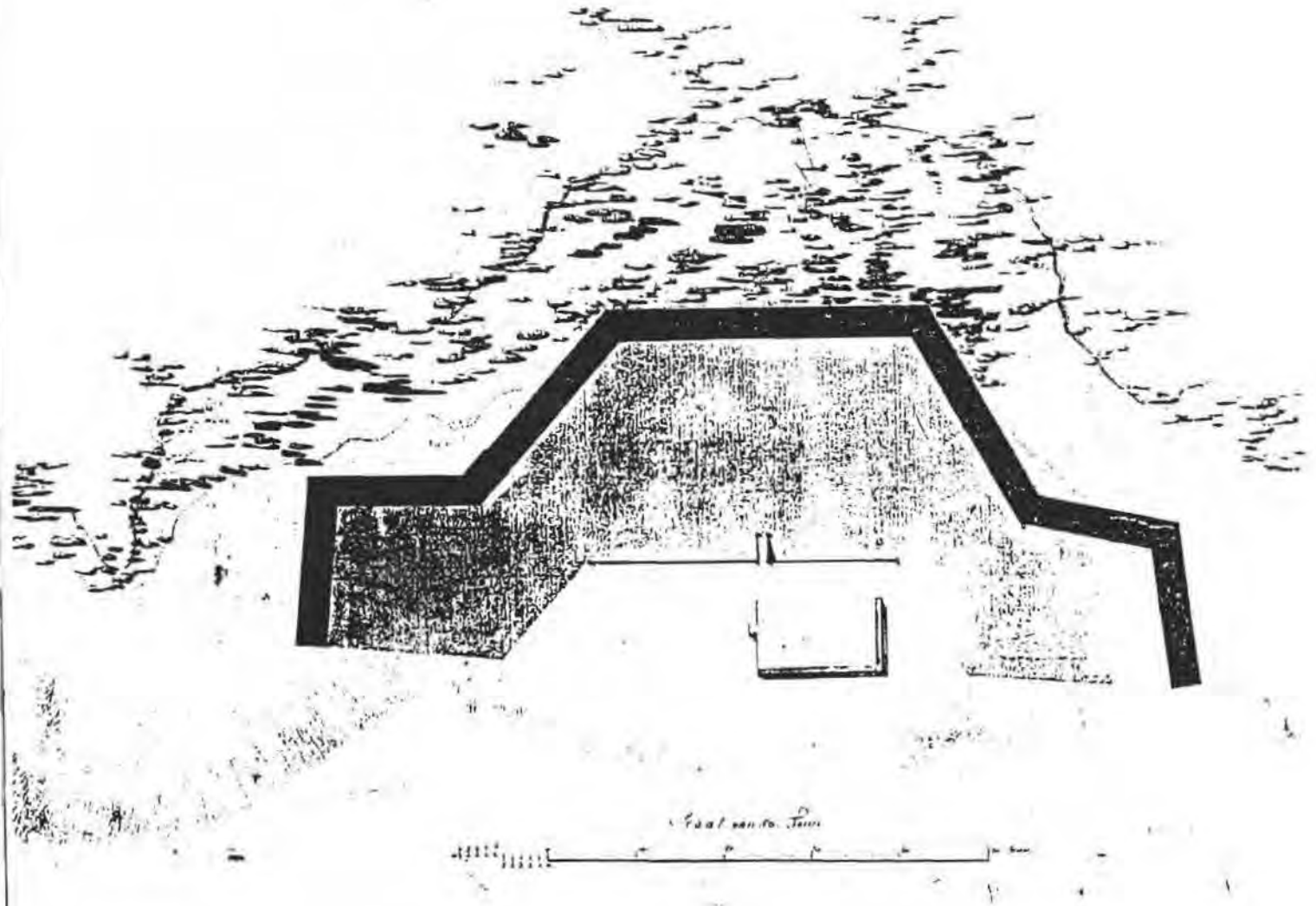


Fig. 14 Plan of the Chavonnes Battery, ca 1781 (Cape Archives, M1/33).



*HET GEZICHT VAN DE GROOTE BATTERY, CHAVONNES VAN DE STRAND CAPE IN
 'GODE. HOOR AF TE ZIEN IS 't W^oN^oW^o'*

Fig. 15 View of the Chavonnes Battery, ca 1780, (Cape Archives, AG 7855).

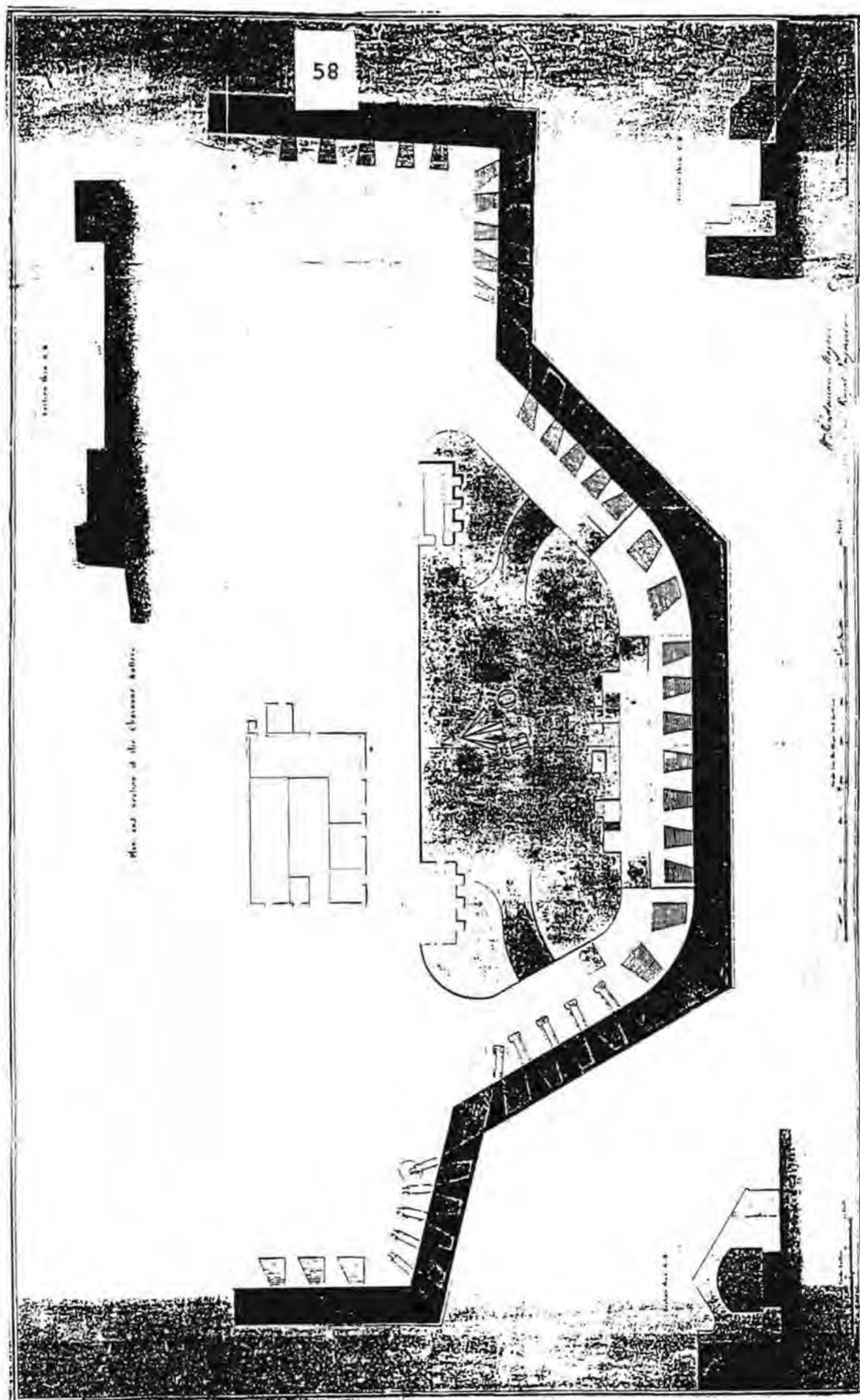


Fig. 16 Plan of the Chavonnes Battery, ca 1799. Note the addition of the gunpowder magazines and the hot-shot cannon-ball oven between the two staircases leading to the central front rampart wall. Note also the different gun carriage platforms (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 532, No 3, 1, 2, 4).

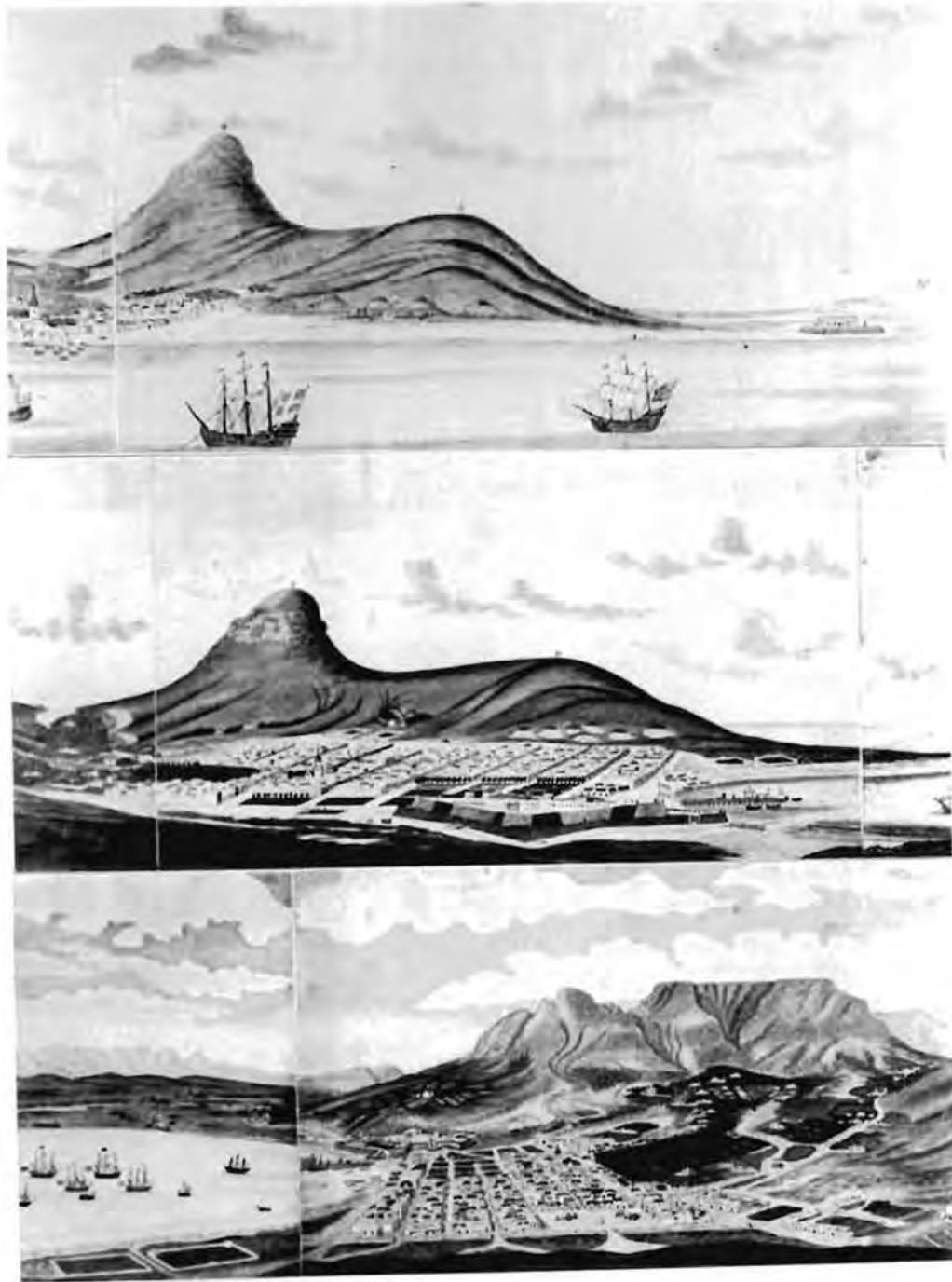


Fig. 17 View of Cape Town, 1777. Top: the Chavonnes Battery on the right. Centre: note the Kloof Nek Guard House. Bottom: the Nieuwe Battery on the far left and the Intermediaire Battery next to it. (Hallema, 1951).

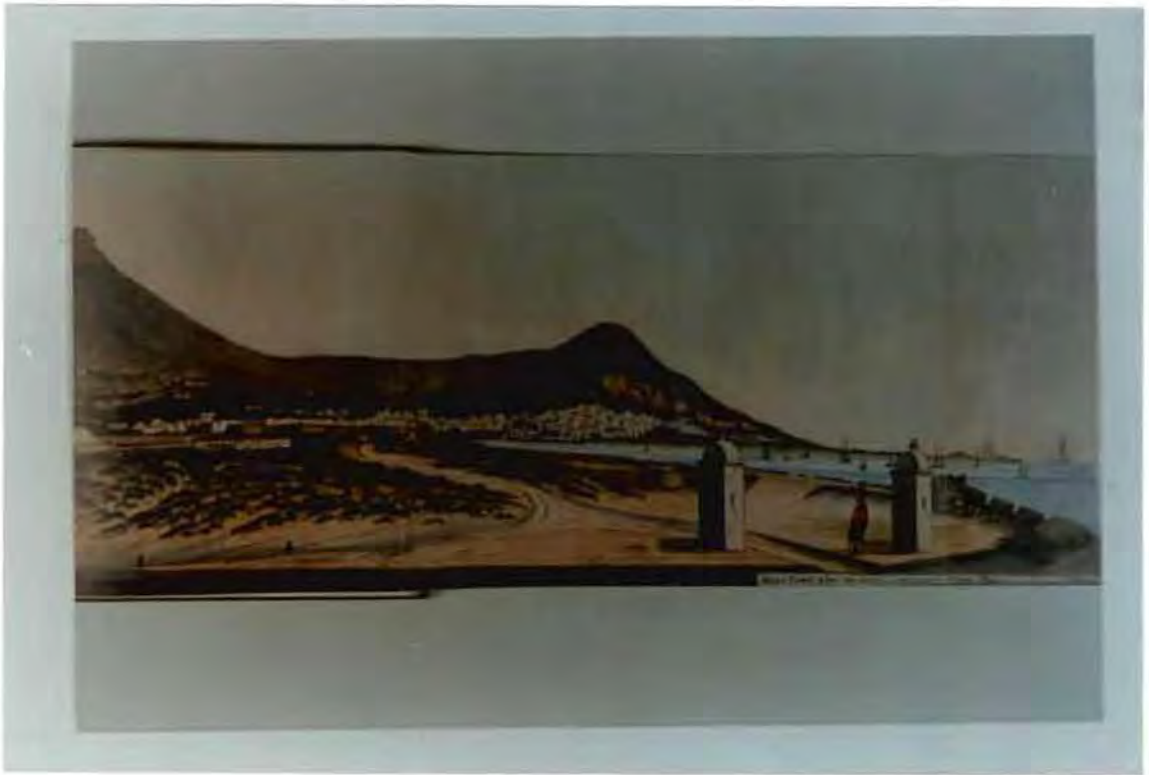


Fig. 18 Fort Knokke, 1812 - 1814. Note the hot-shot cannonball oven to the right of the guard house. (Ewart, 1970).

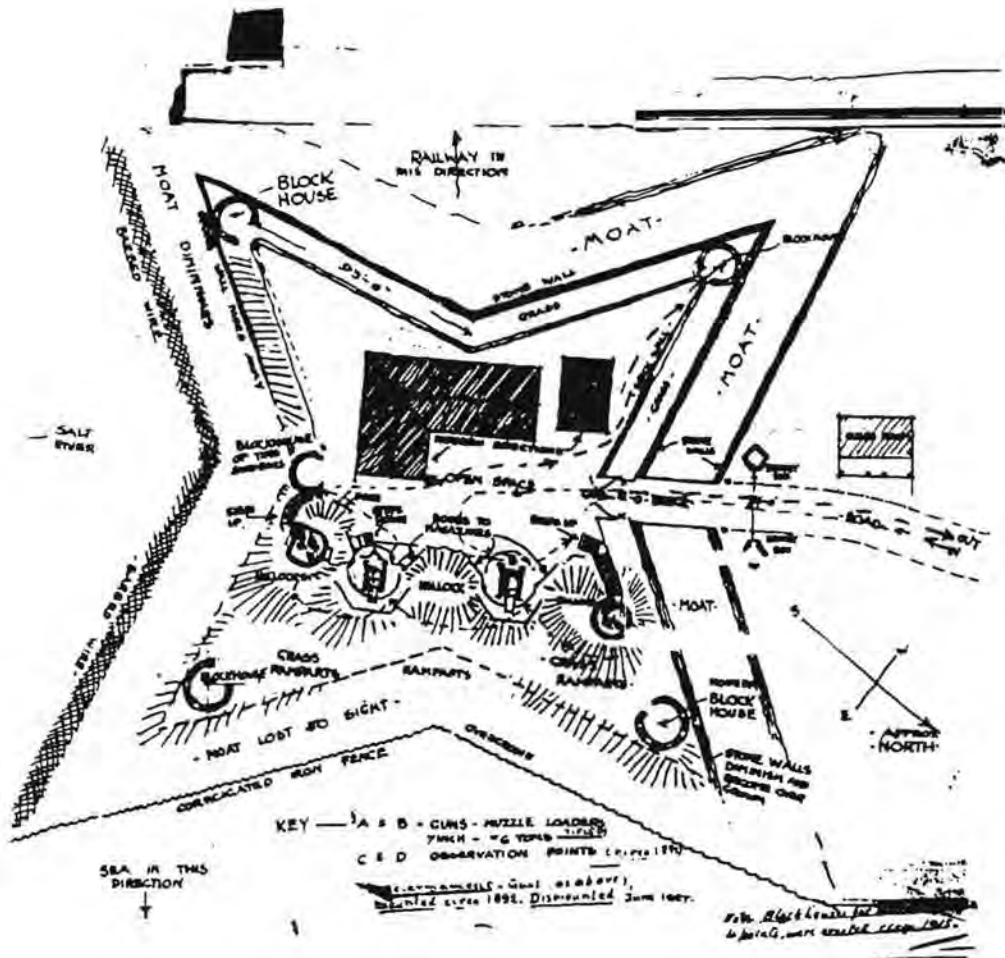


Fig. 19 Plan of Fort Knokke, 1915 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 20 Fort Knokke, ca 1910 - 1920 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 21 Fort Knokke, ca 1910 - 1920 (de Smidt, no date).

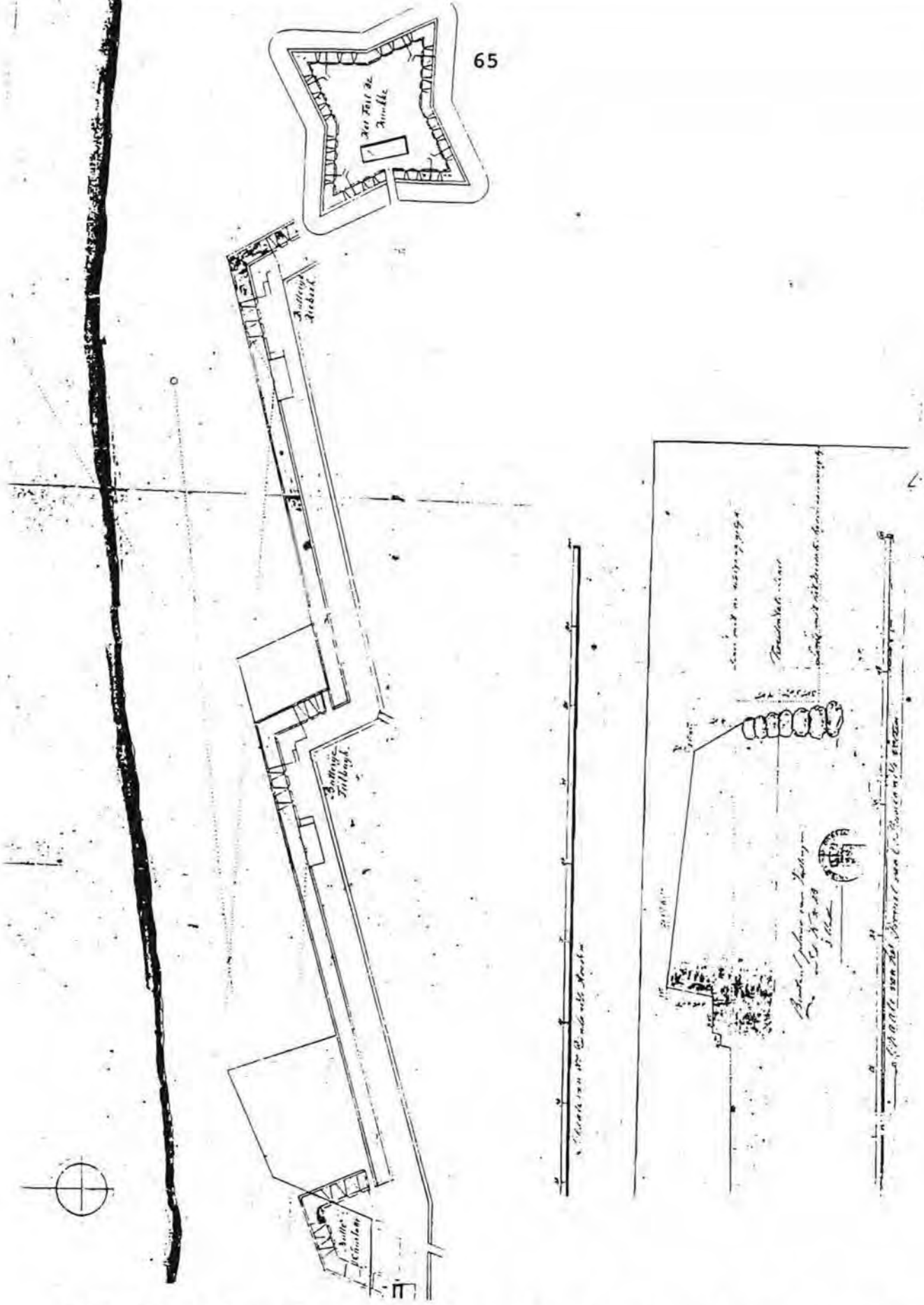


Fig. 23 Plan of the Sea Lines with the batteries Charlotte, Tulbagh and Fort Knokke, ca 1786. Note the section drawing through the rampart and glacis (Cape Archives, M23/1).

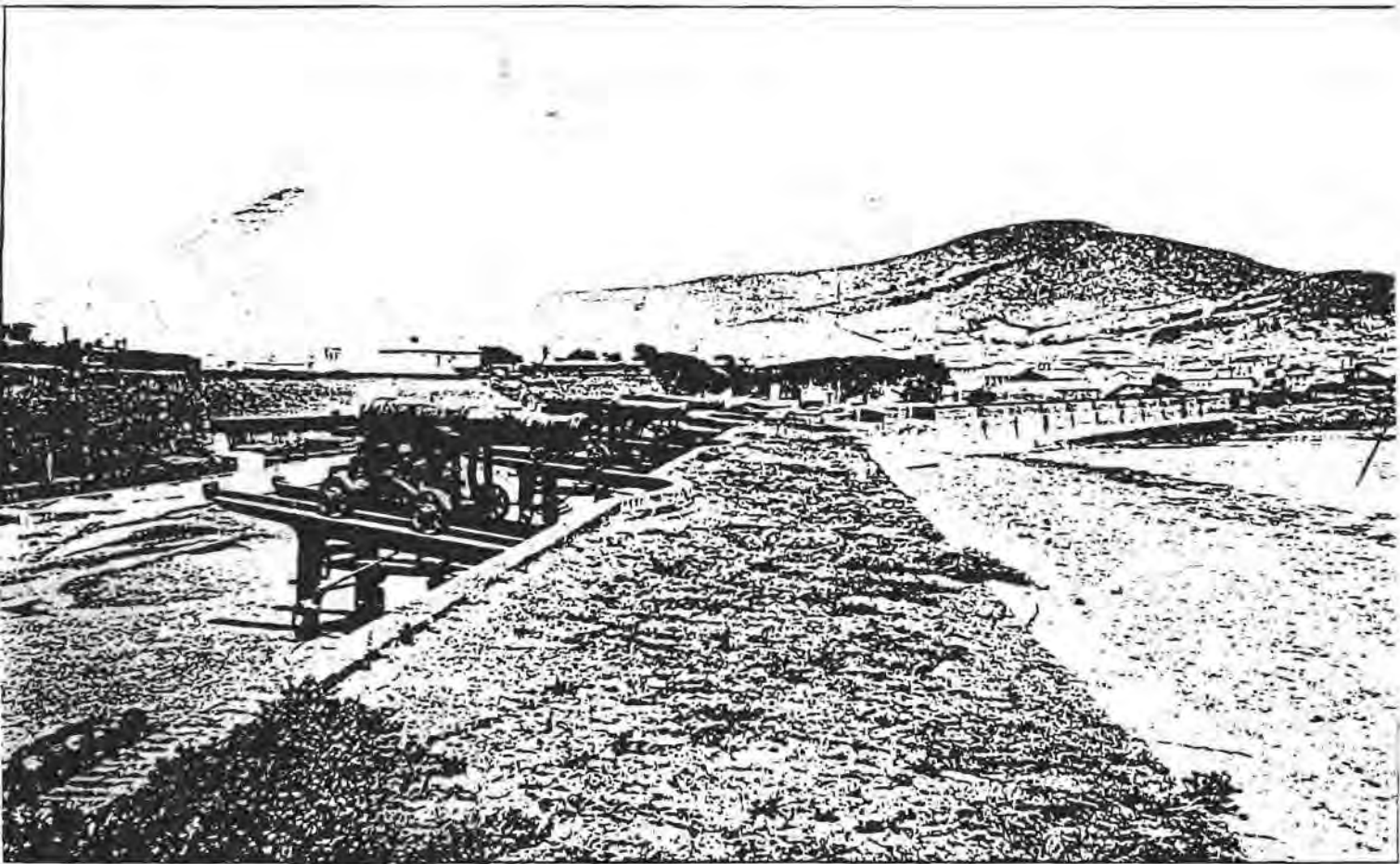


Fig. 24 Imhoff Battery, ca 1850 (Cape Archives, AG 1884).

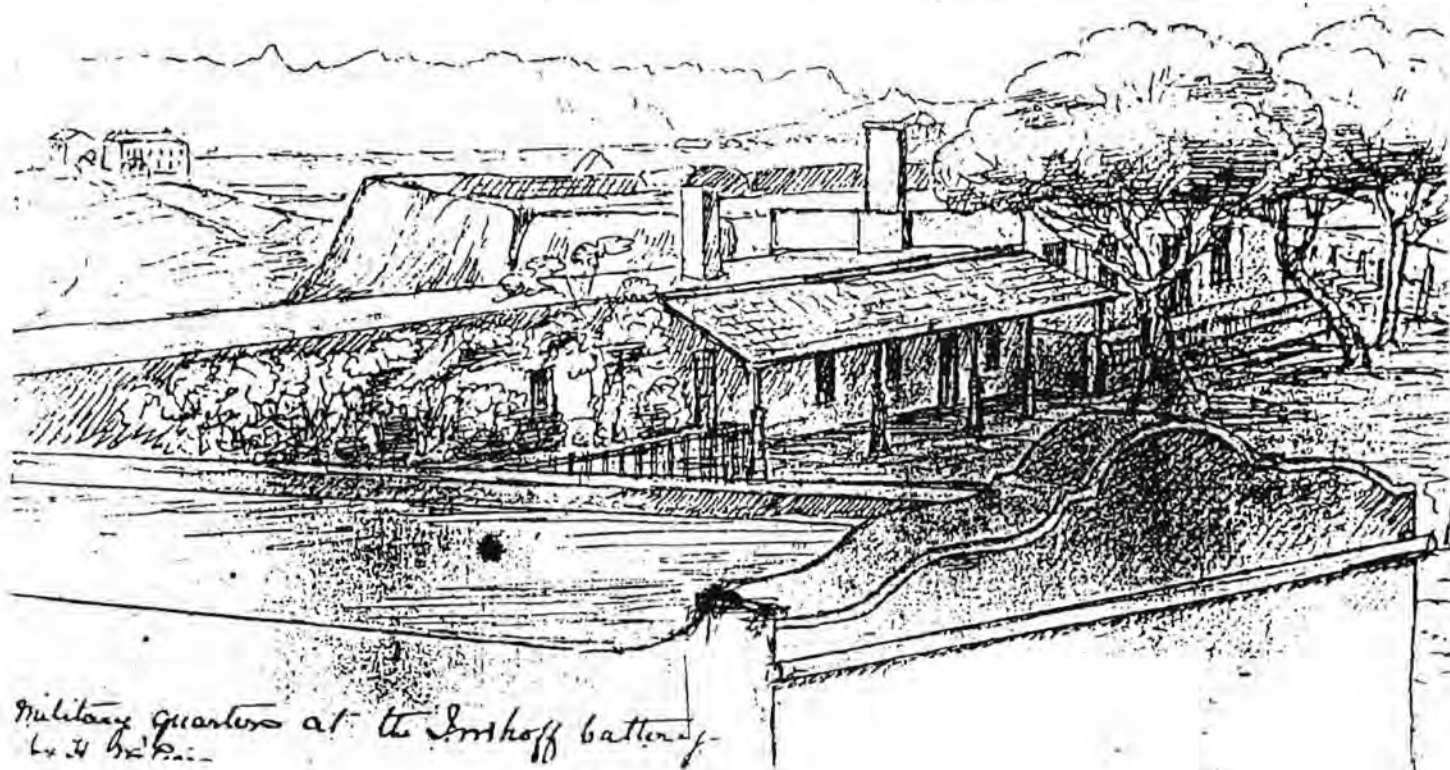


Fig. 25 Military quarters at the Imhoff Battery (Cape



Fig. 26 Imhoff Battery, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

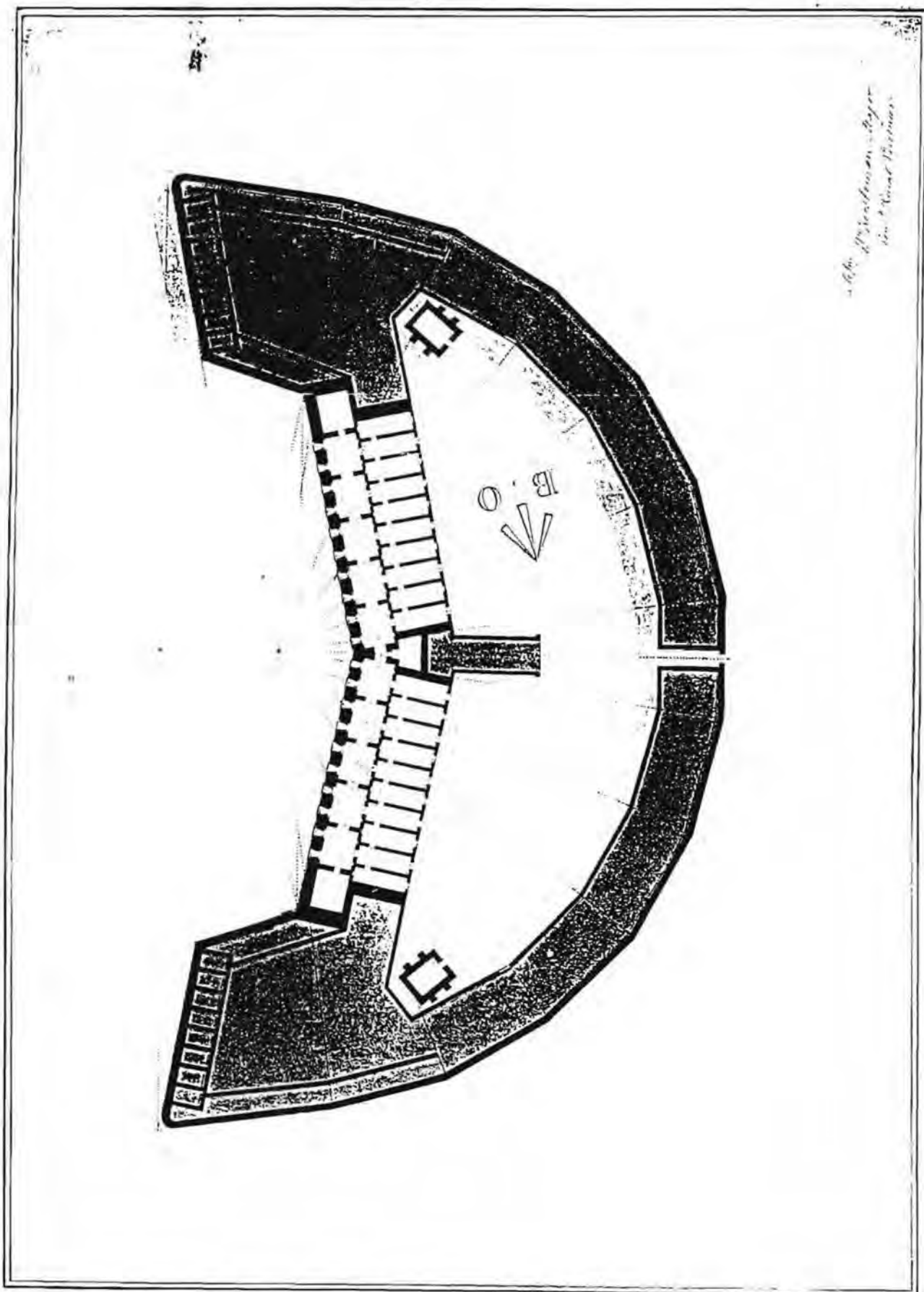


Fig. 27 Plan of the Amsterdam Battery, 1781 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 174, No 1-9).

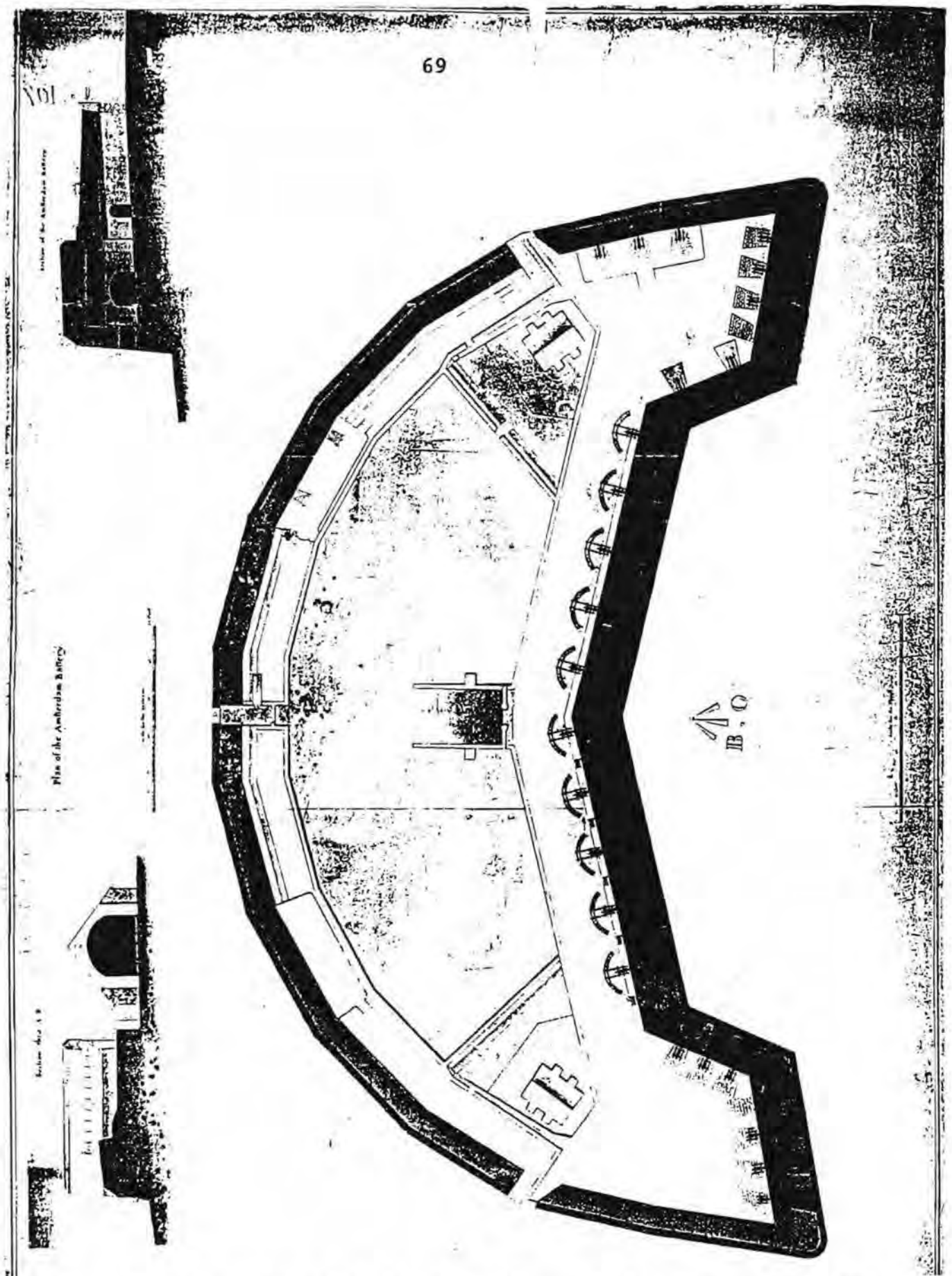


Fig. 28 Plan of the Amsterdam Battery, ca 1799. Note the addition of traversing gun platforms and tracks on top of the front rampart. The powder magazines have been closed off from the courtyard. (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 532, No 1, 2, 4).

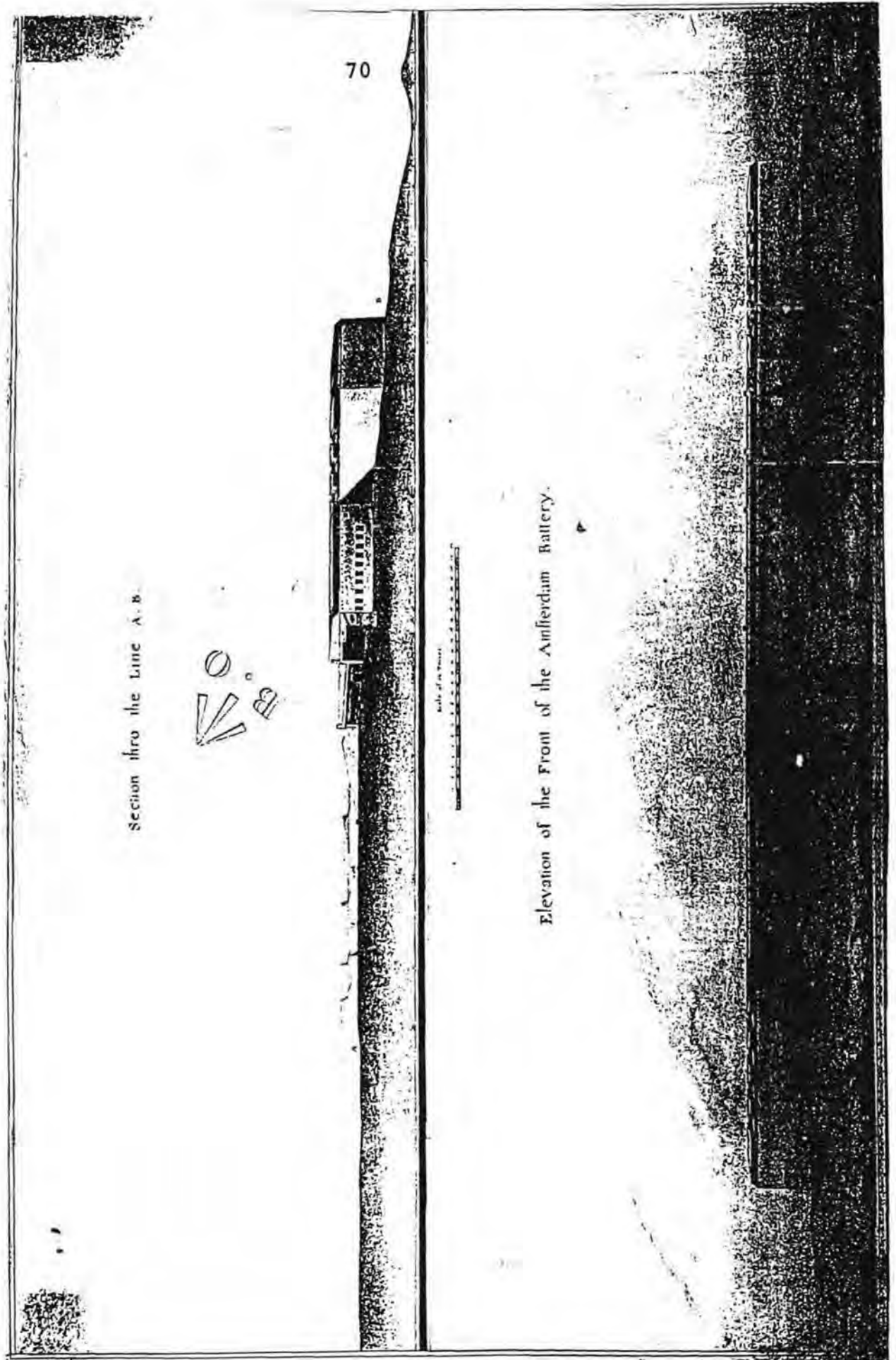


Fig. 29 Elevation and section through the Amsterdam Battery, ca 1799 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 711, No 1-5).

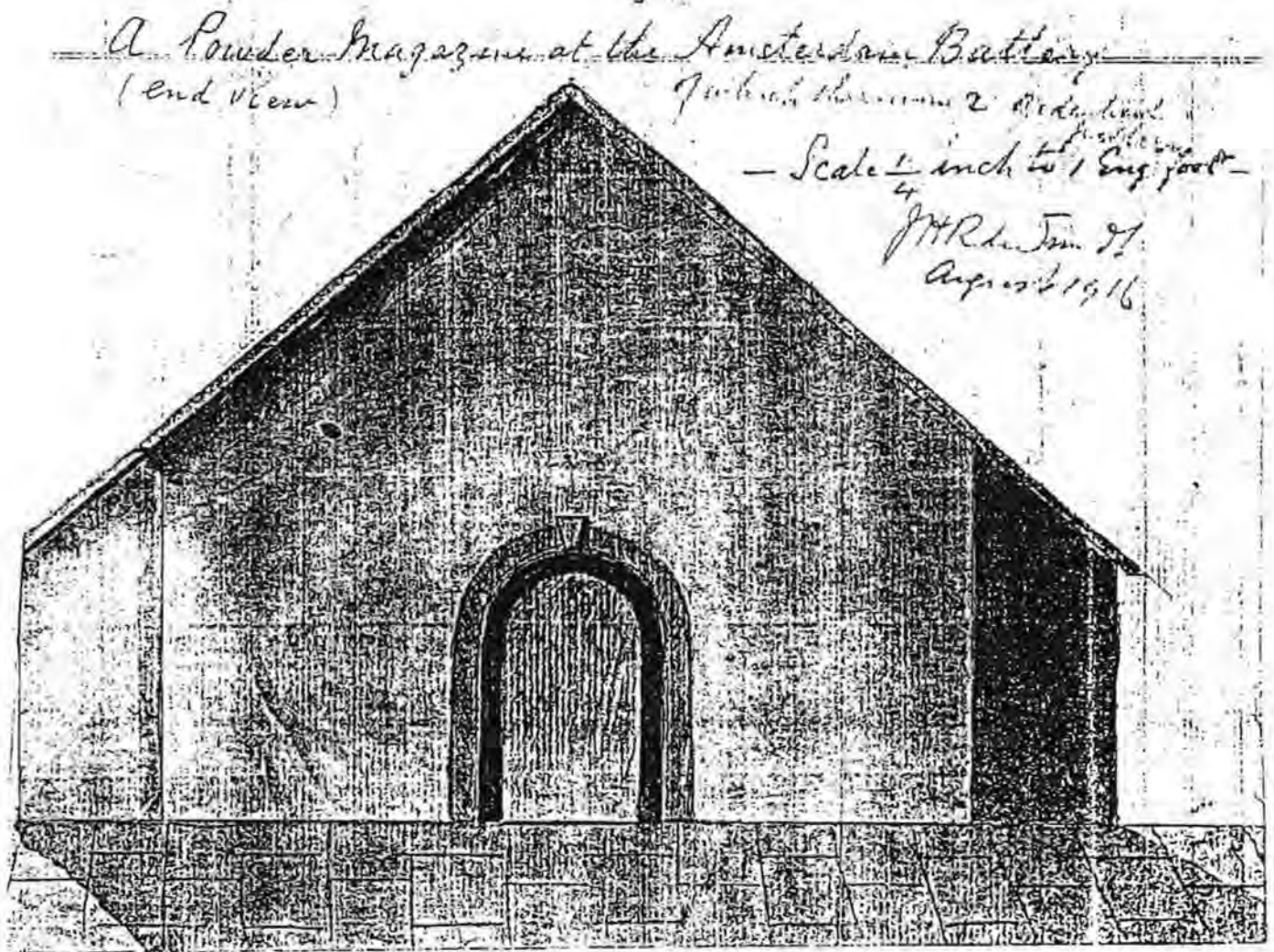


Fig. 30 Sketch of the Amsterdam Battery's powder magazine, 1916 (de Smidt, no date).

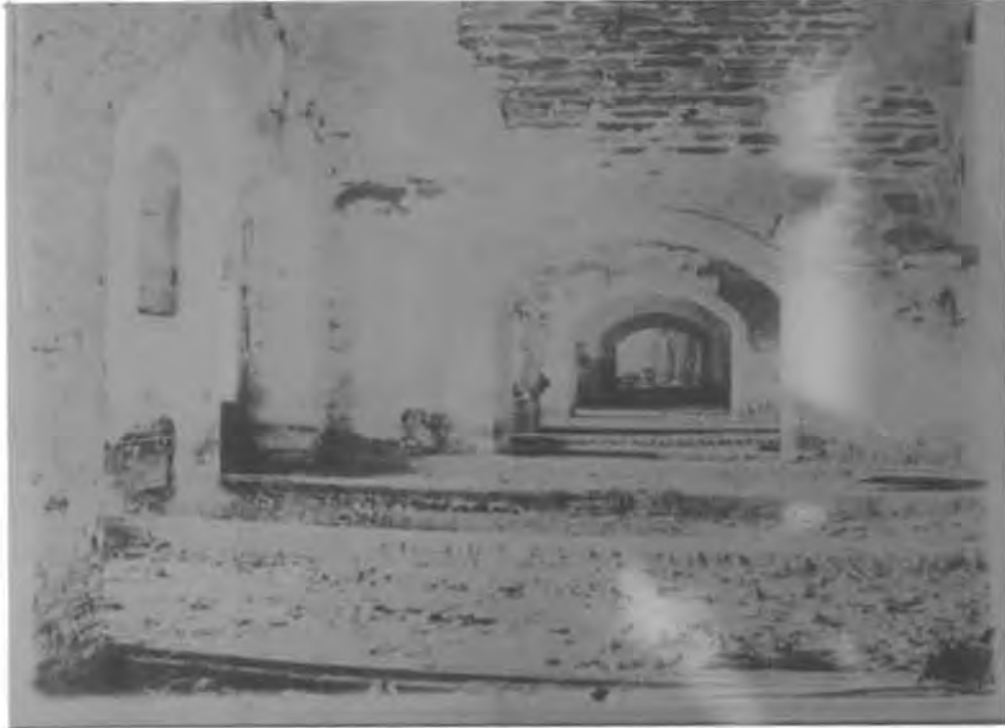


Fig. 31 Interior of the casemates at the Amsterdam Battery, 1910 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 32 Courtyard of the Amsterdam Battery, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

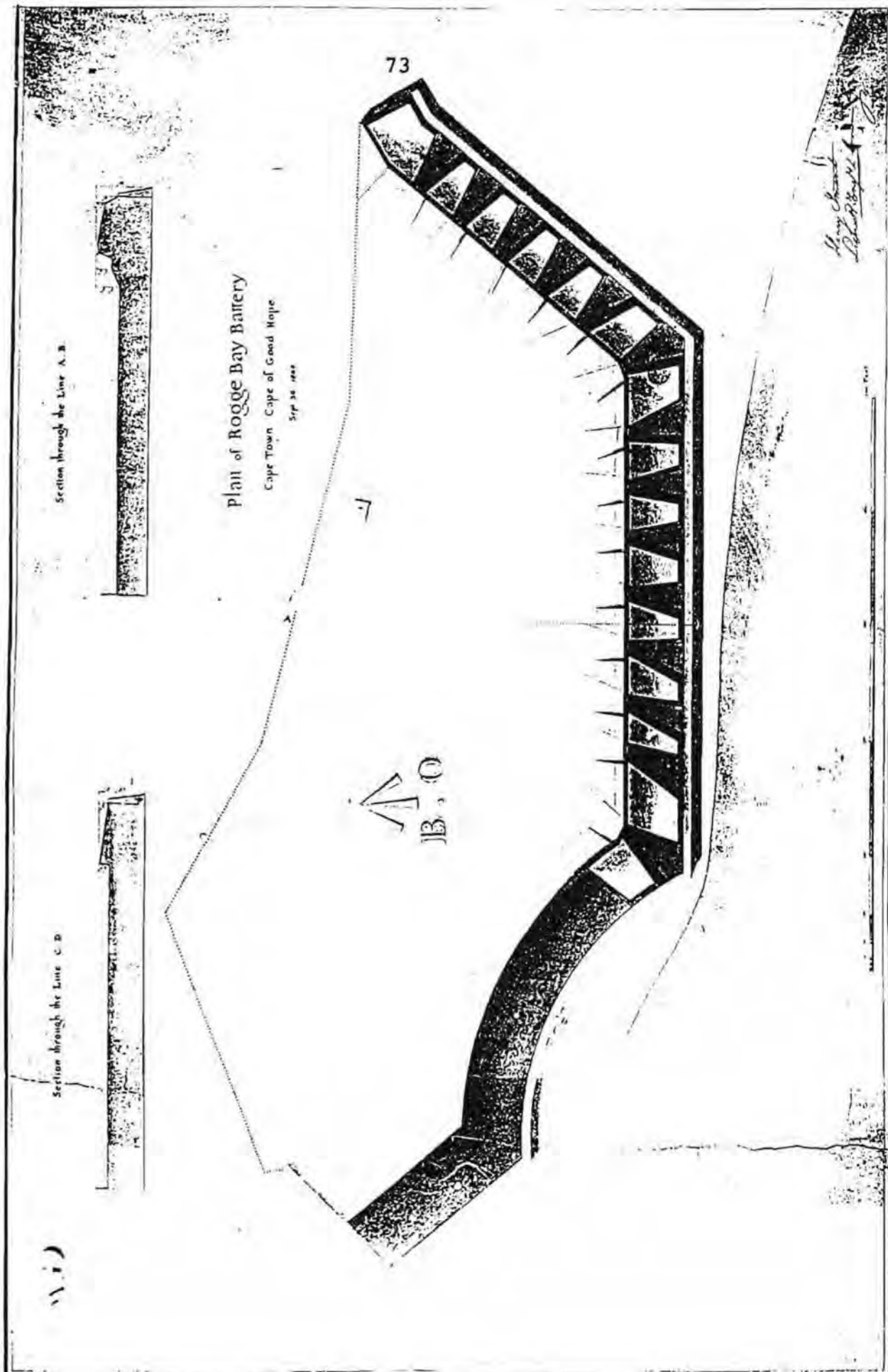


Fig. 33 Plan and section of the Roggebay Battery, ca 1808. Note the hot-shot cannon-ball oven at the rear (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 711, No 1-5).

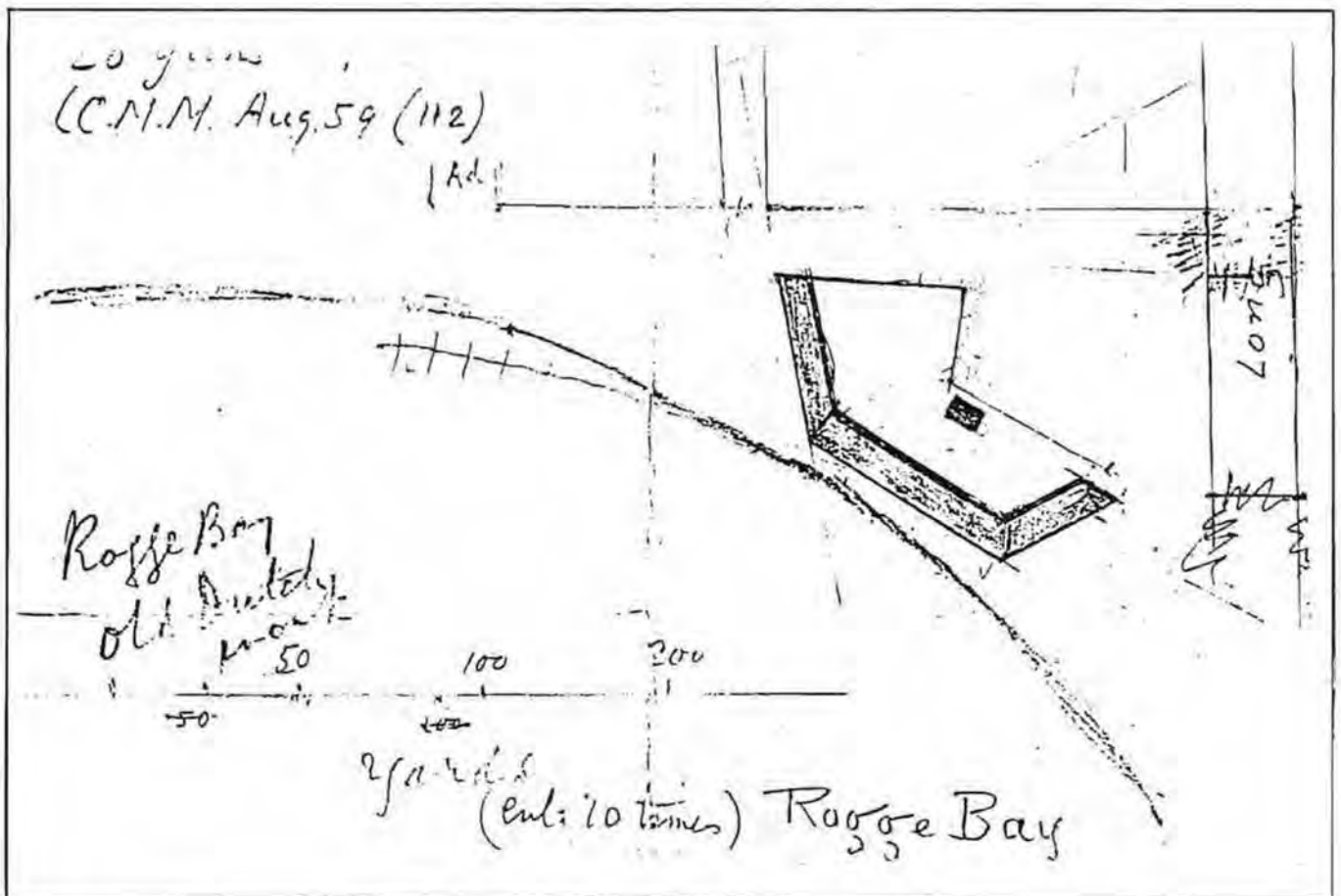
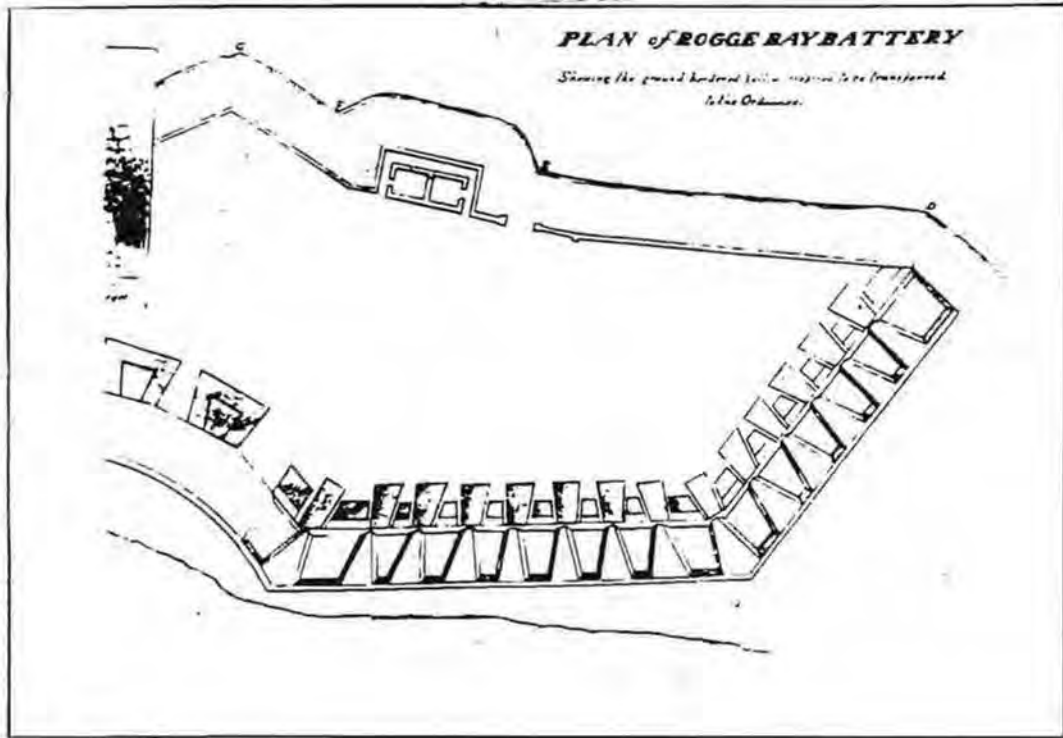


Fig. 34 Plans of the Roggebay Battery, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

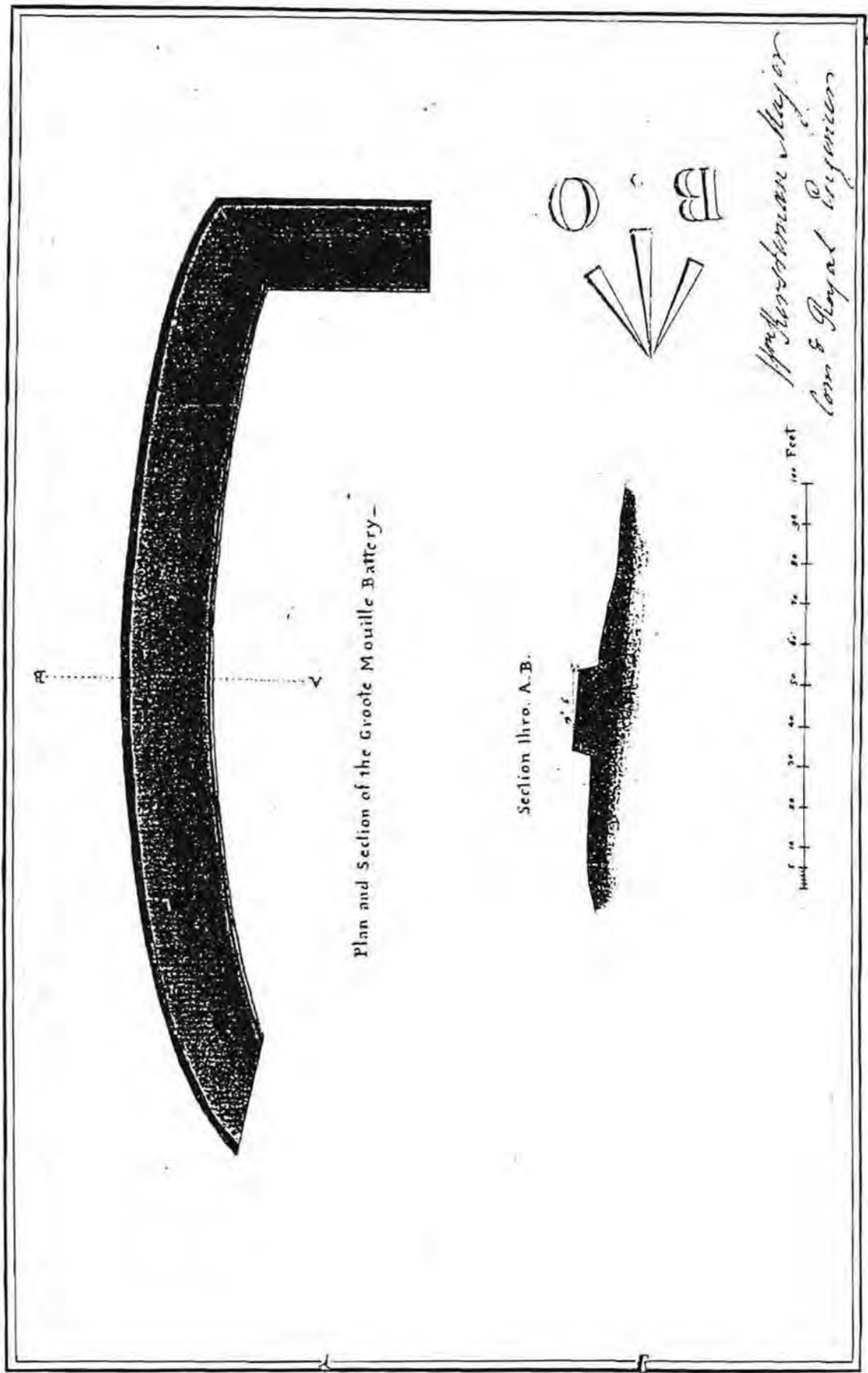


Fig. 35 Plan and section of the Groote Mouille Battery, ca 1799 (Public records Office, Kew, MPH 174, No 1-9).

The whole extent of this property was transferred
 as from 1st December 1921 - virtue Act No. 33
 of 1922 to the
 GOVERNMENT of the UNION of SOUTH AFRICA,
 Itax No. of Schedule to Act,
 Sgd.) F. F. K. Sott,
 for Surveyor-General,
 31 August 1922.

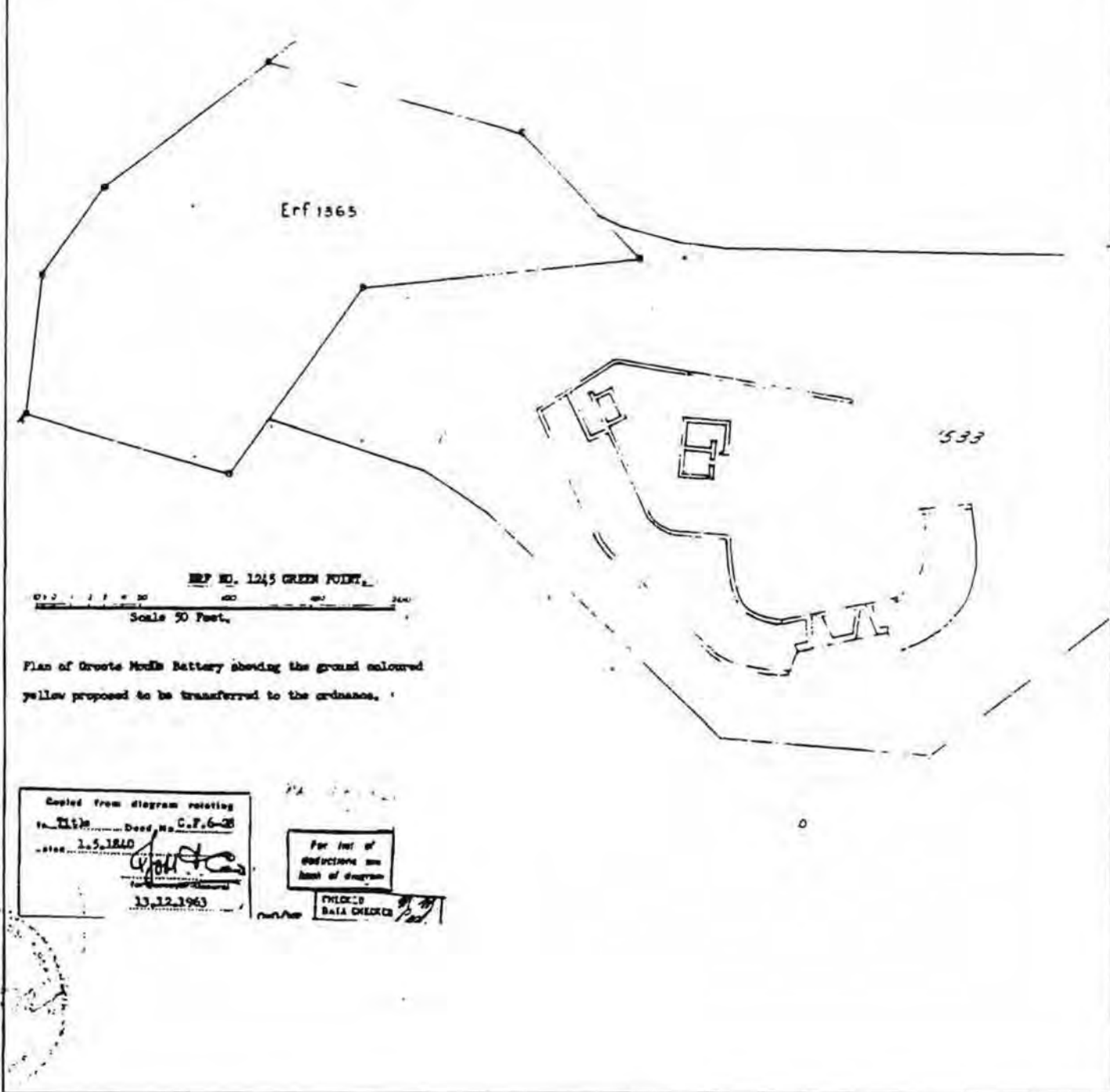


Fig. 36 Plan of the Groote Mouille Battery, 1840 (Surveyor General, title deed No C.F. 6-28).

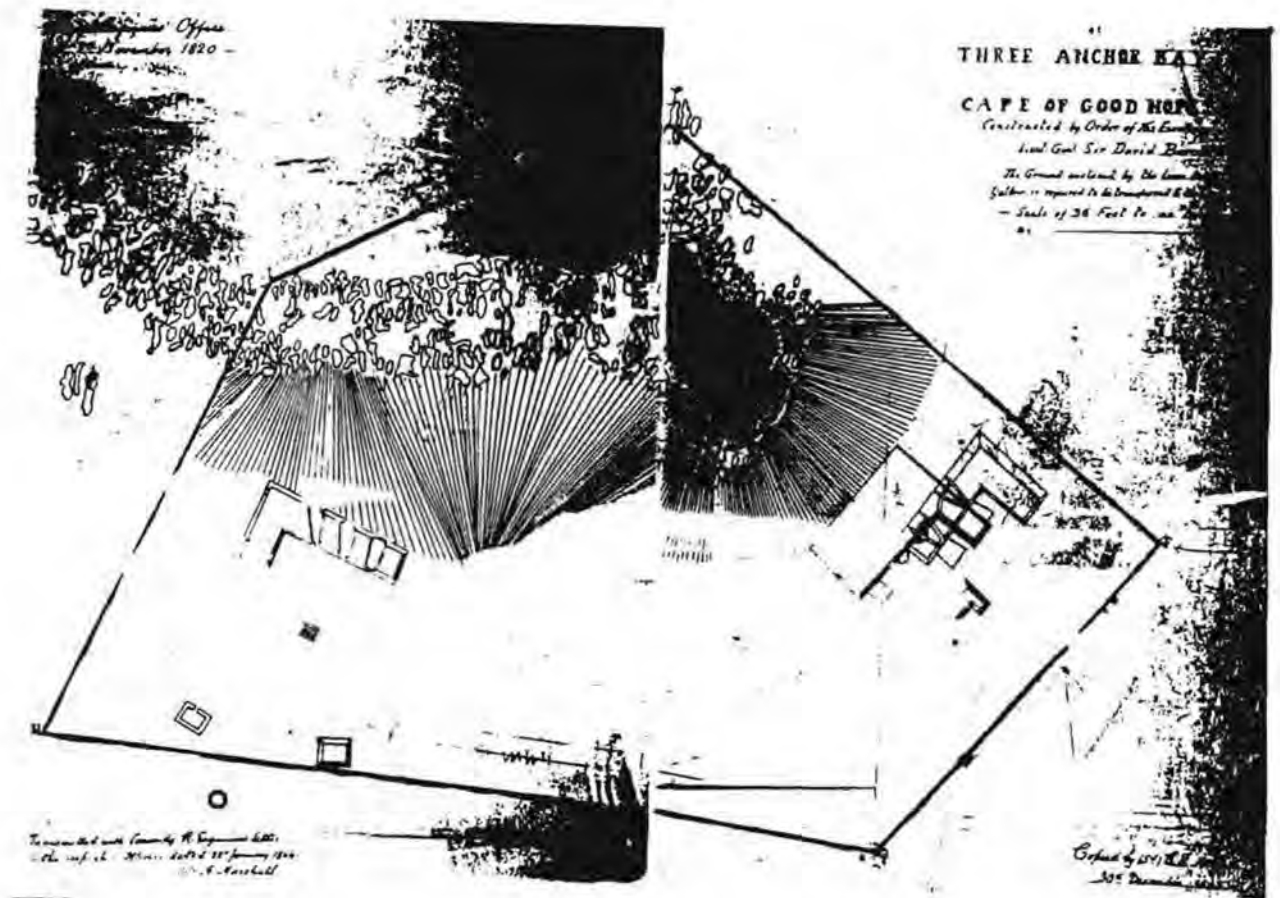


Fig. 37 Plans of the Three Anchor Bay Battery, 1820 (de Smidt, no date).

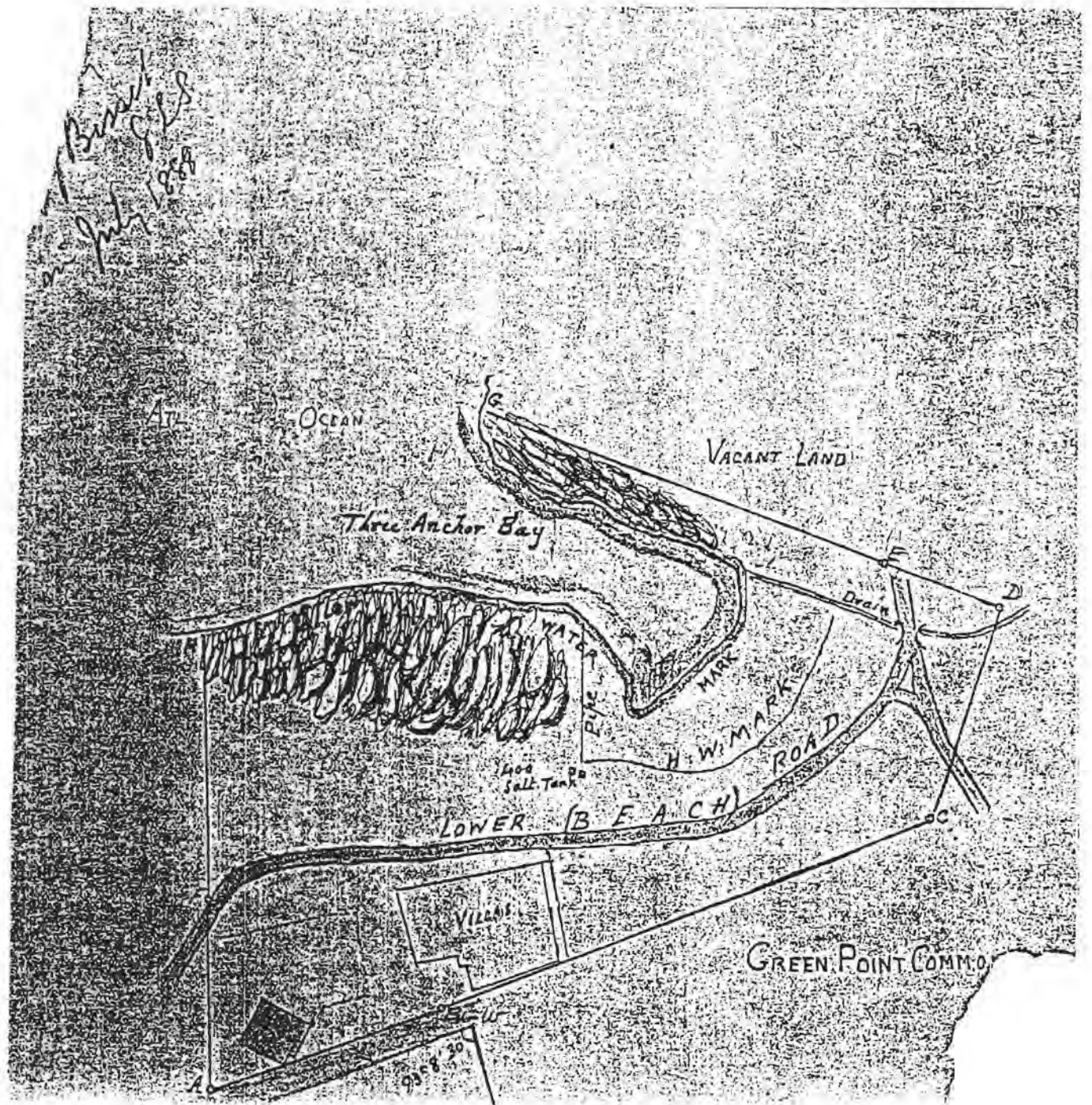


Fig. 38 Drawing of Three Anchor Bay where the battery was situated, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

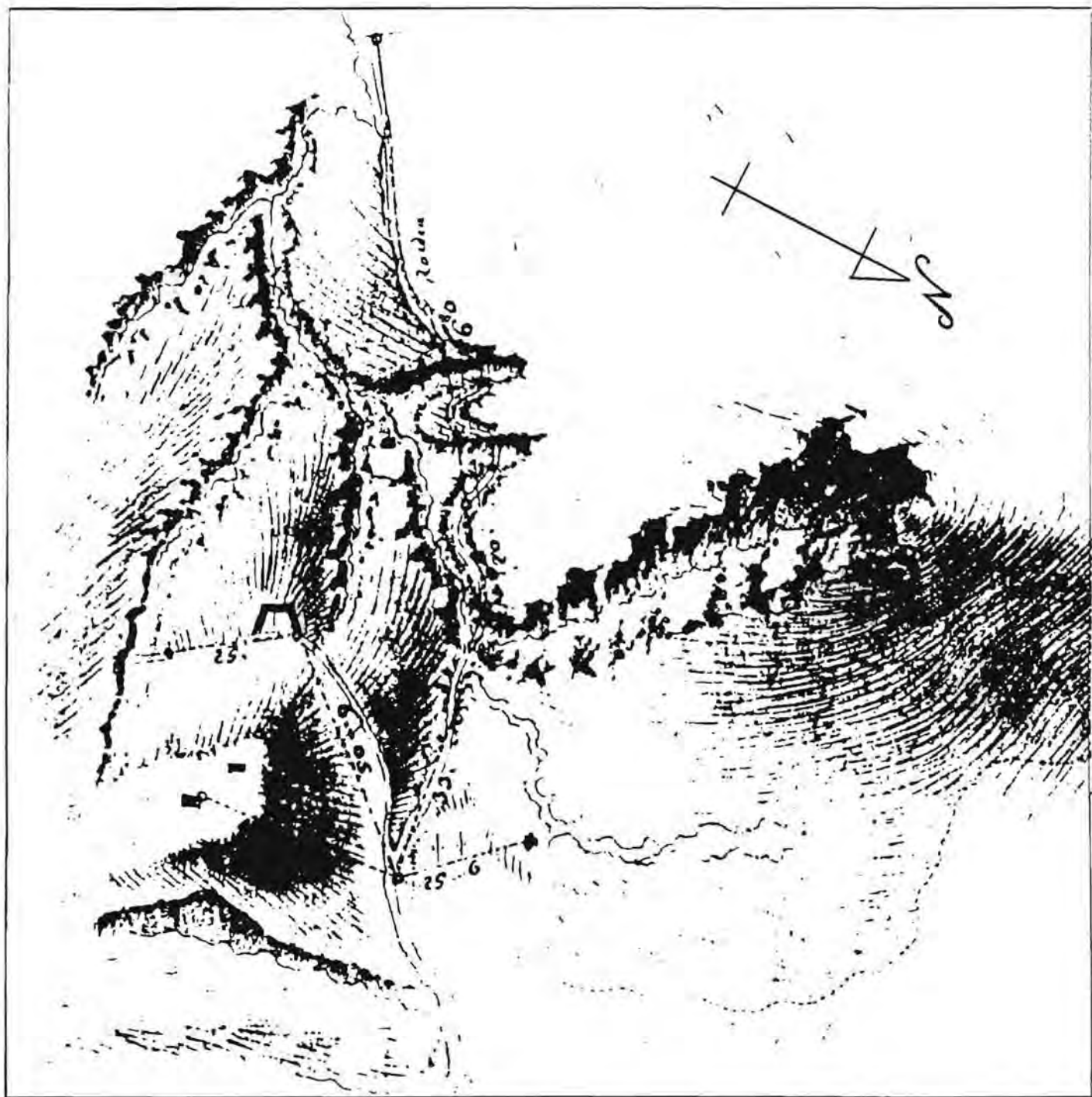


Fig. 39 Kloof Nek Battery (Cape Archives, M1/971).



Fig. 40 Signalman's House, Kloof Street, Cape Town, ca 1820 (Cape Archives, M470).



Fig. 41 Western corner of Table Mountain, Kloof Nek, Cape Town. The carronade lying in the foreground possibly formed the armament of the Kloof Nek Battery, ca 1920 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 42 Plan of Cape Town, ca 1790 (Cape Town City Council, City Planners Department, Land Survey Branch).

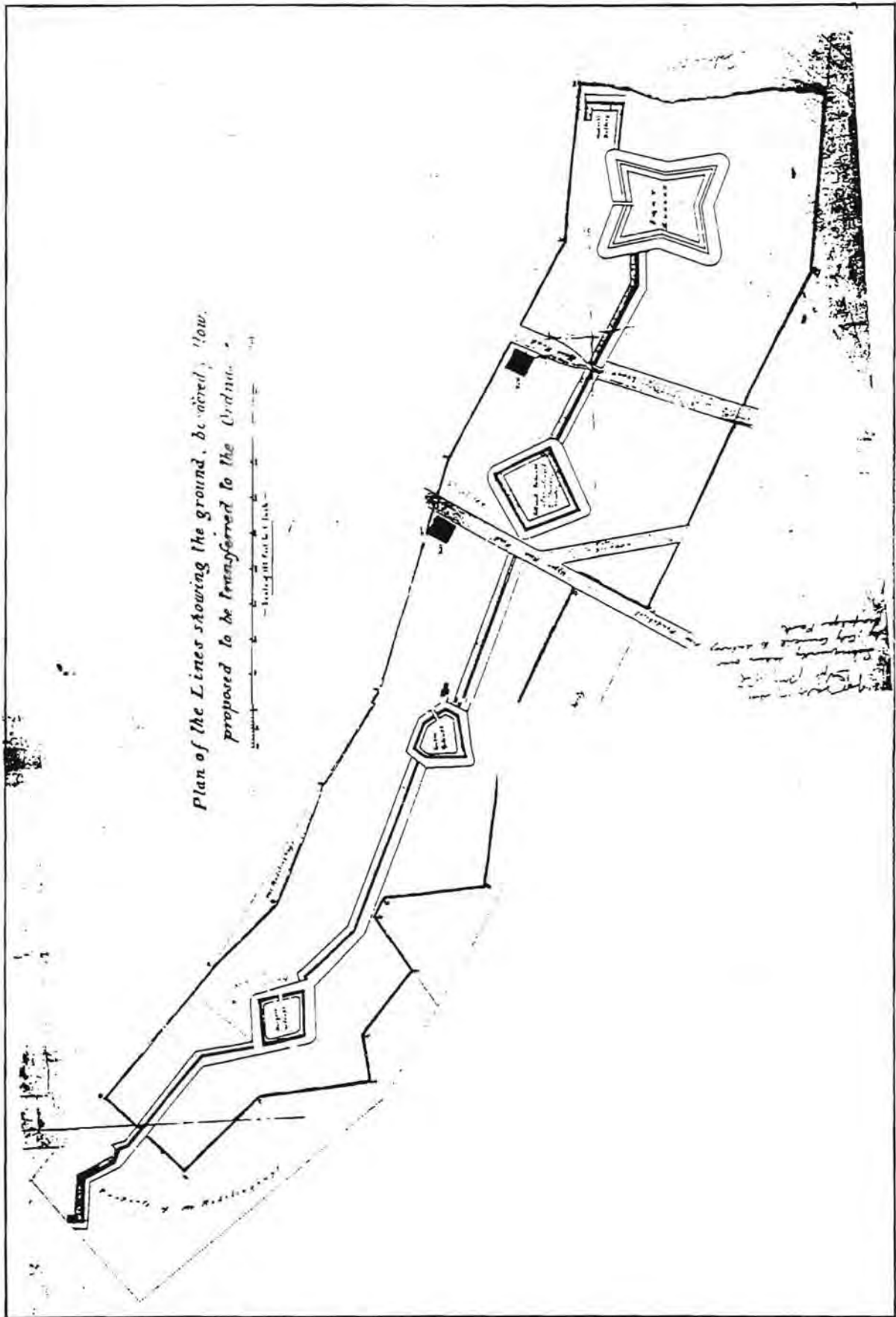


Fig. 43 Plan of the French Lines, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

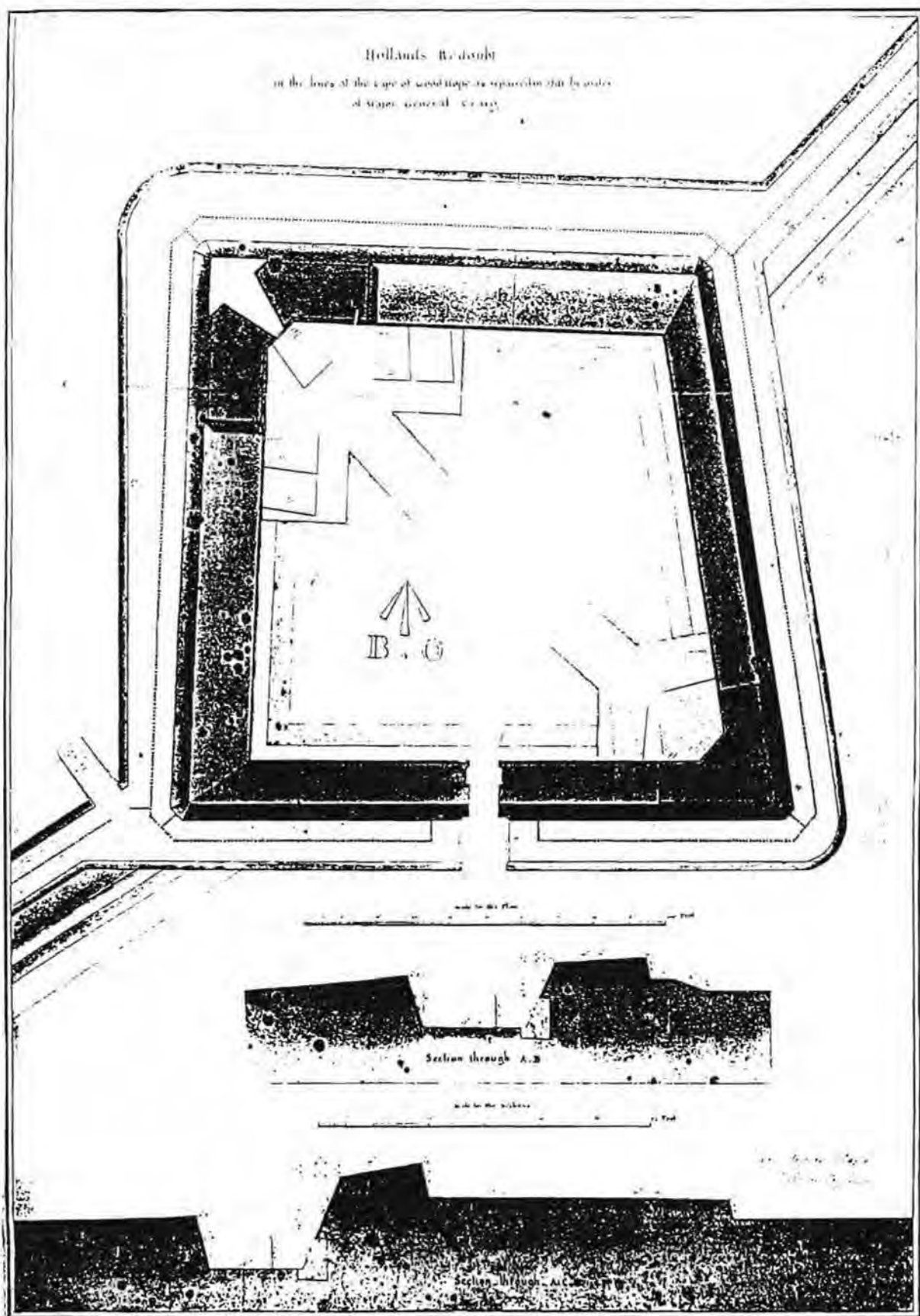


Fig. 44 Hollands Redoubt, ca 1799 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 174, No 1-9).

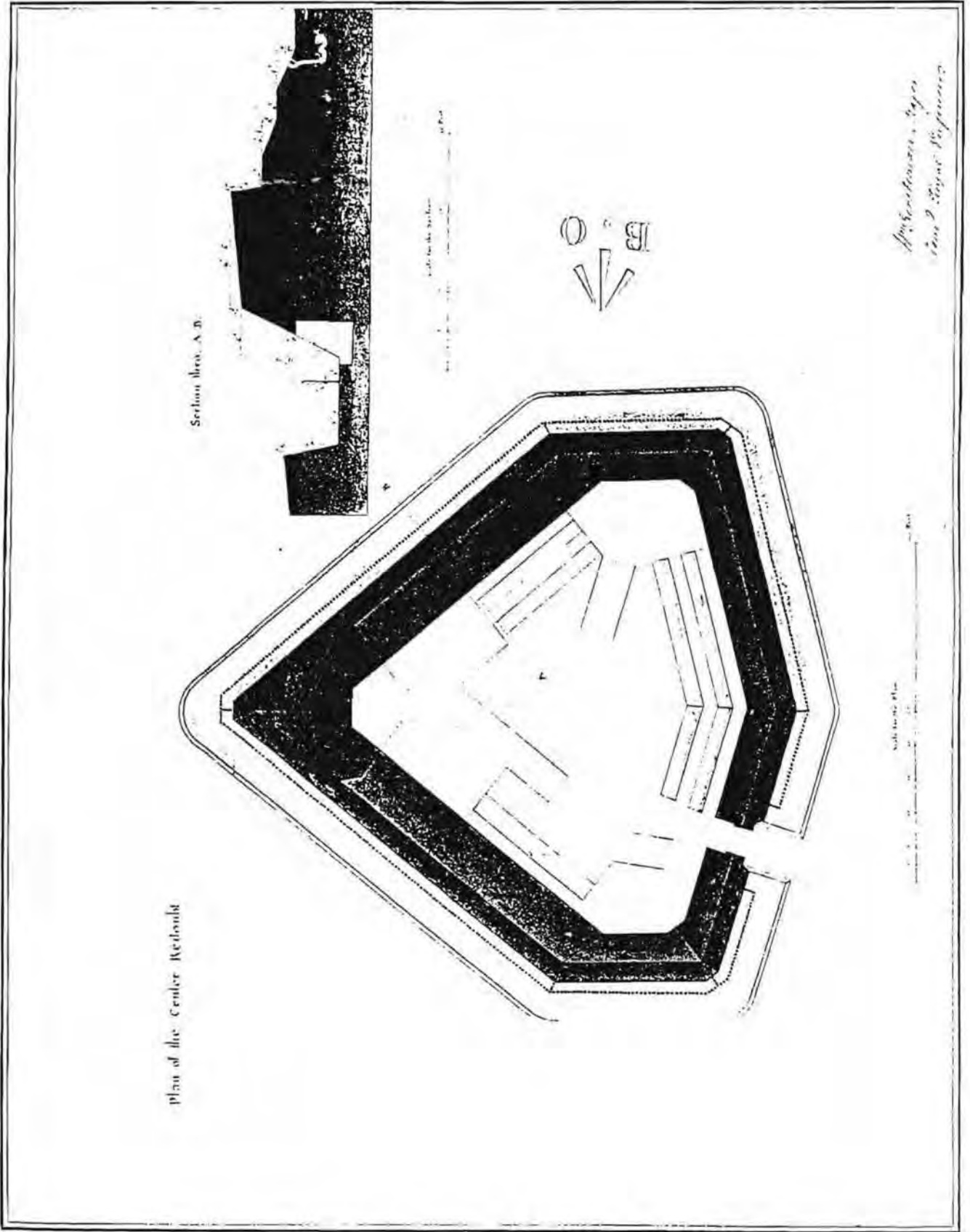
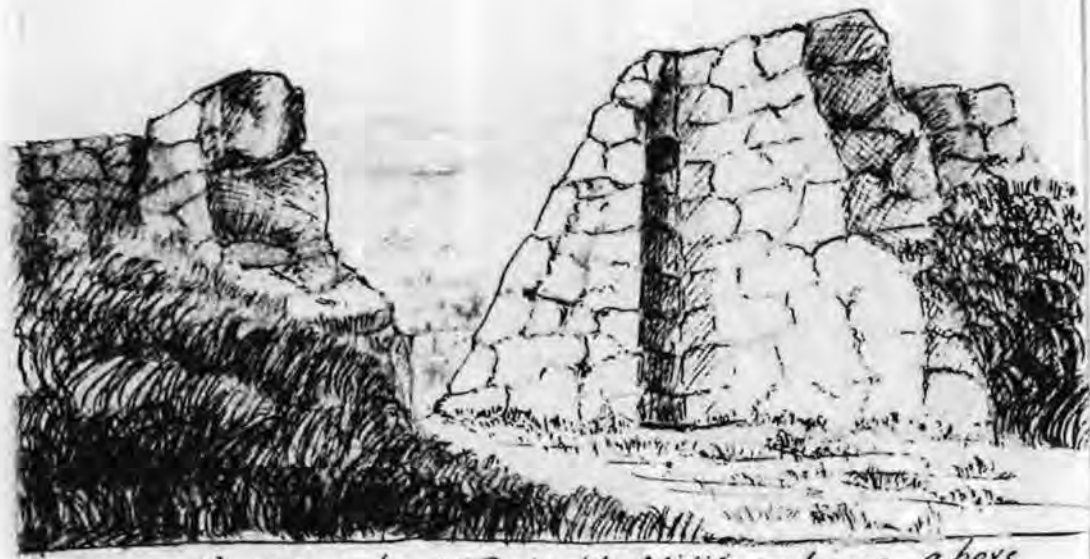


Fig. 45 Centre Redoubt, ca 1799 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 174, No 1-9).



*Ruins of the "Burgher" Redoubt; Military Lines. above
Upper Toll-gate - Cape Town
J de Smidt 12/8/1911*

Fig. 46 Ruins of the Centre Redoubt, [not Burgher redoubt],
12 August 1900 (de Smidt, no date).

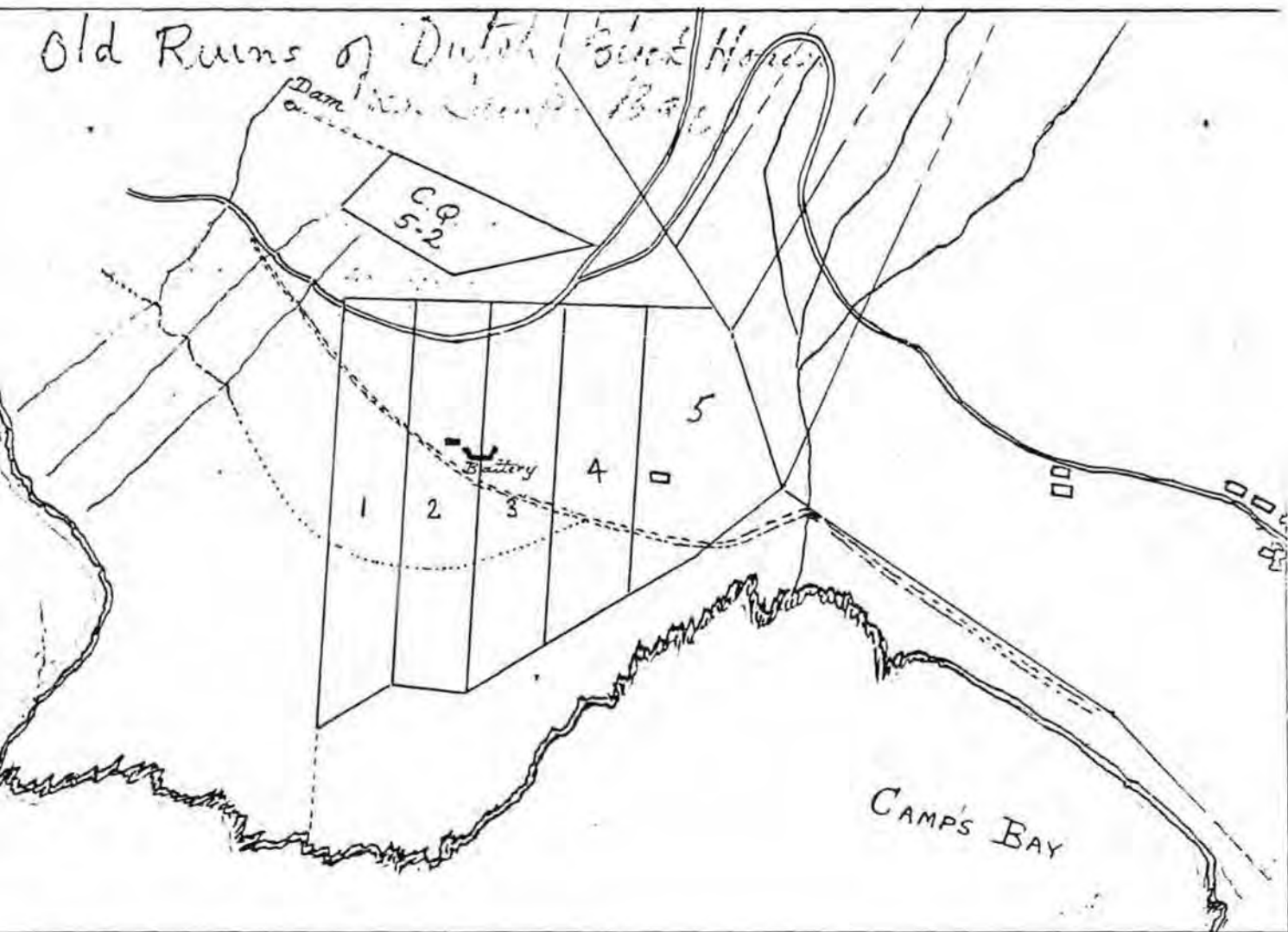
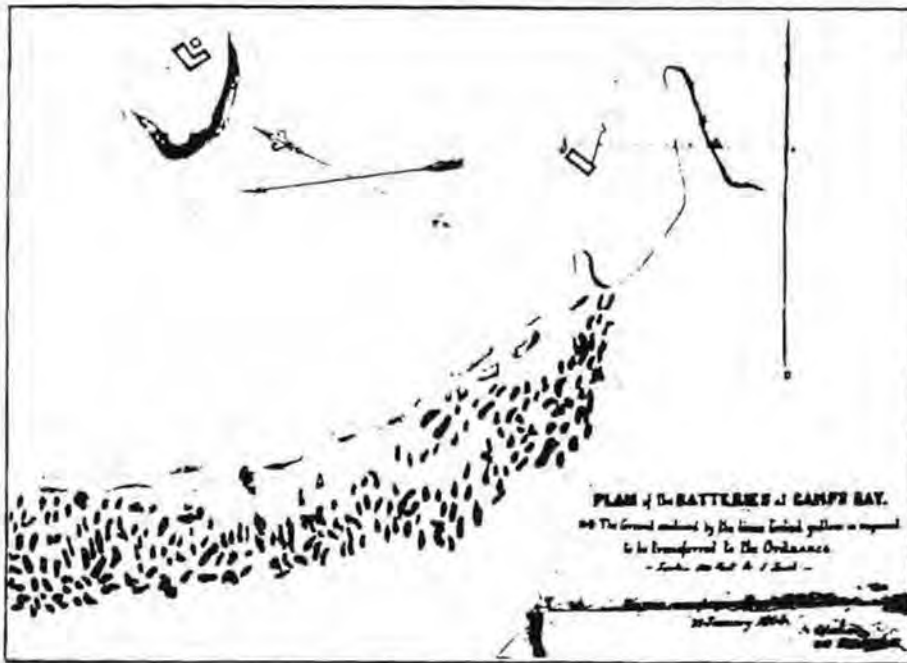
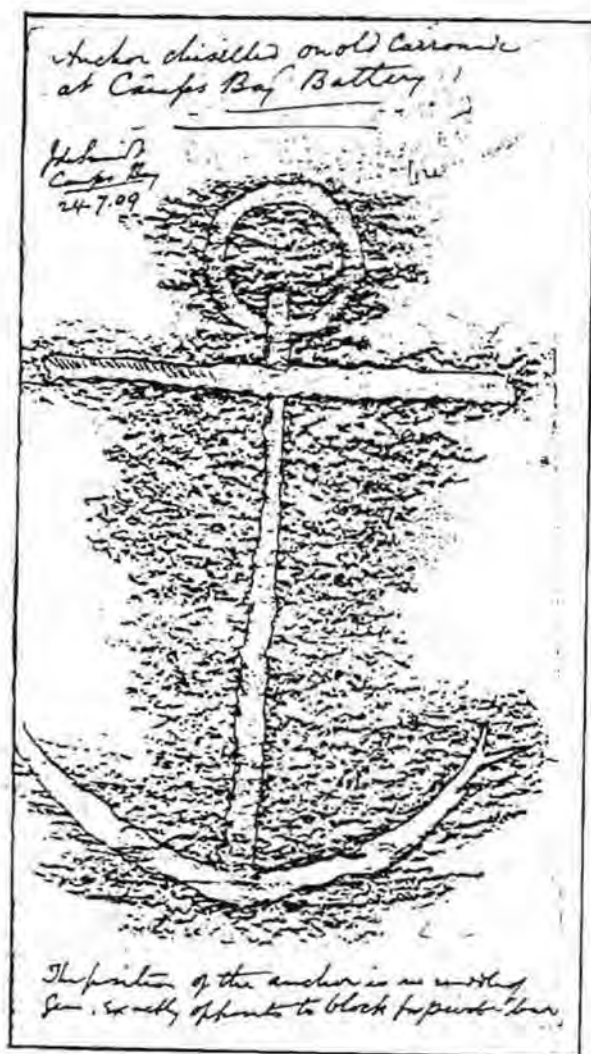


Fig. 47 Plans of the Camps Bay Battery, 1844 and ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).



Locality sketch of
old Dutch Redoubt
at Camps Bay
(dismantled 1827
Remains of work demolished
in 1915)



Fig. 48 Sketch of the ruins of the Camps Bay Battery, 1915, and rubbing of an anchor chiselled on the carronade found at the battery (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 49 Camps Bay with the remains of the battery and the ruins of the Tollgate, which used to serve as guard house to the battery, ca 1915 (de Smidt, no date).

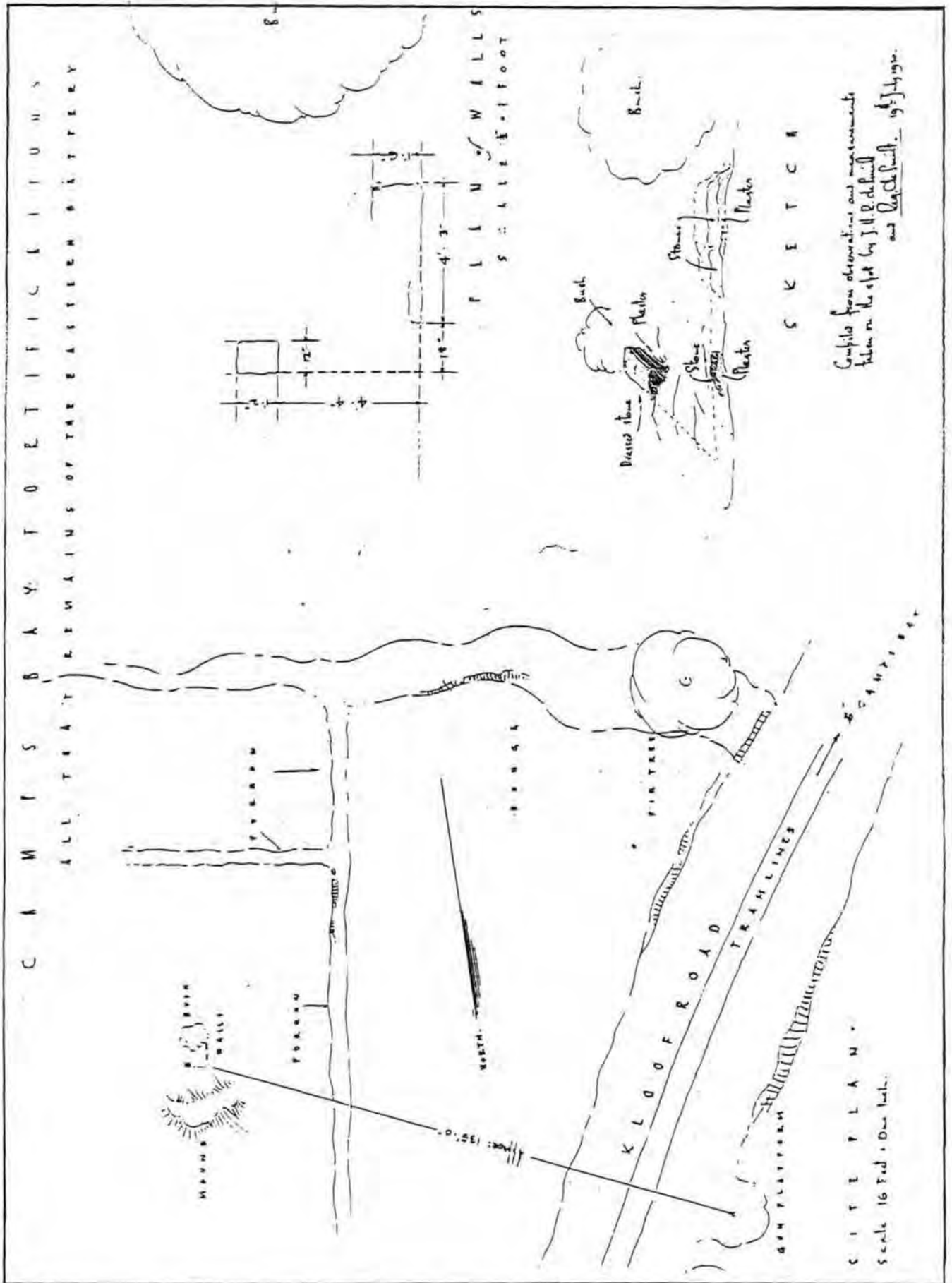


Fig. 50 Plan of the remains of the Camps Bay Battery, 19 July 1910. The Camps Bay High School is situated there now (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 51 Batteries Gordon and Coehoorn, plans for the enlargement of the French Lines, 1786 (Cape Archives, M18/3).

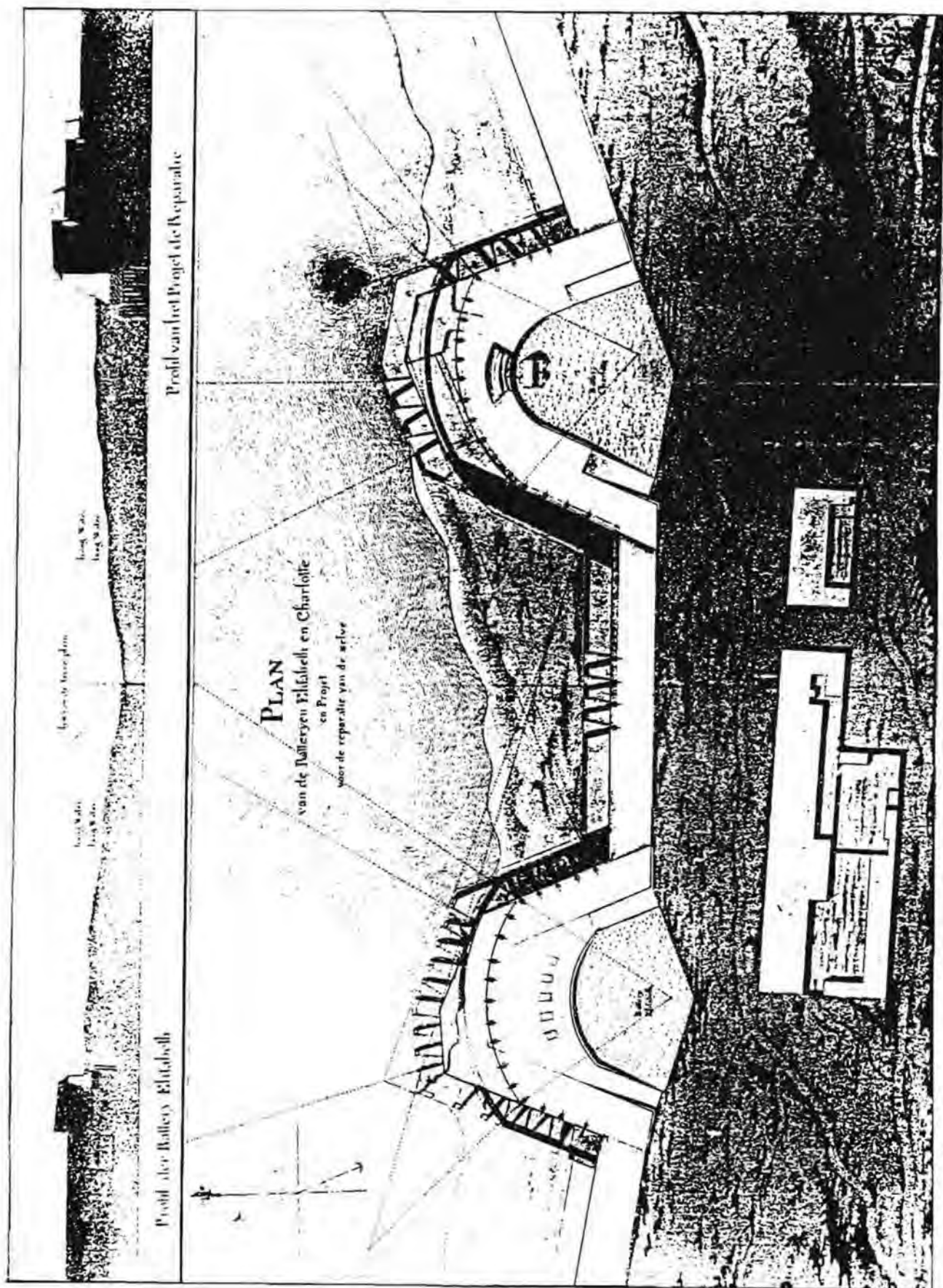
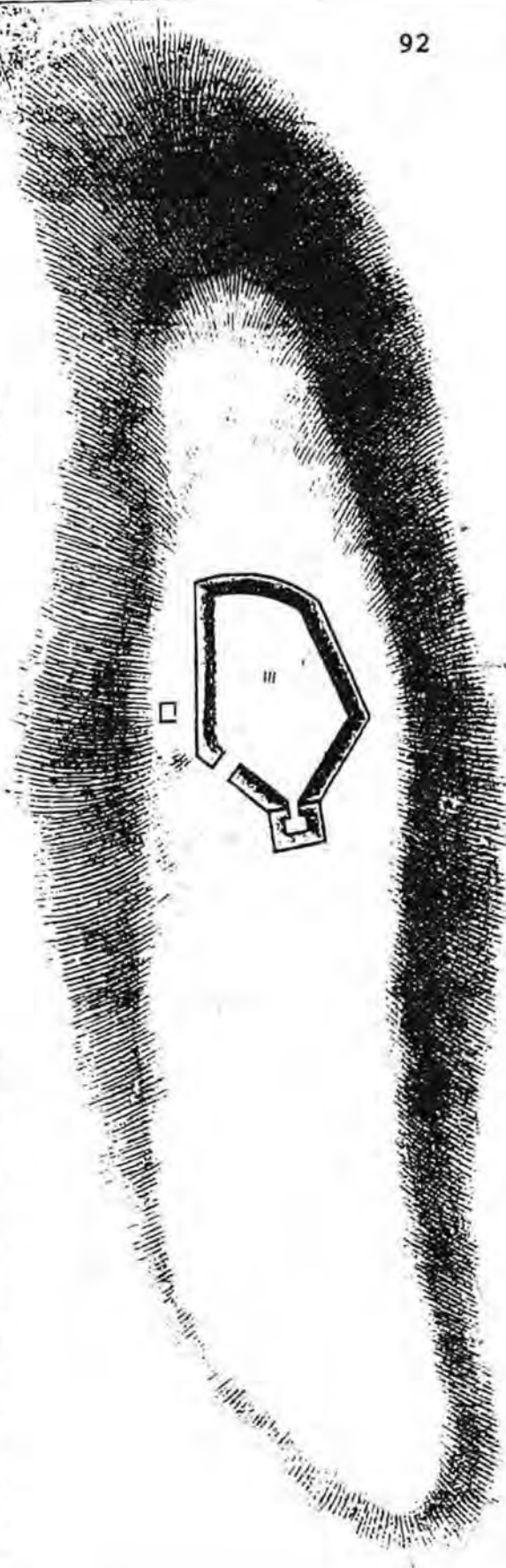


Fig. 52 Plan for the reconstruction of the batteries Elisabeth and Charlotte, by L.M. Thibault, 1793 (Puyfontaine, 1972).



Plan of the Kyk in de Pot Battery as altered by order
of his Excellency Lieut General Sir David Baird K.C. 1766.



Section through the Line A B



Section through the Line C D



Handwritten notes:
The hot shot oven is
situated in the
middle of the battery
and is 10 feet
square and 6 feet
high.

Fig. 53 Kyk-in-de-pot- Battery, 1806, after alterations. Note the hot-shot cannon-ball oven outside the battery (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 6515, No 2).

Plan and Section of the Battery at Craig's Tower —

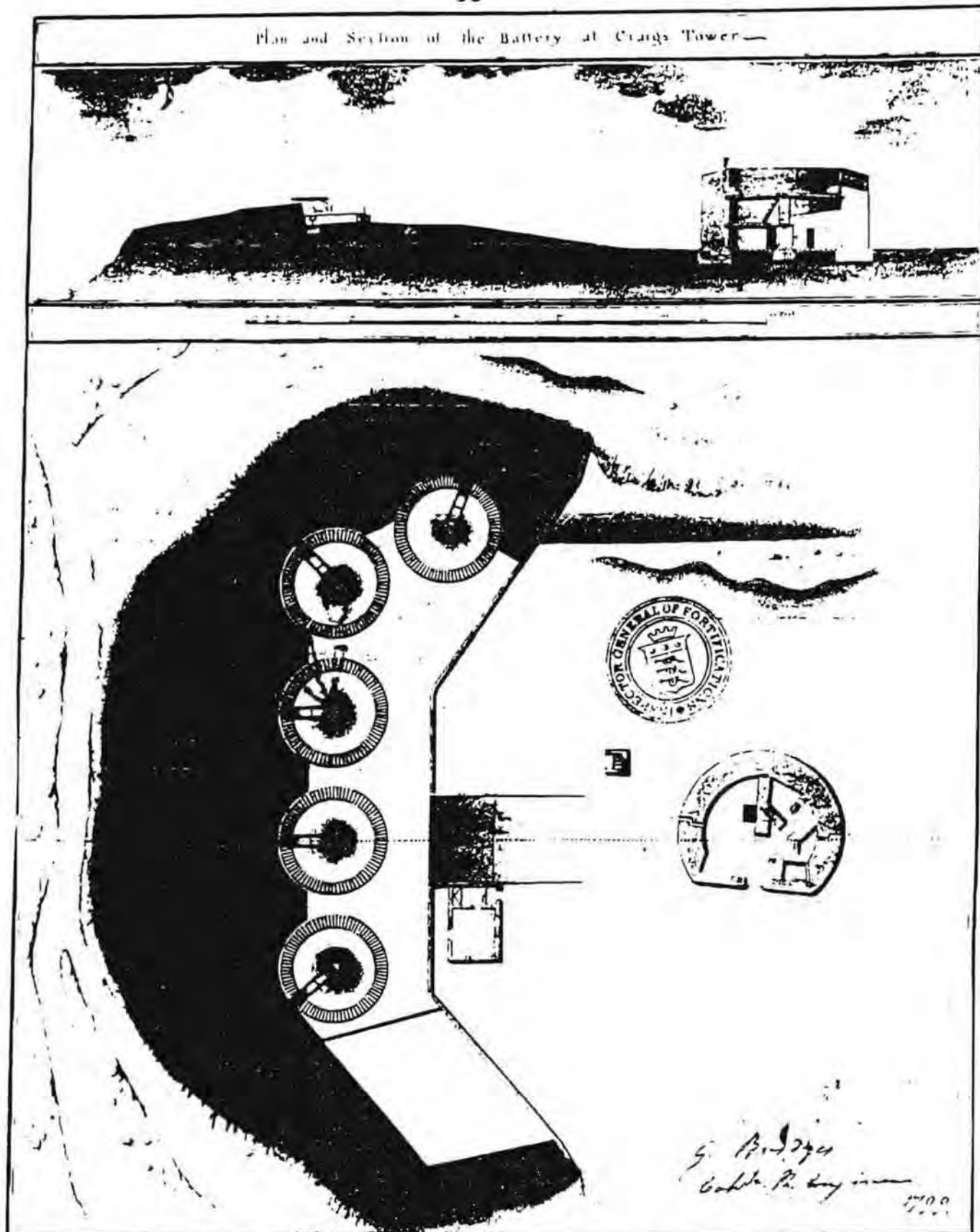
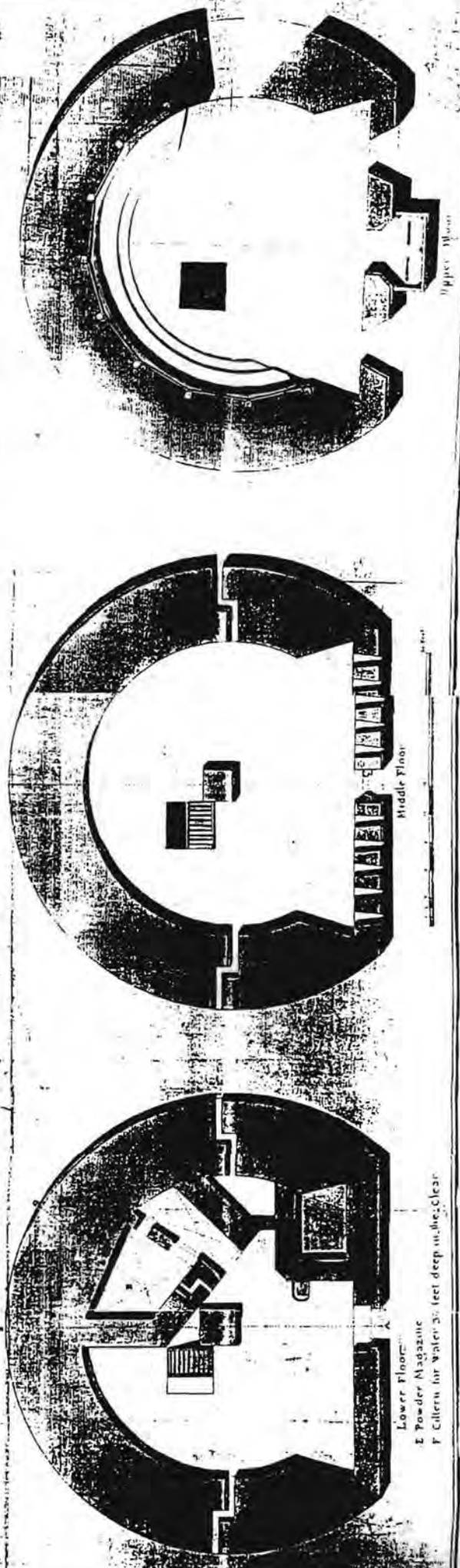
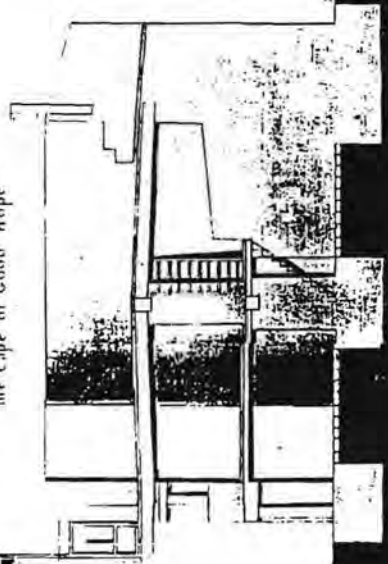


Fig. 54 Plan and section of Craig's Tower and Battery, 1799. Note the 360° gun traverse track with central pivot and the hot-shot cannon-ball oven between the tower and the ramp (Cape Archives, no reference, and Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 174, No 1-9).

Plans and Section of Craig's Tower at the Cape of Good Hope



From the plan the tower was shown to be 100 ft high



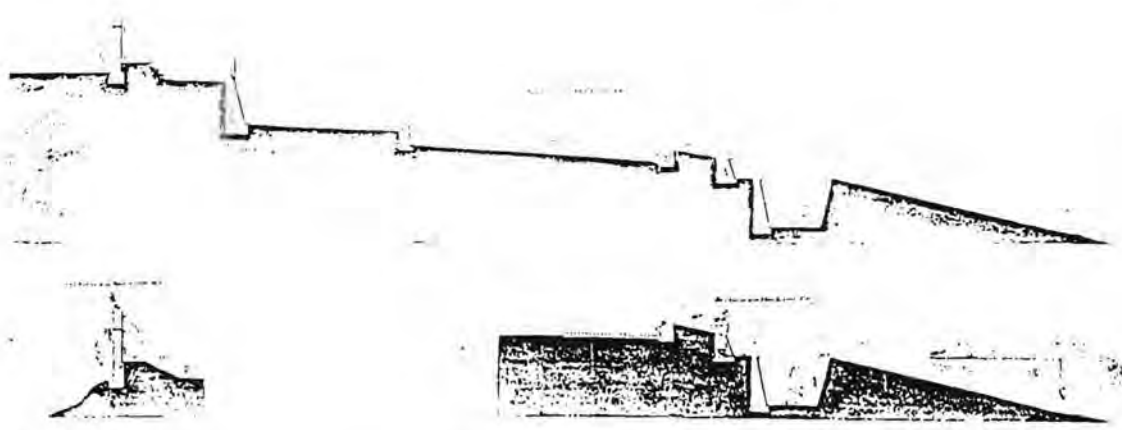
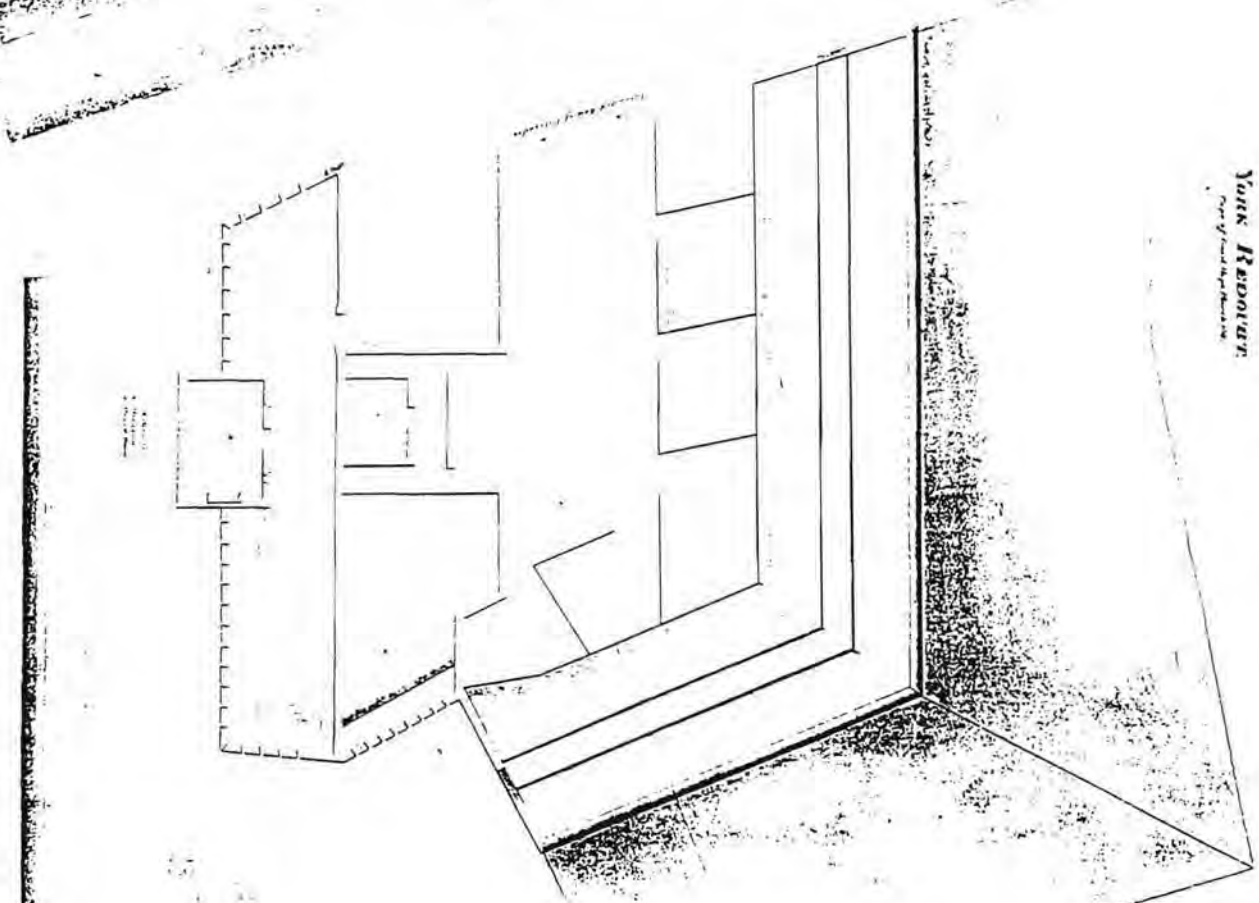
Lower Floor:
E Powder Magazine
F Cistern for Water 30 feet deep in the Clear

Middle Floor

Upper Floor

Fig. 55 Plan of Craig's Tower, 1799 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 703)

Plan
of
York Redoubt
at Devil's Peak



In General's Office, New York
and Engineer's Office, New York
1815
Wm. B. Wood

Fig. 56 Plan of York Redoubt, Devil's Peak, 1815 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 707, No 1).

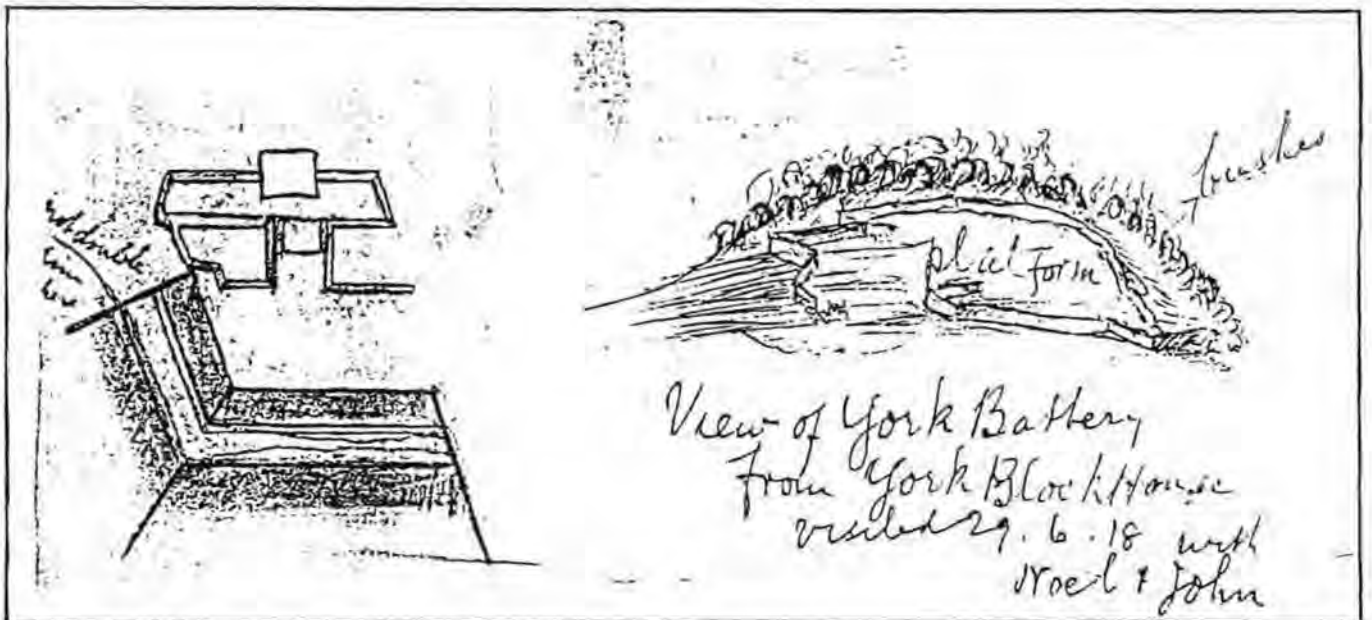
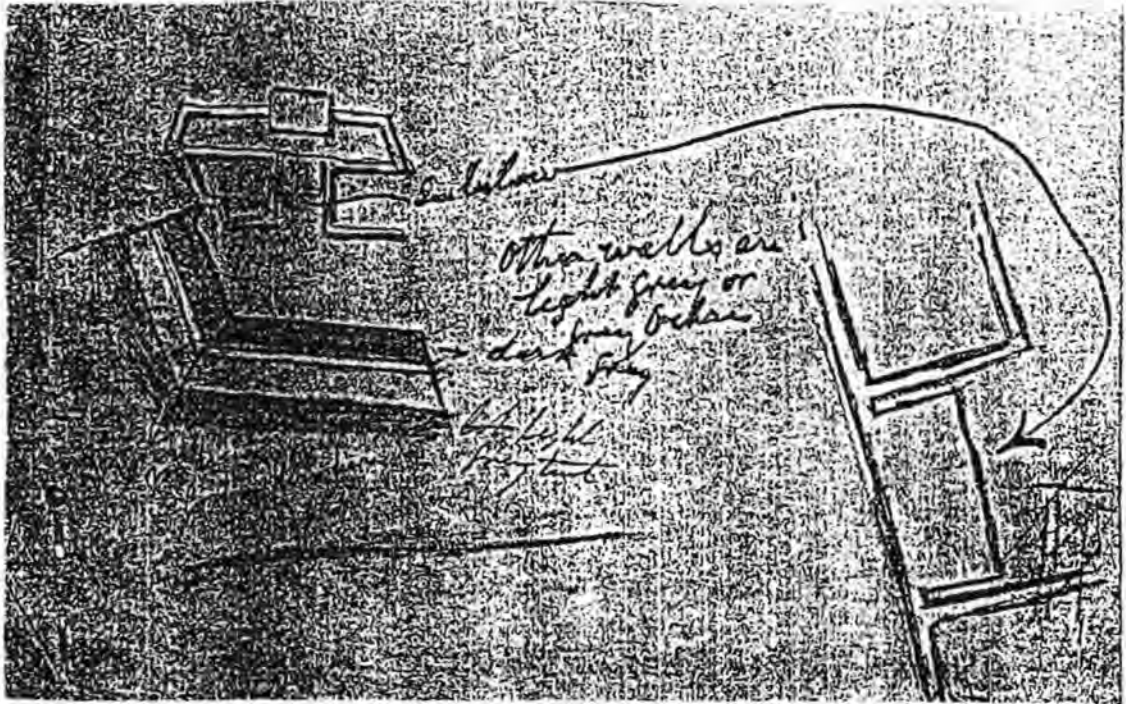


Fig. 57 Sketches of York Redoubt, 1918 (de Smidt, no date).

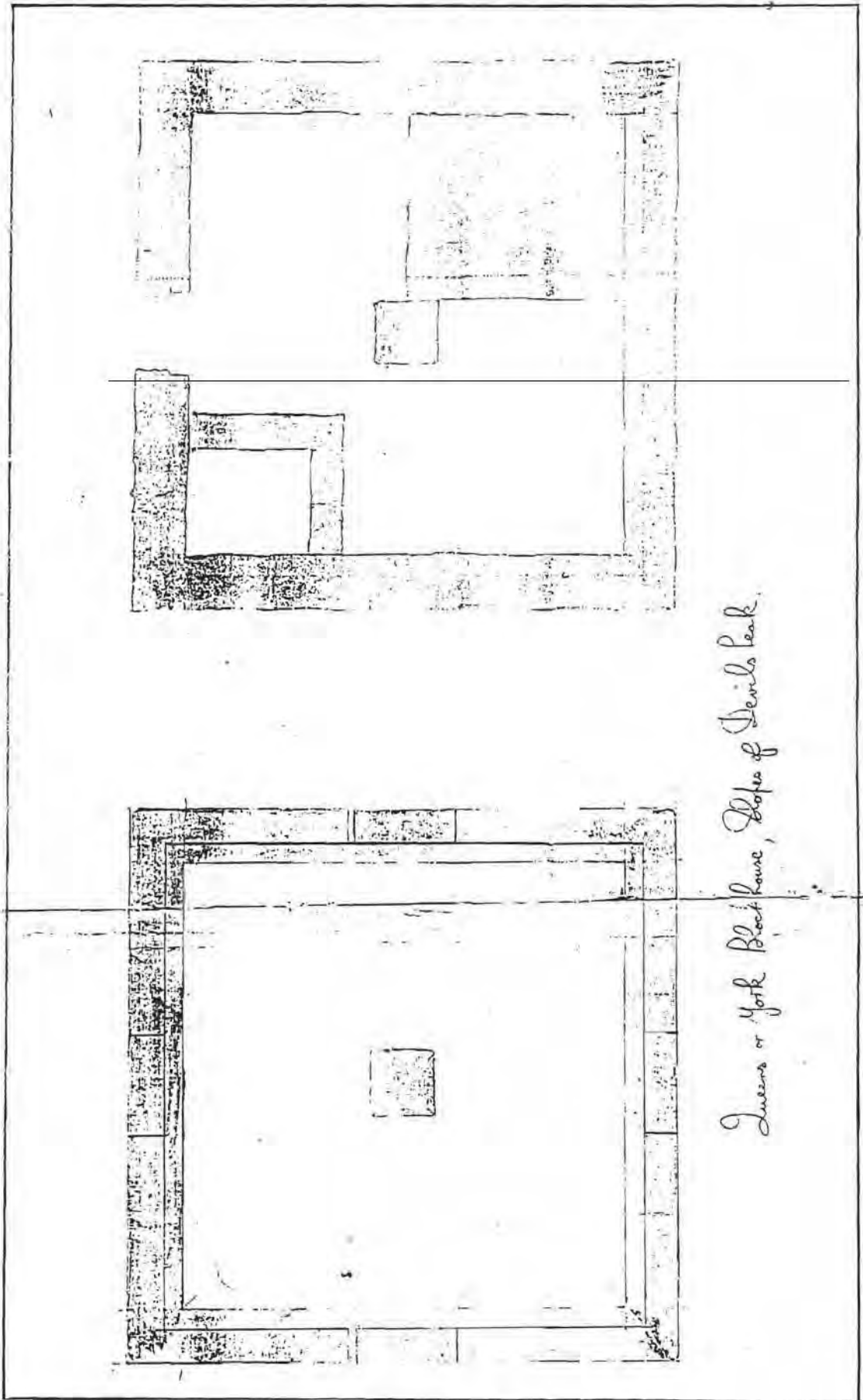


Fig. 58 Queen's Blockhouse [formerly known as York Blockhouse], 1918 (de Smidt, no date).

Plan of Queen's Blockhouse
24-6-18

Plan of
Queen's Blockhouse

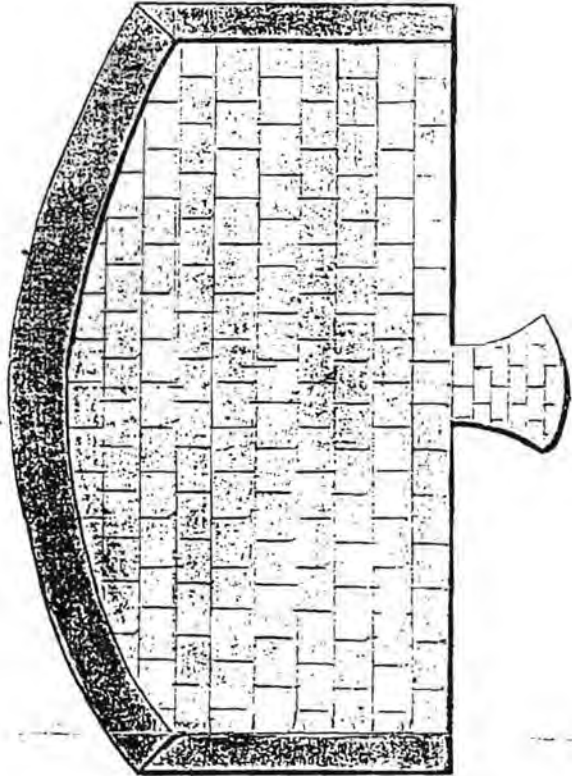
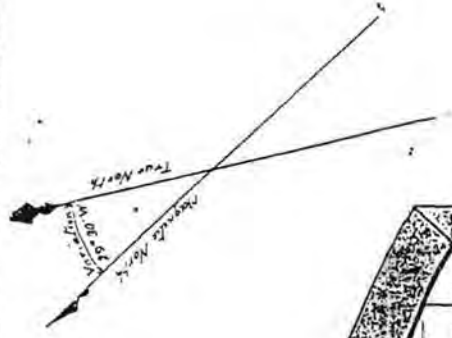
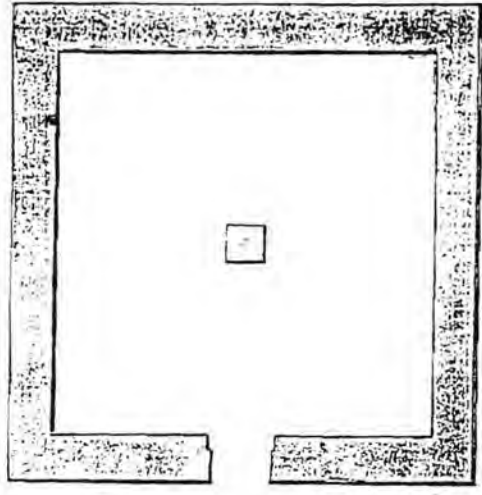


Fig. 59 Queen's Blockhouse and gun emplacement, 1918 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 60 Queen's Blockhouse, 1993.

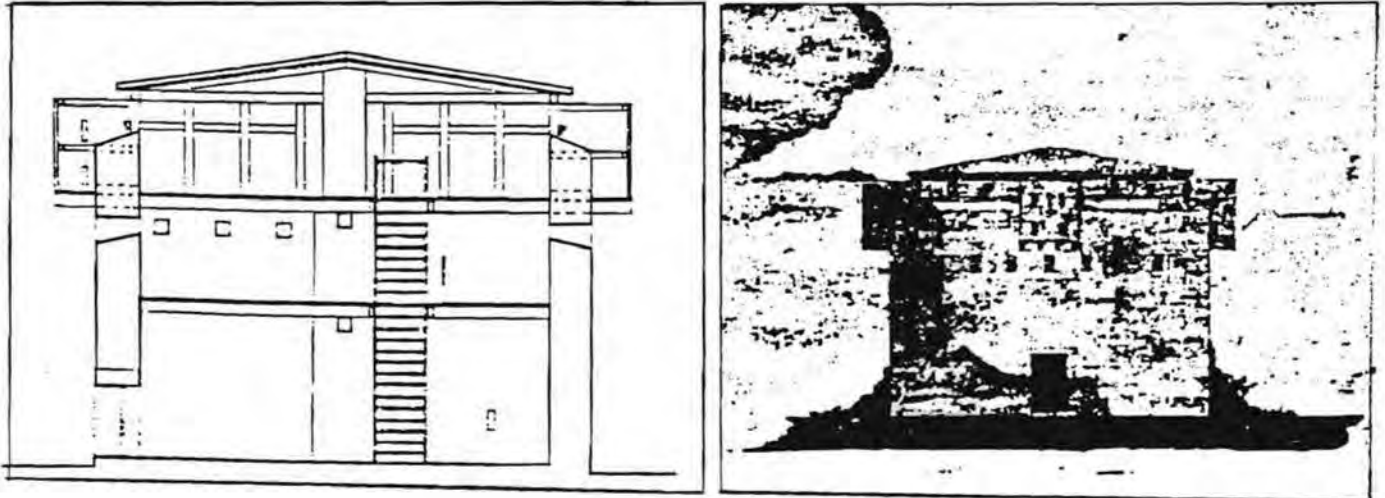


Fig. 61 Prince of Wales Blockhouse, early nineteenth century (Lewcock, 1963).



Fig. 62 Prince of Wales Blockhouse, 1993.

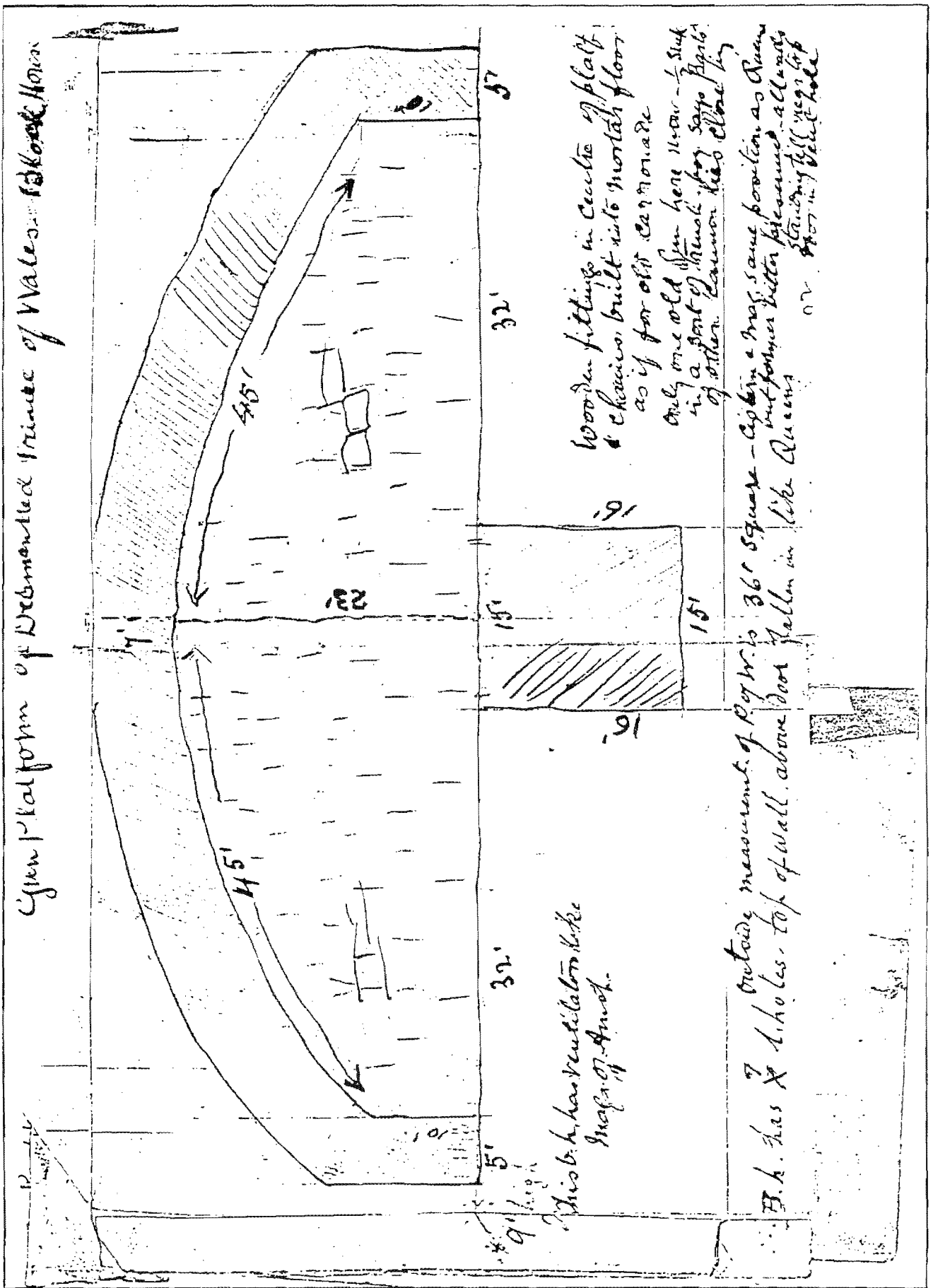


Fig. 63 Gun platform below the Prince of Wales Blockhouse, ca 1918 (de Smidt, no date).

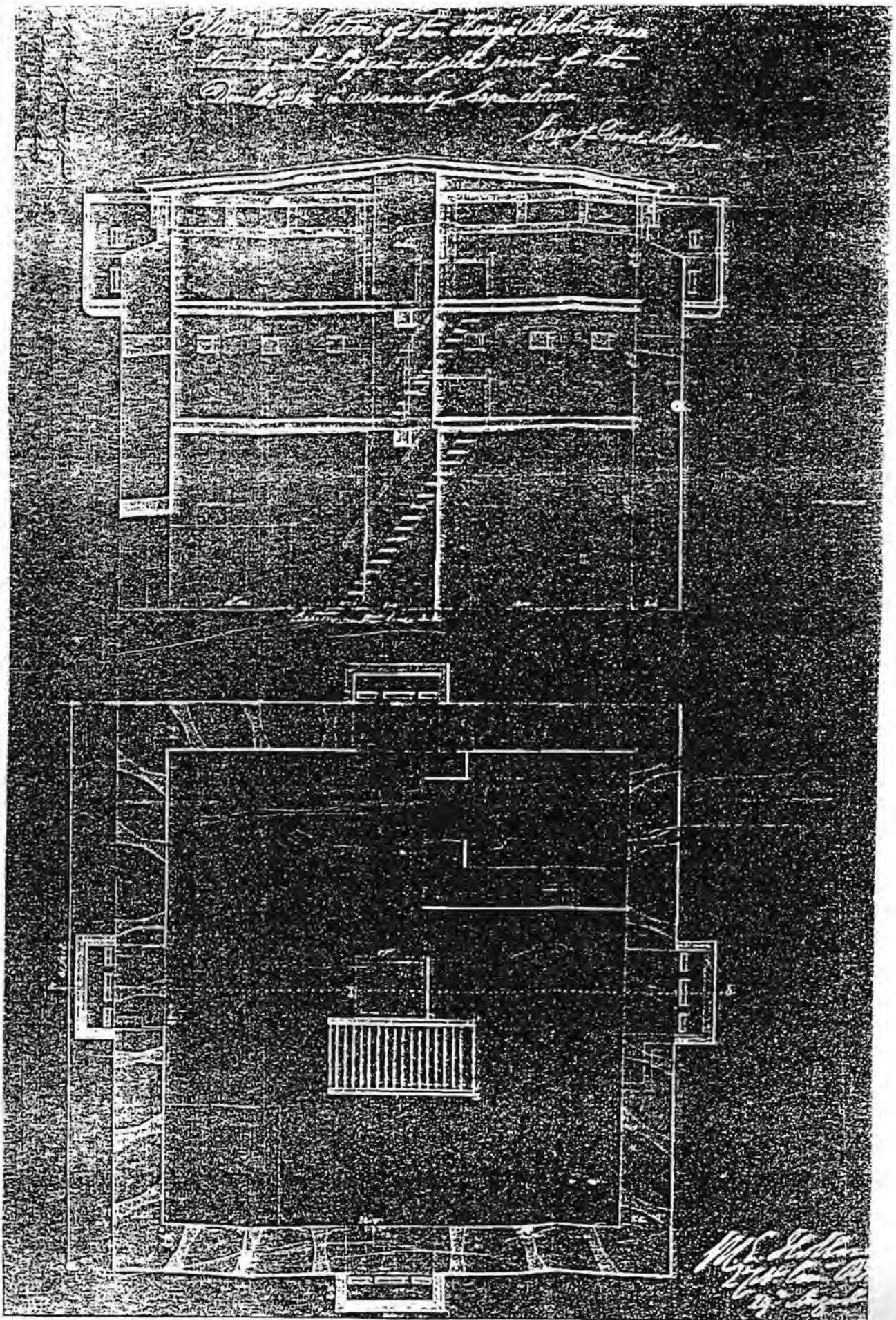


Fig. 64 Plan of King's Blockhouse, 1800 (Cape Archives, M1/3713).

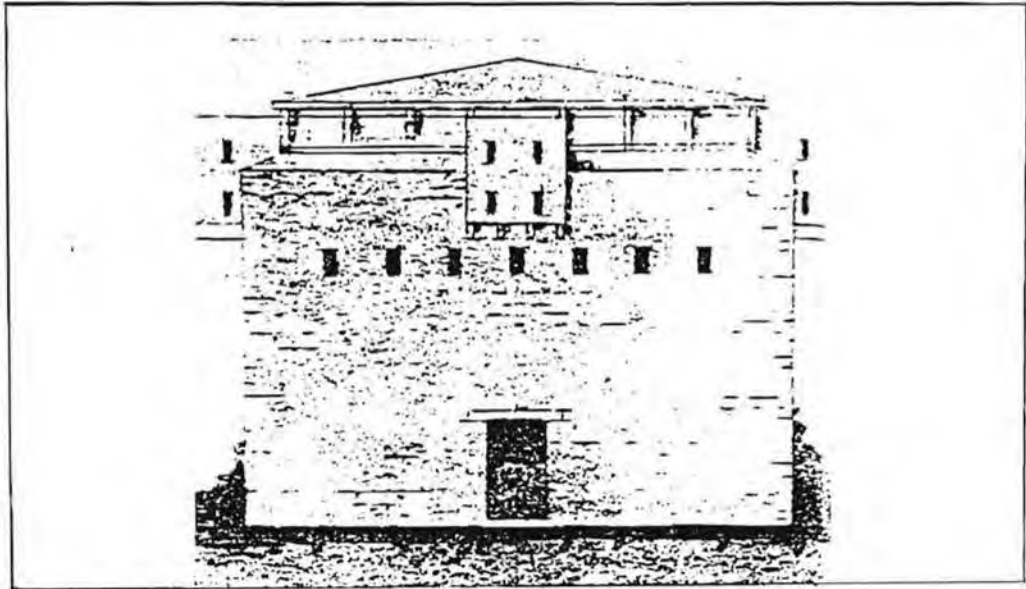


Fig. 65 King's Blockhouse, mid-nineteenth century (William Fehr Collection, The Castle, Cape Town).



Fig. 66 King's Blockhouse, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).

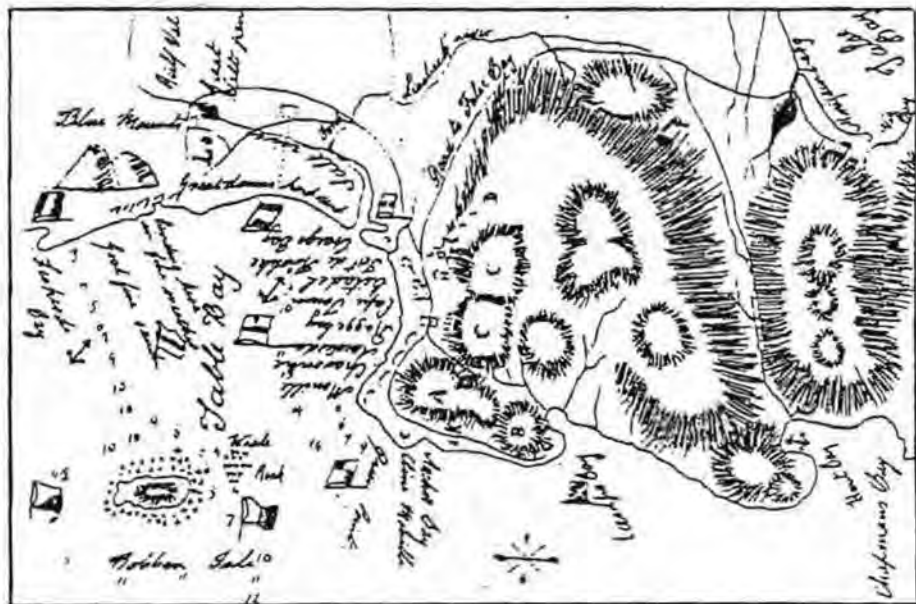
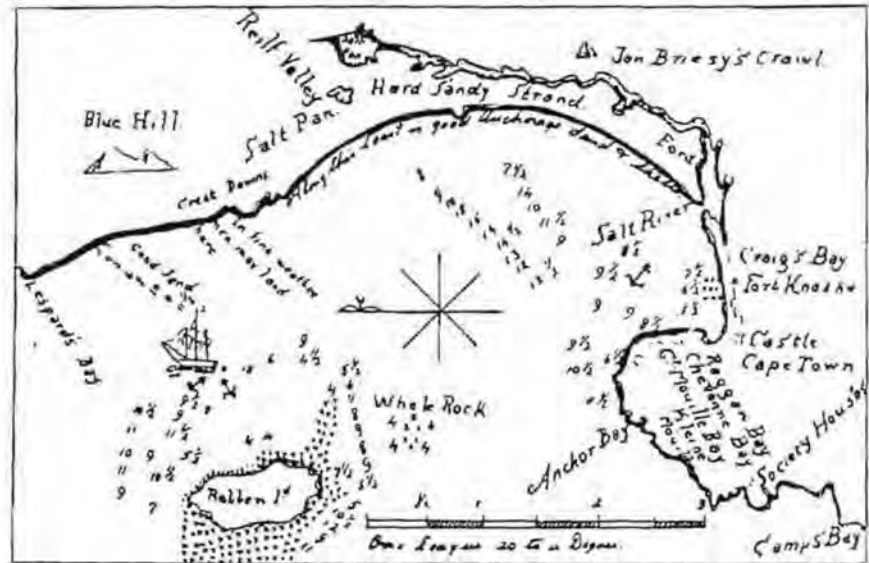


Fig. 67 Instructions received on debarkation of the British army at the Cape of Good Hope, 1806, by Captain Cuyler (Brenthurst Library, MS 134f).

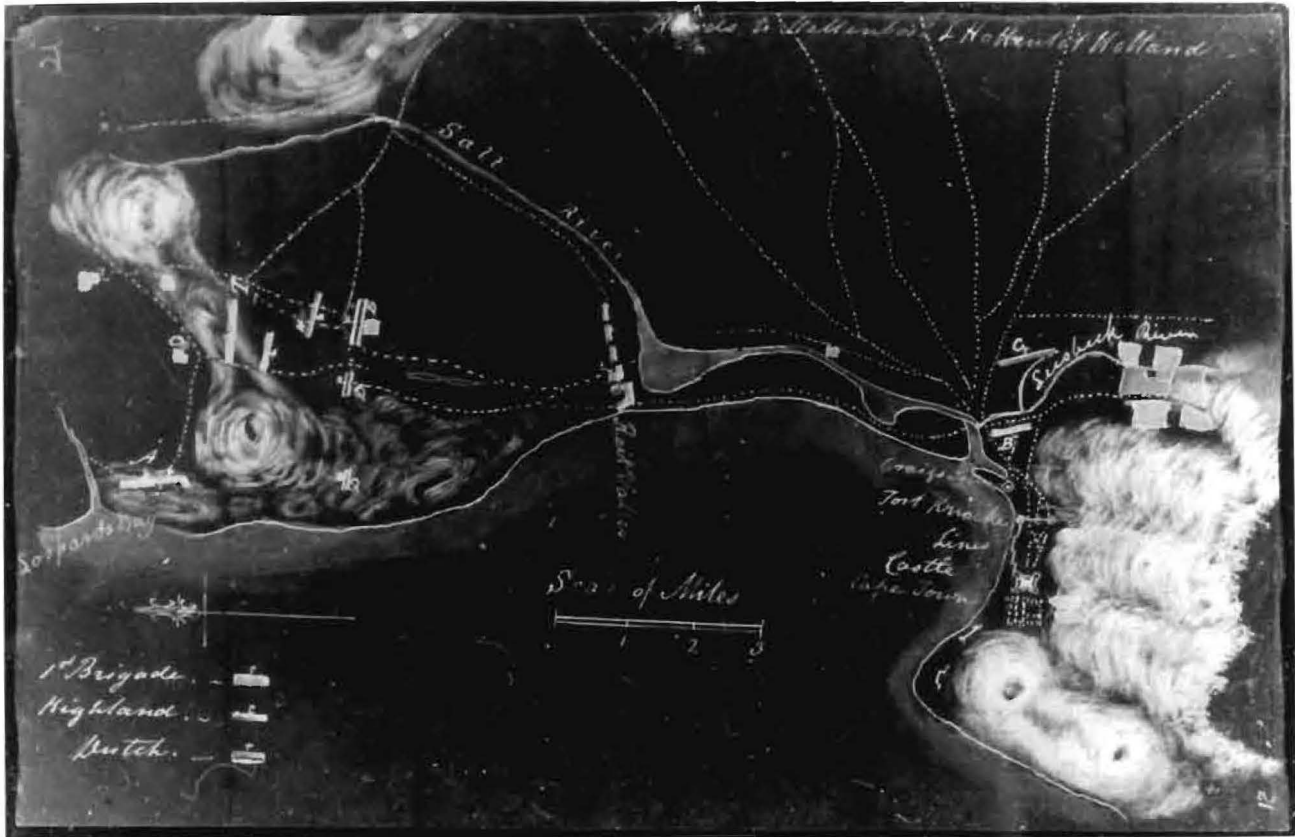
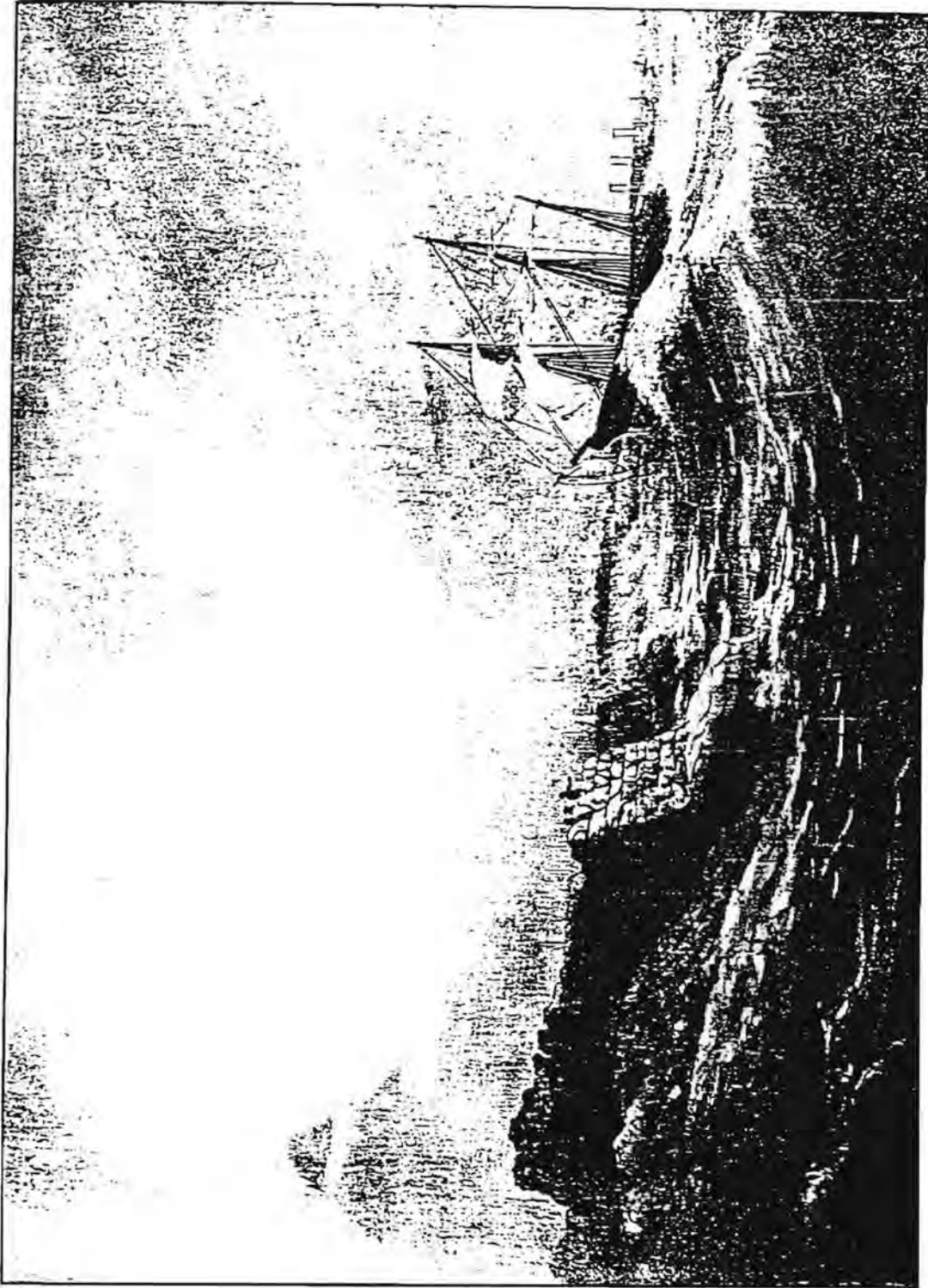


Fig. 68 Plan of the Battle of Blaauwburg, 1806 (Cape Archives, M6/56).



Fig. 69 Battle of Blauenberg, 1806 (Boucher and Penn, 1992).



Wreck of the *Danae* off the Sea Lines on 7th January, 1816. During the night a completely unreasonable north-west gale sprang up. The *Danae*, a Portuguese slaver which had been arrested and escorted into Table Bay by the cruiser H.M.S. *Mutinee*, was driven ashore early that morning. Painting by Thomas Baines (Cape Town City Hall)

Fig. 70 Sea Lines, battered by storms, 1816 (Cape Town City Hall).

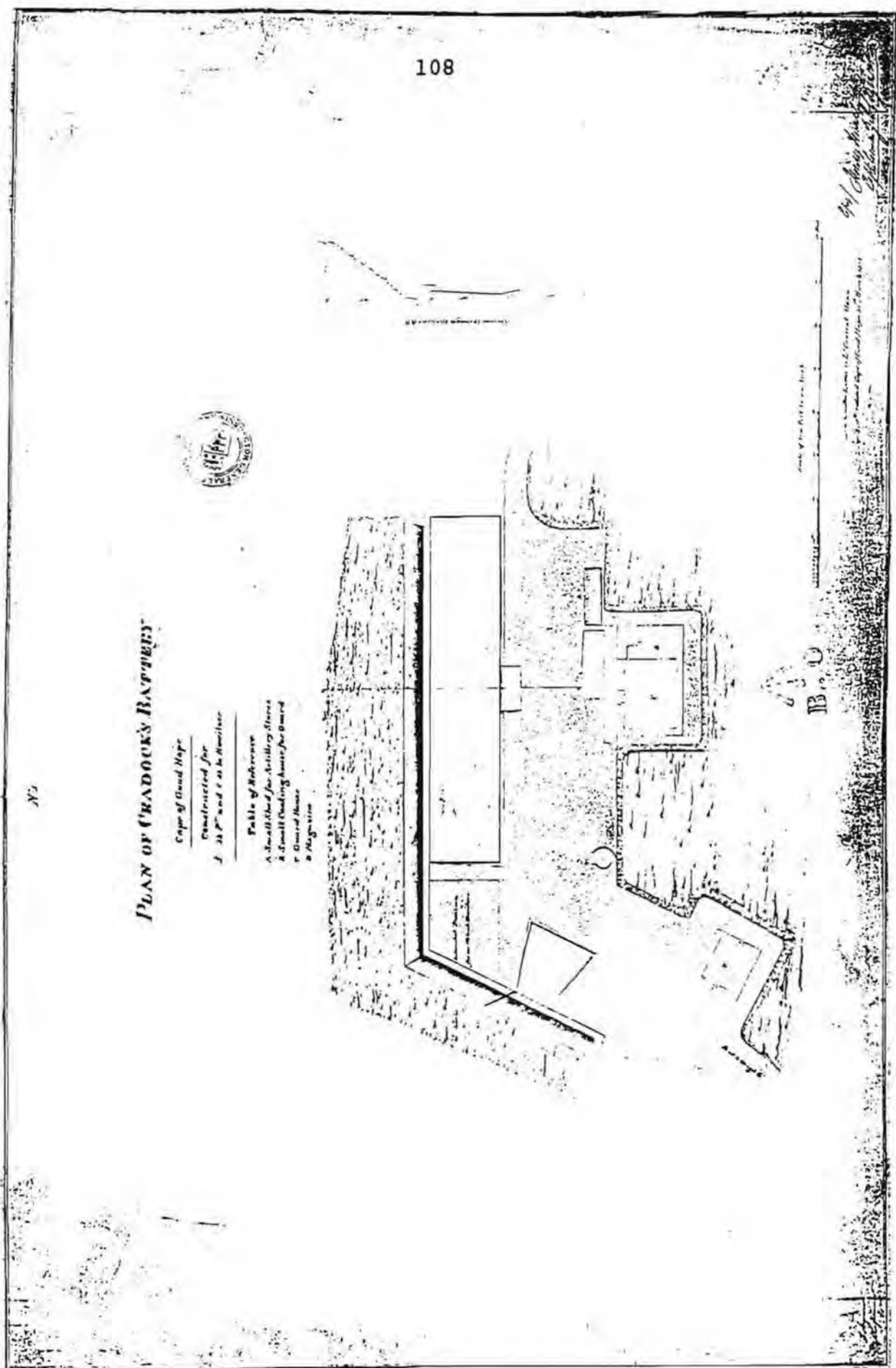


Fig. 71 Plan of Cradock Battery, 1815 (Public Records Office, Kew, MPH 708, No 1).

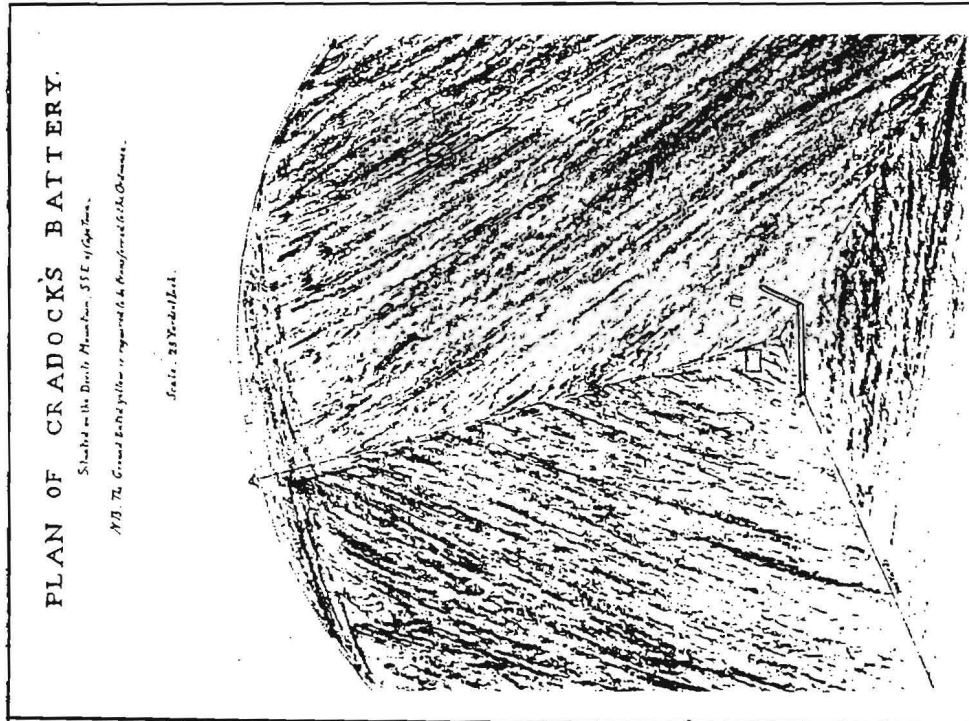


Fig. 72 Plan of Cradock Battery, ca 1910 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 73 Cradock Battery, ca 1920 (Cape Archives, M822).

SECOND INTERLUDE :

A SHORT HISTORY OF ARTILLERY AND AMMUNITION

"A gunner ought to be sober, wakeful, lusty, hardy, patient, prudent and a quick-spirited man ..."

(Nicolo Tartaglia, *La Nova Sciento Invento*, 1537).

Despite much research into the development of guns and gunpowder the question of the origin of both remains obscure. However, since man first began to hurl missiles he has endeavored to do it further, faster and with greater destructive results.

Gunpowder had been known in China, India and possibly Arabia long before its appearance in Western Europe (1). Its chemical composition did not change much over the centuries:

7 parts salpetre (potassium nitrate), 5 parts young hazelwood charcoal (or any other fine grained hardwood) and 5 parts sulphur (2). The powder was mixed just before firing, as it was highly susceptible to premature, accidental explosion. As the technology of gunpowder manufacturing, storage and transport advanced, it was possible, towards the end of the eighteenth century, to buy 'ready-made', waterproof packages for various calibre firearms, guns and cannon. However, for some time into the nineteenth century the experienced gunner preferred to mix his own powder for the particular guns under his command.

-
1. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *A History of Artillery*. London: Hamlyn, p. 11.
 2. Hogg, I.V. (1985). *The Illustrated History of Ammunition*. London: New Burlington Books, p. 13.

Although gunpowder had been known in Western Europe for some time it was only applied to propel a projectile in about 1340 when the cannon arrived on the battle field (3) (Fig. 74). The disadvantage of the early cannon was the slow muzzle loading process which involved ladling a measured amount of gunpowder down the barrel, followed by the projectile, priming the vent and finally touching off the gun. The aiming of the gun was more or less accurate according to the experience and intuition of the gunner (4) (Fig. 75). The application of a wet brush in between firing prevented accidental ignition of the next load. The physical manhandling of the piece for aiming prior to firing and coping with the recoil made great demands on the artillerists (Figs. 76 and 77). The breech loading mechanism was much later, after 1840, to solve most of these problems.

The projectiles used were at first stone mortars, which were eventually replaced by cast iron balls of various designs. So-called 'grape-shot', a cluster of smaller calibre iron balls, held together loosely, proved to be a powerful anti-personnel weapon (Fig. 78). The use of red-hot cannon balls seems to have been instituted by the Polish King Stefan Batory around 1580 (5). The red-hot cannon ball was separated from the gunpowder in the barrel by firstly a dry, then a soaking wet wad of cloth. The gunner touched off the gun as quickly as possible. This proved to have devastating effects on setting alight the target. The loss of heat during travelling time was minimal.

The first widespread and successful use of this weapon seems to have been during the Siege of Gibraltar in 1782, when the British fought off the Spanish Armada, setting the wooden vessels alight and causing their gunpowder to explode. Red-hot, also called hot-shot, cannon balls were introduced to the Cape by General Gordon during the early 1780s. During 1793-1795 ovens for heating cannon balls red-hot were provided for

3. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *Ibid*, p. 15.
4. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *Ibid*, p. 20.
5. Hogg, I.V. (1985). *Ibid*, p. 16.

all major coastal batteries. These ovens were simple two metre by two metre platforms of 0,50 m to 1 m height with a dome like superstructure (no chimney) and a small opening. It looked like a simple baker's oven or a larger dog kennel (Figs. 79, 80 and 81). In chapter 8 such an oven will be described as reconstructed from archaeological remains.

Artillery as such played a minor role in warfare in Europe until about the sixteenth century. Gradually, siege tactics, a major form of warfare, became less common as cannon could wreck havoc on fortification walls, causing architectural modifications of fortification works (6) (Fig. 82). Instead, armies fought more and more battles in the field pitching the strength of men and armament against each other (Figs. 83 and 84).

Bronze as well as iron was used to manufacture cannon, but by 1543 iron was more popular in England. By 1628 cannon of between one and sixty four pounder shot were available. Artillerists spoke of "so-and-so pounders" when they wanted to describe the calibre of a gun: an iron cannon ball, weighing so many pounds had a fixed diameter. The cannons' weights ranged from four hundred to eight thousand pounds (7). The greatest difficulty then and later was the transportation of these awesome pieces.

The recoil problems and lack of aiming mechanism inhibited the widespread use of artillery until the middle of the eighteenth century. Slowly problems were overcome and technological innovations added, such as the gunner's quadrant (Fig. 75) to improve the accuracy of aim and various carriages to mount the guns. The ship carriage incorporated now the breeching rope system to control the recoil. By the end of the eighteenth century at the Cape, ship's cannon mounted on wheeled carriages (Fig. 85) were often used on shore batteries, on either fixed or traversing gun platforms. The cannon, however,

6. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *Ibid*, p. 23.

7. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *Ibid*, p. 28.

had not undergone much modification. Thus we find smooth-bore cannon dating from 1752 onwards still being used well into the nineteenth century at the Cape. Yet distinct types of artillery had evolved for specific purposes, such as dismantable mountain pieces, the light horse drawn cannon, mobile field ordnance (Figs. 86 and 87), such as howitzers, heavy siege engines and garrison artillery in forts (Figs. 88 and 89).

A new design of ordnance which was successfully employed at the Cape was the carronade (Figs. 90 and 91). The carronade was an easily-maneuverable, quick-firing gun, which fired a large shot at short range (8). This was achieved by having a short barrel of large calibre using a standard iron shot. A carronade was photographed at the old Camps Bay Battery in about 1910. Another carronade of smaller calibre is displayed in the Naval Museum Martello Tower complex in Simon's Town.

The Cape from its inception had always been well provided with ordnance. Between 1780 and 1830 arms and armaments were constantly shifted not only from one coastal battery to another but from settlement and colony to various theatres of war as they were needed or perceived to be needed (Figs. 92, 93, 94 and 95). Surprisingly few types of cannon were stationed at the Cape. They consisted mostly of eight to thirty two pounder ships' guns, howitzers of various calibres and a few carronades. To trace the movement of these pieces in and around the Cape Peninsula will have to be left to other researchers. Detailed lists of great numbers of ordnance and ammunition stored at the various forts and batteries were kept both during the Dutch and British periods.

An observation may be mentioned, which seems to have been common practise on the Cape's battlefields: both during the 1795 and 1806 British invasions the guns on the spot were

8. Kennedy, P. (1976). *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*. London: Fontana Press, third edition, 1991, p. 149.

insufficiently spiked and then abandoned (9). Yet the artillery corps was one of the best trained and professional led corps at the Cape during the Dutch periods. Was it a subconscious act, to save what was to them an extremely valuable and irreplaceable piece of artillery? Further studies are required to answer this question.

9. 'Spiking a gun' means putting a long iron fish hook into the fuse hole. This hook could normally only be removed with great difficulty. In 1795 in Muizenberg the British simply drilled the spikes out of the fuse hole.

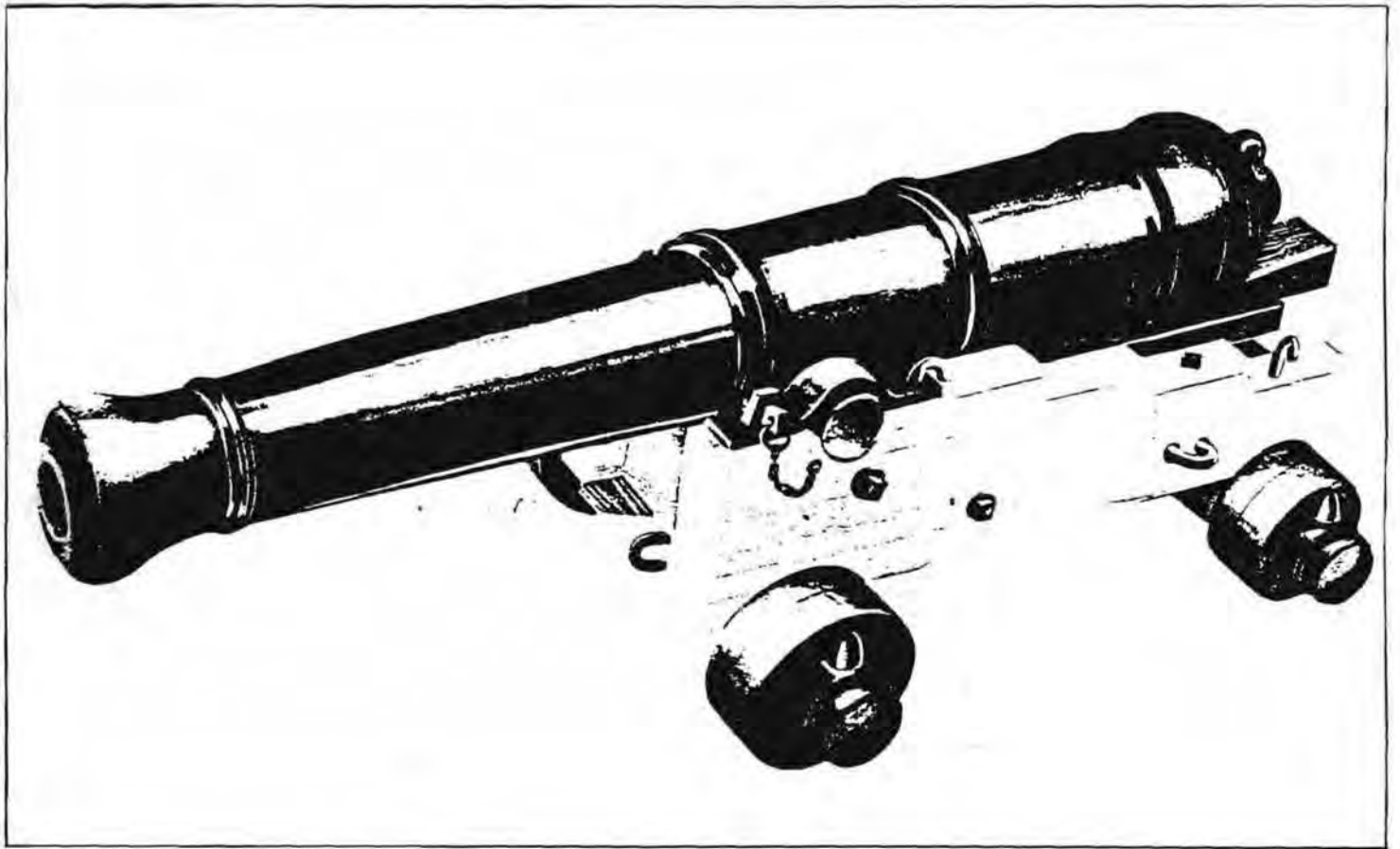


Fig. 74 A British 12-pounder gun, standard for the 18- and 24-pounder guns during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Hogg, 1974).

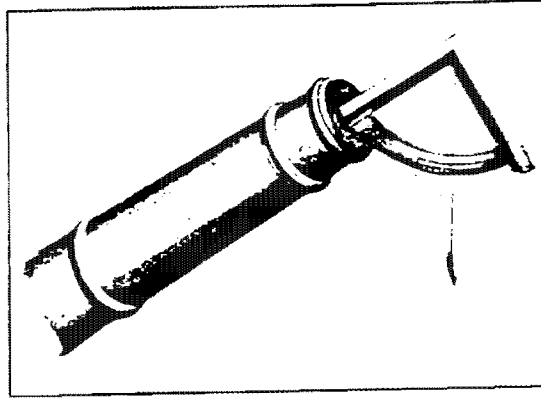


Fig. 75 Gunner's quadrant (Hogg, 1974).

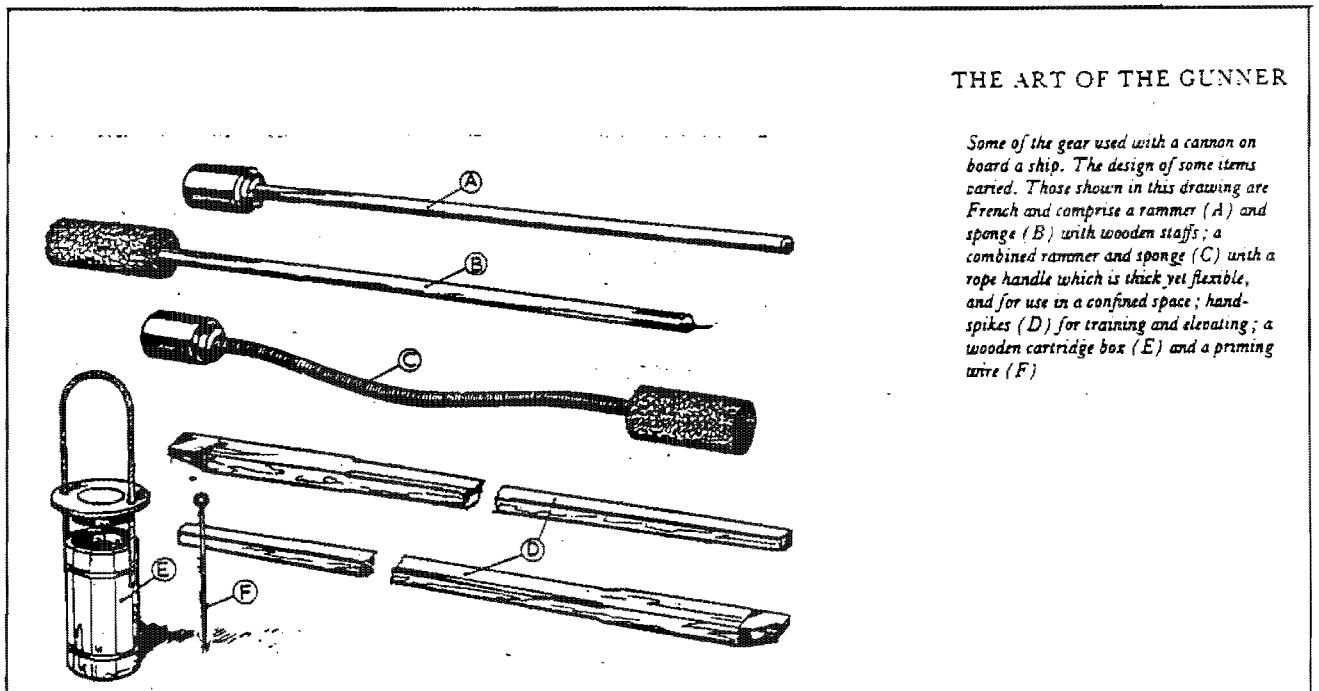


Fig. 76 Some of the gear used with a cannon (Hogg, 1974).

of the pan, is to be covered; and this part of the priming is to be bruised with the round part of the horn. The apron is to be laid over, and the horn hung up out of danger from the flash of the priming.

7th. **POINT YOUR GUNS.**—At this command the gun is, in the first place, to be elevated to the height of the object, by means of the side-lights; and then the person pointing is to direct his fire by the upper-light, having a crow on one side, and a handspoc on the other, to heave the gun by his direction till he catches the object.

The men who heave the gun for pointing are to stand between the ship's side and their crows or handspocs, to escape the injury they might otherwise receive from their being struck against them, or splintered by a shot; and the man who attends the captain with a match is to bring it at the word, "**POINT YOUR GUNS,**" and, kneeling upon one knee opposite the train-track of the carriage, and at such a distance as to be able to touch the priming, is to turn his head from the gun, and keep blowing gently upon the lighted match to keep it clear from adhesion. And, as the missing of an enemy in action, by neglect or want of coolness, is most inexorable, it is particularly recommended to have the people thoroughly instructed in pointing well, and taught to know the ill consequences of not taking proper means to hit their mark; wherefore they should be made to elevate their guns to the utmost nicety, and then to point with the same exactness; and, having caught the object through the upper-light, at the word.

8th. **FIRE.**—The match is instantly to be put to the bruised part of the priming; and, when the gun is discharged, the vent is to be closed, in order to smother any spark of fire that may remain in the chamber of the gun; and the man who sponges is immediately to place himself by the muzzle of the gun in readiness.

9th. **SPONGE YOUR GUNS.**—The sponge is to be rammed down to the bottom of the chamber, and then twisted round, to extinguish effectually any remains of fire; and, when drawn out, to be struck against the outside of the muzzle, to shake off any sparks or scraps of the cartridge that may have come out with it; and next, its end is to be shifted ready for loading; and, while this is doing, the man appointed to provide a cartridge

tridge is to go to the box, and by the time the sponge is out of the gun, he is to have it ready.

10th. **LOAD WITH CARTRIDGE.**—The cartridge (with the bottom end first, seam downwards, and a wad after it) is to be put into the gun, and thrust a little way within the mouth, when the rammer is to be entered; the cartridge is then to be forcibly rammed down, and the captain at the same time is to keep his priming-wire in the vent, and, feeling the cartridge, is to give the word *Awave*, when the rammer is to be drawn, and not before. While this is doing, the man appointed to provide a shot is to provide one (or two, according to the order at that time) ready at the muzzle, with a wad likewise, and when the rammer is drawn, at the word.

11th. **SHOT YOUR GUNS.**—The shot and wad upon it are to be put into the gun, and thrust a little way down, when the rammer is to be entered as before. The shot and wad are to be rammed down to the cartridge, and there have a couple of forcible strokes, when the rammer is to be drawn, and laid out of the way of the guns and tackles, if the exercise or action is continued; but if it is over, the sponge is to be secured in the place it is at all times kept in.

12th. **PUT IN YOUR TOMPIONS.**—The tompions to be put into the muzzle of the cannon.

13th. **HOUSE YOUR GUNS.**—The lashing is to be put on again upon the clinched end of the breeching, leaving it no slacker than to admit of the guns being housed with ease. The quoin is to be taken from under the breach of the gun; and the bed, still resting upon the bolt, within the carriage, thrust under, till the foot of it falls off the axle-tree, leaving it to rest upon the end which projects out from the foot. The metal is to be let down upon this. The gun is to be placed exactly square, and the muzzle is to be close to the wood, in its proper place for passing the muzzle lashings.

14th. **SECURE YOUR GUNS.**—The muzzle lashings must first be made secure, and then with one tackle (having all its parts equally tight with the breeching) the gun is to be lashed. The other tackle is to be bowled tight, and by itself made fast, that it may be ready to cast off for lashing a second breeching.

Care must be taken to hook the first tackle to the upper bolt of the carriage, that it may not otherwise obstruct the moving of

Page from Hornblower's copy of the GUNNERY MANUAL

Fig. 77 Page from Captain Horatio Hornblower's copy of the Gunnery Manual. (Parkinson, 1970).

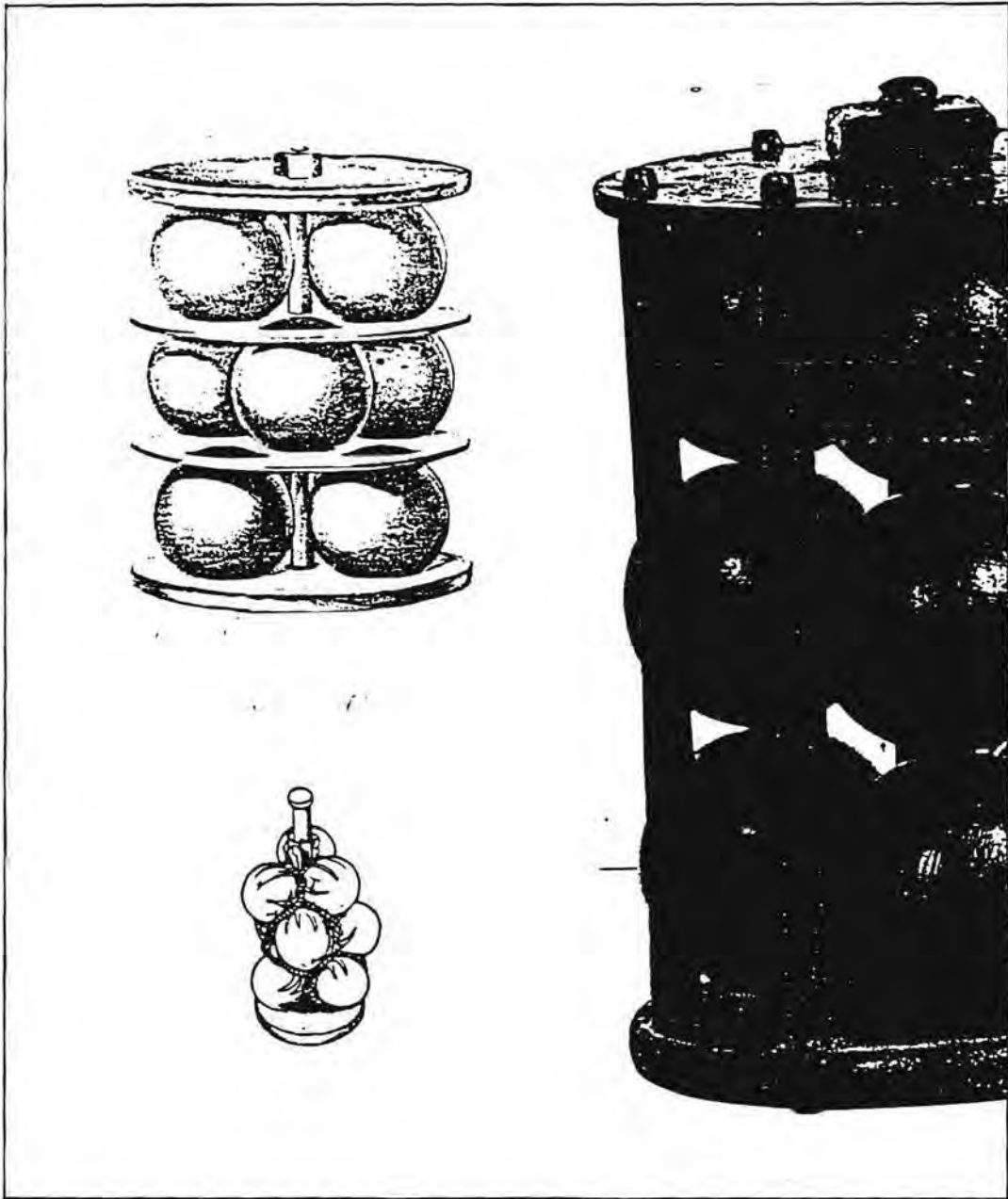


Fig. 78 Types of grape shot (Hogg, 1974 and Hogg, 1985).



Fig. 79 A hot-shot cannon-ball oven at Fort Knokke, 1812-1814 (Ewart, 1970).



Fig. 80 Hot-shot cannon-ball oven excavated at Fort Klein Gibraltar, Hout Bay, 1992.

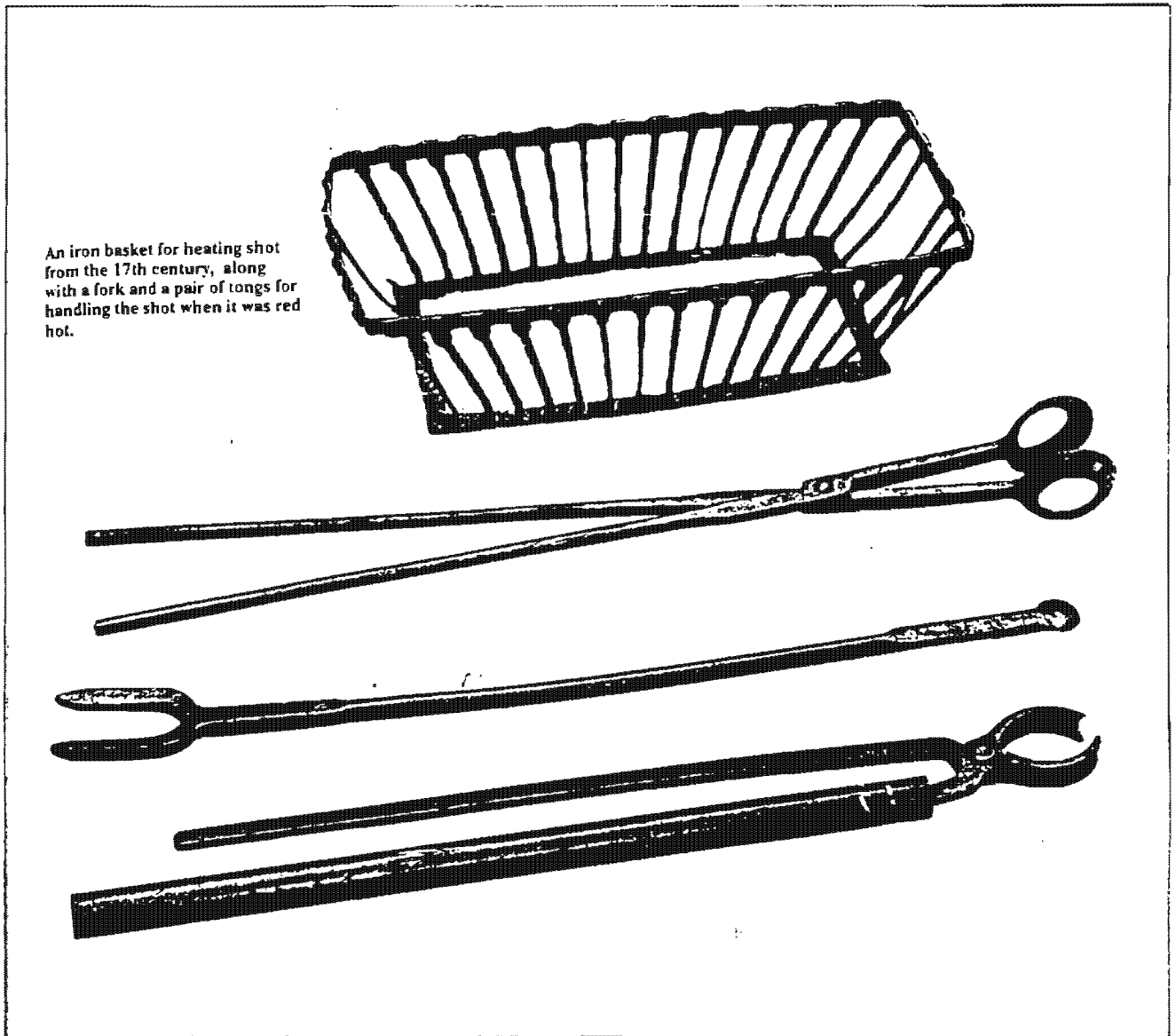


Fig. 81 Tools for handling red-hot cannon balls (Hogg, 1974).

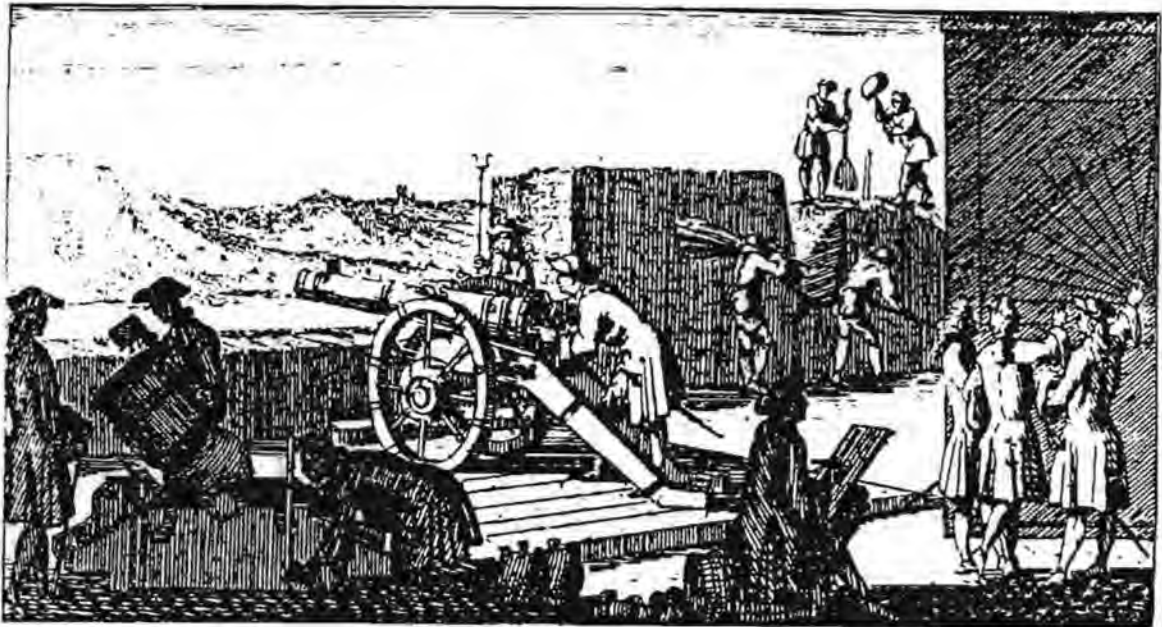


Fig. 82 Mobile field cannon, 1745. On the left a mortar is being prepared for firing. In the centre a gunner taked aim. To his right engineers are constructing an embrazure. In the foreground there appears to be a class in elementary ballistics in progress. (Hogg, 1974).



Fig. 83 Cannons in action in the Sebastopol siege lines, 1855 (Hogg, 1981).



Fig. 84 After the battle of Sebastopol, 1855 (Hogg, 1981).

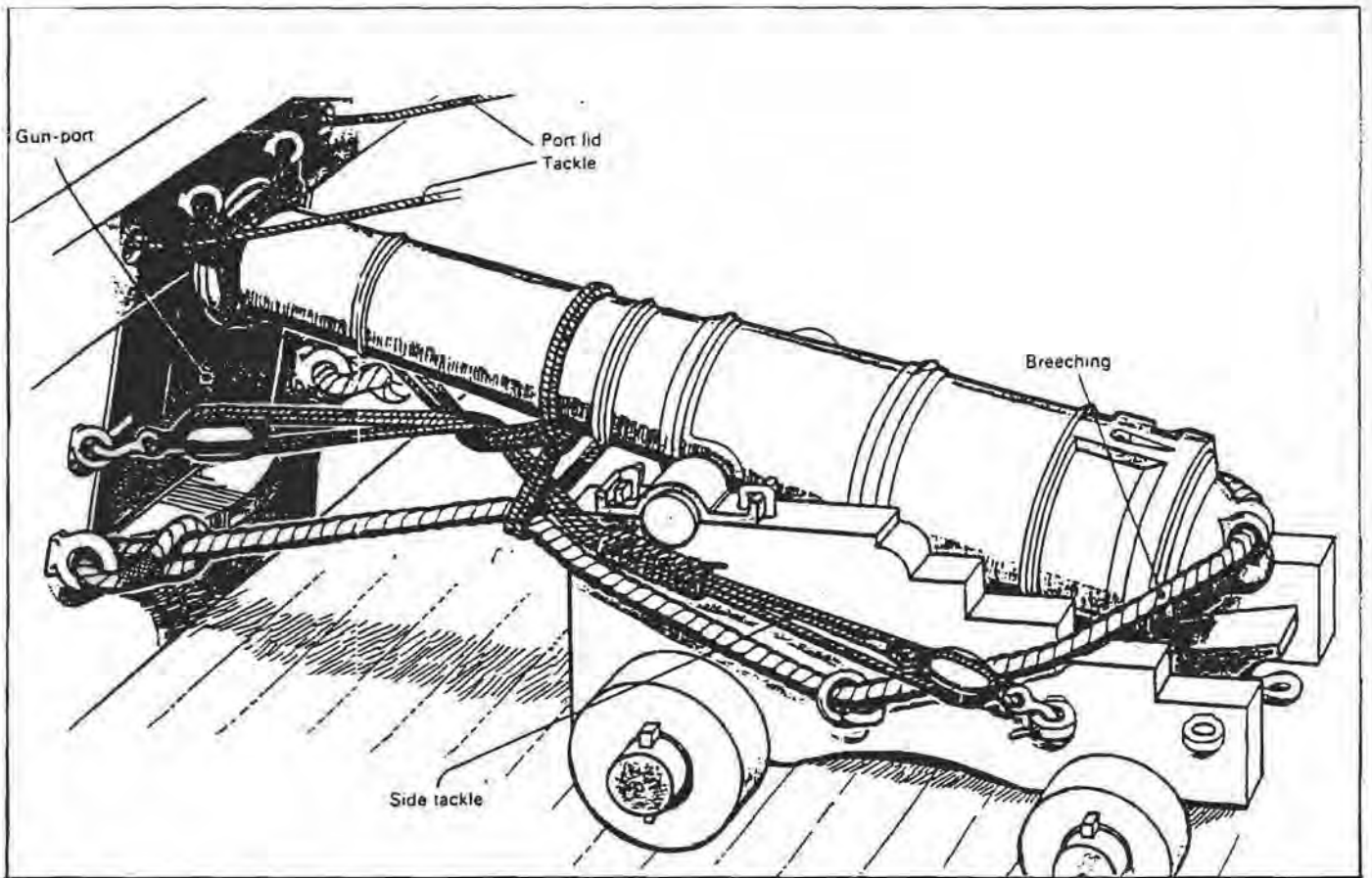
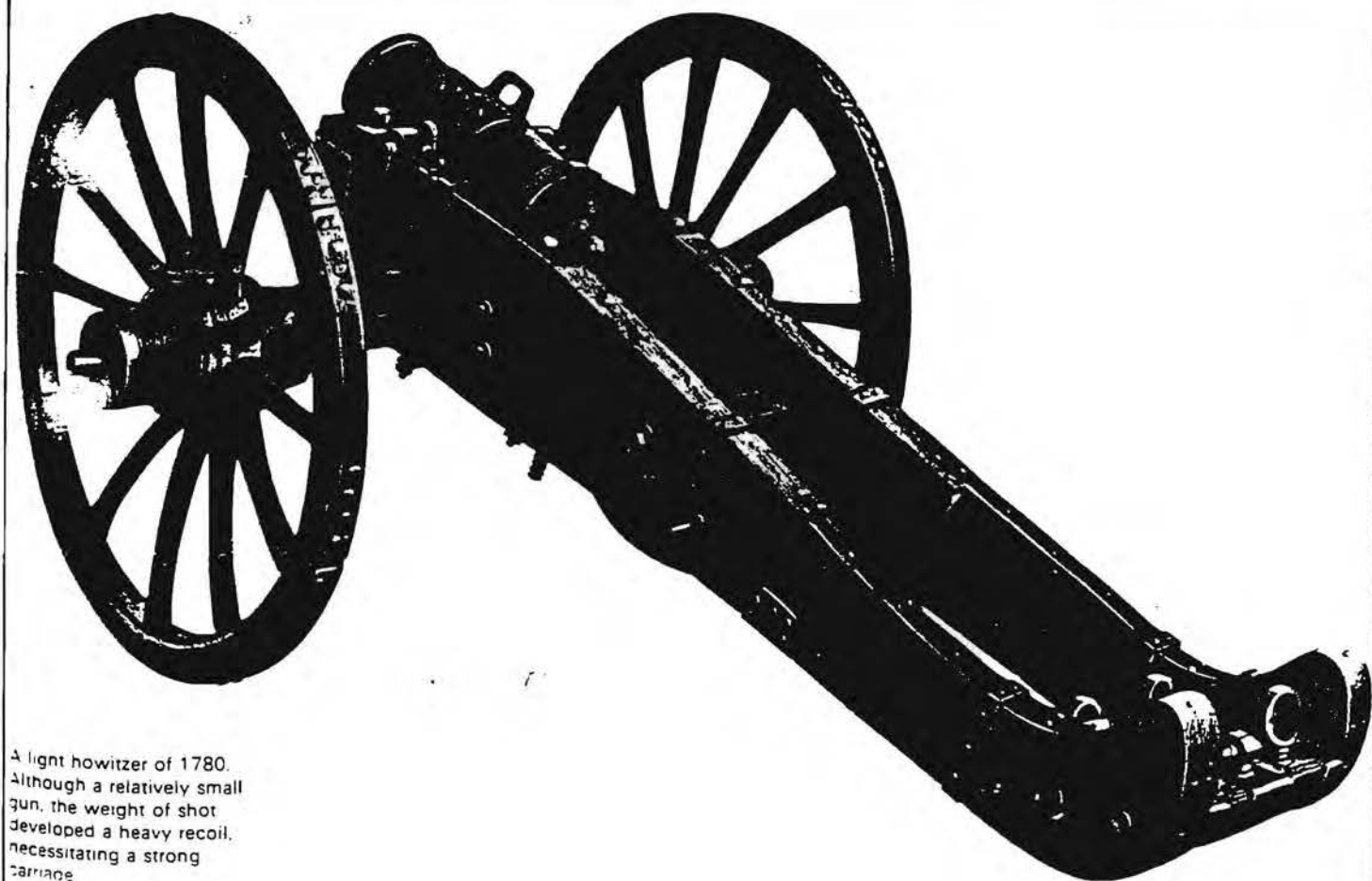


Fig. 85 Ship's cannon on wheeled carriage, late eighteenth century. Note the block-and-tackle. A similar pulley was excavated from the Hout Bay West Fort armoury. (Hogg, 1974).



Fig. 86 Mobile field cannon in South Africa, early nineteenth century, by T. Baines. (Africana Museum, Ref 2789).



A light howitzer of 1780. Although a relatively small gun, the weight of shot developed a heavy recoil, necessitating a strong carriage.

Fig. 87 Mobile field ordnance, ca 1780 (Hogg, 1974).

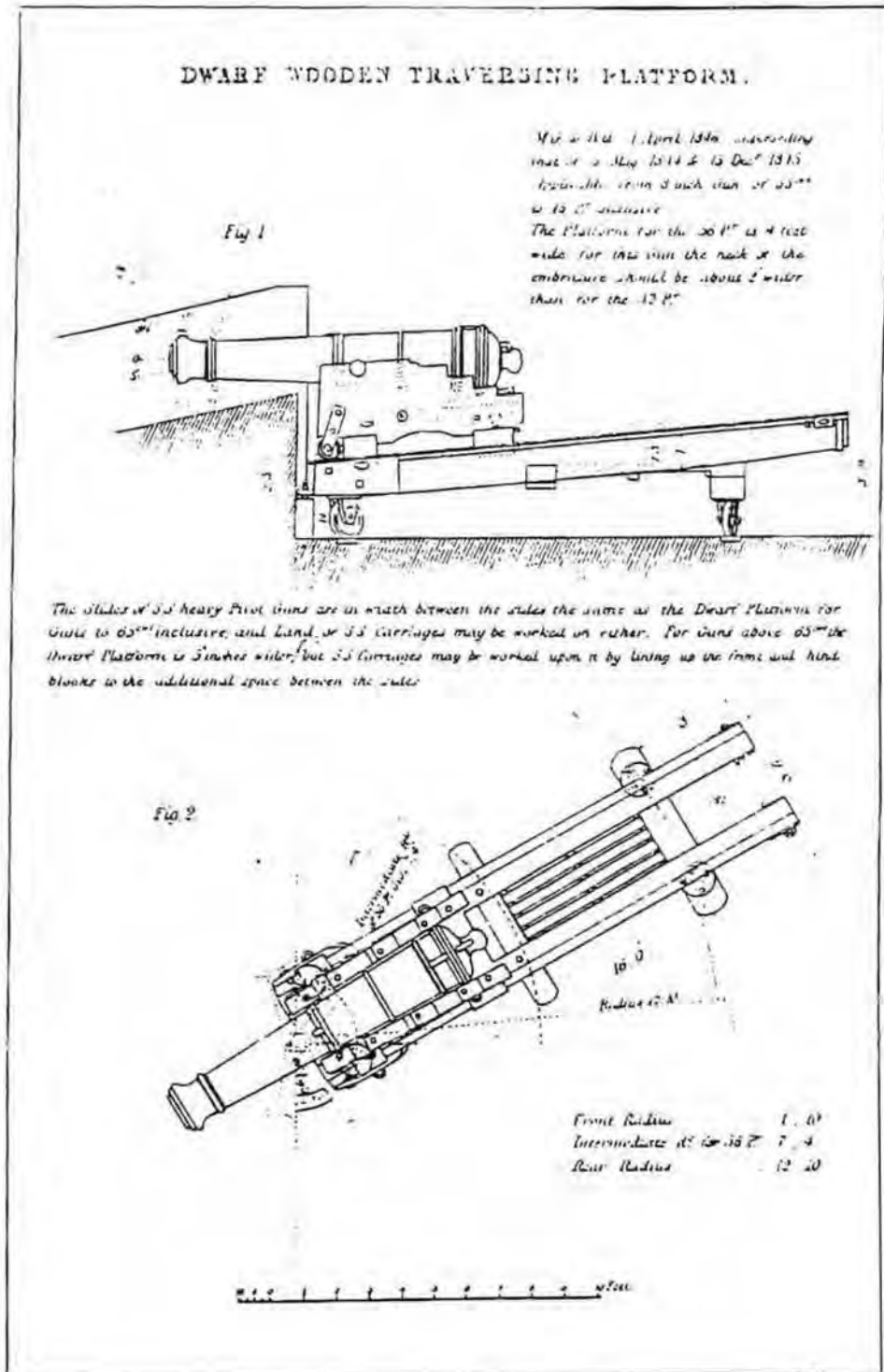


Fig. 88 This type of artillery on traversing gun platforms was probably used at the Cape's forts. (Mr David R. Barnes in a letter to Mr Hugh Floyd, dated 13 June 1988).

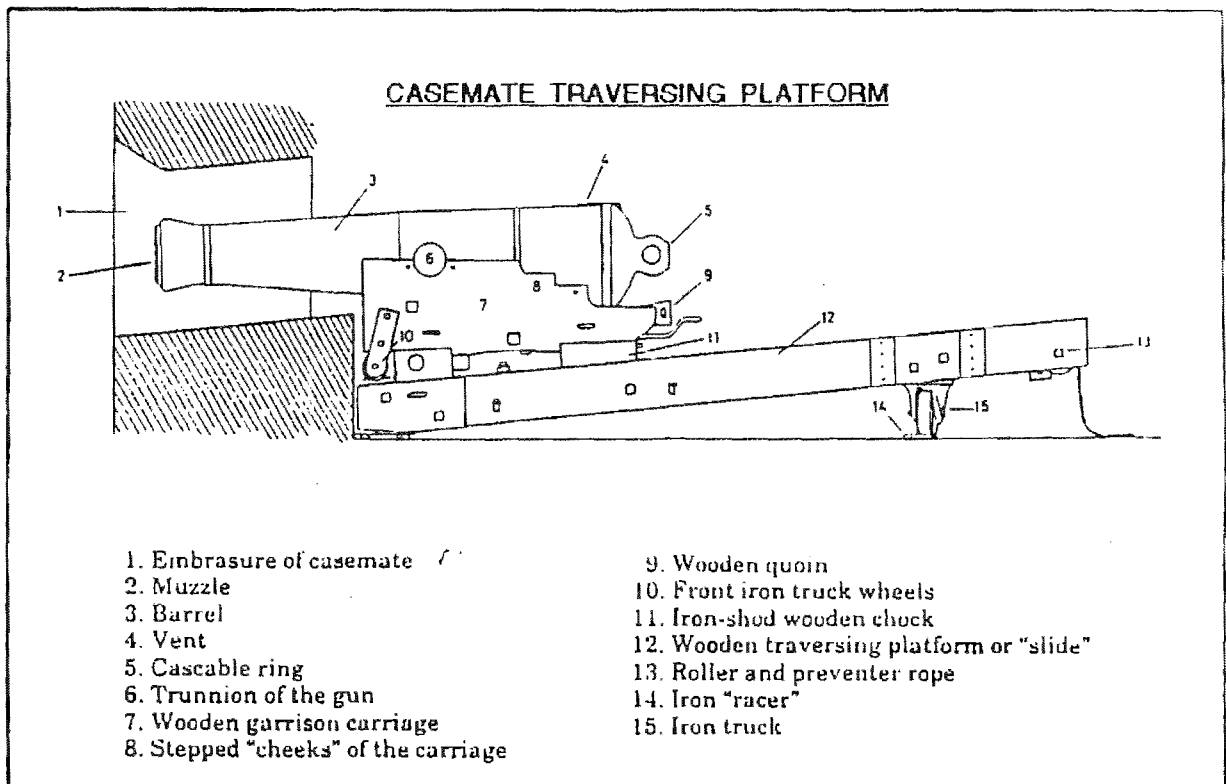


Fig. 89 Casemate traversing platform, detail, probably used at the Hout Bay West Fort. (Redrawn by Jorge E'Silva from a letter by David R. Barnes to Mr Hugh Floyd, dated 13 June 1988).

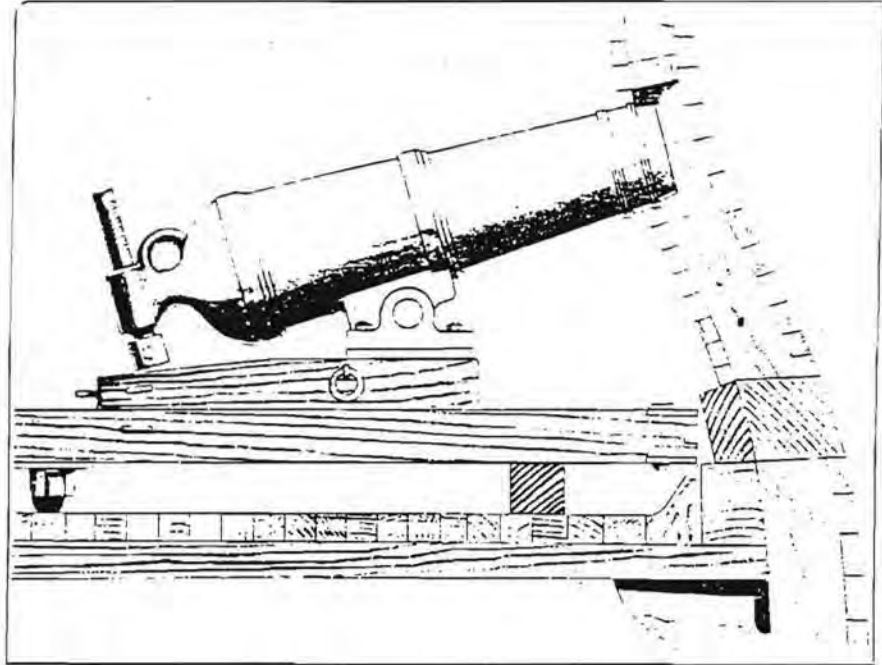


Fig. 90 A 32-pound carronade on a ship mounting showing the light construction of this gun (Hogg, 1974).



Fig. 91 Carronade found at the site of the Camps Bay Battery, ca 1915 (de Smidt, no date).



Fig. 92 Cannon, probably 24-pounder, found at Hout Bay, ca 1915 (de Smidt, no date).

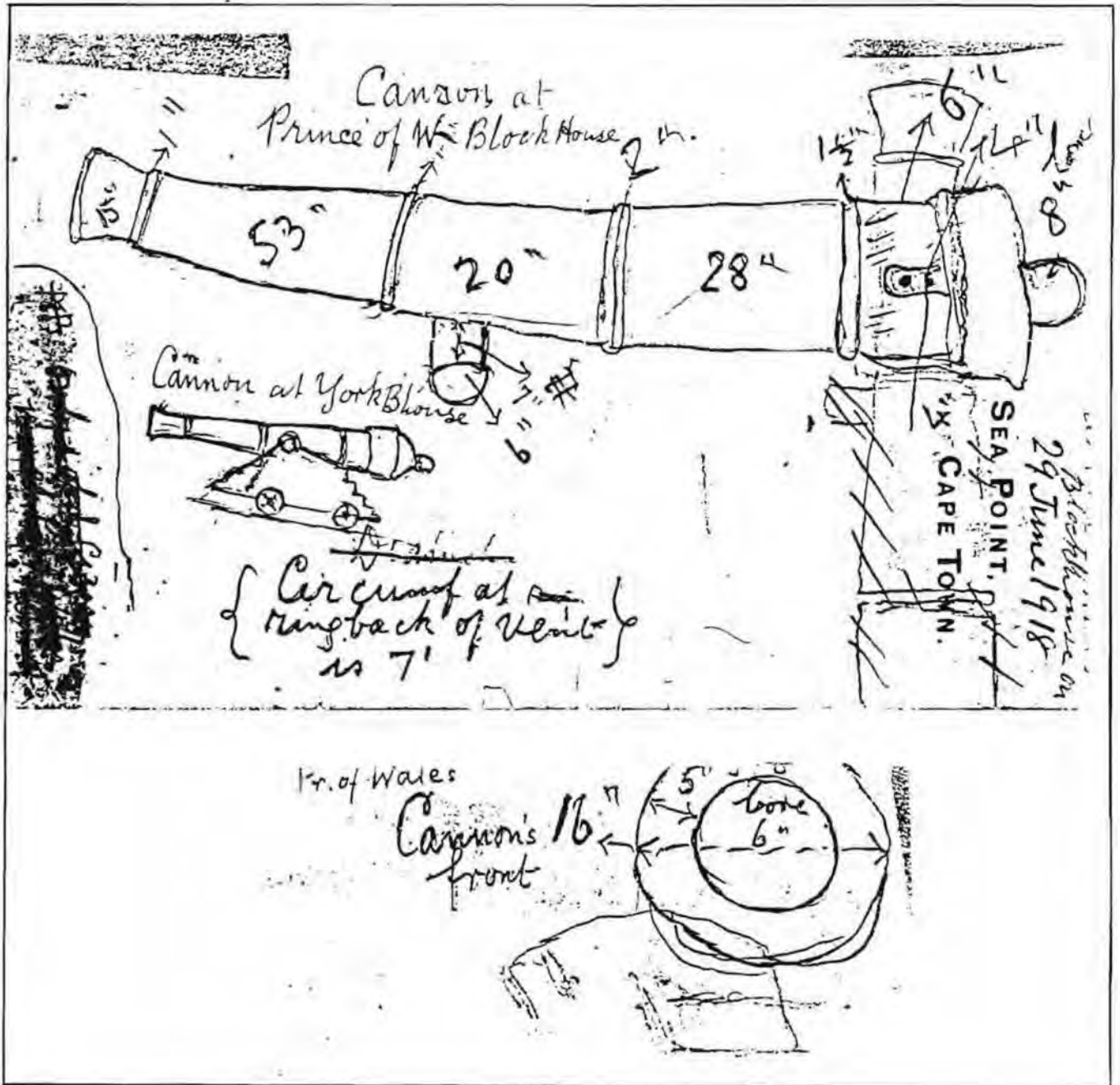


Fig. 93 Cannon at the Prince of Wales Blockhouse, 1918 (de Smidt, no date).

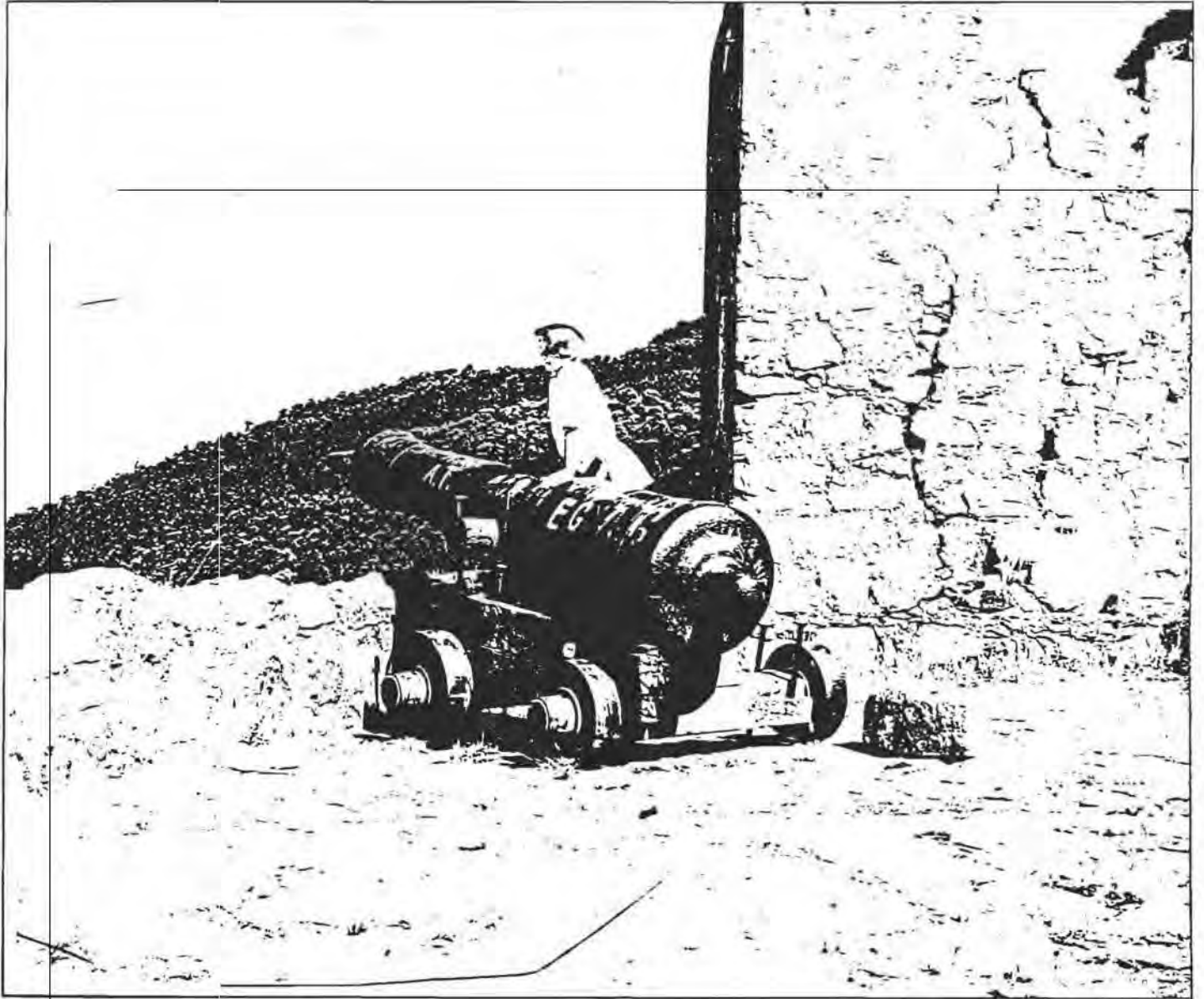
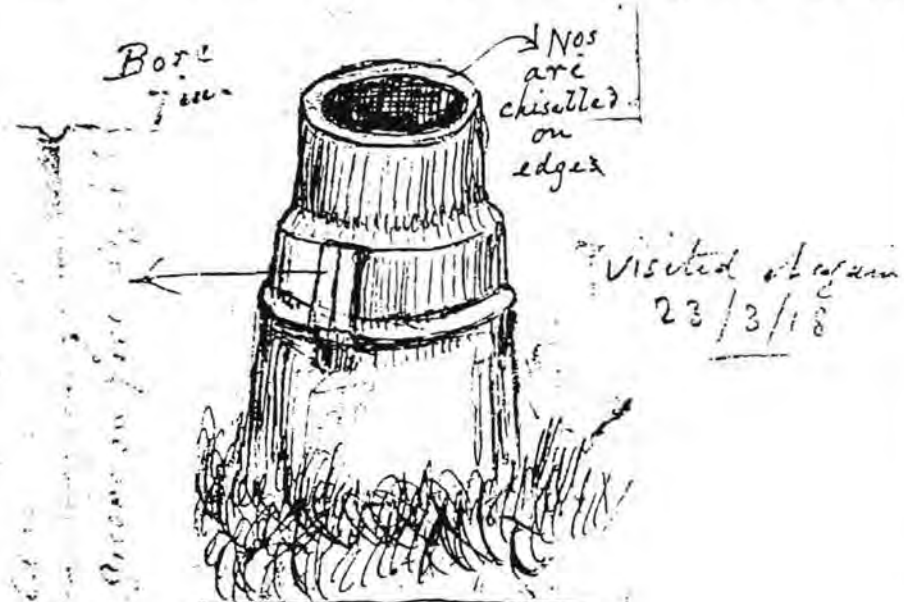


Fig. 94 Cannon, probably 24-pounder, beside King's Blockhouse, ca 1920 (Cape Archives, AG 13845).

Swivel gun at Kloof Nek ^{Mt 11-2} Battery
 (formerly mounted on Block House)
 now buried in ground at edge of tram track



Cannon near site of
 Kloof block-house
 sketched 22/8/1918

Another gun of similar pattern & size has
 been mounted in front of residence of the
 Reservoir caretaker (It was dug up when
 excavating for the reservoir
 Nos chiselled at muzzle of gun on
 N^o side of tram track:-

1192

14

from pencilled impression (rubbed over)

Fig. 95 Swivel gun at Kloof Nek Battery, 1918 (de Smidt, no date).

CHAPTER 3

THE FALSE BAY COAST

"The pass at the foot at Muizenberg ... is the Thermopylae of the Cape".

John Barrow, secretary to Lord Macartney, 1797.

The fortifications at Simon's Bay

In 1729, the Heeren XVII, alarmed at the losses of VOC ships in Table Bay during the winter storms instructed the Council of Policy at the Cape to investigate the possibility of Saldanah Bay and False Bay being used as winter anchoring places. Special attention was to be paid to the availability of fresh water, fuel, provisioning of food and a safe anchoring place, secure from enemy and piratical attack (1).

As to the feasibility of Simon's Bay, the report of 18 December 1729 stated: "And as concerns the securing of the Company's ships from an attack by enemies or pirates we should judge that the placing of a battery with some cannon on the south corner that Simon's Bay makes as shown on the chart annexed would be the best fortification that could be made. We are confident that the ships lying at anchor behind it could still in some measure be protected though we must add however that in a bay so widely extended such a fortification could sometimes bear little fruit (2)" (Fig. 96).

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1. Willis, H.C. (1973). *The Fortifications of Simon's Bay*. Simon's Town Hist. Soc. Bull., Vol. VII, No 4, July 1973, pp. 129-134.
 2. Willis, *ibid.*, p. 129.

It was not until 1743, during the visit of Governor-General G.W. van Imhoff, that Simon's Bay was declared an official VOC outpost and the Company's winter anchoring place. Gale force winds in Table Bay during the months of May to October caused many shipwrecks. Work on the storehouses and official residence of the postholder in Simon's Bay commenced the same year (3) (Fig. 97).

Governor Ryk Tulbagh laid the matter of the defenselessness of the Bay before the Council of Policy who discussed it on 24 November 1767. By that time foreign ships had used the bay increasingly and, in the event of hostilities, Simon's Bay would have no defence. The Council of policy resolved in principle that the Company's facilities should get military protection. Governor Tulbagh wrote to the Heeren XVII that two batteries, one on the north and one on the south side of the bay, should be erected there and requested that cannon should be shipped from the Netherlands (4).

The reply was negative and it was not until the American War of Independence and the arrival of the French fleet in Simon's Bay in 1781 that a need for security was felt. This was marred only by the knowledge that the British officer Colonel William Dalrymple had visited in 1786, drawn a chart of the Bay and handed a comprehensive compilation of the defences of the Cape to Henry Dundas, later Minister of War. The report probably played a role in the British decision to anchor and attack the Cape from False Bay in 1795.

The exact date of the building of the two small batteries, North and South batteries on opposite ends of Simon's Bay has not been established. It was certainly before 1787 (5). A

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3. Sleight, D. (1987). *Die Buiteposte in die Ekonomie van die Kaapse Verversingstasie 1652-1795*. Unpublished PHD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, March 1987, p 33.
 4. Bekker, A.E. (1980). *Die geskiedenis van Valsbaai tot 1795, met spesiale verwysing na Simonsbaai*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1980.
 5. Cape Archives, VC 62, *Uitgaande Brieven*, C. van de Graff - C. Brand,, 25.11.1787, p. 667.

memorial on the state of the defences of the Cape of 1786 urged the necessity to "dat 'er twee gesloote Batterien, ieder van ten minsten 12 stukken a 24 pounder en 2 mortieren a 12 pounder in de Simons-baay aangelegt werden, zoo om te beletten, dat geene vyandly vloot ligtelyk zonder kommen verdryven meester maken ;els om des noods voorna mentlyk in't winter saison onse Esquadres en convoyen, soo vel als die onser vrienden, teegen eene superieure magt ter kunnen secureeren (6)". From this evidence it seems possible that the batteries were built at the end of 1786/beginning of 1787.

In July 1792 De Jong wrote in his diary that there was still no "Castle or fort at Simon's Bay". Some small cannon near the storehouse (probably from the derelict South Battery) were meant more for saluting than for defending the bay. But when he returned on 18 December 1794, he was able to note in his diary: "Ik [heb] in geselskap van Colonel Gordon en Kapitain-luitenant Claris en tourtje naar de Simons-baai ... gedaan, om die nieuwe batterijen en versterkingen te zien, die 'er sedert den oorlog gemaakt zijn. Simons-baai heest thans twee batterijen, prokende met de naameb van Zoutman en Boetzelaar, die te samen negen stukken van 24 ponden haven ... (7)".

This had been the outcome of the work of the commissioners Nederburgh and Frekenius, who recommended in their report of 1793 that Simon's Bay should be defended with a battery of

6. Cape Archives, VC 117, *Memorie over den Staat of Defensie, 1786*, p. 59. Freely translated: "that two closed batteries, each of at least 12 pieces of 24-pounder and 2 mortars of 12-pounder calibre should be erected in Simon's Bay, so that an enemy fleet could not easily become master of the bay; because it is absolute essential that during the winter season our squadrons and convoys, as well as those of our friends should secure it against a superior force".
7. De Jongh, C. (1811). *Reizen naar de Kaap De Goede Hoop, Ierlanden en Noorwegen in den Jaren 1791 to 1797*. Ten Haarlem: bij Francois de Bohm, 1811, deel II, p. 73. Translated as: " I have, in the company of General Gordon and Lieut.-Captain Claris made a tour to Simon's Bay, to view the new batteries and breastworks, which he had erected after the war. Simon's Bay has now two batteries with the name of Zoutman and Boetzelaar, which together have nine pieces of 24-pounder."

four 24 -pounders capable of firing hot shot. A powder magazine and a guard house were to be built nearby (8).

Only two years earlier, a military commission reported that the possibility that an enemy would attack Simon's Bay was seen as rather remote. It was advisable, though, to build a battery, like the one designed by van der Graff to the south of the bay; and to get a good crossfire another battery should be placed at the north-west shore, while the saluting battery could also be fitted out with heavier guns (9).

Governor Sluysken instructed the fortifications engineer, Captain Thibault to build these reinforced batteries. Thibault had been placed under the command of Colonel R. J. Gordon, then Chief of Engineering and Artillery. Great differences of opinion arose between them not only with respect to the renovation of the batteries in Table Bay, but also those in Simon's Bay. Thibault noted angrily: "I was forced to construct at False Bay a Battery of four cannons of twenty-four pounds, with which it was intended to pulverize the enemy's fleet; soon after that, always according to niggardly plans and with economy, I was compelled to erect a second one, also of four cannons, in the same area ...(10)". Both were "provided with ovens in order to beat off an enemy with red hot cannon balls (11)" (Figs. 98 and 99).

The first battery was to be built in front of today's Martello Tower on the place of the derelict South Battery. Governor Sluysken conferred the name Boetselaer on it and the North Battery was renamed Zoutman. A guard house was built next to

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8. Bekker, *ibid.*, p. 255, ref 40: C 100, Resolutions 25.06.1793, p.272; C 118 Klad Notulen 25.06.1793; C 104 Resolutions 15.11.1793, pp. 361, 364-5.
 9. Cape Archives, VC 64, *Memorie aan Zyne Hoogheid van die Militaire Commissie*, 25 Sept. 1789 en *Brieven en rapporten van die Militaire Commissie 1790*, p. 59.
 10. Puyfontaine, H. R. de (1972). *Louis Michel Thibault 1750-1815, his official life at the Cape*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, p. 6.
 11. Cape Archives, VC 75, Lieut. Marnitz account of the surrender of the Cape in 1795, p. 29.

each battery: each was 7,2 m by 5,4 m, provided with a door and two windows (12). The powder magazine at the Boetselaer Battery was completed in February 1795 and from then on sufficient gun powder and ammunition was stored therein (13). This powder magazine is today used as a chapel for the South African Navy (Figs. 100 and 101).

On 10 June 1795 the British made their appearance in Simon's Bay. In accordance with prescribed instructions, the officers in charge of the Boetselaer Battery opened fire once it became clear that the visitors were not here on a friendly visit. The British were forced to anchor at a safe distance. Governor Sluysken and his military advisors came to the conclusion that the batteries with their few guns in Simon's Bay were not able to withstand a concerted British attack and ordered the guns to be spiked and the troops and inhabitants to withdraw.

The British landed on 12 July and took possession of "the South Battery [with] a Guard house & Magazine. At the North Battery a Guard House-all of which are built of brick (14)". The remaining government buildings consisted of storehouses and barracks. Hercules Ross, General Craig's secretary described the batteries in a letter to David Scott, London: "5 July [1795]... I took lodgings in Simons Town. The two batteries were about a mile and a half distant from each other, that to the south had four 24-pounders and four 8-pounders [and] the north battery had four 24-pounders, both provided with furnaces for heating shot, and these were found full of balls and coals that had recently been heated ... (15)".

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12. Bekker, *ibid.* p. 263, Ref 60, Cape Archives, C 104, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 15.11.1793, pp. 364-365; and C 106, 30.04.1794, pp. 147-150.
 13. Bekker, *ibid.* p. 264, Ref 65, Cape Archives, C 109, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 27.02.1795, p. 85.
 14. Letter of Mr Alexander Farquar: A Description of Public Buildings at Simon's Town. In: Theal, G. Macall (1897). *Records of the Cape Colony*. Cape Town: The Government Printer, p. 136-137.
 15. Boucher, M. and Penn, N, (Eds.), (1992). *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803*. Johannesburg: The Brenthurst Press (Pty) Ltd, p. 39.

The VOC troops retreated to Kalk Bay where they hastily erected a small earthen battery for two guns (Fig. 102). To date it has not been possible to locate this work. A company of British soldiers with a few artillery pieces then started the long march from Simon's Bay to Muizenberg (Figs. 103 and 104).

General Craig landed the remaining troops at Muizenberg beach, after having shelled the Poshuis (Fig. 105), (the Dutch headquarters), and the line of fortifications in the vicinity. After a short skirmish the Dutch forces retreated to Wynberg and hence to Cape Town (Fig. 106).

Immediately after the Dutch surrender General Craig set about improving the defences of the Cape. One of the places receiving his attention was Simon's Town, by now a substantial settlement with a dockyard and ship repair facilities.

General Craig reasoned that:

"... if we can prevent the Enemy from making use of the anchorage ... he must very soon abandon his attempt [to take the Cape] from that quarter. ... To effect this ... nothing more is necessary than to secure the battery at the South Point ... the guns of which command every yard of it. The Tower which I have constructed in the rear of the battery is with this view. ... the walls being six feet thick ... Two very small bays to the south of the Tower have been ablatished [sic] and are each defended by a gun ... they will require ... that the parapets before the guns should be repaired before the season sets in (16)".

The Tower, which was to be called the Martello Tower, was restored by the South African Defence Force in 1972 as a naval

16. University of the Witwatersrand Library, Ref No A 24, Craig Papers, Memorandum of General Craig on the Cape Defences, 1796, p. 8.

museum. The history of Martello towers in general and its construction in Simon's Town can be found in numerous publications (17).

Major W.M. Kersteman, Commander Royal Engineers, had numerous drawings of the North and South Batteries made between 1796 and 1802. The plan of 1799 lists three separate works at the South Battery and are described as: "A. Tower and Battery of five 24 -pounders and one 13 inch mortar, C. Powder Magazine" (18) (Figs. 107 and 108).

The so-called "hot-shot-furnace" on Queen's Road/corner of Runciman Road below the old cemetery has been, at a recent excavation, identified as the possible remains of a dwelling, barn or stable (19) (Figs. 109 and 110). A hot-shot-furnace is depicted on Major Kersteman's drawing of 1799 (18) and a plan of the South Battery, 1806 (20) (Fig. 111).

Captain Dougal Carmichael kept a journal of the second occupation of the Cape in 1806. His regiment was stationed in Simon's Town, when an exciting event occurred. The French frigate *La Cannoniere* made her appearance in Simon's Town. The French were once again at war with Britain. "The anchorage was defended by two permanent batteries, on each of which are mounted six eighteen-pounders. In addition to this, several temporary defences were thrown up by us ... thus every projecting hillock round the bay was crowned with batteries, hastily constructed of fascines, sand-bags, or buisquet barrels

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17. See, for instance, "The Martello Tower Simon's Town" supplied by the Simon's Town Historical Society. "The Martello Tower in Simon's Town", Simon van der Stel Foundation, Bulletin 28, September 1973. "The construction and restoration of the Martello Tower", by R.M. Moens, Simon's Town Hist. Soc. Bulletin, Vol. VII, No 2, July 1972.
 18. Cape Archives, map M4/5, Simon's Bay and Town, 1799.
 19. Seemann, U.A. (1993). *The Simon's Town so-called hot-shot-cannon- ball oven.* Unpublished report prepared for the Simon's Town Municipality and the Simon's Town Museum.
 20. Simon's Town Museum, Plan of the South Battery, Simon's Town, 1806.

... during the whole time, we had the batteries manned, the furnaces heating shot and the troops paraded for action ... (21)".

The French frigate's captain "resigned himself to his fate without a struggle" and a skirmish was narrowly averted.

The Simon's Town Batteries were kept in good repair. Yearly reports were submitted to the Ordnance Department. One such entry read:

"April 1813. Simon's Town has two Batteries North and South. In the rear of the South Battery is a Block House nearly on the same construction as those at Cape Town, except its being circular. At this station the following ordnance are supplied with Eight Hundred and Thirteen Rounds of Ammunition in a permanent Magazine mounted on Wood Platforms in good order ... As the Admiral removes his Flag to this Station nearly half a year, there is lodged in a small Permanent Magazine (capable of containing Eight Hundred Rounds) a quantity of Gun Powder sufficient for the Supply of the Navy ... (22)".

By 1 July 1829 most military buildings and "defences" were transferred to the Ordnance Department of the Cape of Good Hope. Amongst others there were listed these works in Simon's Town: "Ordnance: Blockhouse and battery, Powder Magazine and North Battery ... (23)" (Figs. 112 and 113).

Simon's Town became the official naval base of the British Navy until the 1960s. The Simon's Town North and South batteries were constantly occupied, modernised and rebuilt until today there is no trace left of the original construction of the batteries (Fig. 114).

21. *Journal of Captain Dougal Carmichael's account of the occupation of 1806. Cape Monthly Magazine, August 1858, pp. 106-112.*
22. Cape Archives, VC 214, Report of the State of the Forts and Batteries and Field Ordnance, etc composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Colony of Good Hope, 1809-1813.
23. Cape Archives, CO 477/No 1, accompanying a letter dated 5.1.1838.

Muizenberg

Until 1795 it was not deemed necessary to erect any defence works in Muizenberg. The potential of the narrow pass in Muizenberg which could be easily defended if an enemy force were to land along the False Bay coast further south was recognised quite early on in 1781:

"From Simon's Bay to Muizenberg is roughly 3 leagues of sandy terrain, cut every so often by small rocky places, but practicable for artillery ... there are 3 or 4 poor batteries of cannon along the edge of this route designed to cut off communication. I suggest placing Hottentots in the brush to fire upon troops ... this would be an area for zig-zag trenches if it could be well defended, but this would require a strong battery at Muizenberg ... in calm weather one can come close to Muizenberg by launch ... making the defence useless, but if the posts at Muizenberg and Simon's Bay were strongly fortified ... (24)".

Yet by 1786 the war scare had subsided and the memorandum on the state of defences in 1786 mentioned Muizenberg only in passing and that it might be necessary in future to place a "Redoubt van 16 stukken, om onse communicatie met de Simon's Bay te versterkeren (25)".

Elaborate plans for the defence of the road to Cape Town in Muizenberg were drawn up during the next years (26) (Figs. 115 and 116). But, as usual, there was no money set aside and the

24. Smith, A.B. (1981). *The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: A report on the excavations at Conway redoubt, Constantia Nek. Appendix: Military observations on the existing conditions of the Cape of Good Hope (1781)*. Mil. Hist. Jour., Vol 5, No 3, June 1981.
25. Cape Archives, VC 117, *ibid.*, p. 59. Translated as: Redoubt of 16 pieces to strengthen our communication with Simon's Bay.
26. Cape Archives, M1/1070, M1/1074.

building of coastal batteries at Hout Bay and in Table Bay seemed more urgent.

When in 1795 British troops landed at the beach in Muizenberg it came as a total surprise to the Dutch defenders. To stop an advancing column of infantry and artillery from Simon's Town two defence lines, rough walling of about 1 m high and 1 m wide at the base, were hastily erected from boulders found on the mountain side between what is today Boyes Drive and Main Road opposite Bailey's Cottage (Fig. 117). These defence lines were depicted on a British chart prepared for the landing (27) (Fig. 118). The 'Poshuis' had for some time been the headquarters of the small Dutch garrison at Muizenberg and been fortified quickly with a small rampart and palisades (28) (Fig. 105). Two small powder magazines had been built by the Dutch between the 'Poshuis' and the sea. They are incorporated today in the building known as 'Sandton-on-Sea' (Fig. 119).

Hercules Ross wrote after the battle on 7 August 1795: "The enemy made no stand ... they saved all their artillery save one brass 6-pounder and two howitzers ... all the tents and huts were left standing (29)".

General Craig's attention to detail in 1796 also encompassed the pass at Muizenberg. In 1797/8, John Barrow, secretary to his successor, Lord Macartney, noted that:

"... Most of the works, batteries, lines have undergone a complete repair, with many improvements; and others have been judiciously added by the British engineers. The pass at the foot at Muizenberg, a steep, high mountain, washed by False Bay, and the only road of communication between Simon's Bay and the Cape, may now be considered as impregnable - it is the Thermopylae of the Cape, and from

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27. Burman, J. (1977). *The False Bay Story*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
 28. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.*, drawing of the fortified Dutch camp at Muizenberg, p. 44.
 29. Boucher and Penn, *ibid.*, p. 43.

several breastworks lately constructed along the heights ... (30)" (Figs. 120, 121 and 122).

In the words of General Craig:

" ... during the months ... May, June, July & August the Post at Muizenberg becomes of infinite importance ... We have built a number of Fleches [breastworks] on the Heights at Muizenberg calculated to secure them and flank the approach. Something further may be done to the main work - in particular the Battery of two twenty four - pounders towards the sea should be altered. The present construction is bad as a ship may easily be out of range of the embrasures ... it was my intention to put them [the guns] on traversing Carriages having the Trucks in front & to place them, one at the angle where they now are, and the other at the angle of the Epaulement on the right of the road, so that they both might fire in every direction towards the Sea and along the road ... (31)".

General Craig described here the battery and embankment on which "Bailey's Cottage" is situated (Fig. 123). He added, that the Muizenberg Pass should be defended by another "fort, calculated equally against an attack from either side" of the mountain or sea. This and three other forts were to be built during the next four years: Eastern Battery opposite Bailey's Cottage on the mountain site, Upper Battery behind on what is today the Natale Labia Museum and the Lower Battery opposite it directly on the beach (32). Several breastworks of semi-dressed stones were also erected along the mountain side between those batteries, but Commissary J.A. de Mist "seemed them superfluous, useless and far too expensive to maintain,

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30. Barrow, John (1804). *An account of travels into the interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804.
 31. University of the Witwatersrand Library, f A 24, Craig Papers, Memorandum of General Craig on the Cape defences, 1796, pp. 12-14.
 32. Surveyor-Generals Office, Cape Town: Plan of the pass of Muizenberg, copied from a survey & drawing by Capt. Chapman & Lt. Bennet, Royal Engineers, dated June 1802, by E.F. McGill Jan. 4th 184 .[sic]. Cape Freehold 9/19.

while for a systematic defence there are not half the lines necessary (33)". The Batavians in 1803 had only a "small annual sum in keeping them in repair".

During the Batavian rule Lieut. Thibault investigated ways of lodging the troops permanently in Muizenberg. He first wanted "to convert the interior of a semi-circular battery into a munitions store, so as to replace the type of barrack at present used for this purpose, but [which is] exposed to the bullets of the enemy", presumably the Upper Battery (34). The contract was given to Mr Rousseau, a civil contractor.

Captain Carmichael found barracks for the accommodation of troops in Muizenberg in 1806, when he passed through and had this to say about the Eastern Battery: " [It] consists of four eighteen-pounders, pointed to the sea, and an equal number bearing on the defile. The works are constructed of loose round pebbles, picked up on the beach, surmounted by an earthen parapet, and the whole is so frail that a single shot would demolish it from top to bottom (35)".

Together with all the works of defence along the Cape Peninsula the Muizenberg defences were regularly inspected and repaired. The report on Forts, Batteries and field ordnance 1809- 1813 stated that "Muizenberg consists of a Line and a Ditch, with a Sea Battery on its left flank, termed the Lower Battery and separated by the road ... A few fleches are advanced in front of this Line; There is a good Magazine in which with the portable Magazine on the Works is contained the Ammunition ... the following Ordnance are situated here on Wood platforms and in good order: Lower Battery ... Upper Battery ... (36)".

33. De Mist, J.A. (1802). *The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope, 1802*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1920, p. 263.

34. Puyfontaine, *ibid.*, p. 23.

35. *Journal of Captain Dougal Carmichael*, *ibid.*, p. 110-111.

36. Cape Archives, VC 214, Report on Forts, Batteries and field ordnance, 1809-1813.

"The Barracks and everything at Muijsenberg" were handed over in 1827 to the Cape's Ordnance Department and listed as "Batteries, Artillery Store and Powder Magazine" in the transfer document (37) (38).

Today the Muizenberg mountain side between Main Road and Boyes Drive is littered and overgrown. The remains of buildings, defence works and 'lines' [breastworks] are impressive. They are well preserved and deserve to be studied in depth.

37. Cape Archives, GH 1/60, p. 92.

38. Cape Archives, CO 477, No 1, accompanying a letter dated 5.1.1838.

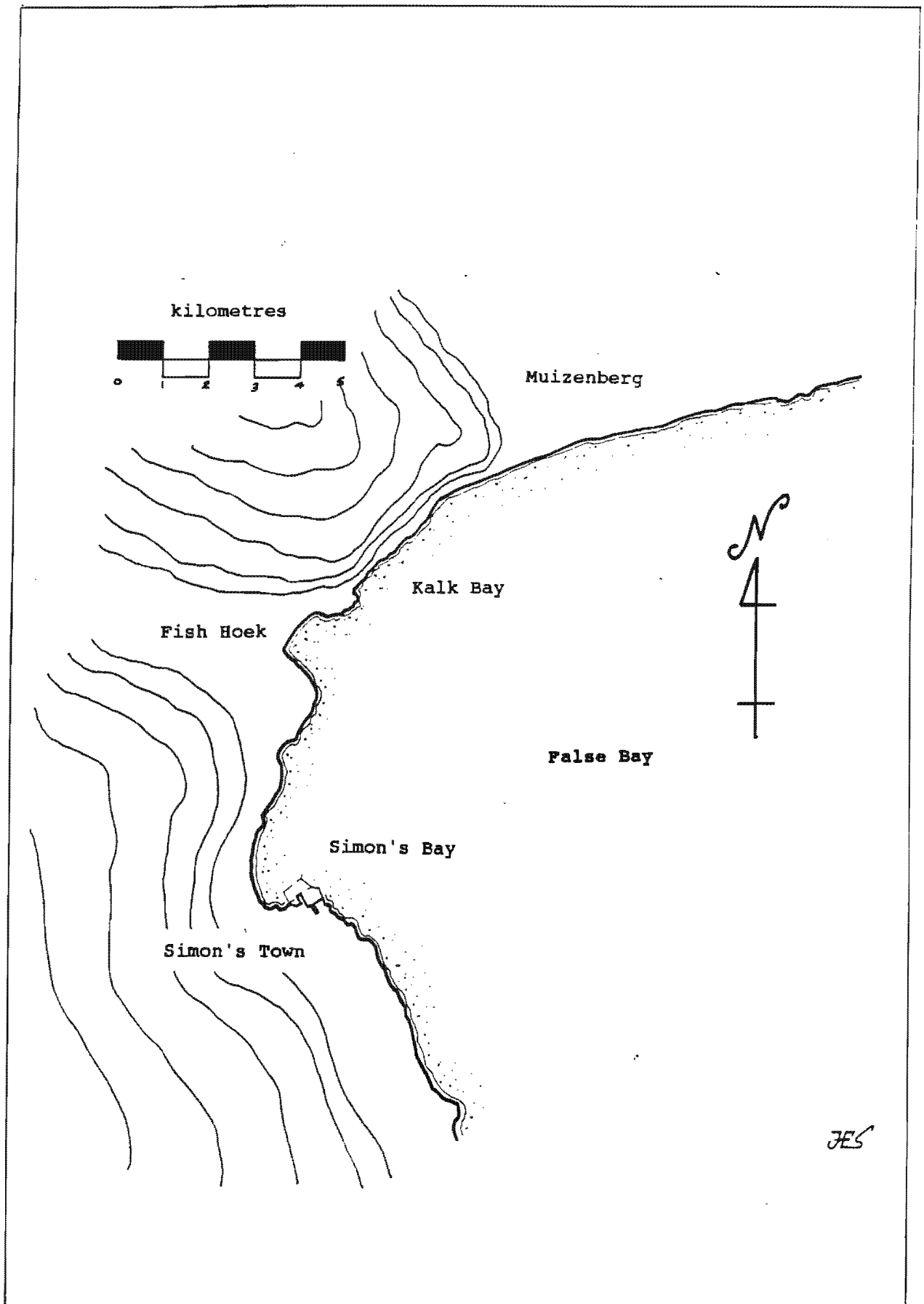


Fig. 96 The False Bay coast, 1993.

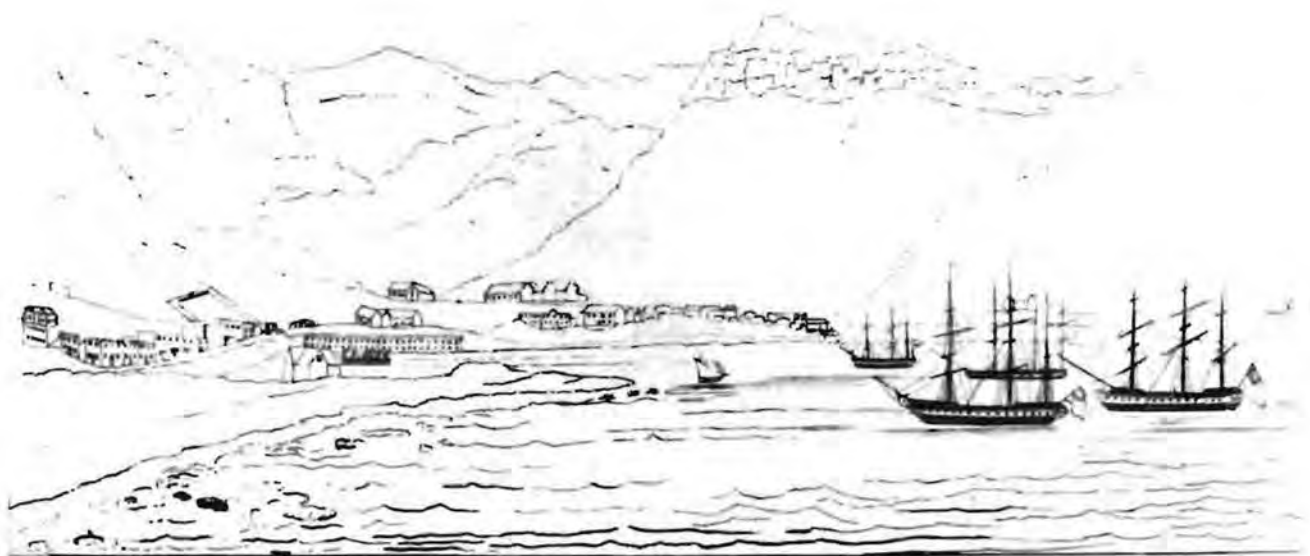
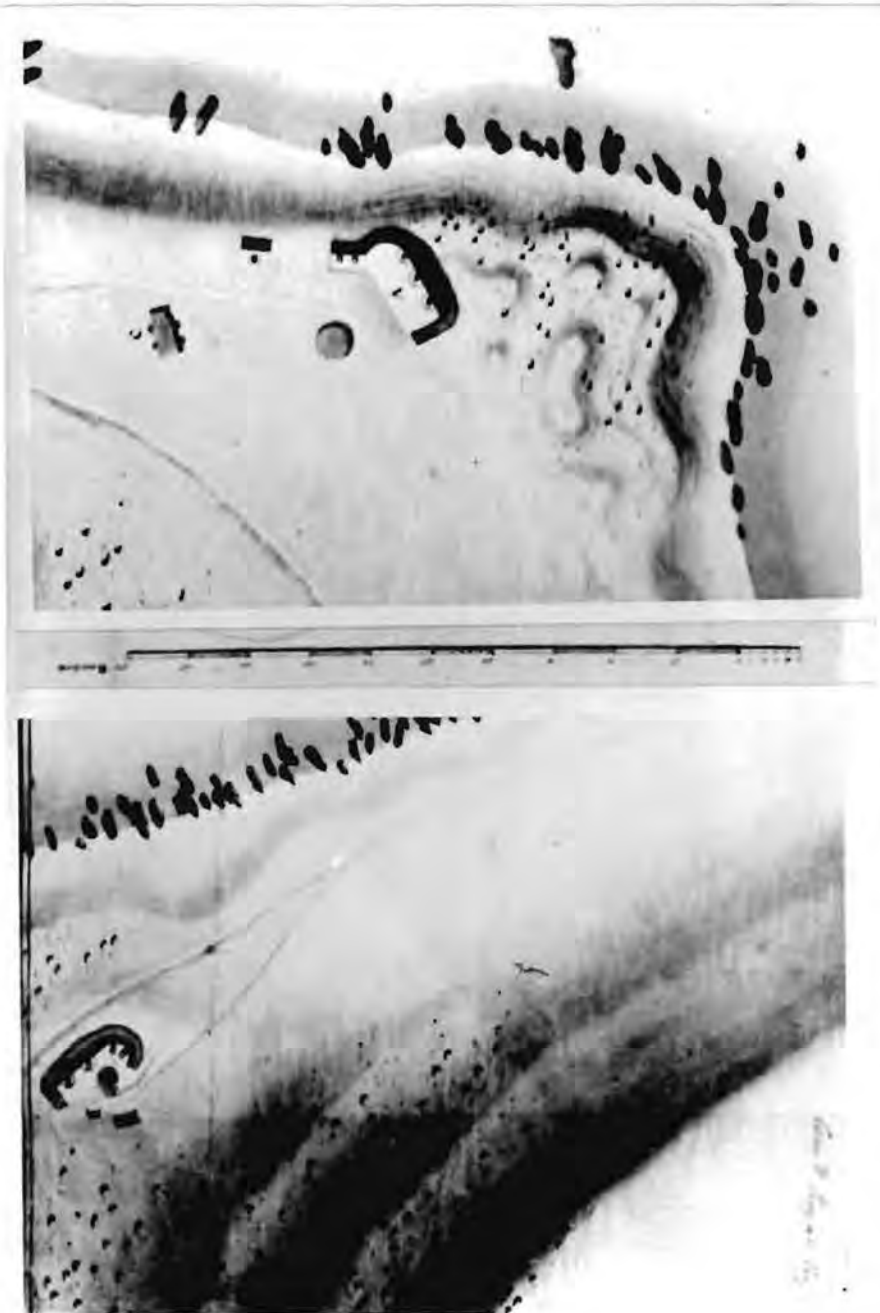


Fig. 97 The Bay and village of Simon's Town, Cape of Good Hope, from the Blockhouse, 1813 (Prior, 1819).



- Fig. 98 Simon's Town South Battery, 1799. Note the Martello Tower, the powder magazine and the extra rampart.
 A - Tower and Battery of 5 24-pounders and one 13-inch mortar
 C - Powder magazine.
- Fig. 99 Simon's Town North Battery, 1799.
 B - Barbette Battery of four 24-pounders.
 (Cape Archives, M4/5, both maps are part of the same map).



Fig. 100 Rampart wall of the South Battery, 1993.



Fig. 101 Chapel for the South African Navy, 1993, formerly the gun powder magazine of the South Battery.



Fig. 102 Kalk Bay Battery, 22 May 1854, by Charles Bedes-Young (Africana Museum, Ref 66/2302).

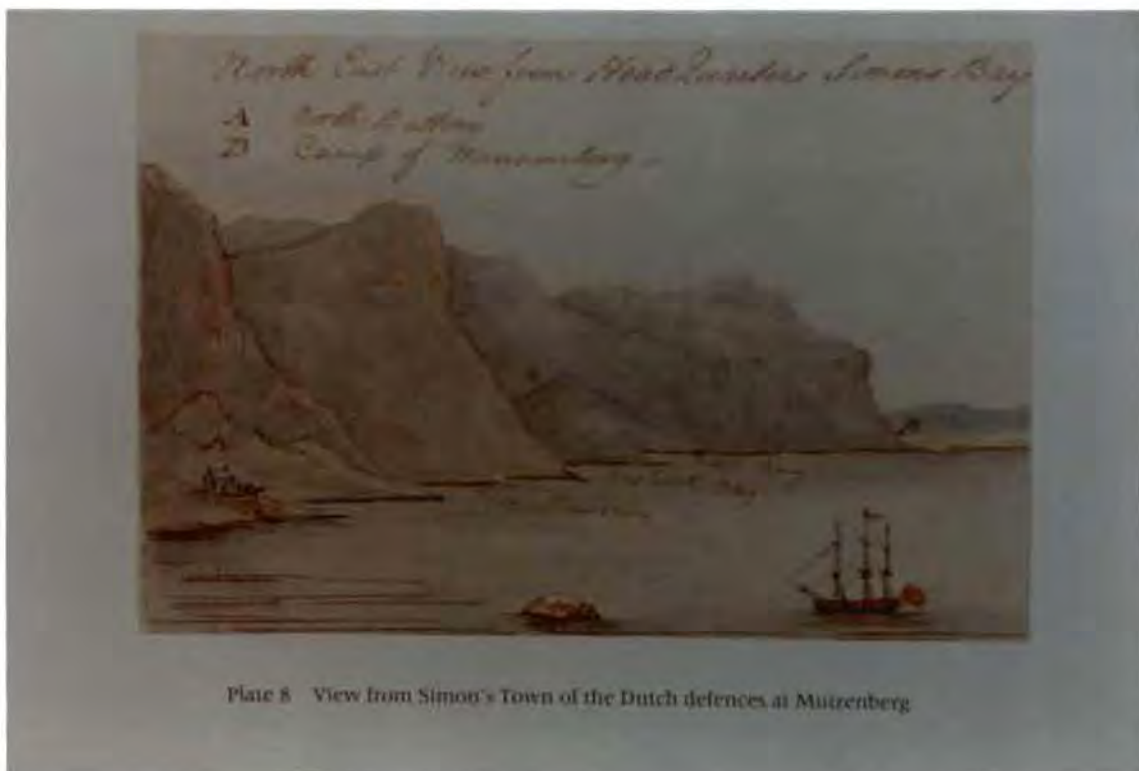


Fig. 103 View from Simon's Town to Muizenberg, 1795 (Boucher and Penn, 1992).
 A - North Battery
 B - Camp of Muizenberg.



Fig. 104 Landing of the troops at Muizenberg beach, 1795
(Boucher and Penn, 1992).



Plate 9 The fortified Dutch camp
at Muizenberg which fell to the British
on 7 August 1795

Fig. 105 "The Poshuis", the Dutch military headquarters at Muizenberg, 1795. Note the earthworks and pallisades facing the approach from Simon's Town. (Boucher and Penn, 1992).

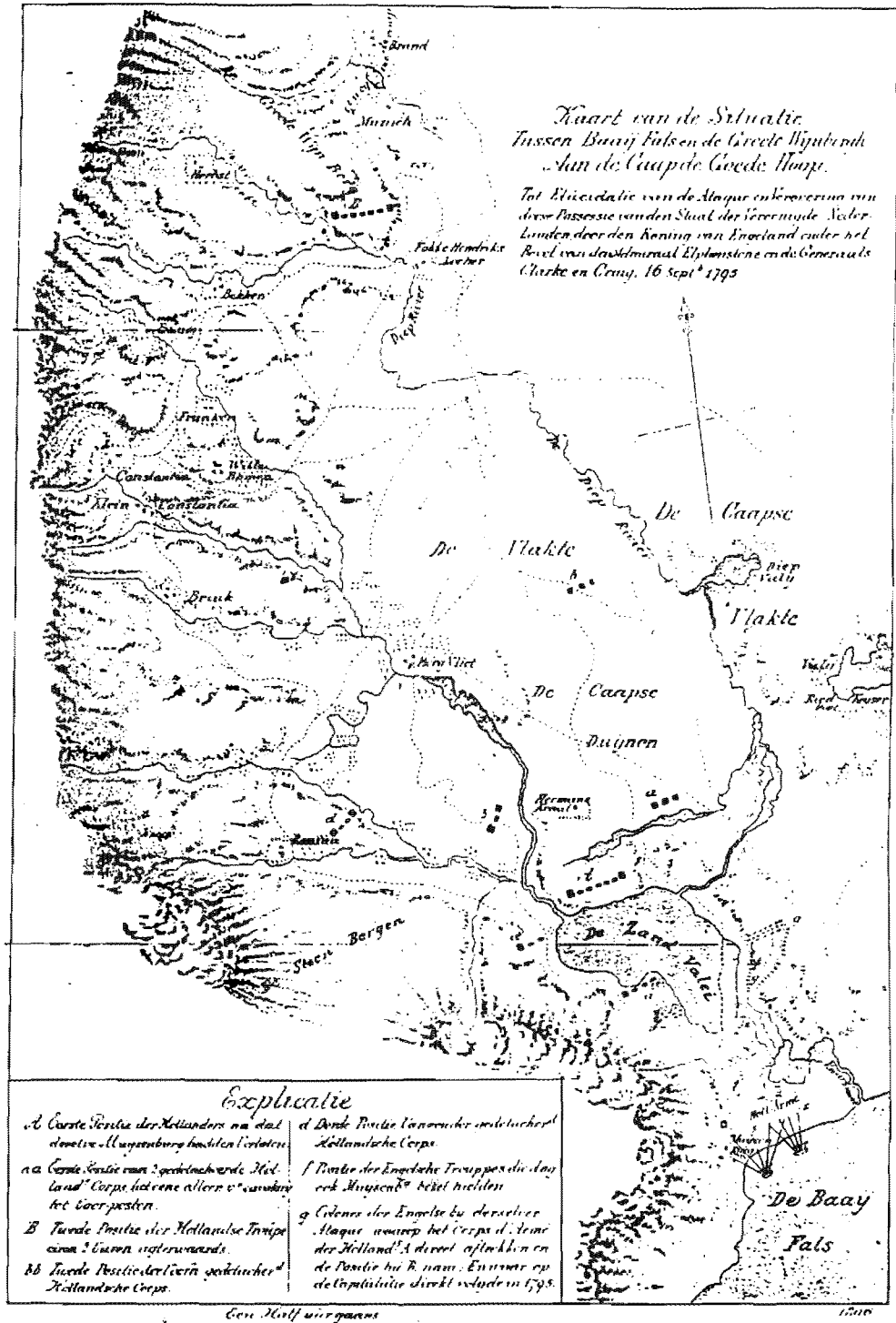


Fig. 106 Map of the 'Theatre of War', the Dutch retreat from Muizenberg to Cape Town, 15-16 September 1795. (Cape Archives, M1/37).

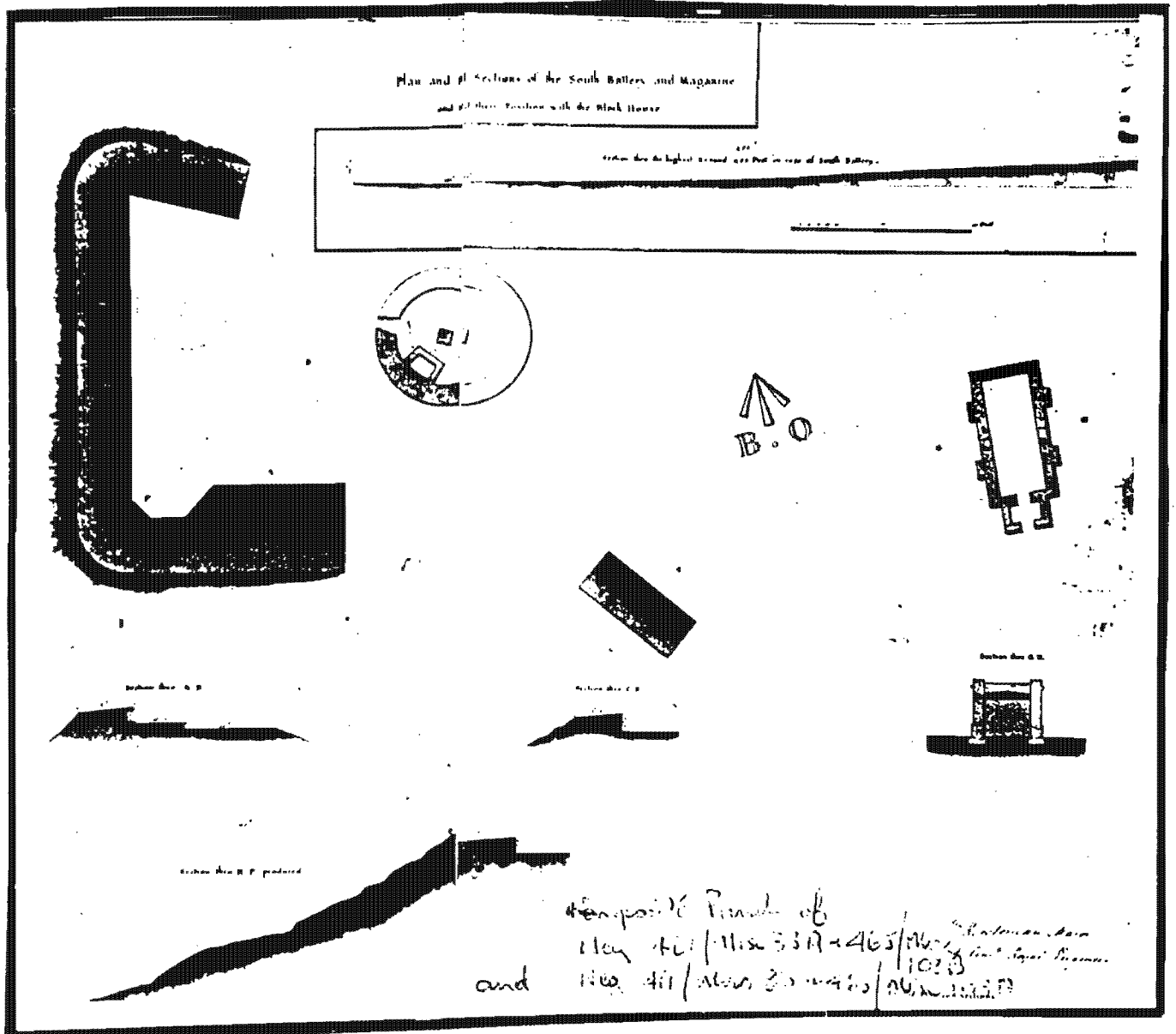


Fig. 107 Plan and section of the South Battery at Simon's Town, 1799 (Cape Archives, M1/2617 and M1/2618).

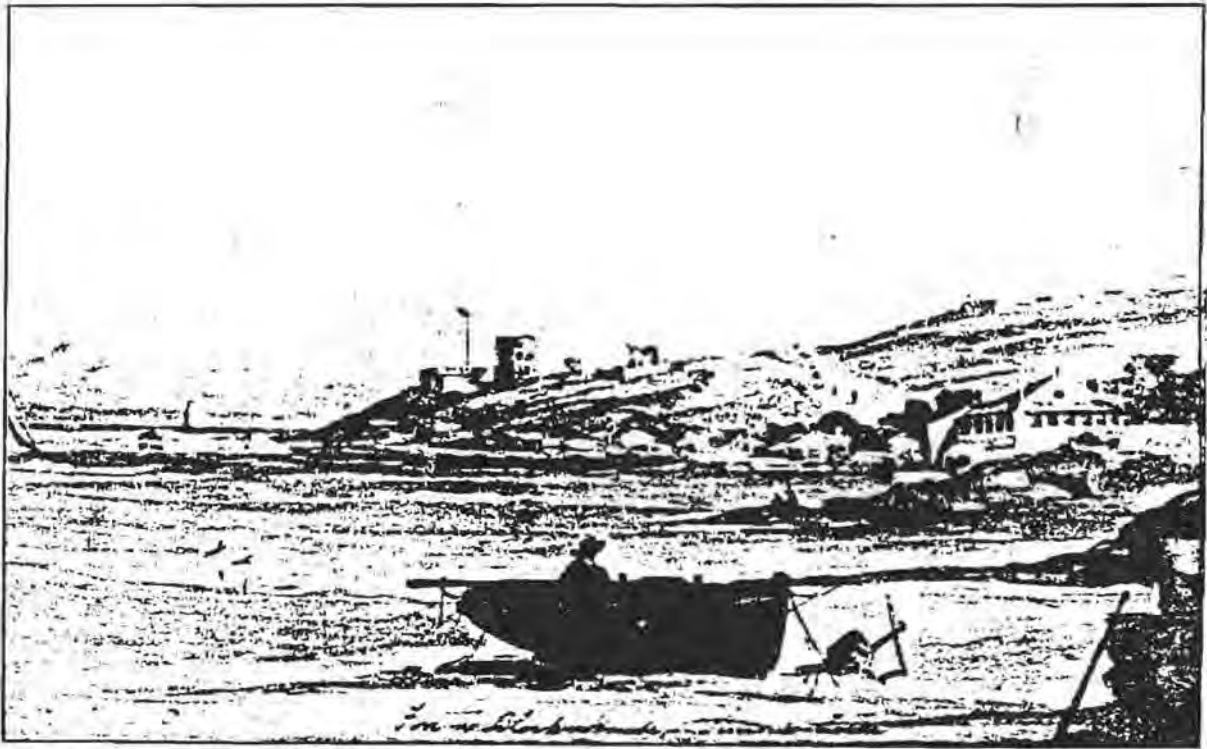


Fig. 108 Fort and Blockhouse at Simon's Town, ca 1840
(Burman, 1977).



Fig. 109 Remains of a possible dwelling or barn, formerly thought to be a hot-shot cannon-ball oven (Seemann, 1993).

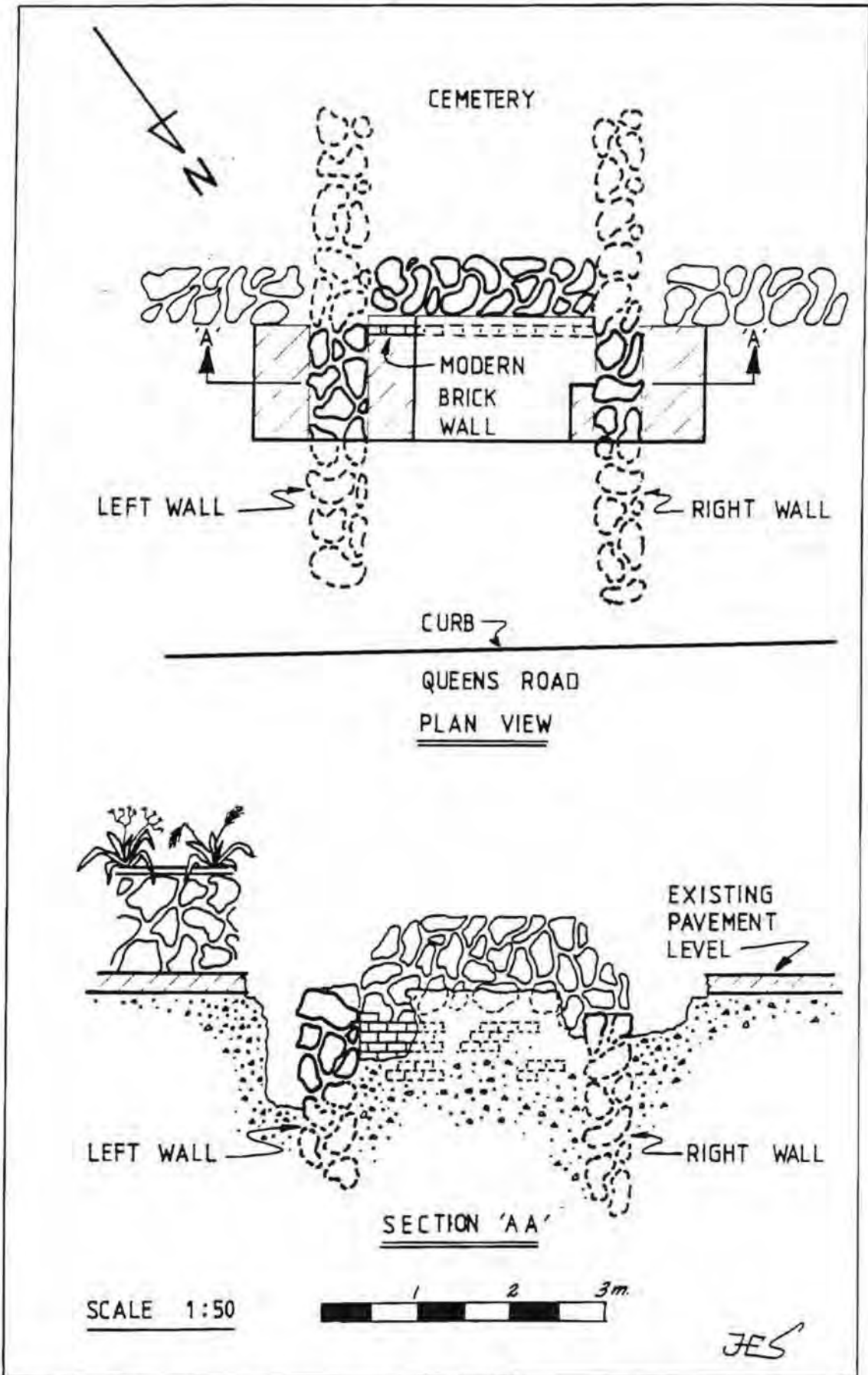


Fig. 110 Structure of the dwelling or barn beneath the so-called "hot-shot-furnace" superstructure at Simon's Town (Seemann, 1993).

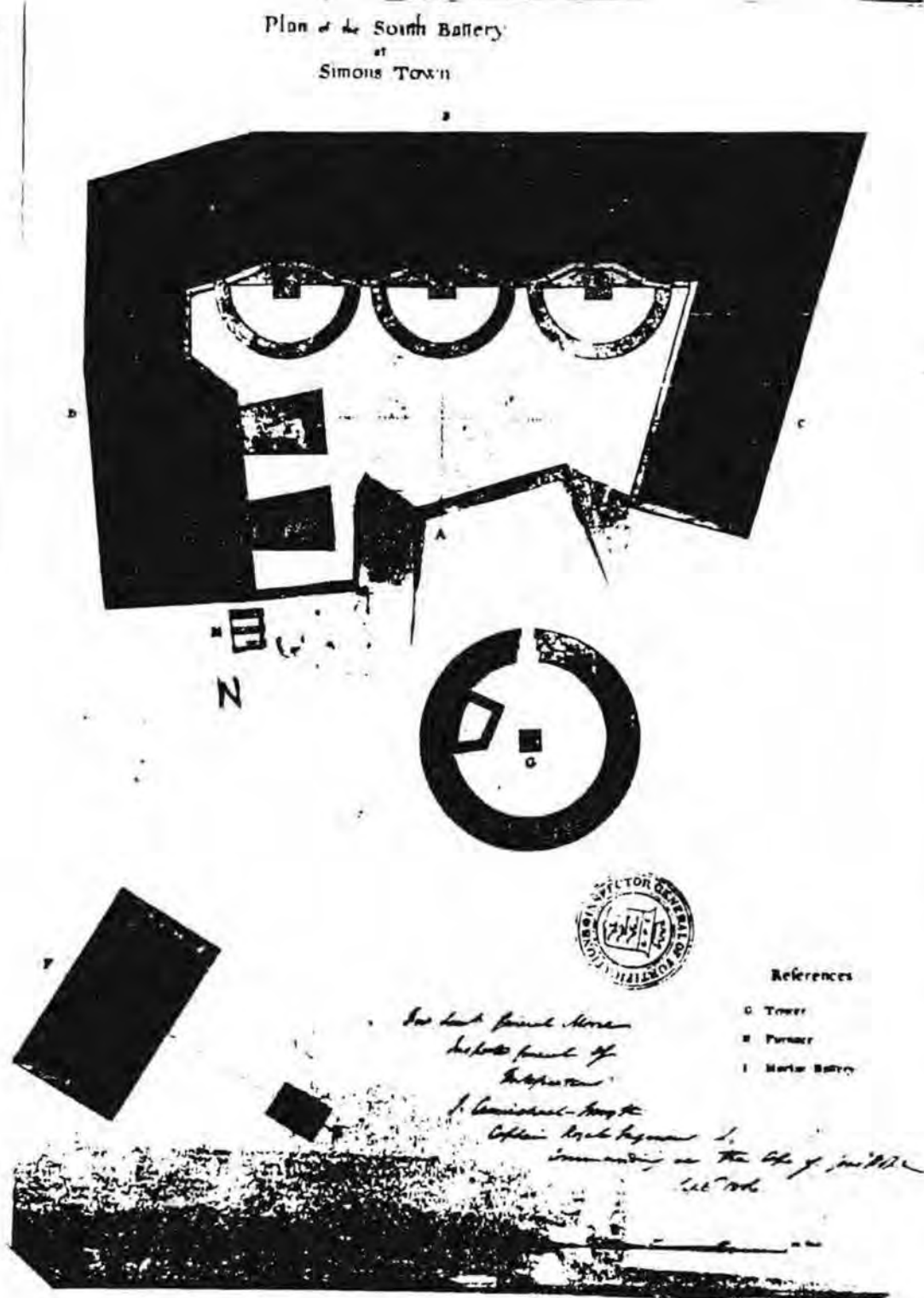


Fig. 111 South Battery, Simon's Town, ca 1800. Note: N = furnace = hot-shot cannon-ball oven (Simon's Town Museum, no ref.).

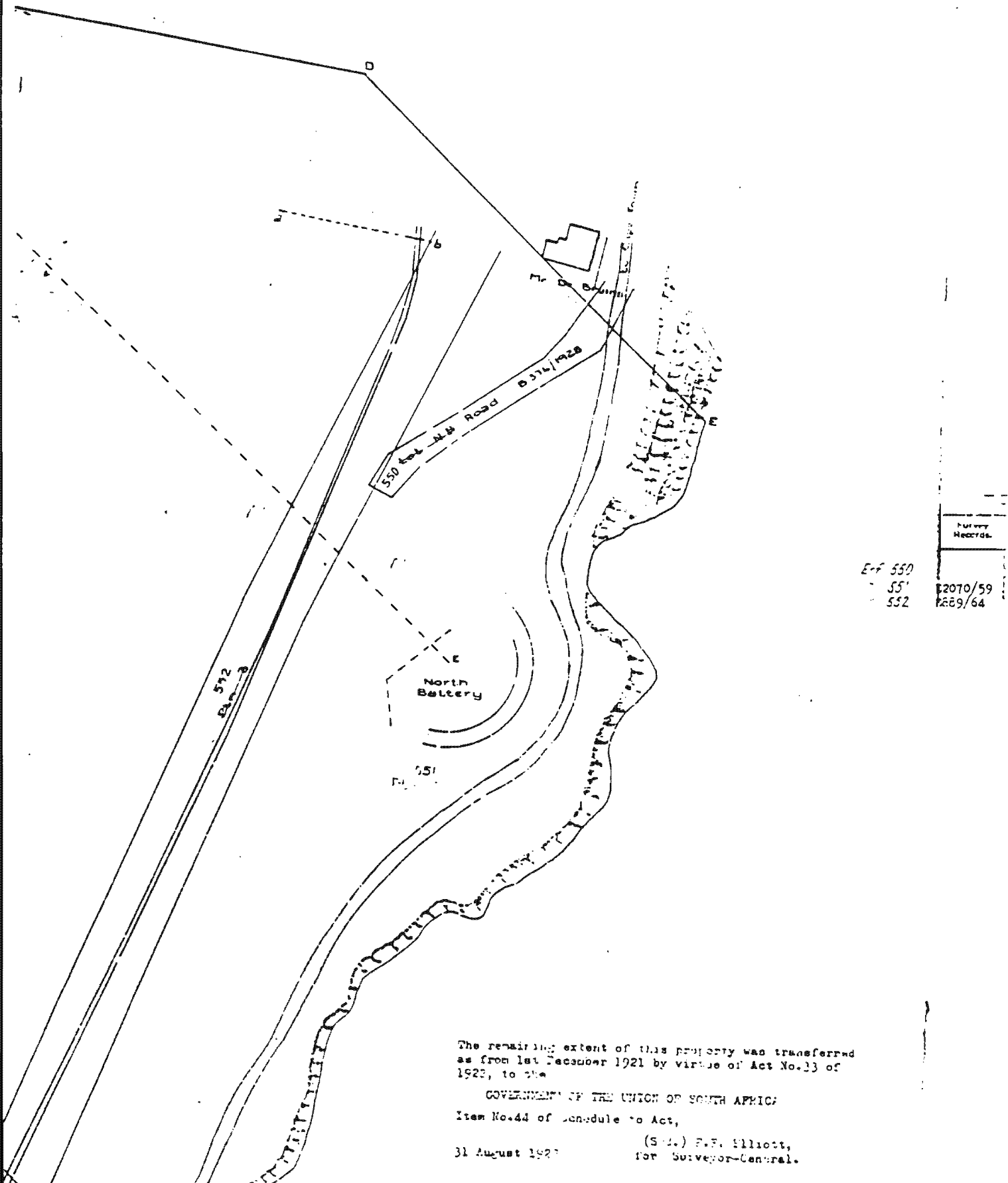


Fig. 112 North Battery, Simon's Town, 1844 (Surveyor General, Dgm No 342/1844).

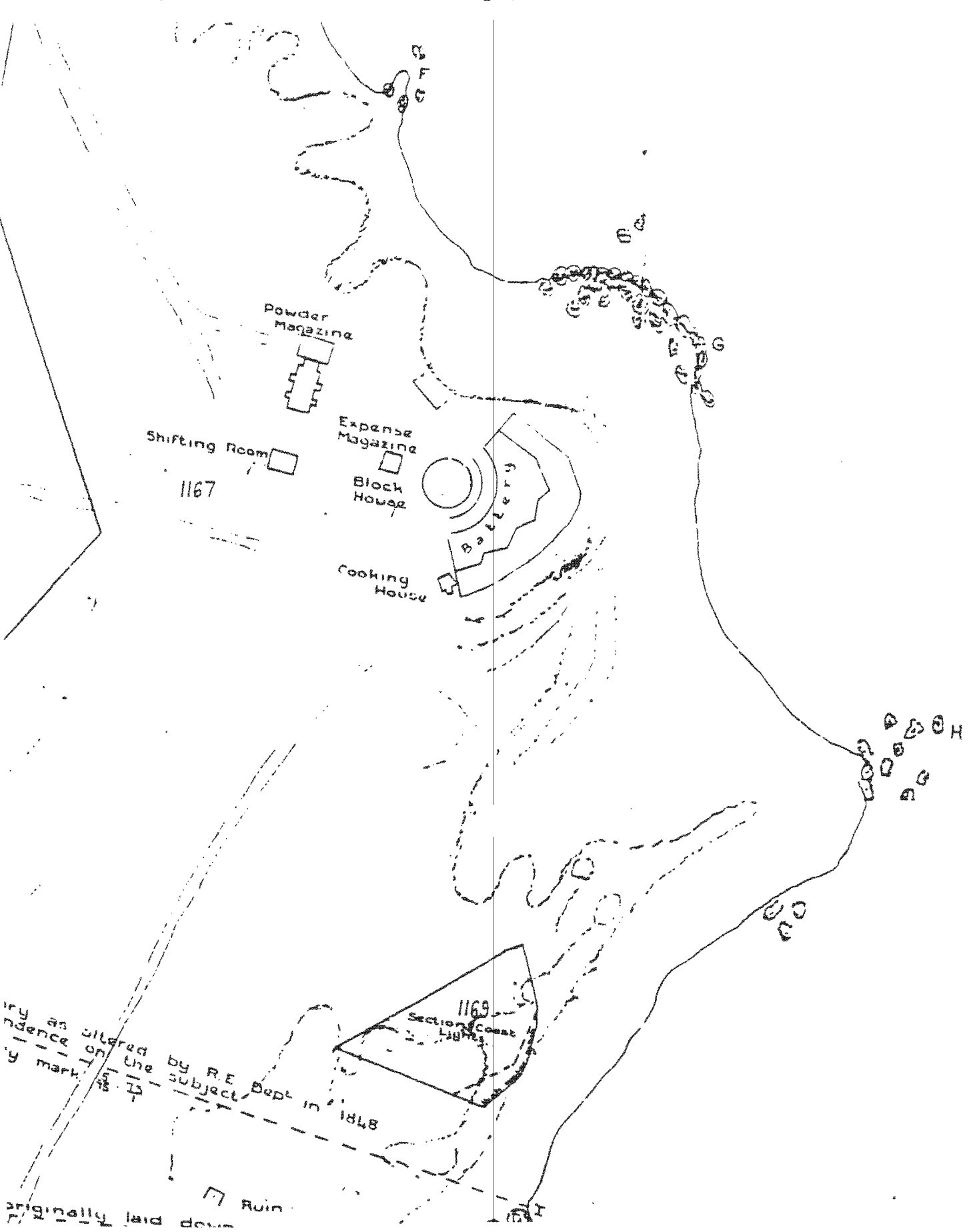


Fig. 113 South Battery, Simon's Town, 1844 (Surveyor General, Dgm No 345/1844).

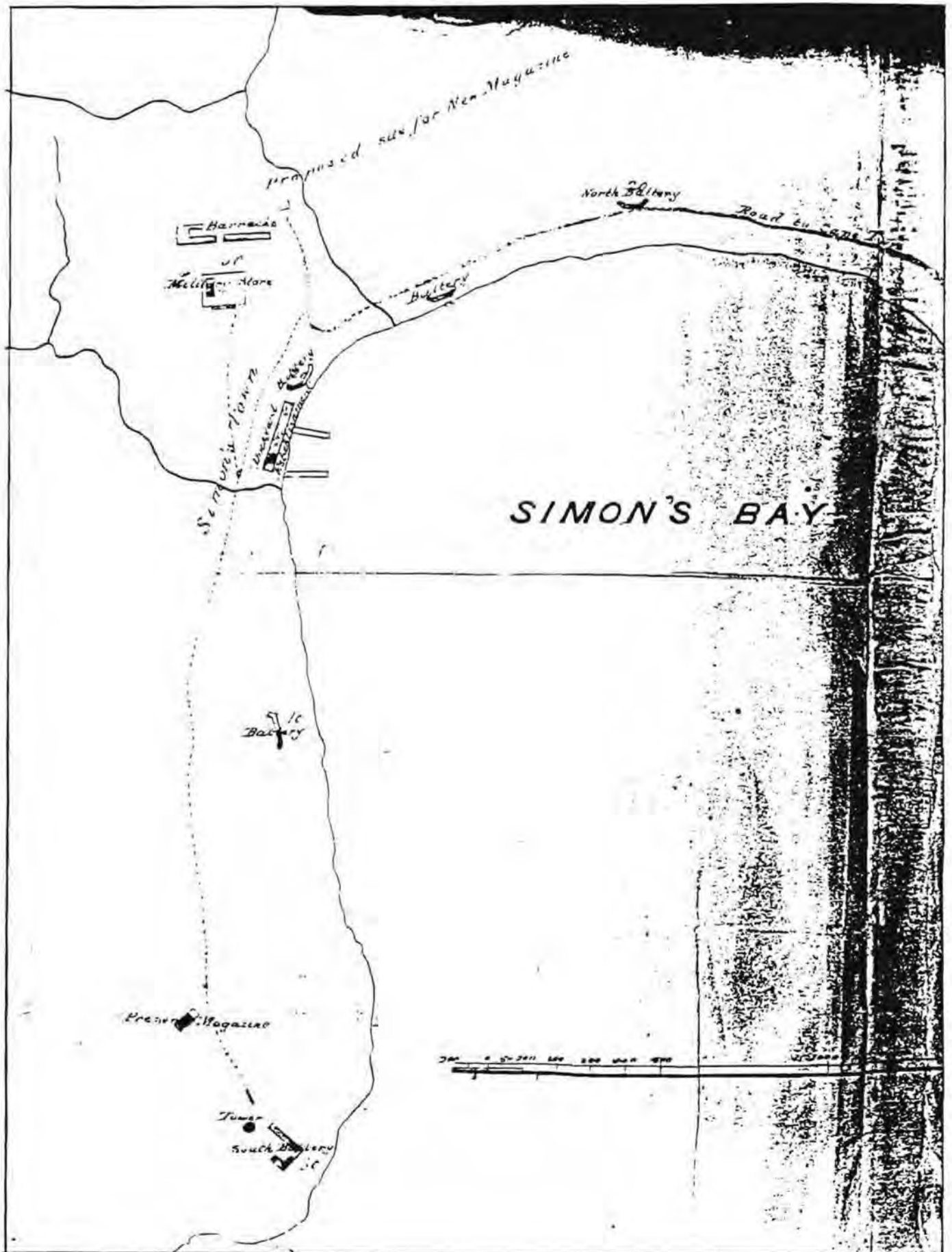


Fig. 114 Simon's Town with batteries, 1862. Note the strong fortification after the Cape Squadron made Simon's Town its headquarters. (Cape Archives, M2/767).

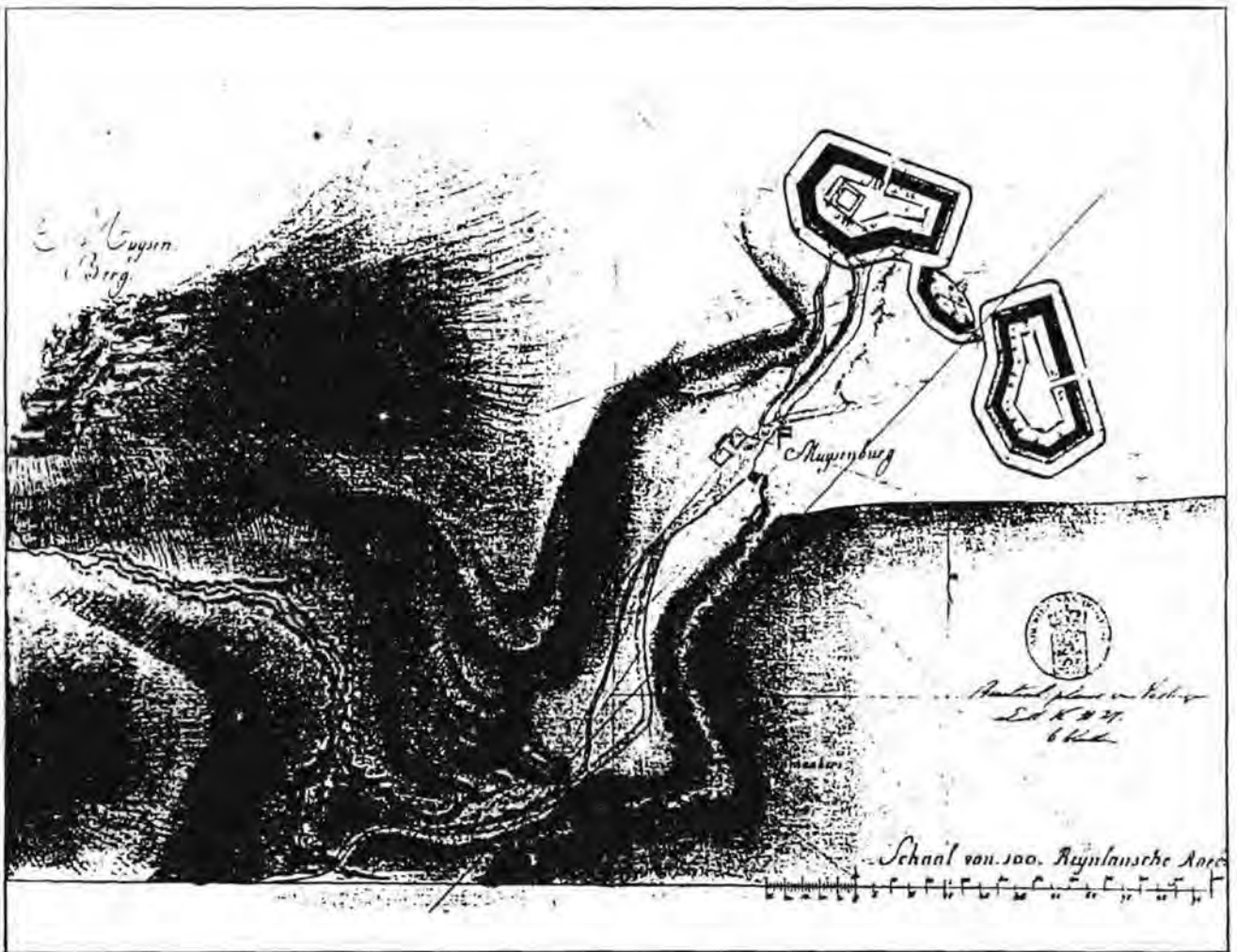


Fig. 115 Plan for the defence of Muizenberg, ca 1786 (Cape Archives, M1/1070).

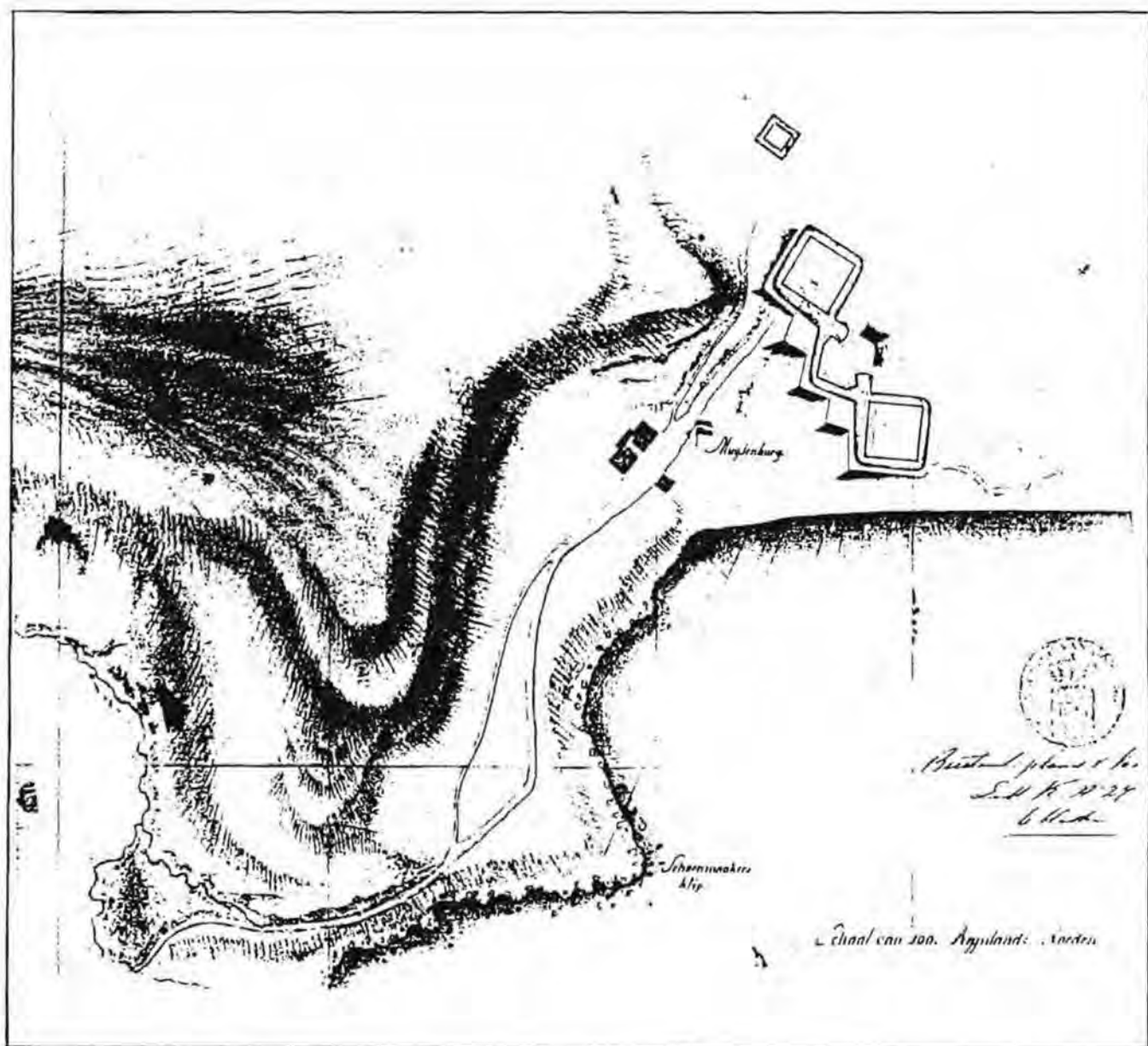


Fig. 116 Plan for the defence of Muizenberg, ca 1786 (Cape Archives, M1/1074).



Fig. 117 Dutch fleches, or defence lines, Muizenberg, 1993.

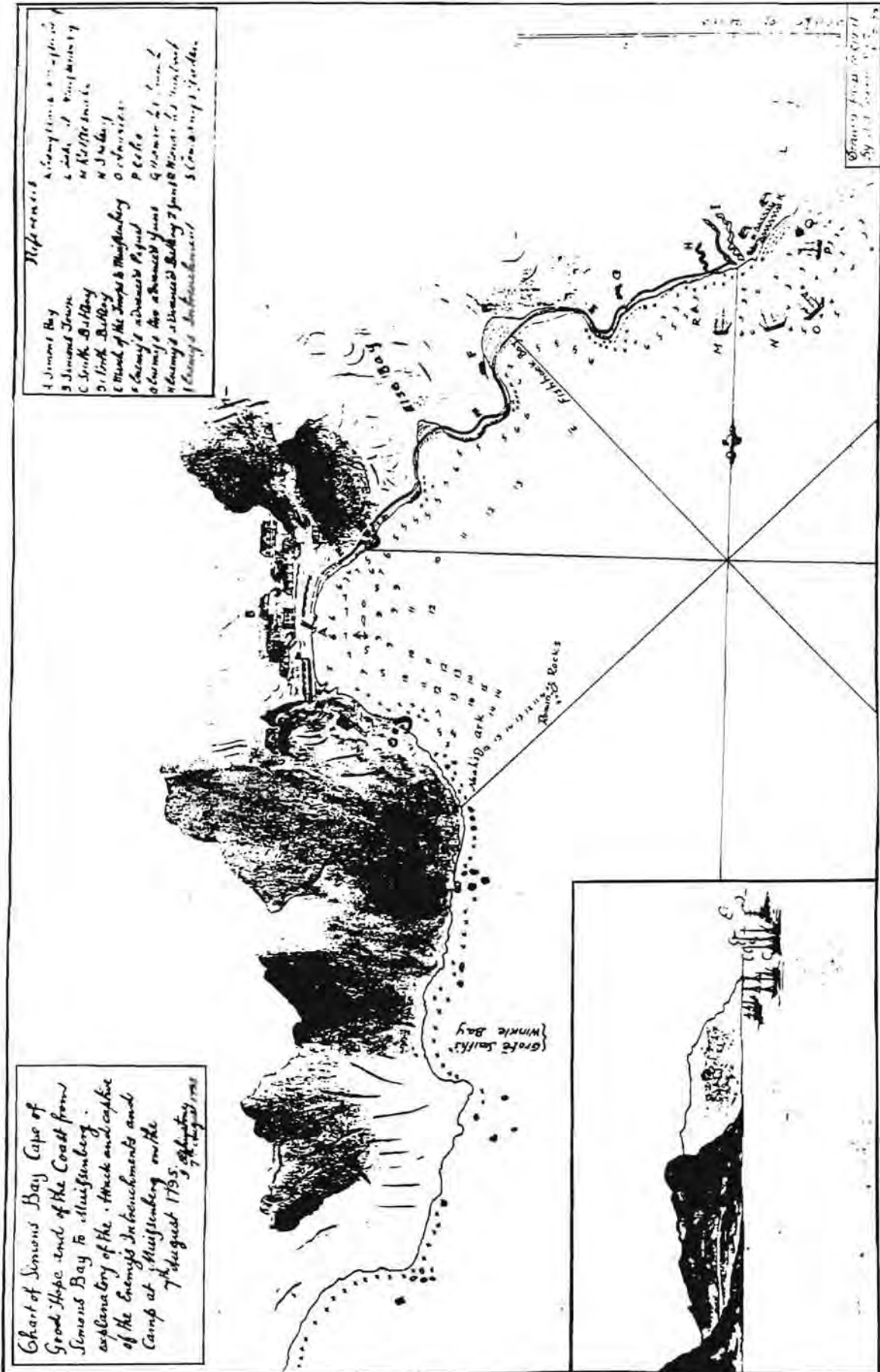


Fig. 118 Chart prepared for the attack on the Dutch defences at Muizenberg, 7 August 1795. Note the lines of defence H, I and K at Muizenberg (De Kock, 1952).



Fig. 119 Muizenberg beach at the beginning of this century, landing place of the British in 1795 (Cape Archives, J5820).

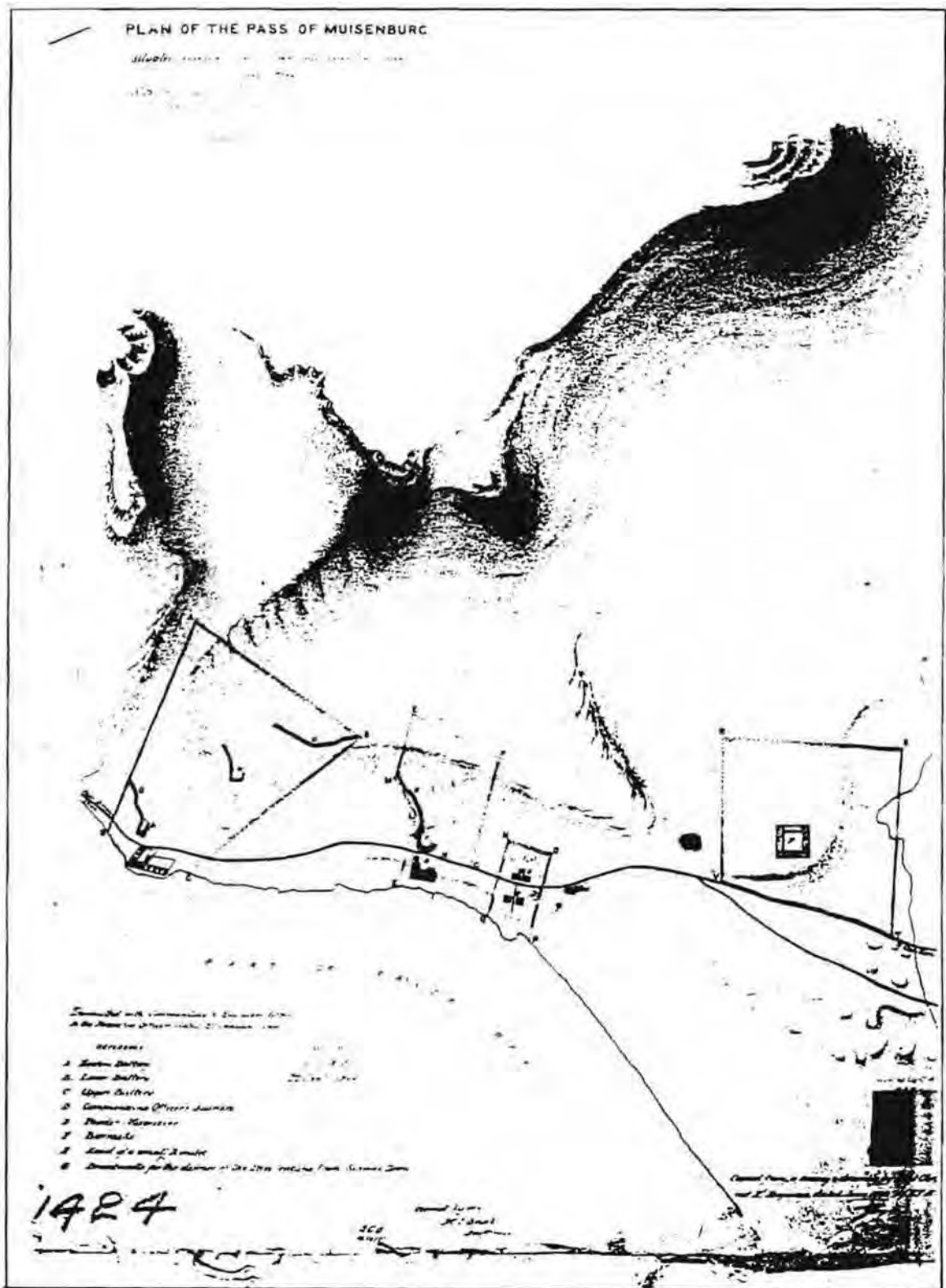


Fig. 120 Dutch and British defences at Muizenberg, 1844 (Surveyor General, Cape Town, Dgm No 341/1844).

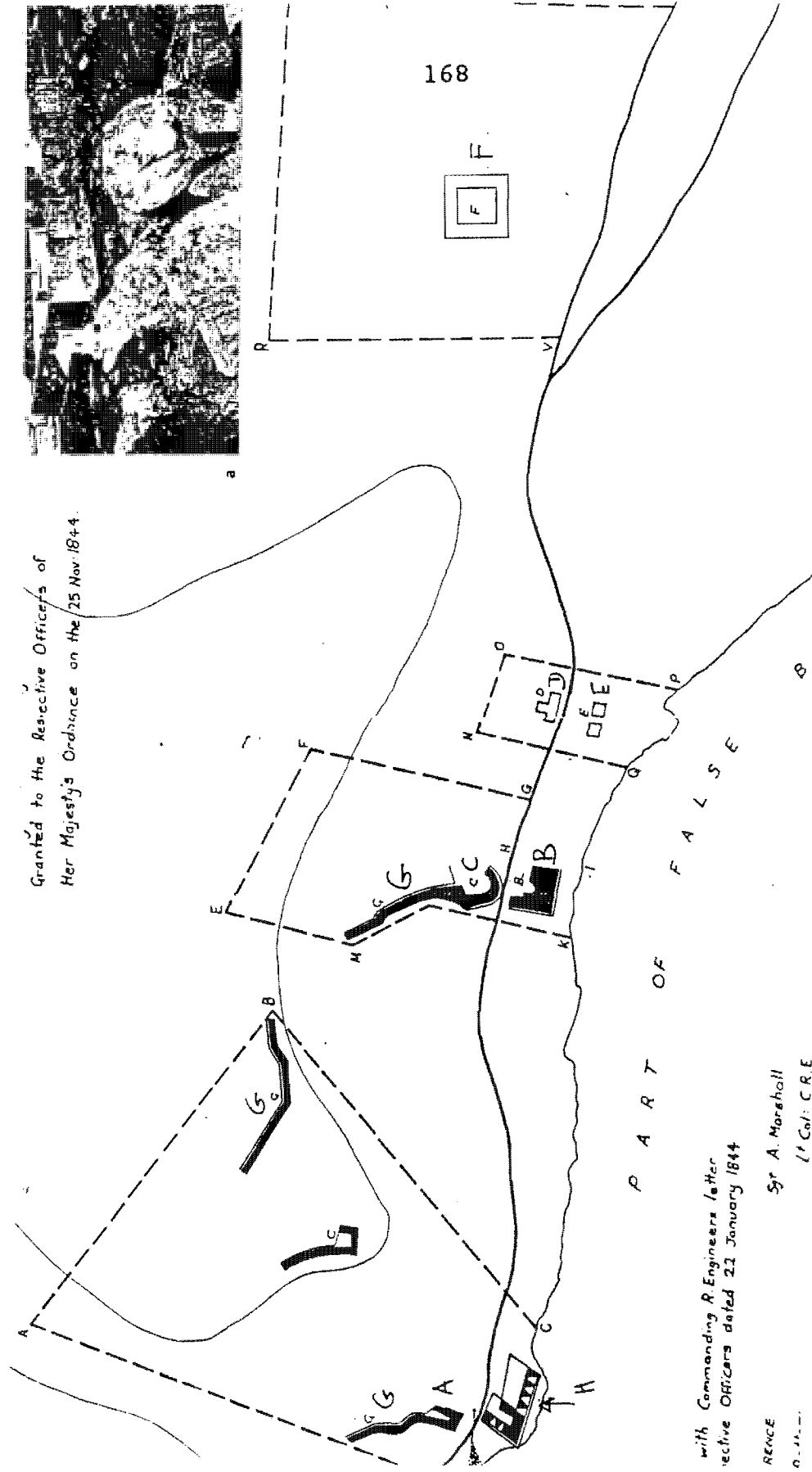


Fig. 121 Redrawn and enlarged map of the defences at Muizenberg, 1844:

- A - Eastern Battery
- B - Lower Battery
- C - Upper Battery
- D - Commanding Officer's Quarters
- E - Powder Magazine
- F - Barracks
- G - Breastworks for the defence of the pass leading from Simon's Town
- H - Battery on which Bailey's Cottage is situated today.



Fig. 122 "The Thermopylae of the Cape". Drawing of the False Bay coast, showing a rather fanciful Muizenberg redoubt. (Burman, 1977).



Fig. 123 The battery on which Bailey's Cottage is situated, 1993.

THIRD INTERLUDE :

MERCENARIES, BURGHER MILITIA AND PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS

"Sniet aff, sniet aff, anstukken
kannst immer".

Motto of the tailors of Hamburg
(Germany) (1).

During the Years 1781 to 1829 the Cape changed hands three times. The years up to 1795 comprise the last years of the VOC's rule. The military establishment, like any other VOC agency at the time, faced financial chaos and attempts to sort out problems ended in resignation. Most of the Company's soldiers were mercenaries, who were not inspired with much loyalty and pride towards their employer.

The commander of the combined military forces of the VOC was a major general, stationed in Batavia. Next in rank were the captains, who acted as brigadiers over the Company's garrison in such places as the Cape or Batavia. However, the captain of the Cape garrison was in the unique position of being independent of the commander-in-chief at Batavia. This arrangement made him a member of the local Council of Policy, influencing directly the decisions taken there (2). His full title was: Captain of the Military Forces, Head of the Garrison, and Commander of the Castle. This post was filled by Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon from 1780 to 1795 (Fig. 124).

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1. Translated from 'Platt' German dialect it means: Cut back, cut back, you can always add on.
 2. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town, p. 22. See also: Mentzel, O.F. (1785). *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1925, p. 161.

Next in order of seniority were two lieutenants and two ensigns. The first lieutenant commanded the Governor's guard, the other three officers were in charge of the infantry companies.

Governor C.J. van der Graaff (Fig. 125), a military expert and fortifications engineer, who took up his appointment in 1785, had no great opinion of the Governor's guard and noted:

"Not only is the Castle at the Cape in a bad condition, but the soldiers who are there to defend it are not sufficient to put it in a state of strong resistance ... there are no more than five hundred soldiers of the Company at the Cape. This number is too small even for duty at the Castle and for protecting the other coastal stations that are fit for landing ... [they] are hardly together in the Castle. The Governor has no objection to giving half the soldiers leave, who then go to work in the country ... the labourers and craftsmen gradually loose all inclination for military service; they forget or neglect their military training, unwillingly join the garrison when they are summoned to return and, in short, might be tempted to surrender the Castle to the enemy rather than defend it (3)".

Prophetic words indeed.

Governor van der Graaff's only hope was the loyalty of the burgher militia and that became doubtful, as burgher revolts became endemic in the years to come.

The garrison at the Cape also included a battalion of artillery. In 1785 it was made up of three hundred men and divided into two companies. Major Philippus Hermanus Gilquin, who in 1779 had been appointed commander of the artillery forces, was assisted by 'engineer extraordinaire' Pieter

3. Idenburg, P.J. (1963). *The Cape of Good Hope at the turn of the eighteenth century*. Universitaire Pers Leiden, pp. 32-33.

Cloete (4). In 1786 Guilquin was appointed director of the newly established 'kweek-school', a school for local military cadets, which only survived for a couple of years. Guilquin's successor as chief of the artillery was Captain Johannes Fischer. Fischer was at the same time made director of fortifications and public buildings. His assistant became, on the recommendation of Governor van der Graaff, the recently arrived artillery lieutenant George Coenraad Kuchler. In 1793, when the artillery personnel had risen to 400 men, Kuchler, by then captain, succeeded Fischer as commander of the artillery corps (5). This artillery corps was mainly employed for building operations on the fortifications. It was augmented from time to time by fortifications workers and hired slaves, depending on the urgency in which the building program was perceived (6).

Throughout its history the VOC had been obliged to recruit mercenary troops to help fight its wars. During the eighteenth century this was an accepted practise in Europe. Central European autocratic princes and kings raised regiments and/or "sold" their *landsmänner* to the highest bidders. Particularly notorious were the German princelings, who were always out of cash. The Swiss regiments, mostly volunteers, had been famous for their prowess on the battlefield for quite some time and were the best organised and disciplined (7).

During the Fourth Sea War between Britain and France, in which the Netherlands were allies of the French, the Cape's garrison was augmented by foreign troops. The French Pondicherry Regiment arrived in June 1781 (Figs. 126 and 127). It was followed by the artillery corps of the Regiment Austrasia

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4. Cape Archives, C 71, Vol. 157, 1779.
 5. Moritz, E. (1938). *Die Deutschen am Kap unter der holländischen Herrschaft 1652-1806*. Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf./ Weimar, 1938, p. 319.
 6. Cape Archives, C 166, pp. 102-108, Request to employ more slaves to quarry the shale for the fortifications, 2.3.1784.
 7. Immelman, R.F.M. (no date). *The Meuron Regiment at the Cape. First Phase, 1781-84. A preliminary sketch*. Historia: Jaargang VII, Nr 1. pp. 13-30.

(Fig. 128) and, in May 1782, by the Regiment Luxemburg (Fig. 129), which despite its name was French. In January 1782 the Meuron Regiment (Fig. 130) landed at the Cape. The later to be famous Prussian General, Field Marshall Yorck von Wartenburg, served in its ranks. The Regiment Meuron shared garrison duty with the Regiment de Pondicherry. The directors of the VOC thought to establish a large body of troops as a depot for the East Indies, and meanwhile to employ these in the construction of the defence works around the Cape Peninsula.

The architect and fortifications engineer Louis Michel Thibault arrived with the remainder of the Meuron Regiment in February 1783 (Fig. 131). In August 1785 he entered the VOC's service. Together with Dominicus Michaelis Barbier, also a lieutenant-engineer, he would be commissioned to supervise the repair and building program of the fortifications at the Cape.

George Forster, 'Traveller in the Service of the English East India Company', wrote to Lord Melville in 1786 and had this to say about the garrison:

"Since the War the Dutch have bestowed a considerable share of attention on this settlement, which has been strongly urged to them by their Allies - the French ... The strength of the Dutch Garrison at the Cape consists of a Swiss Regiment, lately incorporated in the State's Service of 700 men - 400 of their own infantry and about 100 Artillery ... the present Governor Van Graaff is the first States Officer, who has ever presided at the Cape, he is well spoken off and has the character of a judicious and a moderate man .. (8)".

Unfortunately this view was not shared by van der Graaff's fellow councillors, who lamented his lack of administrative qualifications.

8. University of the Witwatersrand Library, f A 154, letter of George Forster to Lord Melville (Henry Dundas), dated 22 January 1786.

The Württemberg Cape Regiment (Fig. 132) arrived in 1788 and most of the troops left the Cape a year later for the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. One of its officers, Baron Karl von Wolzogen, spoke for many, when he wrote in one of his letters home:

"28th October 1788

The officers of our regiment are all very well here, but not our ordinary soldiers of whom we have lost many. Our transfer to the Company is not very favourable to the privates and other ranks, who can hardly manage on their pay, and if the local governor had not intervened on their behalf the regiment could not exist (9)".

Worse was to come. "The conditions in the Hospital in Cape Town are too horrendous to put down on paper", noted Captain J.O. Vaillant in 1789, "the soldiers have to lie in their own filth, there have been no new bandages provided for over a year, the stench is dreadful. More soldiers die in this hospital from want of cleanliness and care than anywhere else I have seen (10)".

Andrew Mitchell, a British merchant residing in Cape Town, summed up the military situation during the last years of the VOC in a letter to Henry Dundas, Secretary of War, that

"The Dutch at the Cape are still very jealous of us ... From good information I understand that their troops consist of between 500 and 600 Europeans in one Battalion and above 150 Artillery. They have likewise about 200 Seamen and Old Soldiers employed upon their works, but are free, besides the Company's Black Slaves which may amount to 300. They have also one hired Regiment, it is

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9. Anon. *The Württemberg Regiment at the Cape (II)*. SA Library, *Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 2, December 1974, pp. 47-58.
 10. University of the Witwatersrand Library, A 81. *Journal of a voyage of inspection ... by Captain J.O. Vaillant from 1788 to 1792*. Captain J.O. Vaillant was in command of the ship, Lieut.-Colonel J.F.L. Greevesten was the actual keeper of the journal. It was loosely translated by Imke Seemann.

under agreement as Swiss but both Men and Officers are composed mostly of French, it is formed into two Battalions and when they left France were 1200 strong but now reduced to about 1030, they are commanded by a Count Meuron who was formerly a Swiss Officer in the French Guards. The Governor Van de Graaif was also a Lieutenant Colonel of Engineers in Holland and is supposed to be sent out to assist professionally as well as Govern.

Colonel Gordon commands the Dutch troops and is a clear and well informed Officer and a Major Gilkins [sic] who is chief Engineer is also a very good officer; **all the rest are not worth mentioning (11)**".

The son of the commander of the Württemberg Regiment, Major von Hügel, stayed behind in the service of the VOC, taking over the duties of commander of the garrison during General Gordon's absence.

In 1795 a small detachment of Württembergers, together with eighty infantry men of the Regiment Meuron, some artillerists, two companies of burgher cavalry and three hundred Khoikhoi auxiliary troops (Fig. 133), which had been raised in the country, tried to resist a British force of some three thousand five hundred men. "From the State of the Military Establishments at the Cape", wrote John Bruce, "... that the Garrison, which at the late conquest did not exceed 1200 men was not equal to the task, and that the Colony was defenceless - That the Militia and irregular Hottentots were not Bodies to be depended on; - That the pay and Allowances to the regular Troops were so inconsiderable & that their Allegiance could not be supposed either strong or permanent ... the Soldiers were obliged to furnish their own Bedding and Blankets, as well as the necessary Garrison and Camp Furniture, such as kettles, etc, so that when the Dutch capitulated, not a single article of Garrison Furniture could be claimed (12)". General

11. Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg, MS 52/12, Henry Dundas, Letters 1795-1806, my emphasis.

12. University of the Witwatersrand Library, MS 60, Major General Francis Dundas Papers. *Sketches of the Political*

Craig (Fig. 134) was obliged to apply for a large supply of 1800 blankets and "camp utensils of every kind".

The first British occupation saw the introduction of a professional army and its auxiliary services such as the Royal Engineers, commanded by Captain G. Bridges. They were employed to survey the coast (they surveyed the western part of False Bay before they landed), built roads, bridges and works of a military nature amongst all their other duties. Tight control over budgets and spending was exercised by the military government of General Craig. For the first time at the Cape 'good government' was practised and 'seen to be practised' (13).

"The people at the Cape seem pretty well reconciled to the English, though still a little alarmed", was the optimistic impression conveyed to Colonel Robert Brooke, Governor of St. Helena, who kept a close watch on the situation at the Cape (14). Strict military discipline was offset by visits to taverns about town and shooting parties into the country. Sir Francis Dundas admitted to his uncle, Henry Dundas, that, sometimes

"... the infamous behavior of many sailors in Cape Town, who are suffered to be on shore during the day and night in large numbers in order to riot and debauch", caused the military commanders some concern (15).

Meanwhile some two hundred slaves "lately belonging to the Dutch East India Company having been purchased may be usefully

and Commercial History of the Cape of Good Hope. Received 18 May 1797.

13. Boucher, M. and Penn, N. (Eds.) (1992). *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803.* Houghton: The Brenthurst Press (Pty) Ltd, pp. 11-14.
14. Brenthurst Library, MS 062/7a, Colonel Robert Brooke Papers, 1795-1798.
15. Brenthurst Library, MS 052/8, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville Papers, letters 1795-1806, letter dated 25 October 1797.

attached as Pioneers to the 84th and 86th regiments (16)", as well as the Khoikhoi Regiment, were incorporated into the British army and despatched to the eastern borders of the Colony. Appointments were made, officers, non-commissioned officers and privates were tried by general court-martial (17). Troops were inspected regularly and exercised on the Grand Parade in Cape Town (Fig. 135) and on Rondebosch Common. In short, Cape Town became a regular garrison town (Fig. 136 and 137).

The signing of the peace treaty of Amiens between Britain and France in 1802 required the Cape to be handed over to the Batavian Republic. Lord Hobart, Henry Dundas' replacement as Secretary of State for War and Colonies, regarded the Cape of Good Hope a burden rather than an advantage and it appeared now not as important as had first been thought (18).

Commissioner-General de Mist (Fig. 138) and Governor Janssens (Fig. 139) kept military expenses low, concentrating instead on civilian and educational reforms in the spirit of enlightenment, continuing in fact, in this area, where the British left off. Lieut H.G. Cordes was appointed military commander at the Cape and the director of fortifications became Major K uchler, who had stayed on during the British occupation. The military contingent was again made up mostly of mercenary regiments, amongst them the Fifth Battalion "Vorst van Waldeck" (Fig. 140), augmented by one Battalion of Hottentot Light Infantry, Artillery Battalion and auxiliary artillery companies. The Vth Battalion of Artillery served on the guns at the Castle and the three larger shore batteries (19). Samuel Eusebius Hudson, former servant of Lady Anne

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16. University of the Witwatersrand Library, The Earl Macartney Papers, 76 (53), list of VOC property, 18 February 1797.
 17. See, for instance, University of the Witwatersrand Library, A 562 Fol: From the papers of Earl Macartney (1737-1806), list dated 30 October 1798.
 18. Boucher and Penn, *ibid*, pp. 243-4.
 19. Gerard, R. (ca 1969). *Military Formations at the Cape 1652-1806*. Published by the Author, University of Cape Town Libraries.

Barnard, had stayed behind at the Cape. He was impressed by some of the Batavians' military activities and reported to Henry Dundas in 1804, that

"... our whole force is about two thousand Men but the Burgher and other Voluntary Corps may increase it to three thousand. Three [crossed out, replaced by the number 2] Men of War and a Sloop is the Marine force ... they have established a train of flying artillery each Gun with Six Horses and riders which they manage with dexterity ... in short general Jansen is indefatigable neglecting no part of the duty of a good officer for the protection of the place they govern (20)" (Fig. 141).

The Second British Occupation was planned with meticulous care. In July 1805 Major-General Baird received his marching orders from Lord Castlereagh:

"Sir, - In consequence of information having been received that the Cape is now defended by not more than from fifteen hundred to two thousand regular troops, not of the best description, and that the militia and inhabitants look with anxiety for the arrival of a British force ... it has been determined on to attempt the reduction of that colony by a combined operation of a force from Cork added to that now on board the East India Company's ships at Falmouth (21)".

The combined strength of 306 naval guns and 6654 rank and file was no match for the Batavian troops at Blaauberg.

After the capitulation in January 1806 the men of the Waldeck mercenary Battalion were immediately enlisted into the British service. The Hottentot Light Infantry Regiment was transferred

20. Cape Archives, Acc 455, No 20, Dundas (Melville) Papers, Letter from S.E. Hudson describing the conditions at the Cape, 20 April 1804.

21. Wilkin, Captain W.H. (1912). *The Life of Sir David Baird*. London: George Allan & Co, Ltd, p. 168.

into the British services as the Cape Regiment. A large portion of the Waldeckers was drafted into the 60th regiment, King's Royal Rifles, causing a great deal of discontent in the regiment (22).

During the first years of the Second British occupation the Royal Engineers undertook to re-survey many defence works in the Peninsula. Wynberg camp, which had served the Khoikhoi troops and their retainers as a camp ground (Fig. 142) was now assigned as the military headquarters of the British army in South Africa.

For the time being no disturbances in the Colony called for the engagement of the troops in the garrison (Fig. 142). That was to change with the onset of the eastern frontier wars. Captain James Ewart, transferred to the 93rd Regiment, thoroughly enjoyed his stay at the Cape from 1811 to 1814 (23). Long periods of inactivity were filled with house parties and travels into the country. Ewart's regiment left behind a record of good conduct marred only by "disagreeable quarrels, which tore asunder the officers". During the regiment's stay the men maintained an example of steadiness and subordination frequently commented on by military authorities at the Cape (24).

Thousands of European troops passed through the Cape during the following years (Fig. 144). The Cape became a way station for regiments destined for India and the far East, a victualing station and convalescence place; and as such it became quite famous amongst the officers of the Indian civil

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22. Brinton, W. (1977). *History of the British Regiments in South Africa 1795-1895*. Published by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, p. 28.
23. Ewart, J. (1970). *James Ewart's Journal covering his stay at the Cape of Good Hope (1811-1814)*. Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty) Ltd.
24. Brinton, *ibid*, p. 32.

and military services, who liked to spend their leave in these temperate climates (25) (Fig. 145).

25. South African Library, MSB 252. *A Letter on the Cape of Good Hope addressed to the gentlemen of the Bengal civil and military services*. Calcutta: Samuel Smith, 1830.



Fig. 124 Robert Jacob Gordon (Cullinan, 1992).



Fig. 125 Governor C.J. van der Graaff (Cullinan, 1992).



Fig. 126 Pondicherry Regiment, officer, ca 1790 (Gerard, ca 1969).

Fig. 127 Pondicherry Regiment, sepoy, ca 1790 (Gerard, ca 1969).

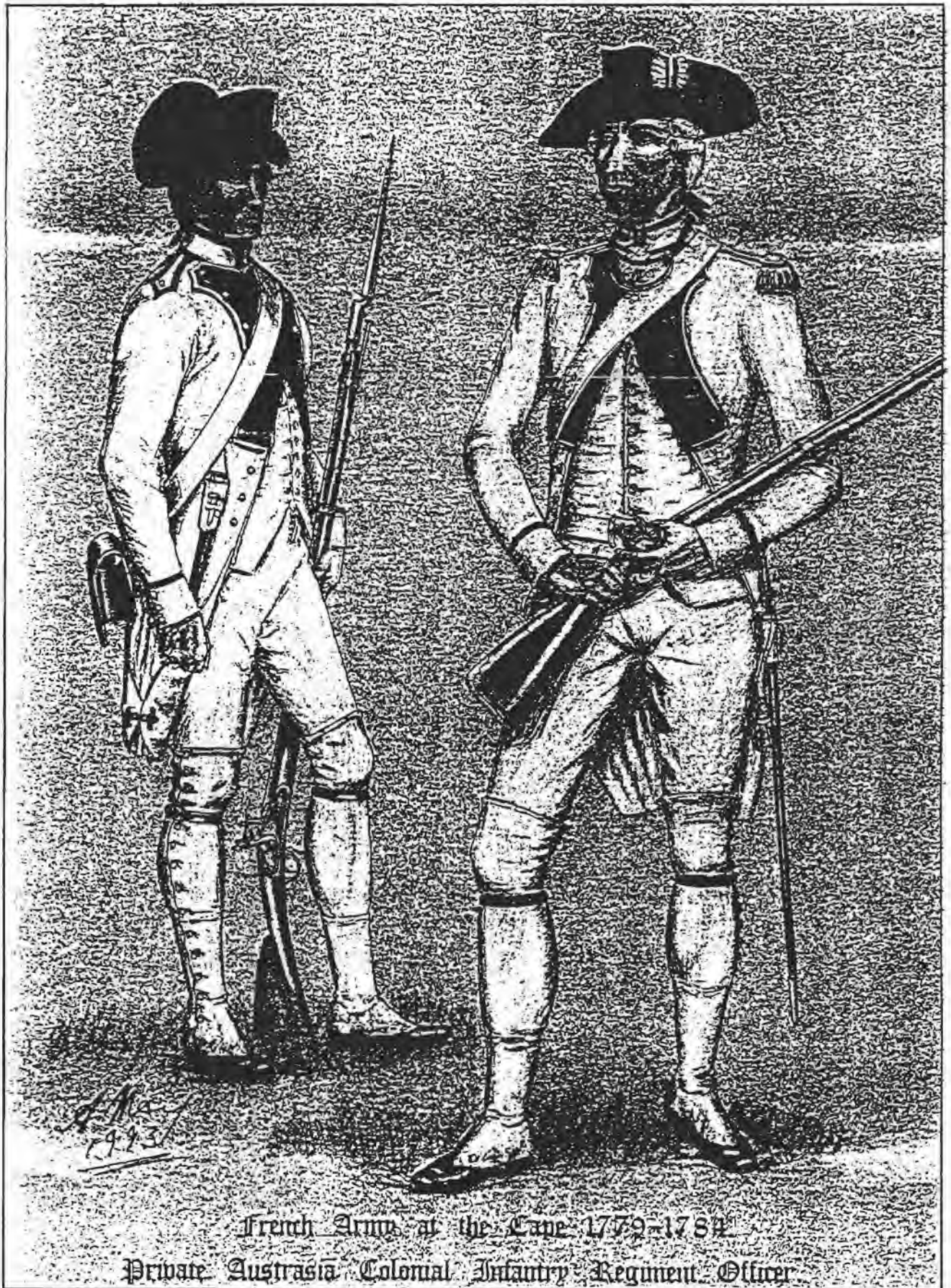


Fig. 128 Regiment Austrasia (William Fehr Collection, The Castle, Cape Town).



Group of the D.O.C. (Dutch East India Company) 1782-89.
Private, Regiments Luxembourg and Wurtemberg.

Fig. 129 Regiment Luxembourg (William Fehr Collection, The Castle, Cape Town).



Fig. 130 Regiment De Meuron, ensign bearer (Immelman, no date).



Fig. 131 Louis Michel Thibault (Puyfontaine, 1972).



Soldaten des Hügelschen und des Kapregiments

Mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Herrn Oberst a. d. Freiherrn Rudolf von Hügel, Schwäbisch-Hall, in dessen Besitz sich das Original befindet

Fig. 132 Soldiers of the Württemberg Kapregiment, ca 1793 (Prinz, 1932).



Fig. 133 Khoikhoi auxiliary troops (De Villiers, 1977).



Fig. 134 General Sir James Henry Craig (Boucher and Penn, 1992).

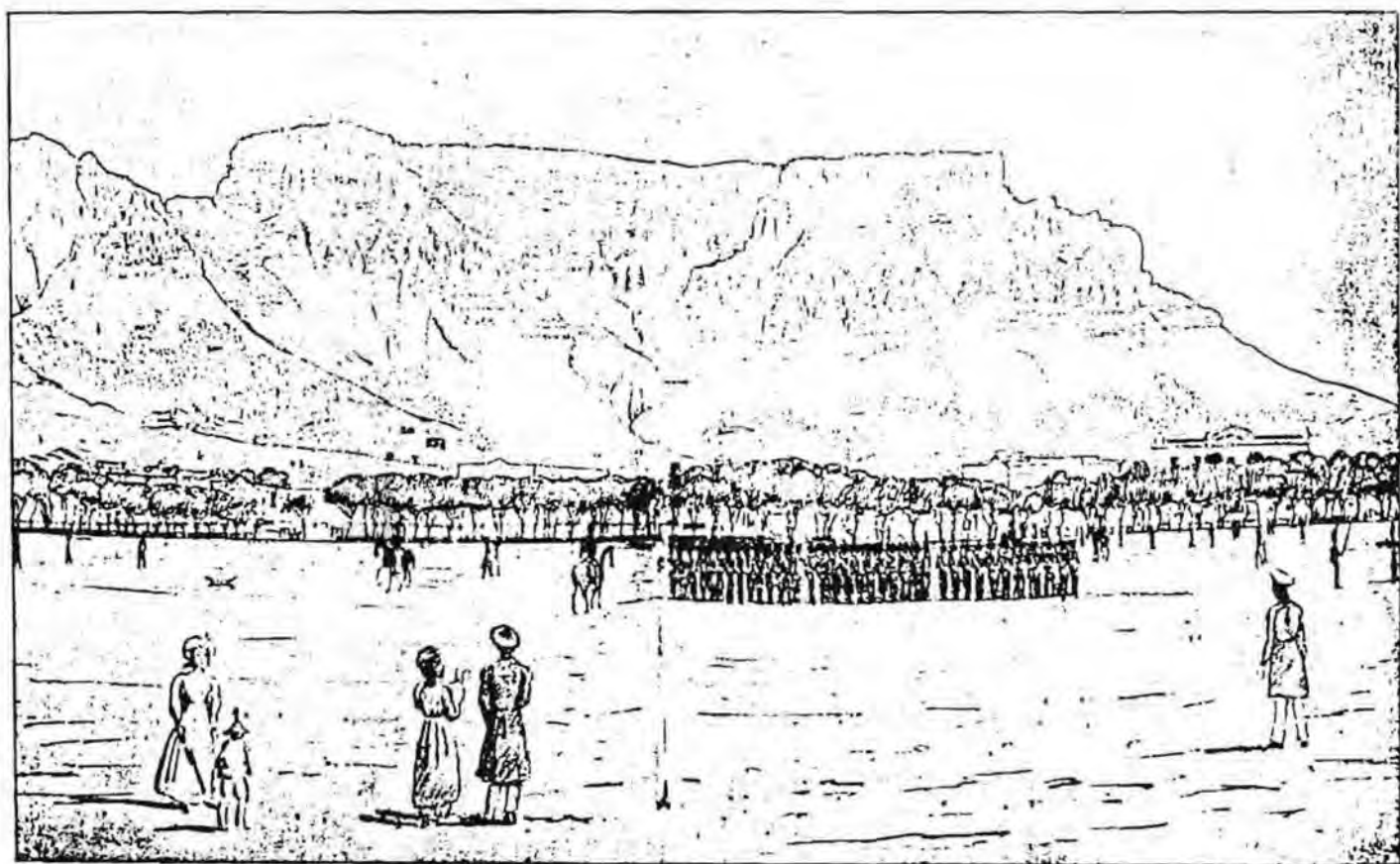


Fig. 135 Military drilling at the Grand Parade, Cape Town, ca 1810 (de Kock, 1952).



15. Die alte Kaserne in Kapstadt

Fig. 136 Main Barracks, Cape Town, ca 1870 (Prinz, 1932).



Fig. 137 Members of the British military units stationed at the Cape, 1796-1802 (Boucher and Penn, 1992).



Fig. 138 Commissioner-General Josias Abraham de Mist (van der Merwe, 1926).



*Le Gouverneur
de la Colonie
de Surinam*

J. W. JANSSENS

Lithograph by J. W. Piensman

Fig. 139 Governor J.W. Janssens (Idenburg, 1963).



Fig. 141 Officer of the Field Artillery 1802-1806 (William Fehr Collection, The Castle, Cape Town).

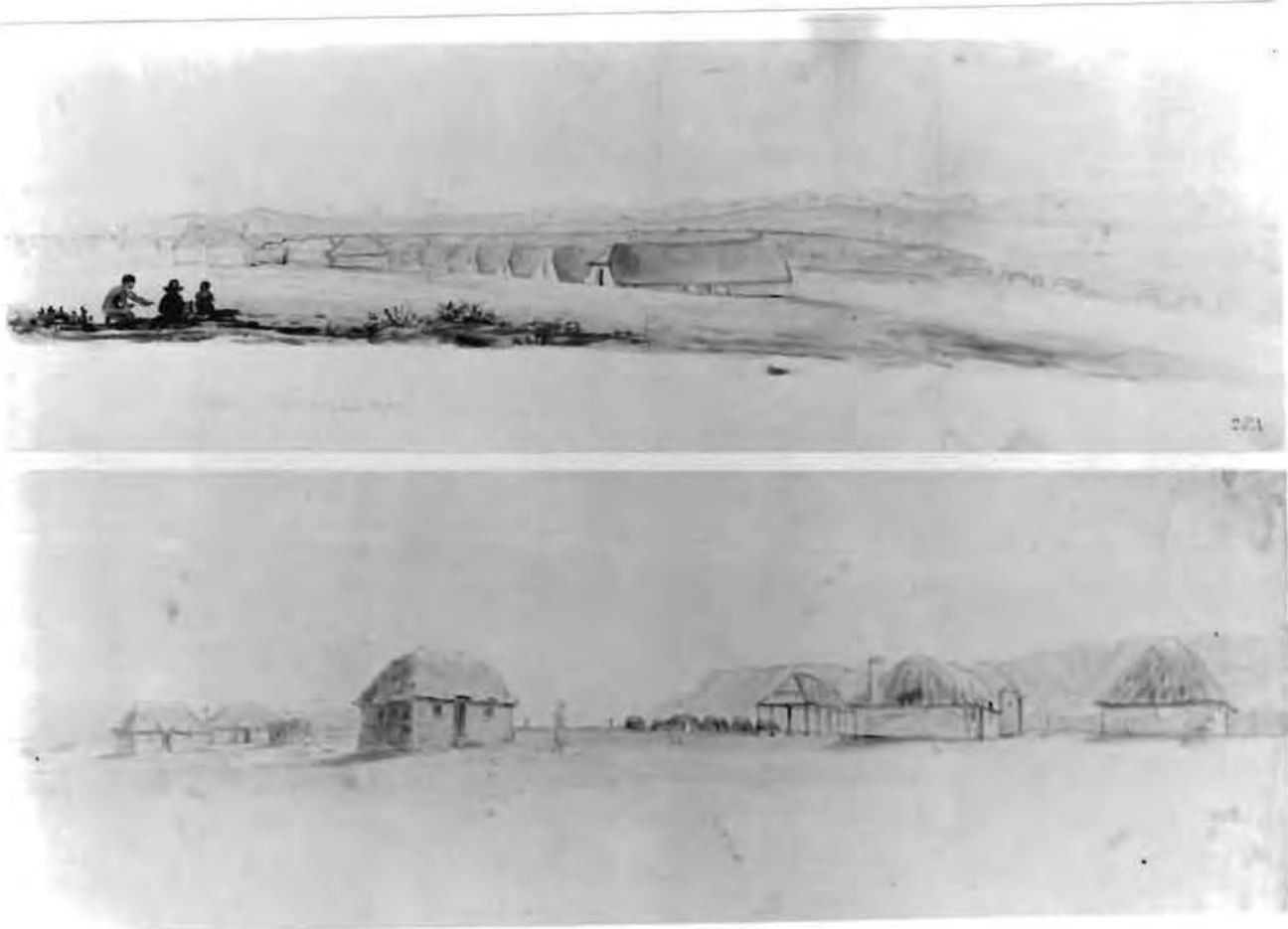


Fig. 142 Wynberg camp, 1811, by W.J. Burchell (Africana Museum, ref. 68/1259 and 69/1261).

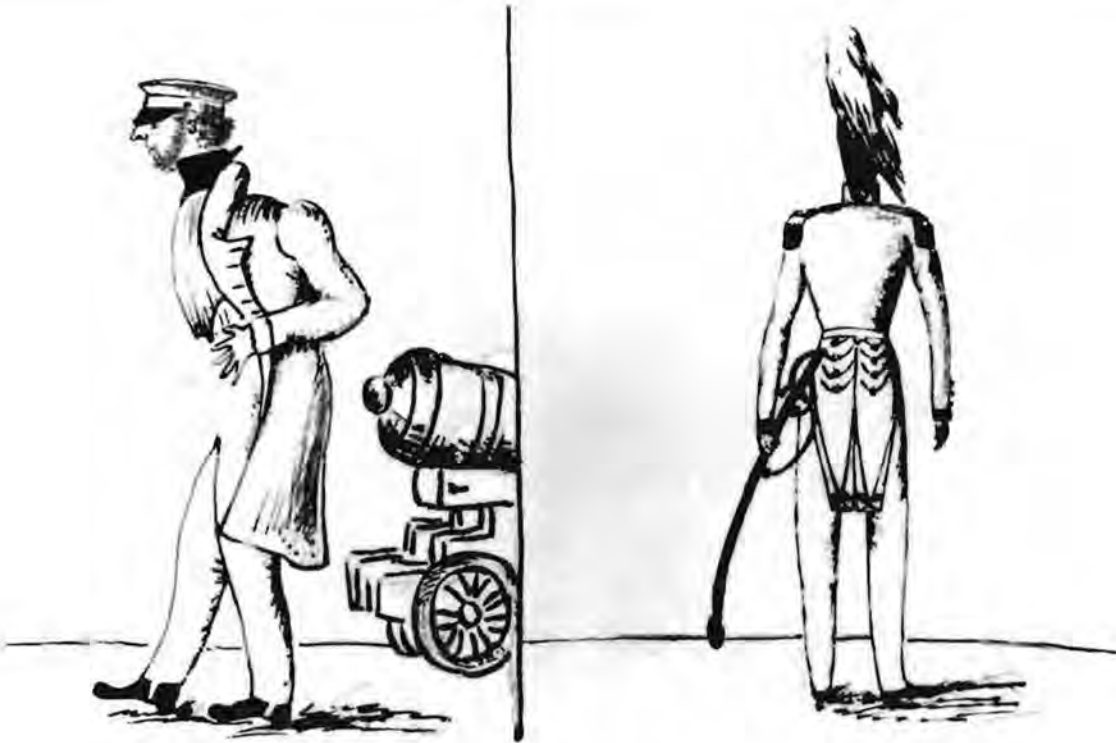


Fig. 143 Caricature of a British Officer at the Cape, ca 1820, left: officer and cannon, right: back view of officer in dress uniform (Africana Museum, ref. 53/722, No 107).



Fig. 144 21st Light Dragoons on service in South Africa, 1816, by Ernest Ibbetson (Africana Museum, ref. 69/2905).



Fig. 145 Shooting party in Hout Bay, by Thomas Baines, early nineteenth century (Africana Museum, ref. 2809).

CHAPTER 4

THE HOUT BAY FORTS

An in-depth study of three fortifications works

"One should fortify a country according to the territory and not according to fashion".

Louis Michel Thibault, 1793.
(Puyfontaine, 1972).

THE BUILDING OF THE WEST FORT AT HOUT BAY

The year 1781 brought great changes to the quiet valley of Hout Bay in the Cape Peninsula (Fig. 146). Up to that time the area had been used primarily as a source for wood with a VOC outpost established during Van Riebeeck's time. Later on, a farm was granted to Pieter van der Westhuizen, which in 1781 belonged to Jacobus Laurens Bierman. Today the farm is known as 'Kronendal'.

On 31 March 1781 news reached the Cape, via the French ship *Sylphide*, that war had broken out, once again, between the Netherlands and Great Britain. In consequence, the Cape was placed under threat of invasion from the British.

Until then Council of Policy at the Cape seems to have overlooked, or neglected, the potentials of this natural harbour, a convenient landing place for an invading army, which only needed to cross Constantia Nek (as it is known today) to reach Cape Town from the rear. More importantly, the Bay could act as a harbour of refuge for the VOC's ships. Privateering and the taking of prizes in times of war was common practise then.

As a result the Burgher Militia was called up. The artillery under Major P.H. Gilquin, was augmented by officers, sergeants and gunners and began practising in Table Bay (1). Some of Swellendam's Burgher Militia forces were also stationed at Jacobus Laurens Bierman's farm in Hout Bay as a precaution.

On 1 May 1781 the Council of Policy decided, on the instigation of the Governor J. van Plettenberg, to build a twenty cannon battery at the western entrance to Hout Bay (2). The work was to be directed by the surveyor Pieter Cloete, who had recently been promoted to engineer 'Extra Ordinair' (3). With the help of fortification workers and slaves a conventional zig-zag battery with stationary gun emplacements was erected within about three weeks.

THE TRIAL OF THE NEW BATTERY

It was under this battery that the four ships, *Morgenster*, *Amsterdam*, *Indiaan* and *Batavia* sheltered to escape capture from Admiral Johnstone's fleet in July 1781 (4).

Finding the French, who had been sent to strengthen the Cape's defences, had beaten him to the Cape, Admiral Johnstone tried to capture the richly laden East Indiamen lying at anchor in Hout Bay. His attack on the rest of the Dutch return fleet, in Saldanah Bay on 21 July, had been wholly successful, with four ships captured. Only one, the *Middelburg*, was scuttled by its captain Justinus van Gennep. Major Gilquin recorded in 1786 that:

"... With this rich booty Sir Johnstone arrived to try his luck in Hout Bay. However, having perceived that for

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1. Cape Archives, Dagregister, 27 April 1781.
 2. Cape Archives, VC 438, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 1 May 1781.
 3. Cape Archives, VC 438, *ibid.*, 20 March 1781.
 4. Cape Archives, VC 438, *ibid.*, 23 July 1781.

a long time work had been carried out on batteries there, and considering that Commander De Suffren was in False Bay with his squadron, therefore, to leave nothing to chance, after his frigates had crisscrossed the mouth of the bay for several days, on 30 July 1781 he sent a small frigate into Hout Bay, commanded by M D'Auvergne, who advanced directly opposite to the battery that I had constructed there, and lay at a distance of a large cannon shot without advancing further, carefully observing the ships that lay in the bay and the battery ... from the front [of] which he counted 20 embrasures. This sight filled him with so much respect that after taking all necessary observations, he judged it not to be safe to sail past this battery towards our defenceless ships, but resolved to return and report to Sir Johnstone who lay some miles from this bay with his squadron." (5)

D'Auvergne's ship lay under the cliff, where the East Fort was later located.

Meanwhile, sailors from the four ships and the Dutch workers at the West Fort, as it was subsequently named, were becoming impatient to engage the enemy. The fort had been armed with guns from the four ships lying in the bay. The sailors took an 8-pounder cannon and placed it on the rampart with the intention of firing upon D'Auvergne's frigate. However, Pieter Cloete, the engineer and supervisor, prevented them from doing so by making it clear to them that the enemy would be able to judge the calibre of the guns by the trajectory of the cannon balls. The British would have been able to recognize the measure of their defence and would thus have attacked immediately. Fortunately for them Admiral Johnstone thought it advisable to retreat forthwith.

Shortly after this incident Justinus van Gennep, formerly skipper of the *Middelburg*, was made commander of the West Fort

5. Cape Archives, VC 117, Beredeneerde memorie over den staat van defensie van Cabo de Goede Hoop, 1786.

(6). He was assisted by his erstwhile third officer Cornelius Adriaanssen (7). In time J. van Gennep rose to membership of the Burgher Senate and became equipage master (8). He took command of a ship in 1783 and returned to the Netherlands in 1786.

During these events two hundred Khoi soldiers were stationed in Hout Bay, some of them on the West Fort, but mostly at Bierman's farm. They were under the command of Hendrik Ecksteen Pieters and Lieut. Alexander van Breda (9). The latter was subsequently accused of treating his men badly and depriving them of food and clothing.

Bierman had been released from his Burgher Militia duties on condition that from time to time he would house and provision troops (for which duty he was compensated) and that he observed everything occurring in the bay and act as signalman (10).

The French Pondicherry Regiment consisted mainly of Indians who served under French officers commanded by an expatriate Irishman, Count de Conway. They built a small redoubt, named Conway Redoubt, on Constantia Nek for use as a signal station (Fig. 147). This connected Hout Bay with the 'telegraph' from Simon's Town to the Castle. The signals consisted of both flags and cannons and were used every time a ship was sighted arriving in Table Bay, False Bay or Hout Bay (11).

6. Cape Archives, VC 438, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 3 August 1781.

7. Cape Archives, Requesten en memoriels, No 33, 5 March 1803.

8. An equipagemaster was equal to a Chief-of-staff.

9. *Briefwisseling van Hendrik Swellengrebel jr oor Kaapse Sake 1778-1792*. Kaapstad: Van Riebeeck Vereniging, Tweede reeks, Nr 13, p. 186.

10. Cape Archives, Requesten en memoriels, 19 July 1786.

11. Smith, A.B. (1981). *The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: a report on excavations at Conway redoubt, Constantia Nek*. Milit. Hist. Journ., Vol. 5, No 3, June 1981, p. 108.

At the end of 1781 the defence expenditure of the VOC had risen dramatically to about 290 000 florins out of a total budget of 733 000 florins (12). Despite this a military report on the conditions existing at the Cape concluded that:

"At present this battery is only composed of 8 pounders taken from the Company ships now there, but it would be more suitable to place large calibre guns there, especially on the shoulder of the battery " (13).

THE FIRST EAST FORT

The first archival record of the East Fort retrieved so far is a plan of Hout Bay, dated 1785 (Fig. 148), by the surveyor Leysten and the Engineer Barbier (14). A caption states that the two batteries were "erected during the last war", that is to say between 1781-1783. The West Fort is called Battery Gilquin here, while the East Fort is depicted as a battery with fixed gun positions, similar in design to the Chavonnes Battery. The East Fort's guns also covered the entrance to the bay. It was accessed by a newly created road. Both Hout Bay batteries were equipped with 35 pieces of 24-pounders (one Amsterdam pound equaled 0,494 kg) and 4 mortars of 12 thumbs width (15). One Amsterdam thumb width equaled 0,026 m.

According to Smith the Pondicherry Regiment "extended the construction of the West Fort and built the earthworks of the East Fort" (11). This would date this work between the end of 1781 and mid-1783.

The 1785 map, shows a third set of firing lines emanating from a promontory in the vicinity of the present day Military Road

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12. Jeffreys, K. (1930). *Kaapse Archiefstukken lopende over het jaar 1781*. Cape Town: Cape Times (Pty), p. 204, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 18.12.1781.
 13. Smith, A.B., *ibid*.
 14. Cape Archives, map M1/935.
 15. Cape Archives, VC 117, *ibid*. The translation is by Hennie Prince.

above the Chapman's Peak Hotel. This would explain the statement made by Major Guilquin in 1786 that a third battery "of 6 twelve pounders" was deemed absolutely necessary in Hout Bay to cover the rear of both forts as "an enemy force could have landed on Llundadno beach under the false Lion's Head (16)".

Another map of Hout Bay, dated 1787, and drawn by Eng. Lieut. Thibault and Eng. Barbier, Thibault's right hand man and successor, shows the West Fort (unnamed) as a large zig-zag battery, spanning about three times the length of the present remains of the fort (17) (Fig. 149). Even allowing for exaggerations of scale it might confirm the 1781 observations.

The first plans to convert the now fortified bay into a commercial harbour were mooted. "The buildings required here for the well-being of the Honorable Company", noted Major Guilquin in 1786, "would make Hout Bay one of the safest landing and sheltering places at the Cape: one store house, one hospital, one barrack block and sentry box for the proposed company, one powder magazine, one house for the overseer or post holder and -last but not least- one stone or wooden pier for the daily use of ships" (18).

A military commission which sat in 1789-90 took stock of the existing facilities and the future needs of Hout Bay should war break out once again. It reported that:

"Hout Bay, needed:	32	24 pounder cannons,
	8	8 pounder cannons,
	6	mortars of 75 or 50 pounds
on the pass to Hout Bay:	12	6 pounder large cannons
	10	3 pounder short cannons
	2	stone mortars
	6	small mortars
in reserve:		light ambulant cannons:

16. Cape Archives, VC 117, *ibid.*

17. Cape Archives, map M1/935.

18. Cape Archives, VC 117, *ibid.*

- 20 6 pounders, short cannon
- 30 3 pounders, short cannon" (19).

As the 1780s drew to a close the VOC's trade declined drastically owing to a number of factors. These included mismanagement, the rise of rival trading companies and political upheaval in Europe. In consequence the finances of the Cape settlement fell into total disarray. This was aggravated as the threat of a foreign invasion became, once again, a possibility. As a result, the little money available was spent on preparing the defence works. Colonel Gordon demanded that the soldiers working on the fortifications be paid a decent regular day's wage (20).

THE SECOND STAGE OF BUILDING ACTIVITIES IN HOUT BAY

During the course of 1793 Lieut. L.M. Thibault, then Director of Fortifications reinforced the defences of Hout Bay. The commission of 1789 had recommended the use of wood from Plettenberg Bay further along the South Coast (21). Prior to this time most timber used as building material was imported from Batavia (Indonesia).

Work on the forts was continued by making use of the National Battalion (permanent soldiers in service of the VOC), convict and slave labour. Cost was thus kept down, for it was estimated that a slave could be "maintained" for just under 5 pounds a year (22).

Lieut. Marnitz in his 'Account of the Surrender of the Cape, 1795' confirms the fact that Governor

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- 19. Cape Archives, VC 64, Memorie aan zyne Hoogheid van de Militaire Commissie, 25 September 1789.
 - 20. Cape Archives, VC 64, *ibid.*
 - 21. Cape Archives, VC 64, *ibid.*
 - 22. Theal, G. McCall (no date). *History of South Africa before 1795*. Vol. 4, p. 306. Cape Town: C. Struik, Reprint, 1964.

"Sluysken's first case was to place this Colony in a proper state of defense, and had all batteries and fortifications which were in disrepair, repaired. ... In Hout Bay he had new batteries built; all were provided with ovens in order to beat off an enemy with red hot cannon balls ...

In Hout Bay on two batteries [there were] 5 cannons at 18 pounders ...

... and at Hout Bay ...Brick ovens had been built in proportion to the guns mounted; and well provided with bellows, tools, wood, coal - so that the balls could be made red hot in less than half an hour ..." (23).

THE THIRD FORT: KLEIN GIBRALTAR

A letter from Lieut. Thibault, dated 29 January 1794 and addressed to Governor A.J. Sluysken, gave a detailed description of the batteries recently built under his direction in Hout Bay:

"This bay has ... been fortified for protection by three batteries using red-hot cannon balls and a barbette" (24).

Thibault carried on to describe what is visible today of the East and West Forts' traversing gun emplacement section and the remains of the hot-shot cannon ball ovens.

These new forts, two of them on existing 'platforms' were now named Sluysken (formerly the West Fort), Gordon (East Fort) and Klein Gibraltar (25) (Fig. 150). Batteries Sluysken and

23. Cape Archives, VC 75, Lieut. Marnitz account of the surrender of the Cape in 1795, pp. 27-47.

24. Cape Archives, C 698, Brieven en Papieren van A.J. Sluysken, pp. 19-22. Rough translation by J. Skaithe [sic].

25. Cape Archives, C 222, Resolutions of the Council of Policy, 21 March 1794. See also: Walker, E.A. (1922). *Political Atlas of South Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1922.

Gordon were fully equipped with cannons and were manned on a permanent basis. The armament for Klein Gibraltar was to be taken from ships lying in the bay.

According to Thibault:

"These three batteries completely protect the bay, their respective fire crosses each other and can reach the ships in sequence ... and protect one another mutually" (26).

He recommended that each battery should mount at least five cannons to be effective. A fourth battery would prevent the landing of enemy troops on the beach and protect the place called 'de Visscherij', a collection of fishermen's houses located on the right hand side of the river mouth at Hout Bay. Thibault concluded that he had no plan of the Hout Bay Forts at hand.

The traveller De Jong visited these three batteries shortly after they had been completed and recorded in his diary on 18 December 1794:

"Die Hout-baai daar entegen door haven nauwen ingang mit die natuur zelve sterk, is thans door drie daarbij gemaakte batterijen, Sluysken, Gordon en klein-Gibraltar, alle met ovens voorzien, zoondanig zeker, dat geen sloep, vel min een vijandelijk schip kan binnen kommen ... die baai geeft niets dan vish, geeft de waterplaats is ver en het haben 'er van ongemakkelijk; het huis, vorheen aan Buurman toebehoovende, en nu in handen van van Helssingen, is slechts die eenige woning ... hetwelk nij Officier deed beklagen, die hier op detachement liggende, ons zeer vriendelijk in zijne tent, van teenen opgevlogten, ontving (27)".

26. Cape Archives, C 698, *ibid.*

27. De Jong, C. (1811). *Reizen naar die Kaap De Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in den Jaren 1791 to 1797*. Ten Haarlem: Bij Francois de Bohn, 1811, Deel twee, pp. 73-

THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION

The fall of the French monarchy created new tensions in Europe. The Dutch House of Orange allied itself with Britain and as a result France and the supporters of the Stadholder declared war upon them on 1 February 1793. The Governor of the Cape had sworn allegiance to the House of Orange and thus a French invasion was expected.

However, the first to arrive was a British fleet under Vice Admiral G.K. Elphinstone who reached False Bay on 10 June 1795. Thibault wrote in his memoirs in 1796, that:

"We knew from Dutch deserters, who spent some time on board the British ships, that they planned a false attack by sea. In fact, they presented themselves in Hout Bay" (28).

This proved to be the only occasion that the fortifications at Hout Bay saw action. On the British side Commodore Blankett reported to his commander Elphinstone on 19 September 1795:

"Sir, - in pursuance of your orders I proceeded from Simon's Bay on the Evening of the 14th and arrived off Chapman's Bay [Hout Bay] about Noon of the 15th. I ordered Capt. Todd of the *Echo* to stand in towards the shore and to make Signals and fire a Gun or two, with a

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74. The rough translation reads as follows: The Hout Bay harbour has natural advantages, it is defended by three batteries, Sluysken, Gordon and Klein Gibraltar, all provided with ovens so that no sloop, nor enemy ship can enter ... the bay has nothing but fish, the watering place is far and difficult [to reach], its farmhouse, formerly inhabited by Buurman [Bierman], and now in the hands of van Helsdingen, is the only dwelling ... no officer had complained [and] the detachment stationed here had very warmly invited us into his tent.
28. Puyfontaine, H.R. de (1972). *Louis Michel Thibault, 1750-1815, his official life at the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1972, p. 11.

view to alarm the Coast, and to invite the fire of the Enemy in order to know the position and strength of their Batteries, the *America* and the other Ships following under an easy sail as if preparing to enter the Bay. This had the desired effect; the Enemy keeping up a smart fire from two Batteries, one on each side of the Bay, notwithstanding the distance the Ships were off the Shore. When I concluded I had done as much as answered your intentions, I hauled off ..." (29)

The Cape Government capitulated on 16 September 1795, thus bringing to an end almost 150 years of Dutch rule.

The capitulation documents specified that all assets of the VOC be handed over to the British administration. The inventory of the VOC's buildings, forts etc, dated 20 September 1795 included:

"In the Hout Bay:- The post in the Hout Bay, with the great cultivated Valley as far as the Mattroosen Drift, with its Buildings and the Woods on the Mountain side.
The Battery Sluysken.
The Battery Gordon" (30).

No mention is made of Klein Gibraltar.

NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR THE HOUT BAY GARRISON: THE EAST FORT BLOCKHOUSE AREA

In about 1795 the Hottentot Regiment (Fig. 151), now commanded by British officers, seems to have been again employed in Hout Bay, together with the National Regiment and the

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29. Cape Archives, VC 65, p. 301, and: Theal, G. McCall (1897). *Records of the Cape Colony from February 1793 to December 1796*. Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1897, p. 135.
30. Theal, G. McCall. (1894). *Records of the Cape Colony*. Vol 1, p. 146.

fortifications workers and Tradesmen's Corps (Artillery). Cannon wrote, that:

"Hottentot [sic] soldiers were stationed in Hout's [sic] Bay, behind Table Mountain ... and in 1799 the Cape Corps [as they were then known] was again stationed in Hout's Bay ... at this period, in 1798, a portion of the Cape Corps was mounted, and employed as orderlies at headquarters, as guides and for carrying of dispatches; in performing these duties they were found very useful" (31).

During the first British occupation the Royal Engineers under Captain Bridges received orders to keep the defences in good repair and, if possible, improve on them. Hout Bay seems to have played a major part in the Colonial Government's defence strategy. Early in 1796 it stationed an entire company with a commanding officer and built permanent barracks. A Blockhouse was erected above the ramparts of the East Fort (Figs. 152 and 153). When nearly finished, it was equipped with guns and stores from the West Fort (32). The building of the Blockhouse was contracted out for 4000 Rixdollars, because it was situated:

"... [in] a part where there is no habitation, which occasioned the work to be both difficult and to require an arrangement and measures which out of total ignorance of everything relating to the Country would expose us to infinite imposition" (33).

Apart from the three-story blockhouse with powder magazine and cistern the Royal Engineers also erected:

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31. Cannon, R. (1842). *Historical Records of the British Army. History of the Cape Mounted Riflemen*. London: J.W. Parker.
 32. Cape Archives, BO 147, Letter from General Craig to Commodore Blankett, 29 February 1797.
 33. Cape Archives, VC 81, Despatch Craig to Dundas, 14 April 1796.

"in Hout Bay: 5 huts of 24 feet long, each 13 feet broad, 5 feet high to the earth [sic] with framing inside to sling hammocks. The materials prepared at the Cape and sent out in hired waggons" (34).

These five prefabricated wooden huts might have been spread over both East and West Forts.

On 4 September 1797 the following detachment, commanded by Major General F. Dundas, was located at Hout Bay:

"Commissioned officers: 1 F. Officer, 2 Subs,
 present doing duty: 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, 47 rank and
 file,
 sick: 2 rank and file, 1 servant, rank and file,
 musiek [sic] and additional drummers: 2 rank and file,
 unfit and doing no duty: 2 rank and file,
 with artillery: 1 rank and file,
 artisans: 1 rank and file,
 TOTAL: 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file (35)".

G. Bridges, Capt. Comm. Royal Engineers, recorded in a report dated 19 October 1797 that the following works had been performed in Hout Bay, confirming again the building of the blockhouse and constant attention to detail:

"A Fortified Barrack erected 28 feet long, 20 feet wide and three story high, with Powder Magazine and Cistern inside - this on the East side of the Bay - The Battery below of 5 eighteen pounders on circular platforms with good Parapet Wall, quite complete and new ... all expenses for making and repairs of gun carriages,

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34. Cape Archives, Acc 33, Military - Fortifications at Hout Bay, abstract of works performed, 1795. Lewcock (1963) suggests that the huts were prefabricated at the government outpost at Witteboome, just over Constantia Nek.
35. Cape Archives, Acc 455-7, State of the troops commanded by Major General F. Dundas under the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, 4 September 1797.

including the purchase of iron, wood etc of artillery arrived from Europe was paid for by the Engineer department from Sept. 1795 to June 1796" (36).

The cannons left at the site by the Dutch, some of which date to 1752, appear to have been kept in good working order (Fig. 154).

Captain Bridges, again, reported in the following year that:

"... on the east side of Hout Bay there is a Battery of Five 18 Pounders upon Traversing Carriages with a high parapet, protected by a fortified Barrack upon an eminence in its rear, which would certainly annoy a Fleet, and if there was a good Battery upon the west Point equally well secured, there would be but little reason to apprehend any operations from hence as an Enemy would not remain under anchor, under Fire of Batteries that they could not silence, and which they could not destroy without getting possession of the Strong Buildings erected to cover them ..." (37).

He added that the West Fort had been abandoned. The East Fort had now become the headquarters of the Bay's defences.

Sir John Barrow examined Hout Bay in 1797 and recorded in his diary that it was defended with a battery and a blockhouse (38). He made no mention of the permanent soldier's quarters, nor the lieutenant's quarter, store rooms and the kitchen. These buildings also do not appear on the plan drawn by Major

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36. Cape Archives, Acc 33/1, Military - Fortifications at Hout Bay, abstracts of works performed, 19 October 1797.
 37. Killie Campbell Africana Library, MSS Collection, KCM 55076, extract from: "Defences of the Cape of Good Hope - Prepared at the request of Lord Maccartney", 1798.
 38. Barrow, Sir J. (1801). *An account of Travels into the interior of Southern Africa in the years 1797 and 1798*. London. 1801, Reprint, p. 212.

R. Kersteman ca 1800 (39). On this plan the East Fort rampart area contained a store or magazine building (Fig. 155).

THIRSTY SOLDIERS

Jacobus Gieulleaume Van Helsdingen had married the widow Bierman and thus became the co-owner of the farm 'Kronendal' (Fig. 156). He had also inherited the job of signalman during the Dutch period. Van Helsdingen, in a letter to Major General Dundas, complained bitterly about the treatment he received from the commanding officer, 98th Regiment, at the East Fort, but his letter has also faint undertones of dishonesty. It is worth citing in part, because it recalls the flavour of life in the Hout Bay valley at that time (1799):

"To General Dundas,

The petition of J. Gieulleaume Van Helsdingen jun. dwelling near the Hout Bay humbly showeth that being visited at different time by Military officers and small detachments he always candidly assisted them with little trifles, they more in want of not from a motive of gain but from a principle of humanity which has ever been the rule of his actions. That on the 10th January of this year a certain officer of the Dragoons who said he was a quartermaster together with a body of men under his charge came to the petitioner, very much fatigued and almost fainted through the excessive heat and begged him in the most friendly manner to *procure some wine for his detachment fearing the dangerous consequences of giving the men cold water after being exhausted and influenced by the heat.*

That the petitioner being badly provided with wine and having scarcely sufficient for his own family, he refused complying with the officer's request, but that at his repeated solicitations, and seeing the men really in want, he could no longer forbear granting what humanity

39. Cape Archives, VC 229(1-4).

imposed on him as a duty and consequently spared the quartermaster one half awn [sic] of the two he had bought some time ago for his household.

... the petitioner thought no more of it but how surprised was he on hearing that an officer of the Blockhouse had complained about it to the Fiscaal who had delivered the case to the commissioners and that the latter had condemned him in the penalty of 200 Rixdollars[it] may not be deemed a crime and that your Excellency may be pleased to liberate him from so hard a fine. That the petitioner at the same time submissively requests that it may also please your Excellency to maintain him in his right against the commanding officer of the Blockhouse who threatens him that he will cause his cattle to be sent to the enclosure if they pasture any longer near the Blockhouse which is the land of the petitioner for which he annually pays his Majesty 25 Rixdollars hire ...

That confident of your Excellency's justice and sentiments of humanity, the petitioner hopes his petition will meet with a gracious reception and that his grievance will soon be alleviated.

21 February 1799" (40).

The reply was short and sweet: "The fine of 200 Rixdollars must be paid agreeable to the Decision of the Court of Justice. Orders will be sent to the Officer commanding at Hout Bay not to [harass] the cattle belonging to the petitioner. A.D. 21 July 1799" (40).

THE FORTS AT HOUT BAY UNDER THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

After the Cape was handed back to the Batavian Republic in 1802 as stipulated in the treaty of Amiens, Lieut. Colonel H.F. Cordes was appointed military commander at the Cape. As a

40. Cape Archives, BO 114, No 113, memorials, 21 February 1799.

result of rumors of the resumption of the war between Britain and France reaching the Cape (the Batavian Republic had become an ally of the French under Napoleon), Lieut. Cordes advised Governor Janssens on 3 January 1804 that the Hout Bay forts should receive immediate attention. They had fallen once again into disrepair. Lieut. Cordes estimated that this work could be carried out by 125 slaves, whose maintenance would come to 5000 Rixdollars over sixty days. The armament should consist of at least sixteen 18- or 12-pounder cannons. Battery A (presumed to be the East Fort) needed to be partly rebuilt and had been painted with a yellow colour. Battery B was to be a new construction. He stressed the point that Hout Bay was an ideal place to shelter and provision ships. The Council of Policy resolved that Lieut. Cordes undertake this "task with the greatest possible thriftiness" (41).

A plan for the reconstruction of the forts, which probably dates from this period shows for the first time the terrepleins, which had been added to the East and West Forts (42) (Fig. 157). These terrepleins partly overlaid one end traversing gun track, which had been filled in. The plan showed four stationary gun emplacements, with embrasures, for both forts.

A plan of Hout Bay, tentatively dated to 1804 by Graham Botha identifies the West Battery as the 'Gilquin' and the East Battery as the 'Zoutman' [sic] (43) (Fig. 158).

The monotonous routine of garrison life at the Cape at this time was punctuated from time to time with manoeuvres and drills in the field. One such camp was conducted in Hout Bay from 9 to 15 May 1804 by the Waldeck Regiment commanded by Colonel Müller (44).

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41. Cape Archives, BR 5, ZK 4/4, Resolutie vaan die Politieke Raad, 3.1.1804.
 42. Cape Archives, map M1/1361, undated.
 43. Cape Archives, map M1/1334.
 44. Moritz, E. (1938). *Die Deutschen am Kap unter der holländischen Herrschaft 1652 - 1806*. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., p. 330.

THE SECOND BRITISH OCCUPATION

The treaty of Amiens did not hold. Barely three years later Britain found itself again at war with Napoleonic France. It was deemed absolutely necessary to retake the Cape. News of an impending British invasion was brought to the Cape at the end of 1805 by an American ship. Henry Lichtenstein, surgeon to the Hottentot Regiment, told that:

"The captain ... said that he counted sixty sails ... the truth ... was confirmed a few days after, when a French vessel was driven on shore by an English frigate not far from Hout Bay" (45).

In January 1806 a large British force under General Baird landed at Losperdsbay [Melkbosstrand] and, after a short skirmish, took possession of the Cape for the second time.

Brinton described how the British troops (Fig. 159) took the Hout Bay forts:

"On the 11th January [1806] Lt. MacArthur of the 22nd regiment was sent with 30 men to take possession of Hout Bay which was reported to have a strong garrison. Shortly after he had left, Major Tucker of the 72nd regiment was sent after him post haste with orders to tell him to await reinforcements, but MacArthur had already reached the vicinity of Hout Bay where he contrived to make his force appear to be larger than it really was. He then summoned the garrison to unconditional surrender threatening to assault and blow the Fort to pieces if they did not. The Dutch immediately surrendered and by the time Major Tucker arrived, MacArthur was already in

45. Lichtenstein, H. (1815). *Travels in Southern Africa, in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. London: printed for Henry Colburn, p. 454.

possession of the strong block house with two batteries" (46).

The Hottentot Regiment, which had been stationed in Hout Bay from 1797 to about 1802 under Lieut. Col. John Campbell, was now transferred into British service as the Cape Regiment. A detachment of Royal Sappers and Miners was deployed in Hout Bay in 1809 (47).

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FORTS' OCCUPATION

During the years 1809-1813 the Office of Ordnance made regular reports to the Colonial Office on the state of the forts and fortifications. They generally appear to have been kept in good order. For instance, in 1809 the following report was filed:

Hout Bay: West Battery is a low battery and given a horizontal fire to the entrance of the Bay. It has in it a Furnace for heating Shot. Eight 24 pdr Iron Dutch Guns are mounted here, Four on Traversing Platforms and Four on Travelling Carriage on wood and stone Platforms all in good order. The Ammunition consisting of Seven Hundred and Seventy eight Rounds and Two thousand Musquet Ball Cartridges for the Troops are contained in a small permanent Magazine" (48).

The report further stated that:

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46. Brinton, W. (1977). *History of the British Regiments in South Africa 1795-1895*. Published by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town.
 47. South African Commercial Advertiser, 1 October 1836. Extract from a letter by Hon. John Rous, dated 29 March 1819.
 48. Cape Archives, VC 214 (1-5). Report on the State of the Forts and Batteries and Field Ordnance composing the Ordnance Establishment in the Colony of Good Hope, 1809-1813.

East or Blockhouse Battery is situated on the East side of the Bay and produces a plunging fire to the entrance of it. In the rear about one hundred yards is a Block House without guns. Eight 18 Pdr Guns are mounted here, Four on Traversing and Four on Travelling Carriages on Wood Platforms requiring trifling repairs. The Ammunition consisting of Seven Hundred and Thirty seven Rounds & Two Thousand Musquet Ball Cartridges for the Troops are lodged in a small permanent Magazine".

(Fig. 160).

The powder magazine was most probably situated in the Blockhouse, but a map of the East Fort (49), dated 1936, positions it in the same place as the Second World War concrete tower behind the Dutch ramparts (Fig. 161). A photograph dated 1919 bears the caption: "Restoration of the magazine" (50). A pile of cannon balls had been placed in it.

The Ordnance report for 1810 stated that the permanent magazine at the West Fort needed to be repaired urgently "having suffered from the late heavy rains" (51). The roofing material may have consisted of what Thibault called 'algame' (52). This was a term he used to describe a mixture of clay, sand and lime with straw and pieces of crushed bricks worked into it. This was then impregnated with whale or seal oil in order to render it waterproof (53). When used as a roofing material it was more fire resistant than thatch, but necessitated frequent repairs during the Cape's cold and wet winter months.

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49. Map of the East Fort, Hout Bay, dated 30 May 1936, Colonel Secretary of Defence. In the National Monuments Council, Western Cape Branch, files.
 50. South African Library, Cape Town, Ref. PHA: Milit. Facilities. Restored Dutch Fort, Hout Bay, East Fort Powder Magazine, April 1915.
 51. Cape Archives, VC 214 (1-5), *ibid*.
 52. Puyfontaine, *ibid*. p. 22.
 53. Dr Franco Frescura, lecturer in architecture, University of Port Elizabeth, pers. comm.

An inventory of ordnance and ammunition stored at the Hout Bay batteries on 1 April 1812 read as follows:

"West Battery: 8 24 pounder iron guns, 4 24 pdrs travelling without timbers, carriages on wood. 4 24 pdrs traversing , carriages on wood. Platforms: 6 wood, 2 stone. 770 24 pdr rounds of ammunition.

Blockhouse: 8 18 pounder iron guns, 4 carriages on wood, 4 on iron carriages. Platforms: 4 wood, 4 stone. Ammunition: 695 rounds of 18 pdrs.

Lower Battery [East Fort]: 6 24 pdrs iron guns, 2 8 pdrs travelling without timbers, carriages of wood. 6 24 pdrs carriages of wood, garrison guns. Platforms: 6 wood. Ammunition: 150 rounds of 24 pdrs, 108 rounds of 8 pdrs" (54).

Detailed records of the state of the forts and fortifications were kept until the 1820s. The Hout Bay forts were kept in a state of reasonable repair. A time of peace had come as the Cape was incorporated into the wider world of the British Empire.

Once again, Hout Bay was recommended as a safe harbour and anchoring place. This extract from a letter written to Rear Admiral Robert Plampin by the Honourable Henry John Rous, Captain of the Sloop HMS *Podargus* argues the point:

"HMS Sloop *Podargus*, St Helena, 29 March 1819
[I] commend Hout Bay as commodious safe ... Hout bay [has a] proper situation for a dock yard 's establishment which was exemplified soon after the Cape first fell into our possession, by a French frigate having run in, completed her water, obtained supplies of cattle and vegetables and again made sail with impunity, in consequence of which, a fort and a blockhouse were erected on the eastern shore, and a captain's guard of

54. Cape Archives, VC 215 (3) 1. Return of ordnance at various batteries etc at the Cape Colony, 1 April 1812.

130 men stationed there during the last war ... yet with this local superiority, situated in a rich and healthy part of the colony with abundance of water, a large farm a mile distant, which supplies the navy contracts with beef and vegetables and within 14 miles of Cape Town ... (55)".

THE EAST FORT AS A CONVALESCENT AND BATHING AMENITY

Little has been discovered to date regarding the uses of the Hout Bay forts up to 1827. The possibility of dismantling most batteries around the Cape Peninsula in order to reduce their maintenance costs was discussed at the Military Secretary's Office, Office of Ordnance.

The Inspector General of Fortifications favoured the retention of the Blockhouse at Hout Bay:

"East Battery: Blockhouse: A strong work of its kind, 3 stories high with embrasures formed in the walls, a platform and parapet at the top - Masonry.

Battery: Barbette, 150 yards lower down the hill, commands the anchorage, Masonry, Revelments, Earth parapet,

35 men, 1 [sic] permanent building, in good condition, to be continued.

Remarks: These two works are well built and in very good condition, seldom requiring any expense for repairs and then but trivial sums. *The Blockhouse is sometimes used by convalescent officers for the benefit of their health, and seabathing.*

West Battery: Barbette and Embrasures, stands on the Western Side of the entrance to the Bay - Stone

55. Extract from a letter written to Rear Admiral Robert Plampin by the Honourable Henry John Rous, Captain of H.M. Sloep *Podargus*. In: Bird, W.W. (1823). *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*. London: John Murray, 1823.

revelments, 50 men, ... 1 permanent building - in a delapidated state, proposal: to be dismantled" (56).

Notably this description of the East Fort does not include other permanent buildings in the immediate area of the blockhouse which have survived: the sentry box, the lieutenant's quarter, the ablution or store room, the soldier's quarters and kitchen. One other permanent building situated below the Blockhouse on a plan of 1844 was probably demolished when Chapman's Peak drive was built in 1922 (57) (Fig. 162).

THE END OF THE GARRISON AT HOUT BAY

On 1 July 1829 the transfer of all the military and public buildings at the Cape to the Ordnance Department was finalised (58). This included the "Hout Bay Blockhouse and Barrack Huts and the Ordnance at the South Battery [West Fort]". The masonry buildings were spared from demolition, but the West Fort's magazine seems to have been allowed to fall into ruin.

After 1830 the blockhouse at Hout Bay was leased on a yearly basis to private persons; for instance, on 31 December 1830 to Mr E.F. Scheuble for two pounds five shillings per year (59).

Over the next fifty years numerous drawings and paintings document the slow decline of the buildings at the East Fort. The earliest show them in a good state of repair, with soldiers on guard and small cannons on an iron carriage (60). Christopher Webb Smith's depiction of the Blockhouse ca 1835

56. Cape Archives, VC 211/45, 22 May 1827, my emphasis.

57. Surveyor General (Cape Town), Diagram No 3397/1044, copied by W.W. Fuller, Lieut. Royal Engineers, 9 January 1844.

58. Cape Archives, CO 477, No 1, accompanying a letter dated 5.1.1838.

59. Public Records Office, Kew, London, WO 55/1619, X4 6760.

60. Library of Parliament. The Forts at Hout Bay, artist unknown. Print from: *Letters from the Cape*, by L. Duff Gordon, ca 1850.

shows it to be still in good condition, although the buildings next to it are clearly in ruins (61) (Fig. 163). Horses are shown grazing nearby, as if their owners are engaged on a picnic. The painting displays a romantic fascination for ruins and antiquities, a common sentiment at the time.

In 1844 the Royal Engineers drew a plan of the West Fort (62) (Fig. 164). This agrees with previous descriptions showing four traversing guns but places one of them on the terreplein.

THE HOUT BAY FORTS DURING SECOND WORLD WAR: 1940-1945

When South Africa entered the war against Germany in 1939 the renewed threat of invasion made the Hout Bay forts a suitable location for the construction of modern defence works (Fig. 165). This included the third fort, Klein Gibraltar. Permission for this occupation was sought and granted by the National Monuments Council. Two Quick Firing 12-pounder naval guns were installed on the West Fort and Klein Gibraltar on concrete platforms with ammunition bunkers. The East Fort middle rampart level was used to instal a two storey concrete look-out tower.

CONCLUSION

The building activities surrounding the Hout Bay fortifications seem to reflect the state of conflict in Europe and mirrored the periodic waves of possible invasion. Each change of administration or a new threat brought with it a new phase of building activities and the installation of more modern arms technologies. These fell under five main phases:

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61. Library of Parliament, painting by Christopher Webb Smith, 1838.
 62. The West Fort Plan, ca 1844. Cultural History Museum, Cape Town, and: Cape Archives, map M1/2713, plan of the West Battery, dated 22 January 1844.

From 1781, when a traditional zig-zag battery was erected at the West Fort with stationary guns covering the entrance to the bay, probably 8-pounder ship's guns. Between the end of 1781 and 1783 the East Fort was constructed. In 1785 the West Fort was known as 'Guilquin'.

From 1793 to 1795 constructions on both forts were replaced or superseded by traversing gun emplacements, cannons of 18- and 24-pounders, covering the landing beaches as well. The 24-pounder guns had a range of 1,8 km, roughly the width of the entrance to the bay. The West Fort was now known as 'Sluysken' and the East Fort as 'Gordon. A third fort, Klein Gibraltar, was added at the present day Military Road on a promontory overlooking the beach. It was probably provisioned with small calibre ship's guns. The British invasion, however, took place at Muizenberg.

1795 to 1803. The British made the East Fort at Hout Bay their headquarters for the bay and erected there the Blockhouse and possibly the 'lieutenant's quarter, men's quarters, kitchen and other outbuildings. As far as it is known, they did not modify the armament. Fort Klein Gibraltar seems to have been abandoned.

Between 1803 and 1806 the Batavian Republic, according to available maps, added a terreplein with embrasures and stationary guns to the West Fort (renamed Gilquin) rampart and the East Fort (renamed Zoutman) rampart. The calibre of the guns provided probably ranged from 18- to 24-pounders. The second British invasion was directed from Losperdsbay [Melkbosstrand].

1806 to 1829, during the Second British Occupation of the Hout Bay East and West Forts, there is no mention of any building activities from documents discovered so far. In 1826 the West Fort was also known as the South Battery (not to be confused with the South Battery in Simon's Town).

The Second World War (1939-1945) brought fears of invasion by German U-boats, and the three forts in Hout Bay, which had last done duty 140 years previously were once again mobilised.



Fig. 146 Hout Bay, 1889, by W. Schröder. Not much had changed since 1781. (South African National Gallery, Cape Town).



Fig. 147 Plan of the Conway Redoubt, Constantia Nek, 1981 (Smith, 1981).



Fig. 148 Plan of Hout Bay, 1785 with the West Fort (Gilquin) and the East Fort (unnamed). (Cape Archives, M1/934).



Fig. 150 Site of Fort Klein Gibraltar, photograph, ca 1900
(Cape Archives, AG 11206).



Fig. 151 Hottentot [sic] soldier, ca 1796, by R.C. Bone (Africana Museum, ref. 50/2959).

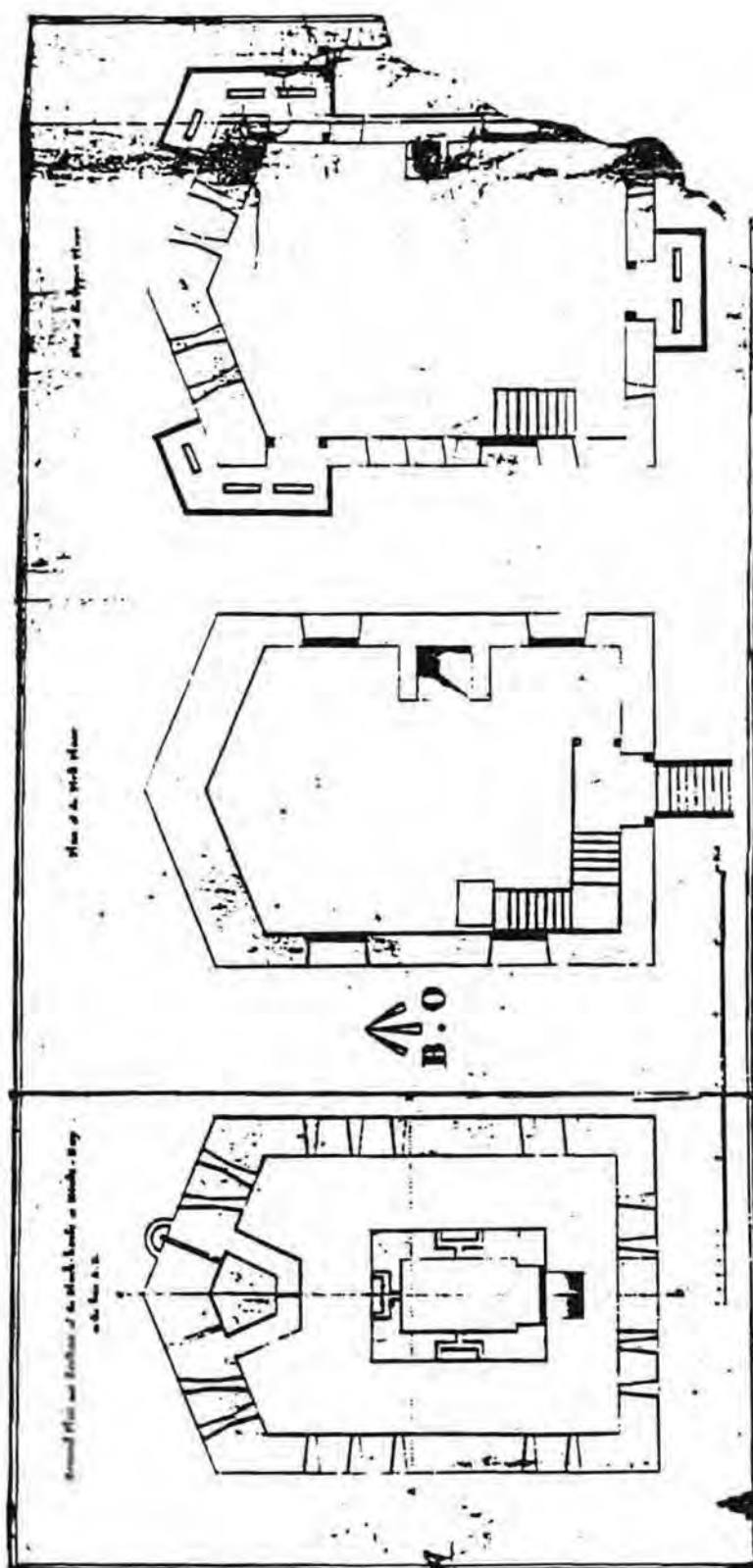


Fig. 152 Ground plan and section of the Blockhouse in Hout Bay (Cape Archives, VC 229/4).

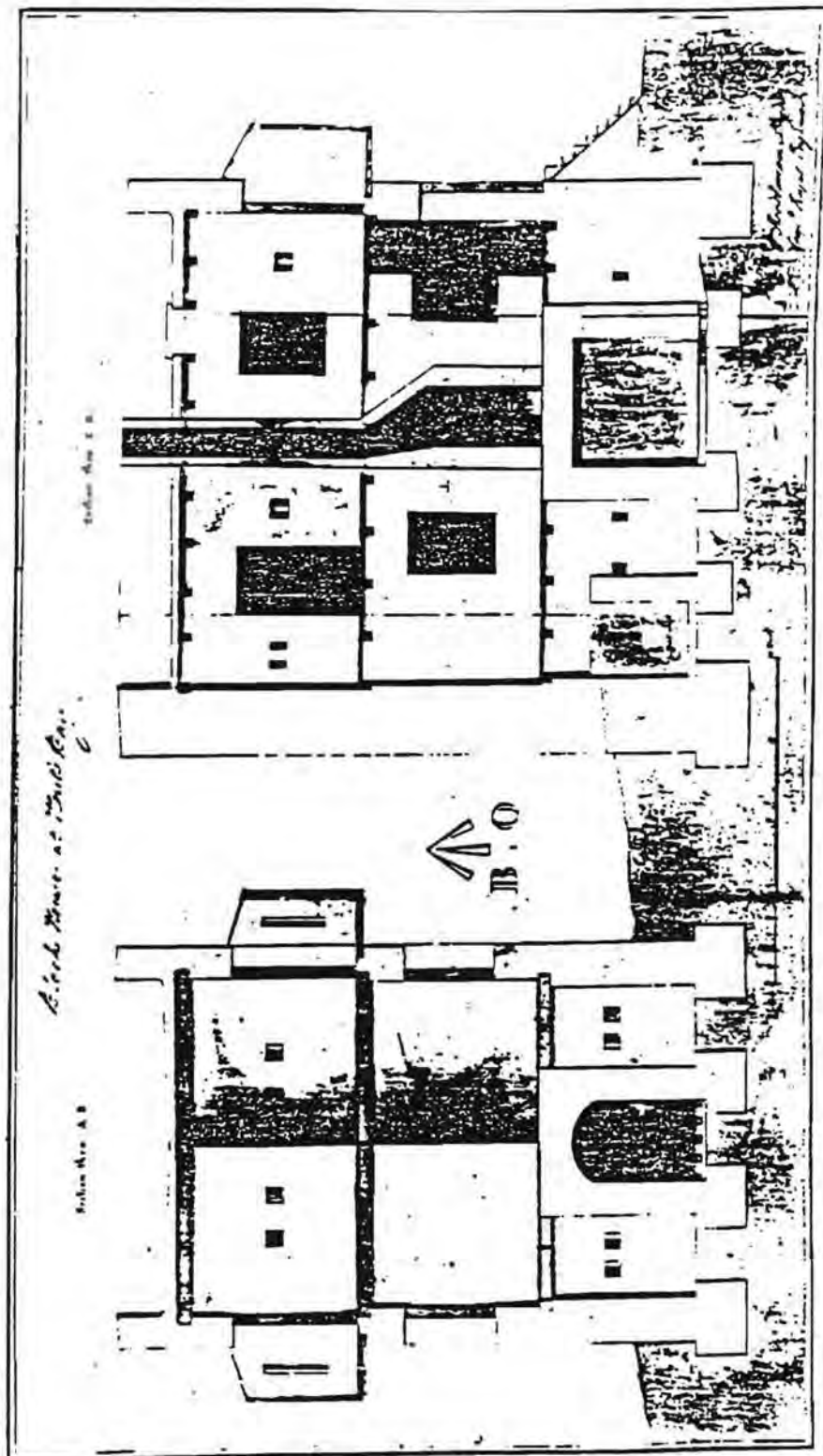


Fig. 153 Elevation, Blockhouse in Hout Bay (Cape Archives, VC 229/3).



Fig. 154 Hout Bay, Blockhouse, by Cecelia Ross, ca 1835. Note the mobile cannon next to the soldier on guard. Note also the guns on the lower platform to the left. (Africana Museum, ref. 2100).

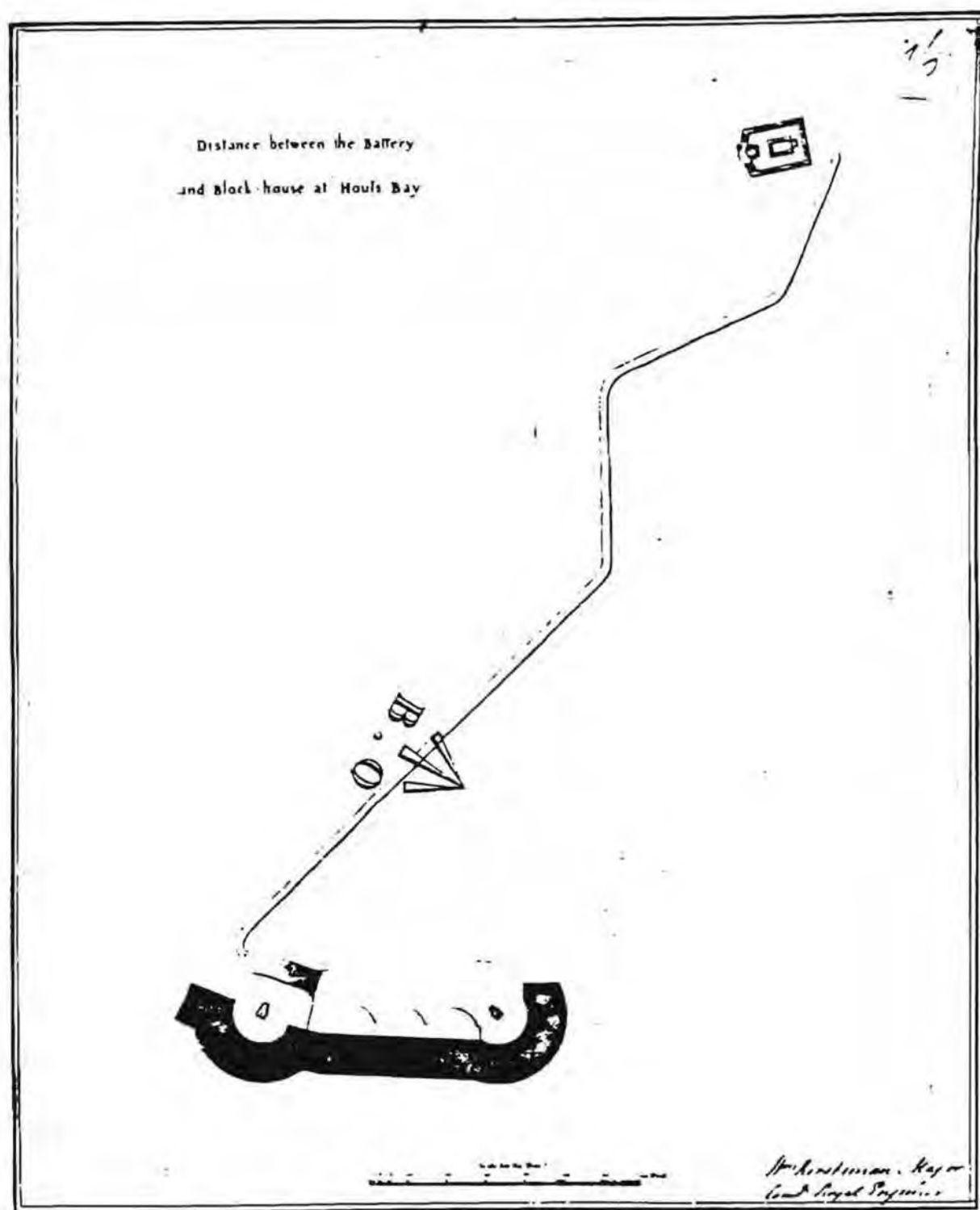


Fig. 155 Plan of the East Fort, Hout Bay, ca 1799 (Cape Archives, VC 229/1).



Fig. 156 'Kronendal', ca 1900. J.G. van Helsdingen added the gables and enlarged the house. (South African Library, Cape Town, ref. PC Hout Bay).

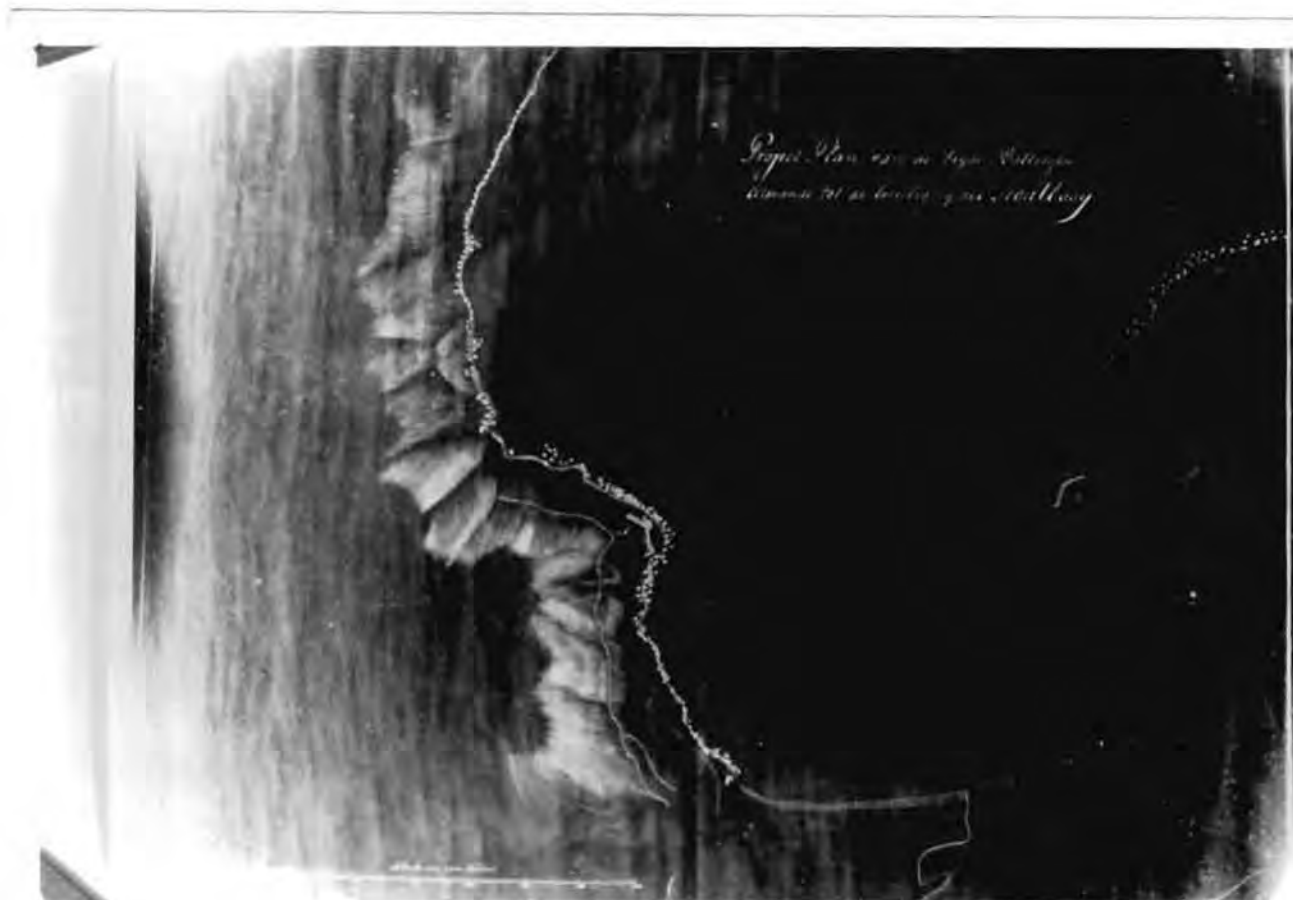


Fig. 157 Plan of Hout Bay, ca 1804. Note the East Fort's addition of the terreplein, overlaying the end traverse gun track. (Cape Archives, M1/1361).



Fig. 158 Plan of Hout Bay, ca 1804 (Cape Archives, M1/1334).



Fig. 159 8th King's Royal Irish Light Dragoons on service in South Africa, 1796, by Ernest Ibbetson. (Africana Museum, ref. 69/2904).

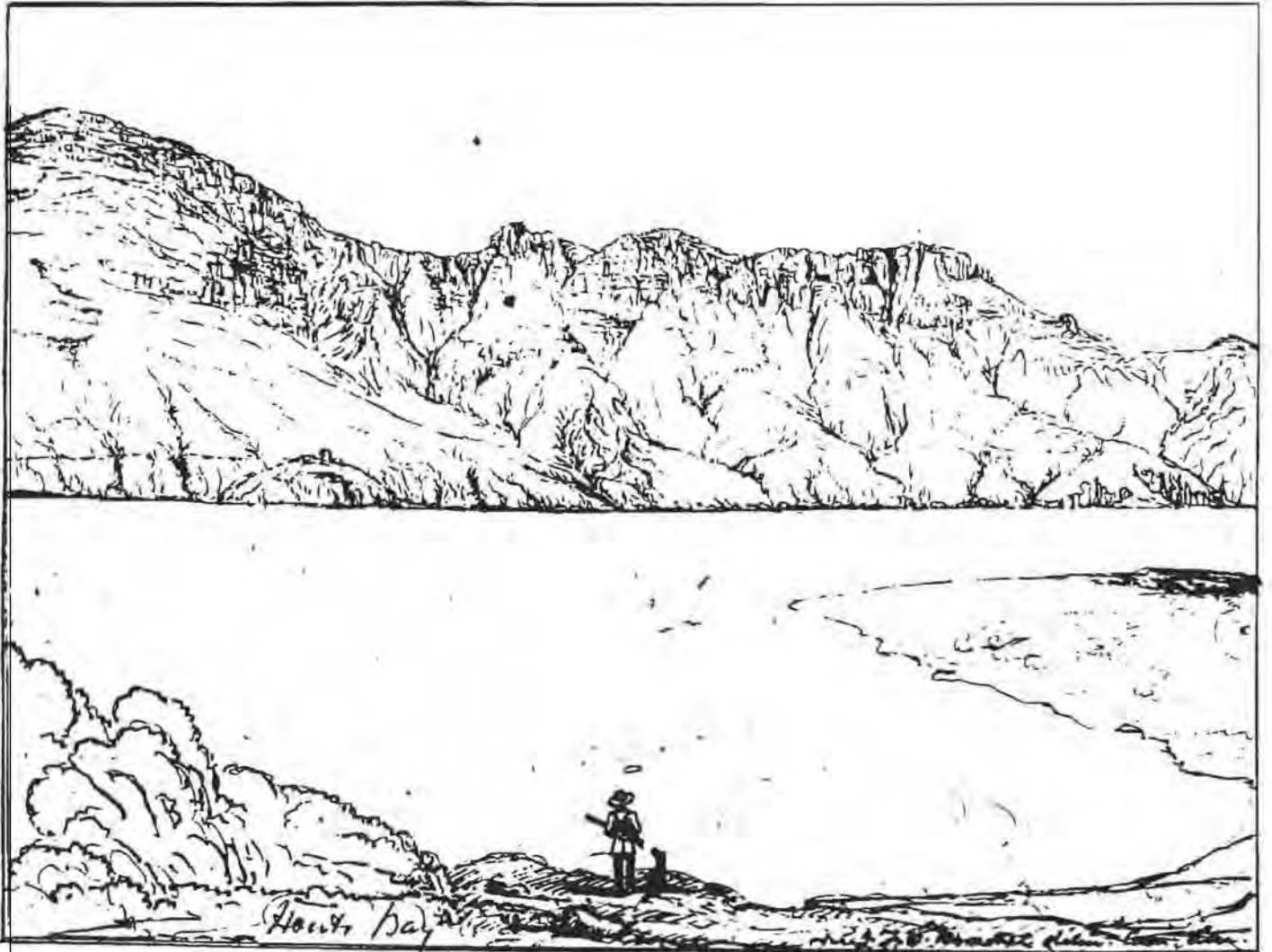


Fig. 160 Hout Bay West Fort to the right, the East Fort across the Bay, 1835, by J.W. Herschel. (South African Library, Cape Town, Ref. No INIL 9083).



Fig. 161 Blockhouse at Hout Bay, ca 1850, by T. Baines. Note the 'powder magazine' on the middle platform area behind the earthen rampart. (Africana Museum, ref. No. 2816).

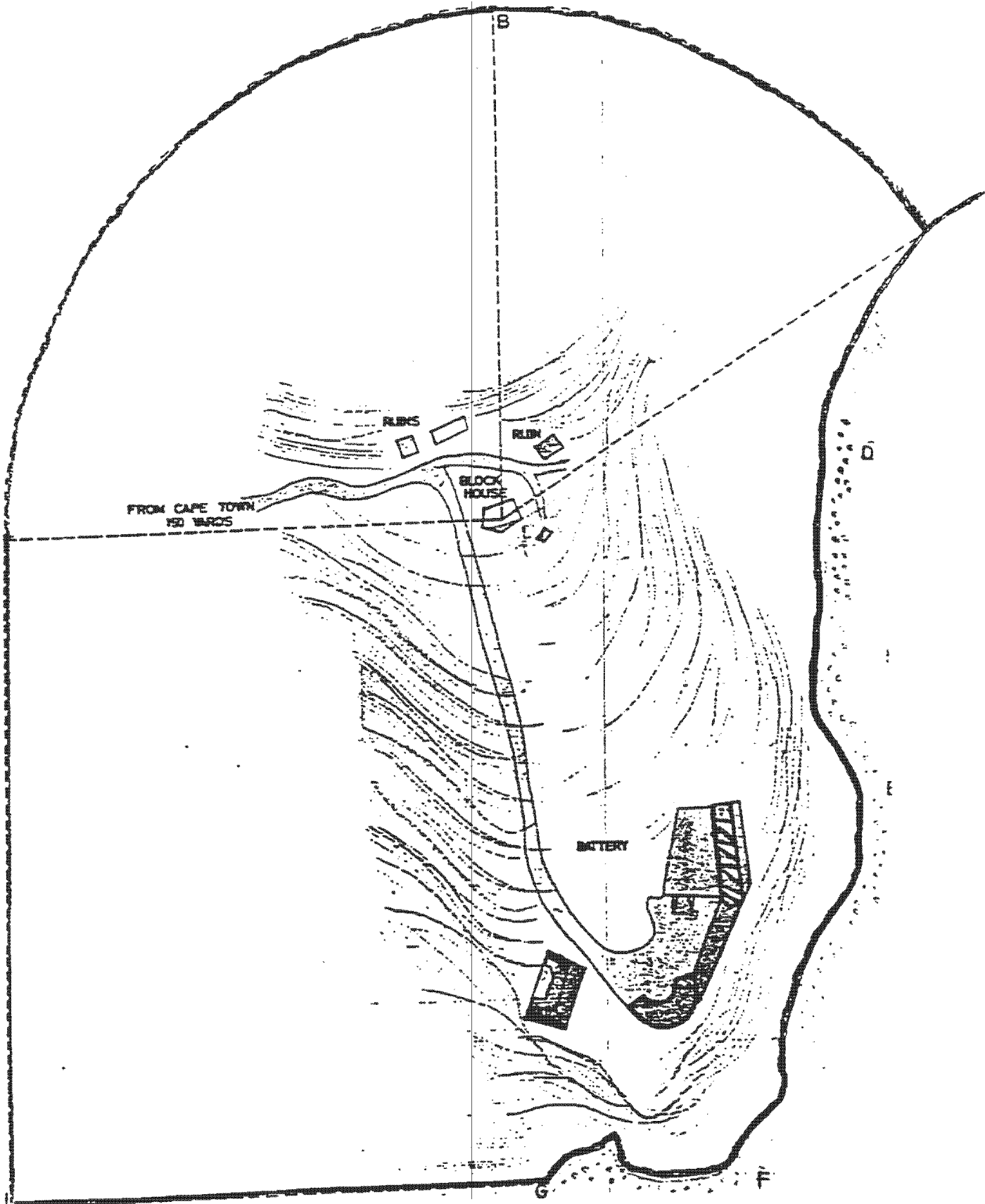


Fig. 162 Plan of the East Fort, 1844 (Surveyor General's Office, Ref S.G. Dgm No 339/1844).



Fig. 163 'Signal House', Hout Bay, ca 1835, by C. Webb Smith (Library of Parliament, ref A. pic. Mend 19352(iii)).

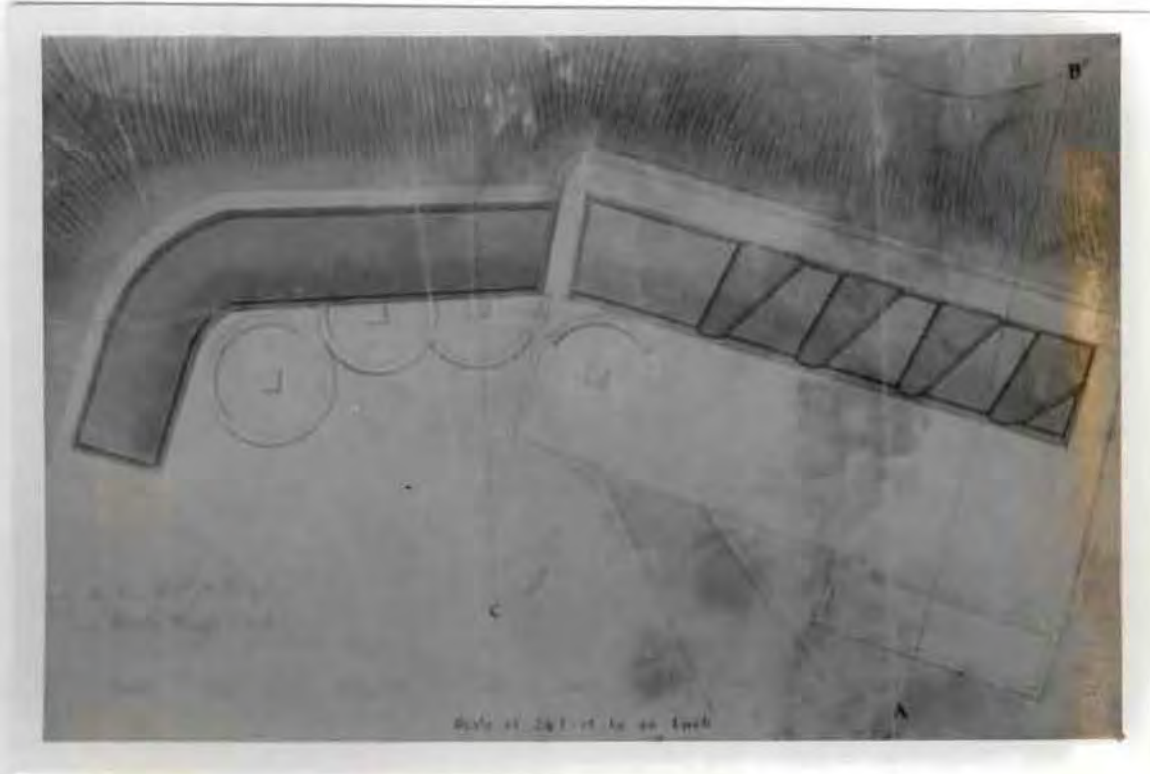


Fig. 164 Plan of the West Fort, 1844 (South African Cultural History Museum, Cape Town).



Fig. 165 West Fort, ca 1946, with Second World War installations (Cape Times Collection, South African Library, Ref. No PHA: Milit. facilities).

CHAPTER 5

EXCAVATIONS AT THE HOUT BAY WEST FORT

Introduction

Although well known to the inhabitants of Hout Bay the West Fort had not attracted much attention from historians or Regional Council planning committees. In contrast to the East Fort on Chapman's Peak Drive, the West Fort had been neglected, the site vandalised and fences broken down. The local folk used the site as a shortcut to their workplaces in the factories nearby. An attempt at restoration had been made by placing the 24-pounder cannons found on the site on fixed gun carriages, arbitrarily situated across what appears to be two different building levels.

The Hout Bay Museum's curators and trustees had long been concerned about the possible fate of the East and West Forts and had for years been trying to get funds allocated to develop the sites as open-air museums, tourist attraction and picnic spot for visitors and locals alike. In 1991 the National Monuments Council (Western Cape Branch), the South African Defence Force, tourist organisations and other interested parties discussed the promotion of sites of military interest in the Cape Peninsula. The aim was to design a tourist route encompassing the remains of forts and fortifications. The Hout Bay forts would be one of the major attractions.

The Hout Bay Museum, being the local guardian of the site saw the need to establish the historical and archaeological potential of the West Fort before any renovations or alterations could be undertaken. The University of Cape Town's Archaeology Department was contacted, which in turn allocated the project to the author.

The archaeological research program was structured to address the following objectives:

1. To establish the historical sequence of the building and the occupational phases of the site.
2. To establish the construction methods of the fort and the buildings it contains.
3. The armament of the batteries.
4. Evidence of people living and working at the fort throughout its occupation, excluding the Second World War episode.

The condition of the West Fort in 1992

The remains of the West Fort are situated ca two to three meters above sea level directly above the high water mark at 34°032 S, 18°21 E, Erf No. 1209, being a portion of Erf No. 1185, Hout Bay (1) (Fig. 166). The fort is located at the entrance to the bay, facing southeast out to sea. After 1945 factories and roads have encroached on the much larger original ground. The site had been used as an informal recreation area for many years.

However, despite appearances, the following above ground features were in a reasonably good condition:

The rampart, glacis, rampart wall and possible gun traverse track of a battery on the left side, facing the sea. The area is about 22 m wide and ca 14 m across and covered with vegetation, mainly a hardy grass species (Fig. 167).

A terreplein with concrete structures and gun emplacements, the concrete structures evidently built during the Second World War. The terreplein had been added to the right hand

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1. Map 3418AB & AD, Cape Peninsula 1:50 000, Chief Director of Surveys and Mapping, Mowbray.

side of the battery. It was constructed from round boulders, found on the shore in abundance, and grey beach sand, ca 38 m wide and 18 m across. The terreplein towers about 2 m above the other structures on site. Parts of the glacis', the seaward side of the terreplein, sand and grass cover had washed away and revealed this to be a terraced construction from round boulders. The terreplein was accessed by a ramp in the rear (Fig. 168). The whole area was overgrown with the same hardy grass species and low shrubs.

Remains of a small and a larger building next to the ramp at the back of the terreplein were visible. The smaller, a ca 3,6 m by 3,0 m building, had been restored up to a height of ca 2,0 m with the round boulders so readily available. The larger building, 3,80 m wide and then of unknown length, was totally covered with collapsed dressed stone from the terreplein wall, rubble and assorted recent rubbish. The visible part of the wall of this building had been built with care, using dressed stone and mortar. Both buildings abut the terreplein (Fig. 169).

An elevated structure on top of the terreplein and reconstructed walling from round boulders set in concrete seemed to be connected with Second World War activities on the site. It was not deemed necessary to investigate this feature.

At the rear of the rampart, but set to the side, a 2,20 m by 2,20 m brick and dressed stone wall foundation was noted at ground level. It was located far from the other features. The reason became evident in due time.

Set back about 32 m from the rampart wall and terreplein glacis and running parallel to it an embankment of round boulders suggested the width of the first battery erected on this site.

Excavating the main features of the West Fort

Standard archaeological methods were used throughout. A grid system of 2 m by 2 m was established over the whole site. The pre-cast concrete fence at the west side of the boundary was used as the baseline. Selected squares were excavated, each section sieved and the artefacts bagged separately. The excavation was recorded by means of a field note book, photography and drawings. A plan of the West Fort, dated 1844, guided our choice of potential excavation areas (2).

It very soon became apparent that the excavated areas, taken separately, were not clearly differentiated in their deposits. The upper layer, often less than 0,10 m deep, contained grass, grey/brown soil mixed with contemporary rubbish and older artefacts and was situated above the excavated features. Underneath a sterile soil/beach boulder base was found. The only exceptions were the inside of the larger building at the back of the terreplein (subsequently named the armoury) and the levels below the present floor of the smaller structure, the powder magazine.

To avoid confusion, and for easier identification purposes, the detailed excavation areas will be designated as areas A, B, C, etc. (Fig. 170).

Excavation area A contained part of a possible 360° gun traverse track (Fig. 171). This track consists of a deteriorated part near to the rampart wall facing the sea. This seemed to have been constructed of pebbles and lime/cement plaster, burned from shells collected on the beach. This type of cement was used throughout the fort. The remainder of the tracks uncovered were fashioned carefully from dressed stone, laid directly on the sterile sand/boulder base. No wheel track marks were observed. It was also not

2. South African Cultural History Museum, plan of the West Fort, 1844.

possible to locate the pivot on which the traversing gun platform rotated, if there ever was one.

The excavation was then extended to the north rampart wall, which was found to be constructed of two layers of semi-dressed sandstone, the dressed part facing the track area (Fig. 172). The rampart wall at this point is 0,50 m high, set directly upon the tightly stacked, round beach boulders base. The glaxis of boulders, grass and sand slopes gently down from the top of the rampart wall to the high water mark, ca 10 m away (Fig. 173). The sea shore consists of roughly spherical boulders, about 0,30 m to 0,70 m in diameter.

In excavation area B we located the 90° gun traverse track as shown on our map. This track was built from smaller, ca 0,10 m diameter boulders, lime/cement and dressed stone. There appeared to be only one groove for the wheel of the gun carriage platform. A channel, 0,05 m wide, bisecting the track, was designed as a water run-off. The excavated portion of the track was in a bad state of repair (Fig. 174).

Excavation area C was selected because the muzzle end of a cannon was slightly protruding from the ground. Located under a few cm of soil a 24-pounder iron cannon was uncovered on its, probably original, gun traverse track of 180° (Fig. 175). The trunnion proclaimed the gun's manufacturing date of 1752 (Fig. 176). Under the muzzle, facing the 0,50 m high rampart wall, the first of many one-pounder iron cannon balls was found. The cascable [the bulb like end of the gun] had been placed on the tracks. The gun traverse track was of yet another construction: two parallel grooves in well preserved lime/cement plaster over a dressed stone base. Two water run-off channels bisected the tracks in the area we excavated (Fig. 177). Again, we could not locate any structure which would have acted as pivot for the traversing gun platform.

This third gun traverse track terminated against the 1 m high dressed stone wall of the terreplein, built at a ninety degree

angle to the rampart wall. In the corner of the rampart wall and terreplein walling we unearthed a series of three neatly dressed stone steps, ca 1 m wide, 0,50 m deep and 0,50 m high (Figs. 178 and 179). This flight of stairs ends on top of the rampart wall and makes for easier access to the terreplein. In the corner of the rampart wall and the steps a cache of round, rusted food tins was unearthed in one of the few undisturbed areas on the site.

In area D we tried to excavate through the terreplein construction down to a possible fourth gun traverse track, drawn on the map of 1844 (2). This proved impossible and dangerous, as the walls of sand and boulders kept caving in. The attempt was therefore abandoned.

Area E contains one embrasure of the terreplein. The embrasures had been visible from the seaward side (Fig. 180). The most remarkable feature of the embrasures on this terreplein is that they are lined with bricks fashioned from the same lime/cement used as mortar and plaster. This particular embrasure in area E was lined with seven courses of bricks (Fig. 181). The size of the bricks conformed to Dutch standards: 230 mm by 120 mm by 50 mm. The inner, narrow opening of the embrasure ended on a one course boulder edge, which demarcated the gun emplacement area of the terreplein from the raised glacis with the embrasures. The other embrasures seemed to have been demolished in part when the Second World War concrete gun emplacements and ammunition storage spaces were constructed.

Area F has been tentatively designated as the powder magazine/storage space. The room measures 3,65 m by 3,00 m (internal dimensions) and was filled with rubbish. The walls had been rebuilt and modern cement held the boulders in place. After cleaning out part of the room it was found that the first two wall courses above the lime/cement floor had been part of the original building. A 1 m by 1 m excavation below the floor level in the northeast corner revealed two further floor

levels (Fig. 182). Level 1 is situated below the lime/cement floor. It consists of yellow, gritty sand. Level 2 is composed of cobbles and broken stone with grey/brown soil and yellow clay patches. Level 3, the lowest level, consists of round pebbles interspersed with sand. The contents of all three levels were mixed with charcoal, the lowest contained part of a hub and wagon wheel and fragments of Chinese porcelain. The charcoal was identified as European hardwood, which could have been used in making gunpowder.

The most substantial building at the West Fort is the armoury in **excavation area G** (Fig. 183). This building was excavated from a boulder/rubble overburden of up to 2 m. The walls still standing are roughly 0,80 m high, 0,6 m wide and built from well dressed stone with mortar. The whole building abuts the back of the terreplein and is 3,65 m wide and 8,90 m long. The doorway was unearthed in the east wall adjacent to the terreplein. It is 0,90 m wide and the original wooden floor lintel was still embedded in the plaster of the floor. The building had been plastered inside and out. Flagstone paving surrounds the building in the areas we excavated to about 0,5 m around two sides. The flat roof had collapsed. We collected small pieces, about 0,2 m long, of the former roof beams and a great quantity of low fired bricks and lime/cement plaster.

The interior of the armoury was stratigraphically well defined (Fig. 184). The upper layer contained rubble overburden, the next layer consisted of grey/brown soil with a mixed artefact assemblage. The third, the brick/cement layer, contained the contents of the building: neatly stacked 24-pounder cannon balls (Fig. 185), one-pounder cannon balls, identified as grape shot and the grape shot holders. The grape shot holders fit in the muzzle of the 24-pounder cannons on the site (Fig. 186). In addition to the cannon balls and holders we unearthed a pulley (Figs. 183 and 187), various iron nuts, bolts, rods, brackets, lead musket balls, a door hinge (Fig. 188) and assorted other finds, the richest concentration of artefacts at the site. The plastered floor of the armoury was placed

directly on the sterile sand/ boulder base found all over the battery.

Square M 6 inside the armoury contained a pit which had been dug from the top down to the sterile sand/boulder level. The top of this pit was located next to a dressed stone wind break, which was at first thought to be an interior wall. The corner contained a barbecue area with charcoal, fish and bird remains. The pit was about 1,80 m long, 0,70 m wide and 1,5 m deep. It contained artefacts dated to the Second World War occupation of the fort. We excavated this pit completely but left the other half of the armoury intact.

Excavation area H turned out to contain the remains of a square stone structure, which was later identified as an oven or furnace for heating cannon balls red-hot (Fig. 189). The structure measures, as already stated, 2,20 m by 2,20 m and is 0,30 m high. Stone paving, 0,5 m wide, surrounds the base. The 0,4 m thick walls were built from dressed stone (Fig. 190). Inside, the structure was lined with flat bricks of Dutch standard dimensions. These bricks have been subjected to a high temperature while in place: their colour had turned from red to orange to a whitish yellow depending on the temperature gradient from the centre outwards.

At the west side, in the lee, the structure has a V shaped opening, which was plastered (Fig. 191). At the inner, narrow end of the V we noticed a small step, possibly to support a container. This might have been where the hot iron cannon balls were collected in a basket for transport to the guns. No remains of a possible superstructure have survived.

Both areas I₁ and I₂ were excavated to see if we could establish the original edge of the first West Fort platform. It was found that this platform edge had been deliberately stacked with boulders (Fig. 192) and the boulders had not, as in the places beyond the outline of the fort, been washed up and tumbled around by wave action.

All the materials used for the construction of the fort are to be found in the vicinity of the Hout Bay valley: sandstone, shale, clay for bricks, shell for burning lime/cement. Wood had to be imported from elsewhere, as by the time of the West Fort's construction Hout Bay was quite denuded of trees.

Conclusion

It was felt that the aim of this archaeological project, to elucidate the sequence of occupation and building activities at the Hout Bay West Fort site, had been achieved. The artefactual data recovered, although rather meagre compared to civilian sites of comparable age, would enable us to say something about the occupants of the fort. It was noted that the remains of arms and ammunition in the armoury were left behind in a neat arrangement, a sign of British military discipline. The research results from this site will be integrated with those from the East Fort and Fort Klein Gibraltar and will be discussed in detail in chapter 9.

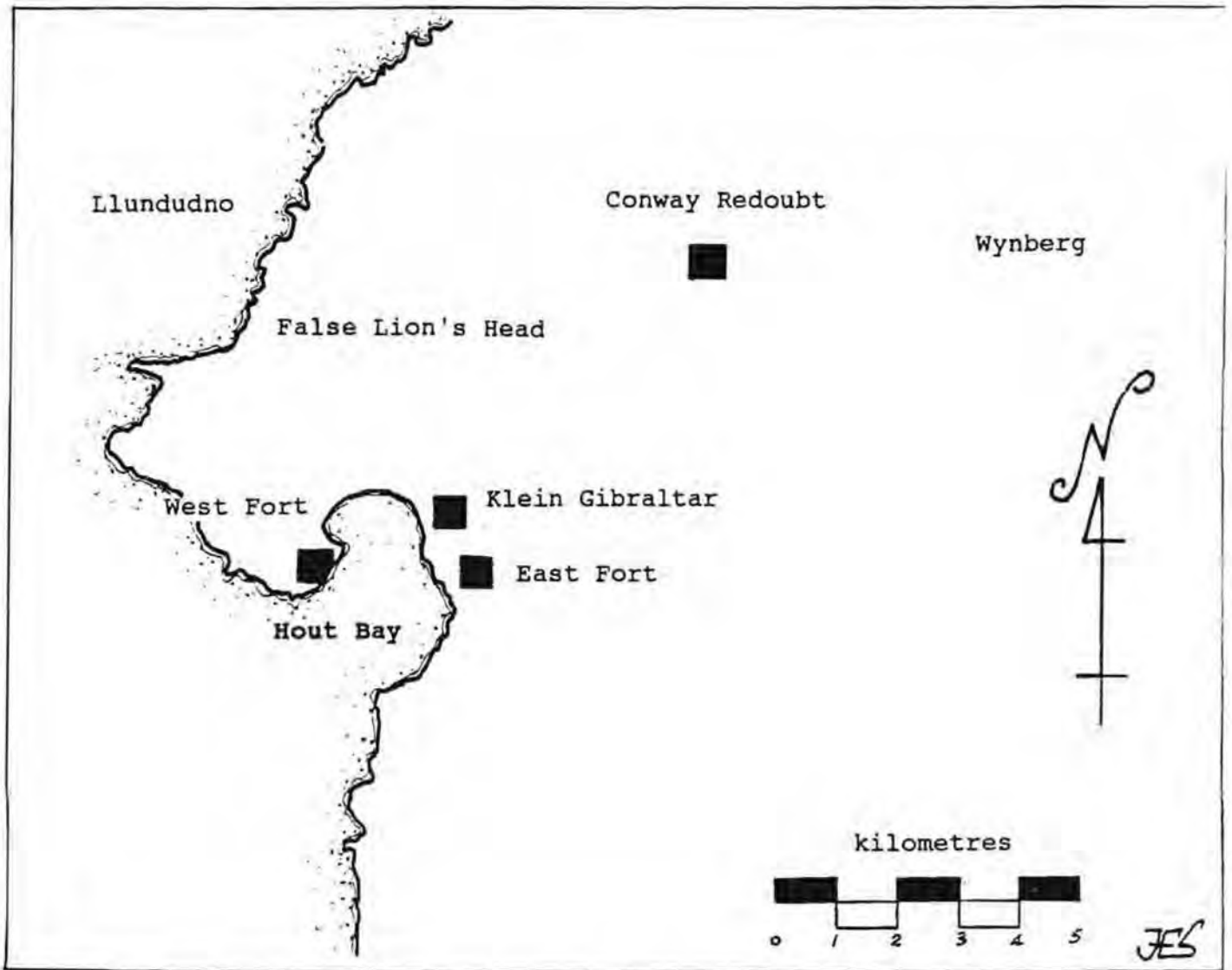


Fig. 166 Map of Hout Bay, 1993.



Fig. 167 Rampart and glacis



Fig. 168 Terreplein



Fig. 169 Rear of terreplein and remains of Second World War buildings.



Fig. 171 Excavation area A with part of a possible 360° gun traverse track.



Fig. 172 Part of the north rampart wall.



Fig. 173 Glacis



Fig. 174 Excavated gun traverse track in area B.



Fig. 175 Cannon found *in situ* in area C.



Fig. 176 Trunion of the cannon with date of manufacture, 1752.



Fig. 177 Excavated gun traverse track on which the cannon rested, area C.



Fig. 178 Steps leading up to the terreplein, area C.

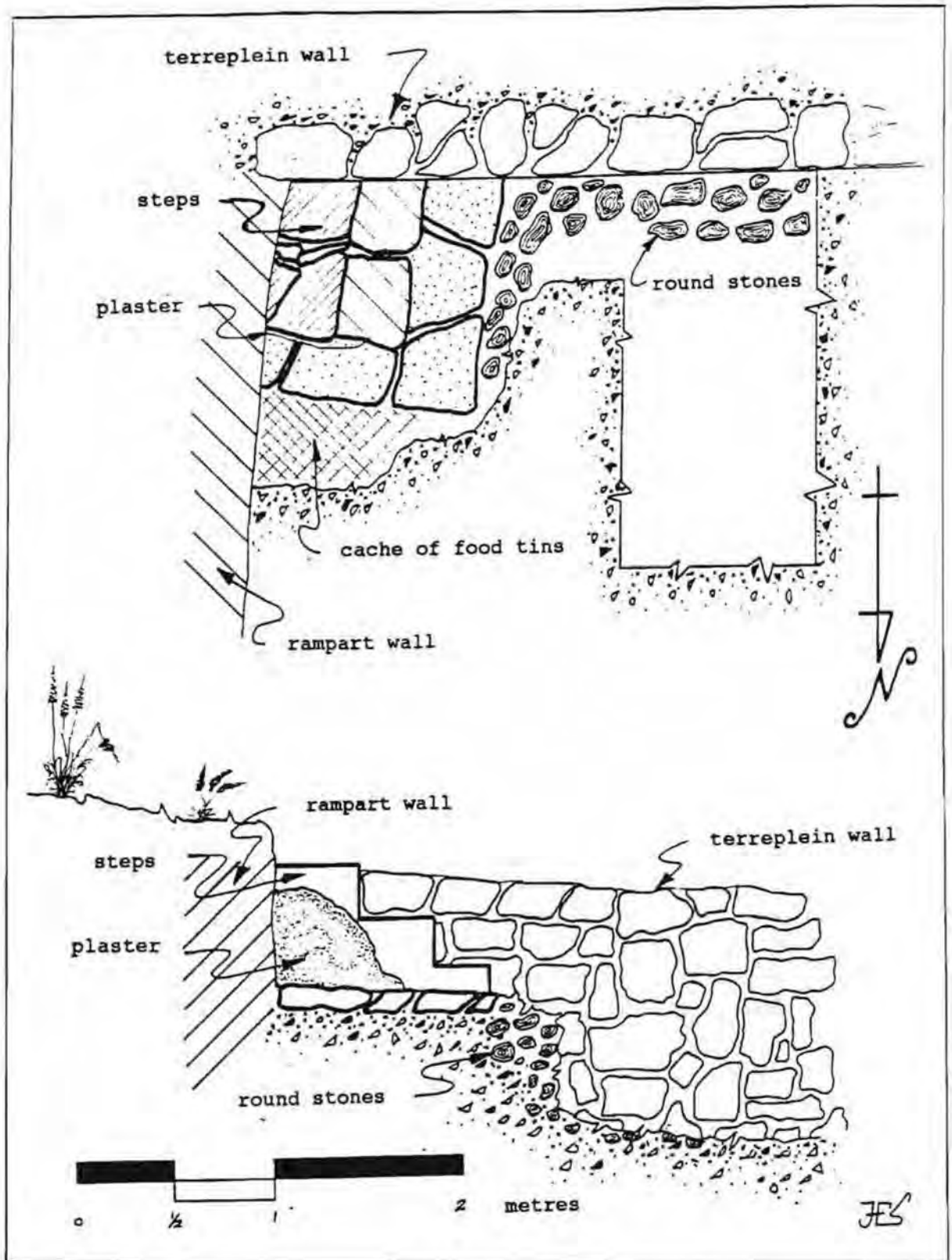


Fig. 179 Drawing of the steps leading up to the terreplein.



Fig. 180 Embrazure in area D.



Fig. 181 Lining of the embrazure walls with lime/cement bricks.

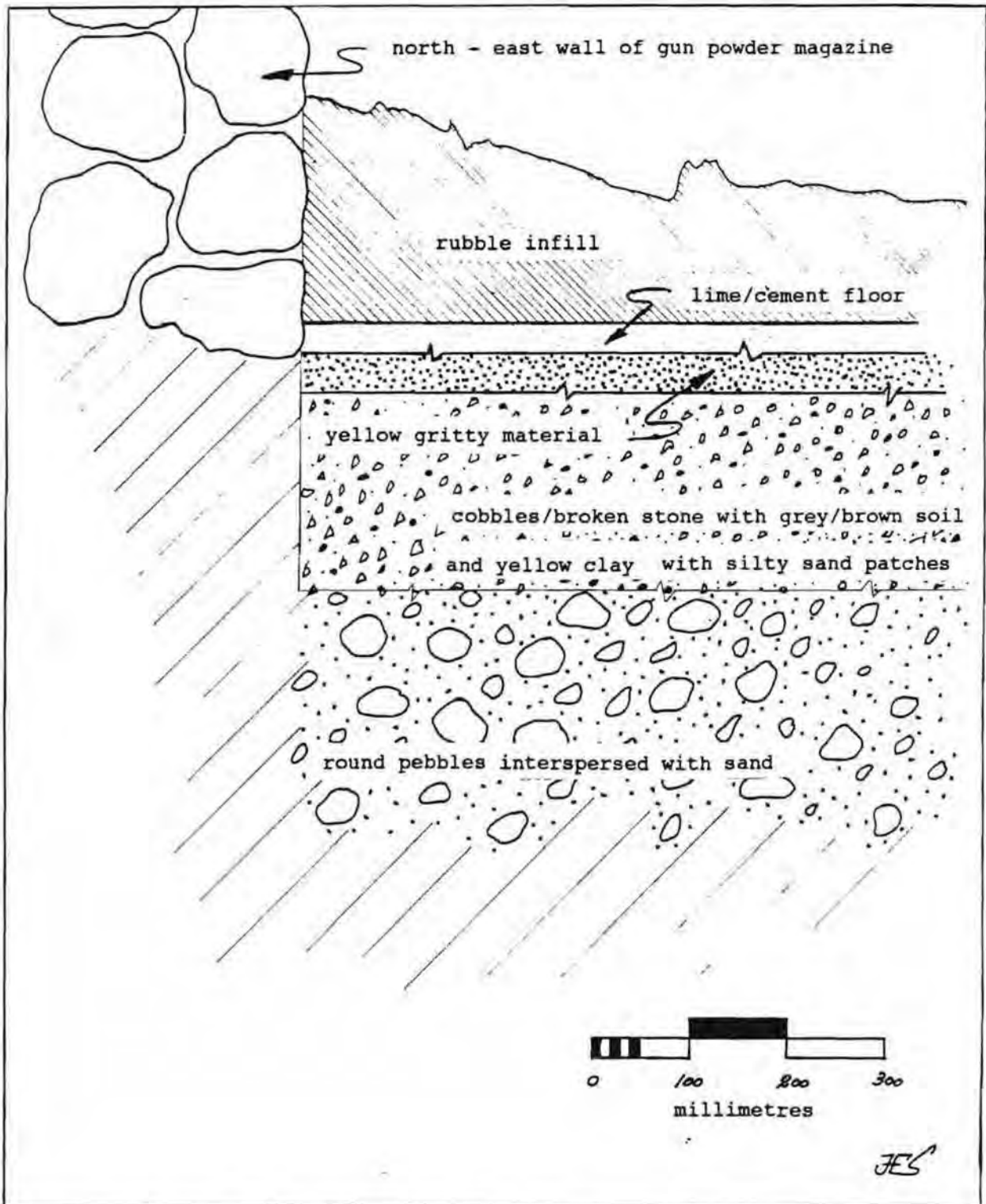


Fig. 182 Stratigraphy of the floor of the powder magazine, north east/south west profile.

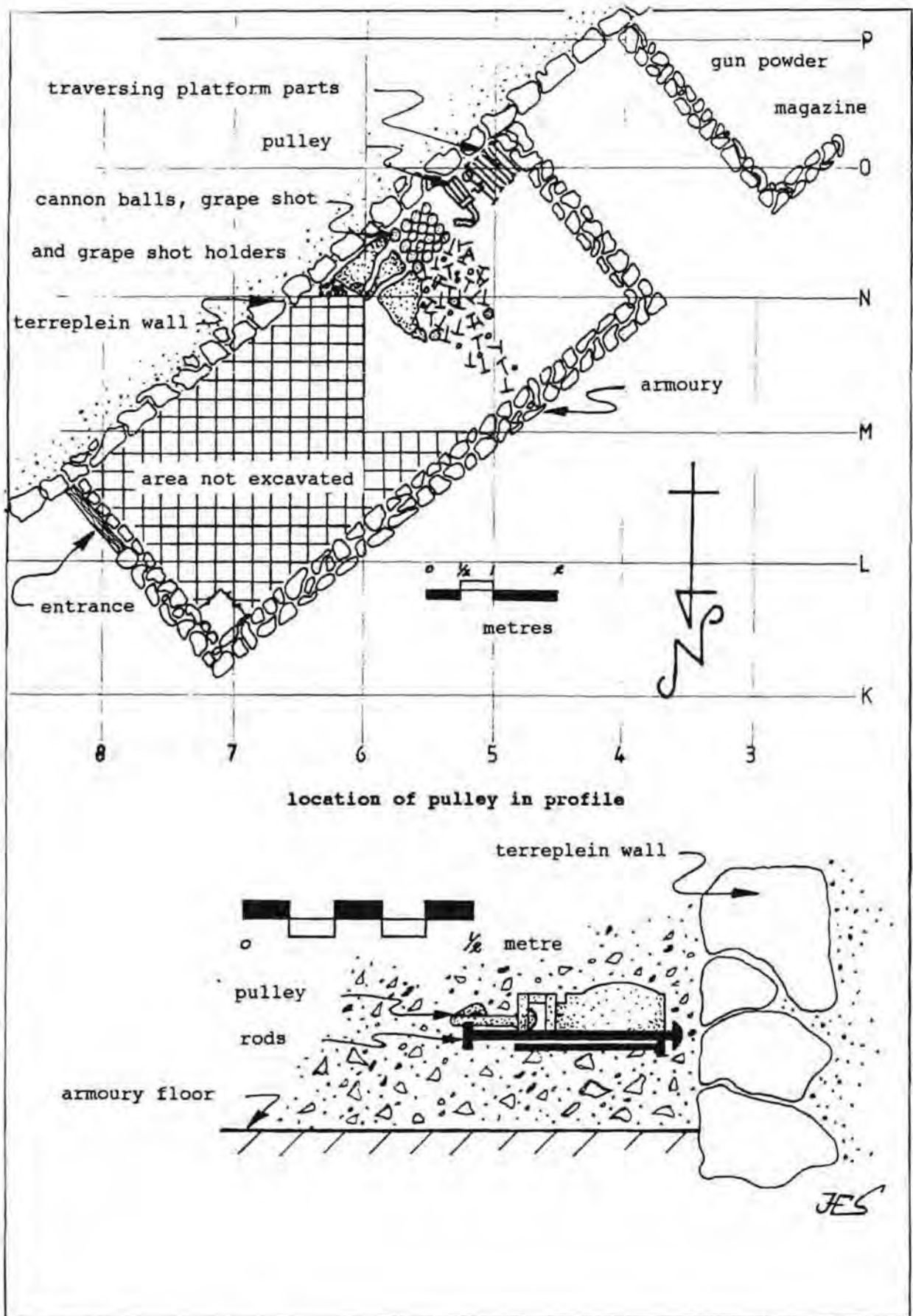


Fig. 183 Armoury - with location of pulley in profile.

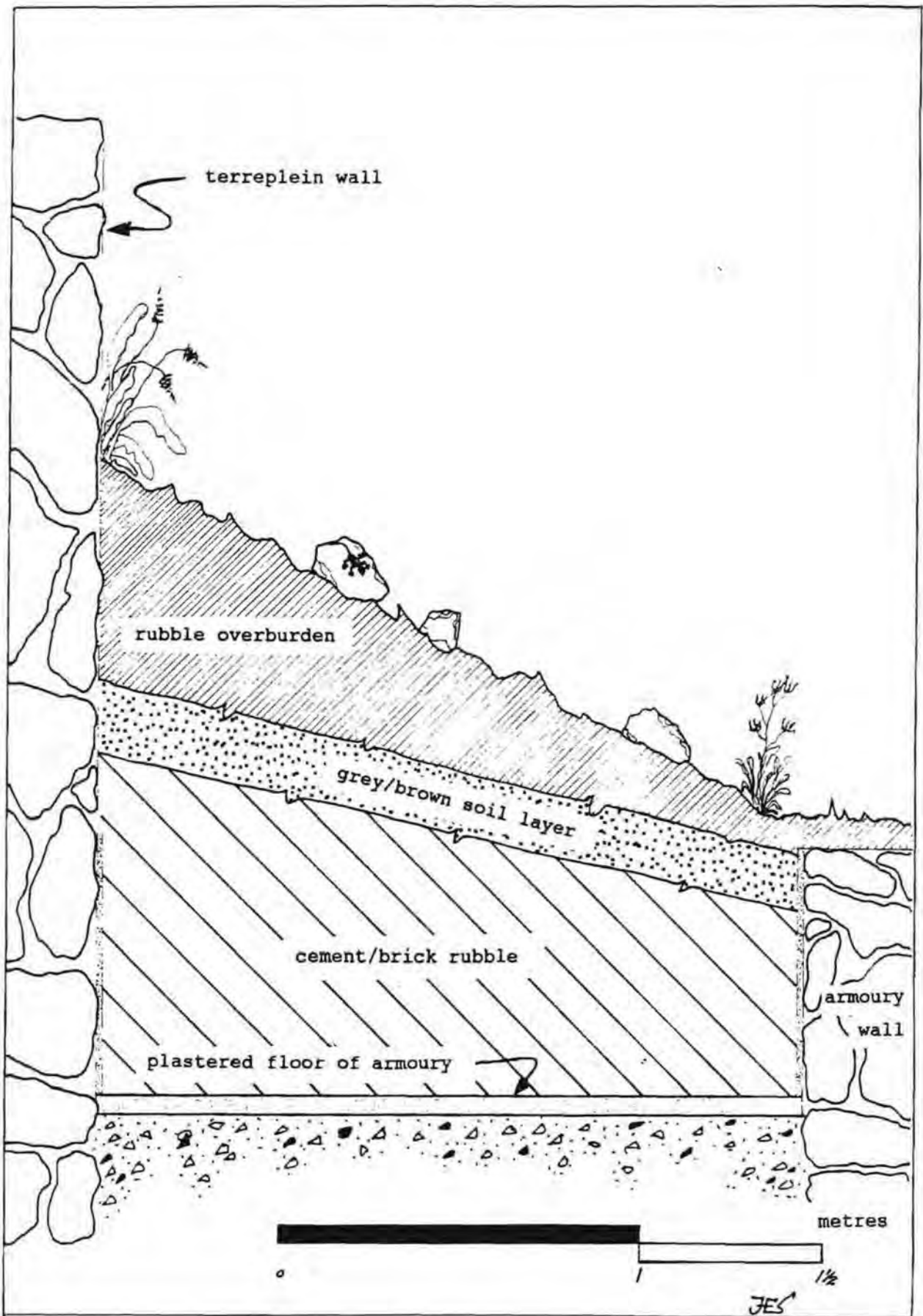


Fig. 184 Stratigraphy of the armoury, south east/north west profile bisecting, square M6.



Fig. 185 Stacked 24-pounder cannon balls in the armoury, *in situ*, square N6.



Fig. 186 Grape shot holder, found in the armoury, fitting the muzzle of the 24-pounder cannon on site.



Fig. 187 Pulley, found in the armoury.



Fig. 188 Door hinge, probably of the armoury door.

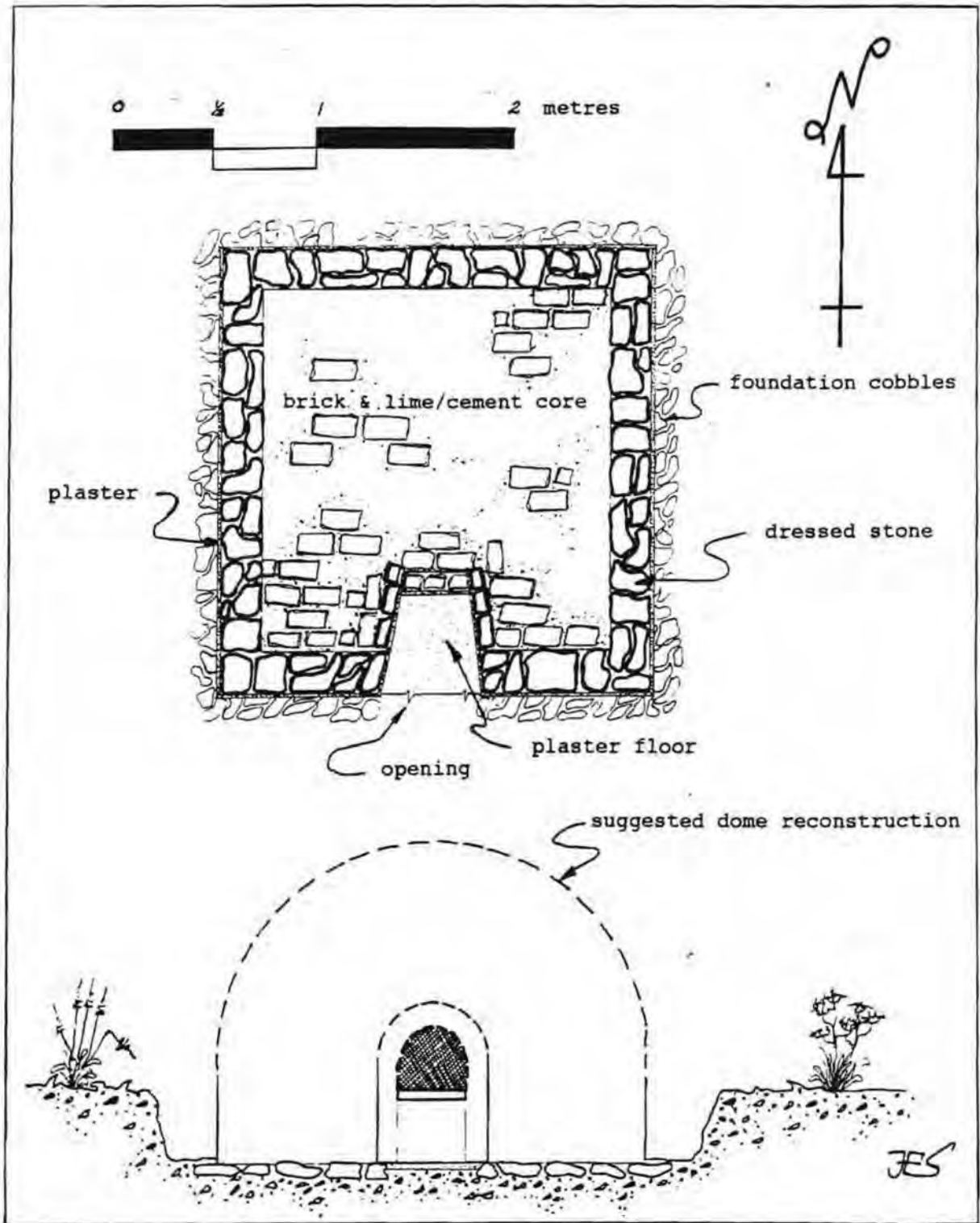


Fig. 189 Remains and probable reconstruction of the hot-shot cannon-ball oven.



Fig. 190 Excavated hot-shot cannon-ball oven base.



Fig. 191 Close-up of the opening of the oven, where a basket could be placed to collect the hot cannon balls.



Fig. 192 Probable original platform edge, built in 1781.

CHAPTER 6

EXCAVATIONS AT THE HOUT BAY EAST FORT

Introduction

The Hout Bay East Fort is a well known landmark for travellers on Chapman's Peak Drive. In the early part of the twentieth century it was restored with much enthusiasm, but unfortunately with little reference to original documents in the Archives (1). Since then it has been well kept up, in the latter years by the Regional Service Council. It is quite famous as a tourist picnic spot and is frequented throughout the year.

The Hout Bay East Fort's future potential and development is of equal concern to the Hout Bay Museum. My brief as to the archaeological investigation of this site was identical to that of the West Fort.

The East Fort in 1992

The East Fort is located about 1 km outside Hout Bay on Chapman's Peak Drive, which was built in 1922 and bisects the property on which the numerous buildings and outworks had been erected. The geographical location is designated as 34°03 S, 18°22 E, Erf "Farm No 1245". The battery was built on three artificial terraces, respectively hewn out of the steep mountain side ca 30 m, 40 m and 70 m above sea level (2). A path connects the upper Blockhouse complex - above Chapman's Peak Drive - with the middle rampart and the lower rampart/gun

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1. The Cape Times, 21 August 1929, and South African Library, Ref PHA: Mil. facilities 'restored Dutch fort, Hout Bay, April 1915
 2. Map 3418 AB 8 CHAPMAN'S PEAK, 1:10 000, Chief Director of Surveys and Mapping, Mowbray.

emplacement area. The present path is only part of the one used during the fort's occupation. It has not been possible to trace the whole length of the original path due to building activities on Chapman's Peak Drive over the last seventy years.

The upper area of the fort contains the Blockhouse and other buildings which we named according to the function they might have had: the lieutenant's quarter with adjacent ablution block or storage room, the circular tower/sentry box, the soldiers' quarters and the kitchen/store building (Fig. 193).

The Blockhouse dominates the landscape (Fig. 194). Built on a promontory it faces the valley of Hout Bay, from which the military road to the East Fort, part of which is still in use, originated. This road ends in the space between the Blockhouse and the soldiers' quarters, well visible on the ground.

The Blockhouse had been reconstructed during this century with the dressed stone of the original building. Apart from the basement area, the rest had collapsed. Therefore the only reliable measurement is the groundplan of ca 7,50 m by 6,60 m (internal dimensions) and added to that the triangle of the cistern area. The 'restorations' undertaken were not accurate: the door was wrongly placed, to the east side of the building instead of to the south, and a stone staircase added. One also cannot say with any degree of certainty that the outer buttress facing north had been built by the Royal Engineers before 1829. The top of the walls are here, as on the other restored buildings in the vicinity, topped with modern concrete to keep the walls from toppling.

The cistern in the basement of the Blockhouse is fairly well preserved. We removed the rubble in front and inside the cistern. The opening for a tap was revealed. The floor in front of the cistern could absorb the water spills, as a half circle of brick rubble was surrounded by one course of brick paving (Fig. 195). The powder magazine with the domed roof in

the centre of the Blockhouse was more or less intact (Fig. 196), as depicted on the Royal Engineer's drawing of 1799 (3). The basement floor, apart from the half circle below the cistern, was paved in those parts which we cleared.

The Blockhouse's embrasures which are visible today may not have been placed as originally designed. The height of the ruin, in places up to three stories, conforms to the original plan.

Approximately 32 m east of the Blockhouse, slightly higher up the slope, are the soldiers' quarters (Fig. 197). These are in a building 12 m wide and 11,5 m long, divided by a wall down the centre. Two stone staircases of six and five stairs respectively lead down from the west facing doors. The windows, which face the bay, one for each room, with original lintels, are placed next to the door. In both rooms the floors have been repaved in places and the walls re-erected during the 'renovation' in the 1920s. Modern mortar and cement has been used to fill the gaps in the walls.

We have estimated that each room could contain the bedsteads or hammocks for fourteen to sixteen men.

The lieutenant's quarter, 4 m by 5 m, with a smaller store or ablution room attached to it (Fig. 198) was placed ca 3 m from the soldiers' quarters. We have called the larger room the lieutenant's quarter because of its size, position and a special feature, a fireplace in the south east corner (Fig. 199). The room is paved with flagstones. The north wall, which had probably contained the window, had collapsed. The adjacent room, which was set slightly back, contained a rough paved, sloping floor. At the back the room's height was estimated at about 1,5 m and in the front about 2 m. Two steps lead down from the doorway to the general level area. The north corner of this building complex is propped up by a square buttress

3. Cape Archives, VC 229/3 and VC 229/4. Ground plan, elevation and section of the Blockhouse at Hout Bay.

jutting out ca 2 m towards the steep valley side. This valley contains a perennial fresh water stream.

In front of the lieutenant's quarter, only 1 m to the north west, a tower/sentry box had been erected (Fig. 200). This round box measures about 1 m diameter inside. The wall contains two embrasures at chest height, just big enough to aim a rifle through. The doorway opposite faces the lieutenant's quarter. The floor is roughly paved with cobbles and part of the original plaster remained. The sentry box wall is plastered inside and out with modern plaster. Again, this structure has been re-erected on the original foundations.

The last building which survives on this site seems to have combined the function of kitchen and store room/larder (Fig. 201). It is situated about 16 m south west of the Blockhouse and equidistant from the soldiers' quarters. The kitchen contains a Dutch oven (Fig. 202), 1 m wide, 1 m deep, set on a 1 m high platform in one corner, which in turn is set on a ca 0,2 m step dividing the kitchen in half. The dome-like superstructure of the oven is lined on the inside with Dutch yellow, heat resistant *klinkers*. The oven seems to have been well used. The kitchen and the store room windows with the original lintels face south west. Outside the kitchen entrance in the west wall a substantial slab of sandstone and three steps lead down the sloping ground.

The adjacent store room of 2 m by 3 m had been set about 1 m lower into the ground, having served perhaps as a 'cool-room' (Fig. 203). At present four steps lead into this 'cellar' from a doorway, which might not have been the original entrance. This building is also extensively 'restored', judging by the modern cement in the cavities between the dressed stones and on the top of the walls. However, at the bottom of the south corner some original lime/cement plaster has been preserved on the outside.

The outer walls in every building on this site are uniformly thick, roughly 0,5 m to 0,6 m. They were built from local dressed sandstone with cobbles and small fragments of rock filling the cavities. The usual lime/cement from burned shell was used as mortar. The water cistern and powder magazine in the Blockhouse, the Dutch oven in the kitchen and the fire place in the lieutenant's quarter were partly plastered with the original plaster.

For the floor paving in the buildings shale and/or well dressed local sandstone were used. The pathway between the kitchen and the Blockhouse had been stabilised with low fired brick rubble (such as was used at the end of the eighteenth century), sand and plaster fragments. The ground here is natural clay and slippery in wet weather. Most of the site today is covered by a well kept lawn.

The middle level area of the Hout Bay East Fort lies about 30 m downslope (Fig. 204). Today the platform measures about 20 m by 40 m, as the result of clearing of a large area in the 1940s. The western edge, the sea side, is marked by a ca 2 m to 3 m high rampart wall, ca 3 m to 5 m wide (Fig. 205). This was constructed from earth and loose rocks, which had been excavated out of the mountain side to create the level area. Both eastern flanks of the rampart had been clad with a dry wall of dressed stone, possibly to prevent collapse (Fig. 206). A Second World War concrete bunker is surrounded by the rampart on three sides. According to photographs taken in 1915 and ca 1925 and a plan of 1936 this building replaced the former 'renovated presumed powder magazine' (4).

10 m further downslope we enter **the gun emplacement section of the East Fort**. It consists of three parts. In the center a straight, well preserved rampart wall, 1 m high and 28 m long with three 180° gun traverse tracks, 7 to 8 m diameter, and

4. South African Library, Ref PHA: Military facilities, photo ca 1925, and 'Plan of the "renovated" presumed powder magazine, National Monuments Council, Western Cape Branch files.

one gun emplacement each set directly against the wall. The tracks are built from dressed stone, much smaller than the wall, and are still partially covered with lime/cement plaster. Three 24-pounder cannons are placed on stationary gun carriages of uncertain design on the partly preserved original gun emplacements, but not into the original grooves (Figs. 210 and 211). The gun carriage bases were enlarged and stabilised with flagstones and modern cement. Inscribed on the 24-pounder cannons are serial numbers in Roman and Arabic numerals and both the VOC and the British Arsenal coat-of-arms. One is a ship's gun. These three gun emplacements are 0,5 m lower than the back area of this level. A water run-off channel runs from the back area into an opening at the base of the rampart wall (Fig. 209) and the drain exits about 8 m across on the seaward side of the glacis.

On the right hand side, facing the sea, the rampart wall carries on, here at a height of 1,85 m, in a semi circle of 10 m diameter and a straight line of 6,30 m. The top of the rampart wall is 0,50 m to 0,70 m wide in most places. This semi-circular wall end houses another 0,8 m wide gun traverse track, wider than the other three (Figs. 210 and 211). It contains two plastered wheel tracks. This track runs in the opposite direction to the other three. Two 24 pounder iron cannons are displayed in this section where originally there must have been only room for one gun. At the centre of the arc of the track a 0,4 m by 0,3 m by 0,2 m block of stone could have acted as a pivot base for a traversing gun carriage (Fig. 212).

The ground in this part of the gun emplacement is about 0,5 m higher than the back area. At the intersection of the straight and the semi-circle rampart wall one row of semi-dressed foundation stones leads away at a 90° angle for 12 m, forming a step in the ground (Fig. 213).

On the left hand side of the central rampart wall a terreplein had been added at an angle of 120° to the rampart wall (Fig.

214). The outline of the top of the rampart wall's left hand semi-circle was visible (Fig. 215). A wide ramp, hardly detectable, leads up to the 26 m long and 4 m to 6 m wide terreplein. The gun emplacement area is separated from the actual rampart, built here as everywhere on the site from earth, by one course of 0,2 m high semi-dressed stone. No embrasures or formal gun emplacements are visible in this section.

The rampart follows the contours of the small promontory on which it was built. The mountain side falls steeply at an angle of close to 70°. The bay's water below is very deep, allowing ships to pass close by, if the swell had not been so dangerous.

The excavation of selected areas of the East Fort

Three sites were selected for investigation at the upper area of the East Fort containing the Blockhouse:

Area A inside and outside the lieutenant's quarter, the store/ablution room and in and around the sentry box.

Area B at the back inside and in front of the soldiers' quarters, and

Area C inside the kitchen and larder and outside the kitchen door.

At area A we cleaned out the inside of the lieutenant's quarter. The south corner revealed a fire place, set about 0,10 m above the floor and 1,30 m across the corner. The wall in the corner and part of the fireplace contained samples of the original plaster, heavily darkened by smoke. The artefacts collected inside this room and the ablution block all date to the twentieth century.

Squares B5, B6 and B7 in area A were heavily overgrown with lush forest vegetation. The top layer, varying from 0,3 to 1 m, contained collapsed rubble from the walls, roots, rich

humus with an assortment of artefacts, all very mixed. The second layer was sterile sand on bedrock. Square C7 around the sentry box contained very few artefacts. Inside the sentry box we excavated through the floor down to ca 0,7 m (Fig. 216), the objective being to establish if this building could have possibly been used as a latrine. The space below the floor was filled loosely with roots, small broken stone/rock fragments, plaster remains and pebbles. Due to the instability of the sentry box wall the work had to be abandoned. Squares D7 and E7 outside the lieutenant's quarter and ablution block contained a shallow, 0,1 m layer with a few artefacts. The path here is much trampled and the sandy grey/brown soil very compacted.

Squares H7, I7, K7 and L7 outside the soldiers' quarter in **area B** were excavated down to 0,5 m through a hard stamped clay layer with a few artefacts. This area was selected because it lay below the windows and the doors next to both staircases. The area cleaned inside the soldiers' quarter contained, again, only twentieth century artefacts.

Area C is situated outside the kitchen door. The terrain slopes here steeply and it was hoped that some kitchen refuse had found its way into the grounds. The west wall of the kitchen had been set on a rock foundation of between 0,5 and 1,10 m (Fig. 217). Again, there only seemed to be one layer with cultural material above the sterile sand/bedrock. Inside both rooms in this area we recovered only twentieth century artefacts. This was not surprising considering that the East Fort was 'renovated' in the earlier part of this century.

A 4 m by 4 m area to the south east of the Second World War bunker on **the middle level of the East Fort**, designated **area D** was excavated to see if there were any remains of soldiers' quarters of a temporary nature from earlier centuries, because the rampart's retention wall on this level had been tentatively dated to the Dutch period of the fort. Only modern brick and cement fragments were unearthed. **Areas E**, in front

of the remains of the retention walls, were cleared to assess the building style. No artefacts older than some fifty years were found.

Area F on the gun emplacement section of the East Fort was cleared to ascertain the construction of the gun traverse track, which has been described already.

In **Area G** we excavated 24 m² around the retention wall, dividing the north side of the gun emplacement area from the rest. According to a map by Major Kersteman, dated tentatively to ca 1800, there might have been a 'magazine' or store at this spot (5). The wall foundation in squares A18, B18, C18, D18 appeared wider than the rest. The excavation in these squares proceeded down from 0,5 to 1,5 m on both sides of the wall. This had been built with care from dressed stone. The soil on both sides consisted of clay, mixed with sand and pebbles, interspersed with a beach sand layer on the north side (Fig. 218). We could not detect any remains of a floor, or even a wall portion at a right angle at the end. The purpose of this wall foundation, apart from stabilising the sloping ground, remains an enigma.

Areas H and I were cleared of debris to establish if the gun traverse tracks meet or overlap. In the process we excavated the water flow-off channel in area I and the drain hole (Fig. 219).

Area J was excavated on both sides of the terreplein retention wall. It was hypothesised that a fifth gun traverse track could have been buried beneath the terreplein in this area. In square H6 the excavation proceeded down to 0,5 m to expose the connection of the original rampart wall and the new terreplein wall (Fig. 220). The areas in squares I6, J6, J5 and half of H6 towards the bay were excavated down to 2,00 m (Fig. 221). At this level the gun traverse track was located on the original floor in pristine condition, a double grooved track

of dressed shale and stone, plastered and with a piece of the original wood lining in one of the grooves (Fig. 222). The inner side of the rampart wall had also been plastered in the lime/cement we have learned to associate with late eighteenth century Dutch building methods. The track was bisected with a water run-off channel, analogous to the other four tracks on the site. This part of the semi-circular end of the older rampart wall had been filled with clay, brick rubble, rocks and sand from the excavation at the back, the mountain side, when the terreplein was built (Fig. 223). The brick rubble could just possibly have come from the demolition of the elusive 'magazine' building, which could have also been a hot-shot-cannon ball oven.

Conclusion

Very few portable artefacts were collected from the East Fort excavations. We have found this to be the case on military installations in general. The data collected on this site complements and enhances the West Fort material. The rampart areas especially contain almost identical building techniques and building sequences. Chapter 9 will discuss these and the material from Fort Klein Gibraltar.



Fig. 194 Blockhouse, 1993.



Fig. 195 Cistern inside the Blockhouse, 1993. Note the floor in front of the water outlet.



Fig. 196 Powder magazine at the Blockhouse, 1993.



Fig. 197 Soldiers' quarters, 1993.



Fig. 198 Lieutenant's quarter with ablution room and sentry box on the left, 1993.



Fig. 199 Fireplace in the lieutenant's quarter, 1993.



Fig. 200 Sentry box,



Fig. 201 Kitchen with store room, 1993.



Fig. 202 Dutch oven in the kitchen, 1993.



Fig. 203 Store/cool room adjacent to the kitchen, 1993.

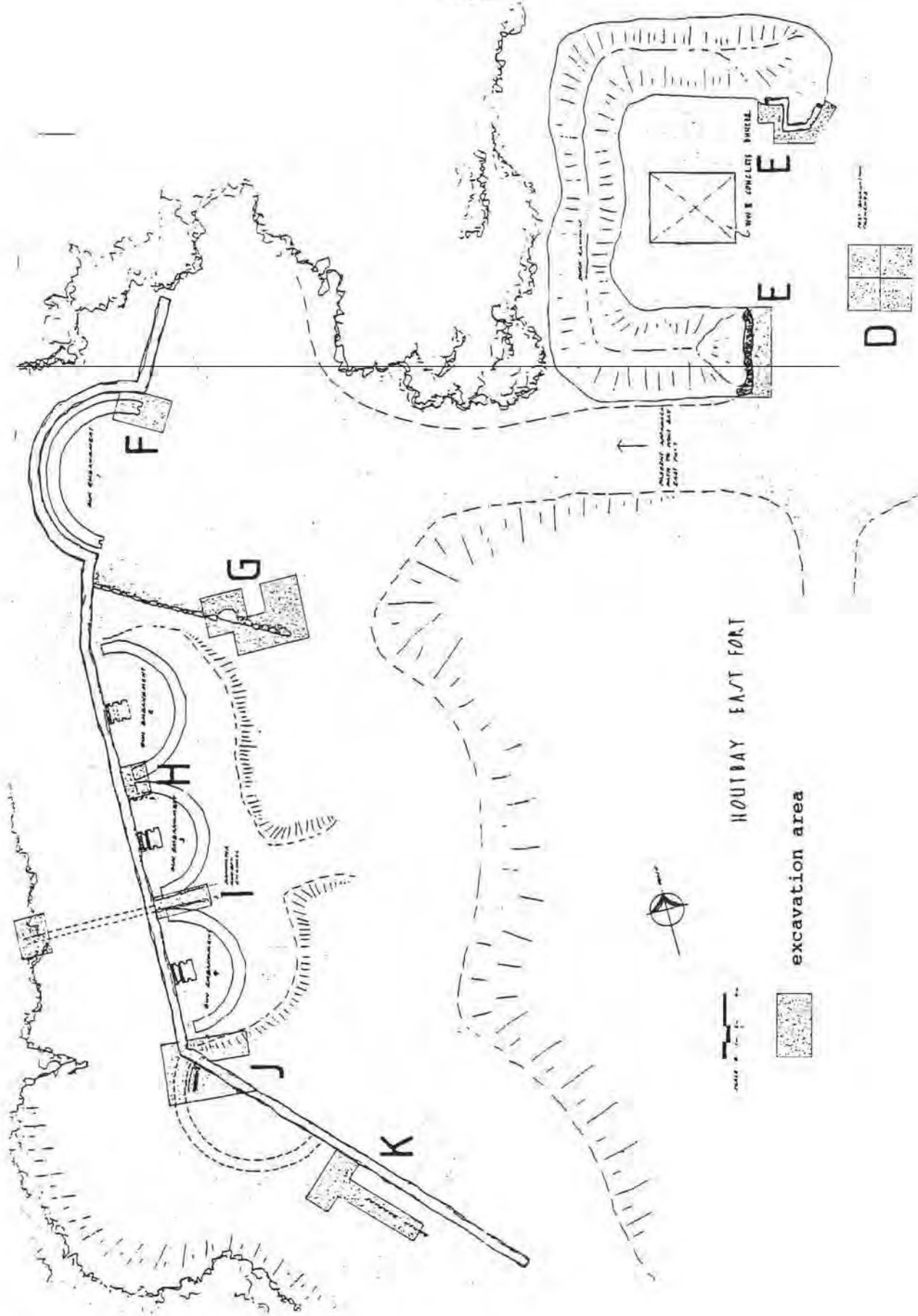


Fig. 204 Middle level and rampart area of the Hout Bay East Fort, 1992.



Fig. 205 Rampart on the middle level, ca 1930 (South African Library, PHA: Milit. Facilities).



Fig. 206 Retention wall of the middle level rampart, area E, 1993.



Fig. 207 Gun on the East Fort on original gun emplacement, 1993.



Fig. 208 Rampart wall on the lower rampart area, 1993.

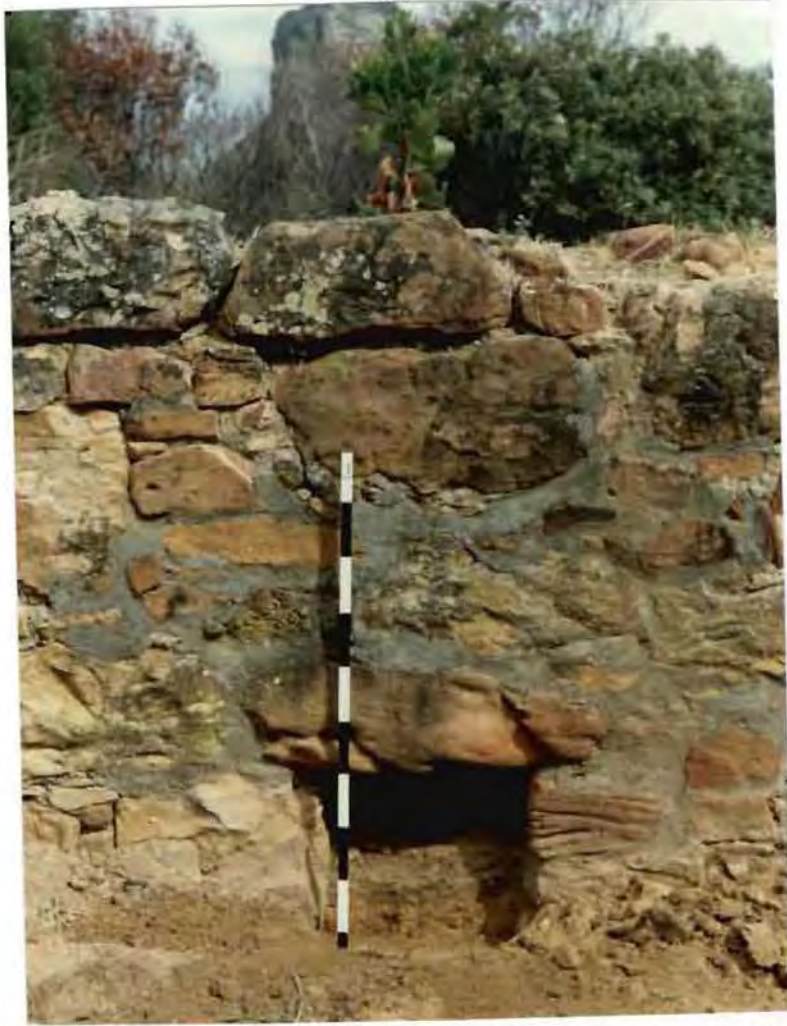


Fig. 209 Water run-off channel through the rampart, area I, 1993.



Fig. 210 Right gun traverse tracks, area F, ca 1930 (South African Library, PHA: Milit. Facilities).



Fig. 211 Area F, close-up of the gun traverse track, 1993.



Fig. 212 Dressed stone, area F, which could have been used as a pivot, 1993.



Fig. 213 Foundation of or retaining wall in area G, 1993.



Fig. 214 Terreplein of the East Fort, 1993.



Fig. 215 Outline of the top of the left semi-circular rampart wall, 1992.



Fig. 216 Excavation inside the sentry box in area A, 1992.



Fig. 217 Excavation outside the kitchen entrance, area C, 1992.

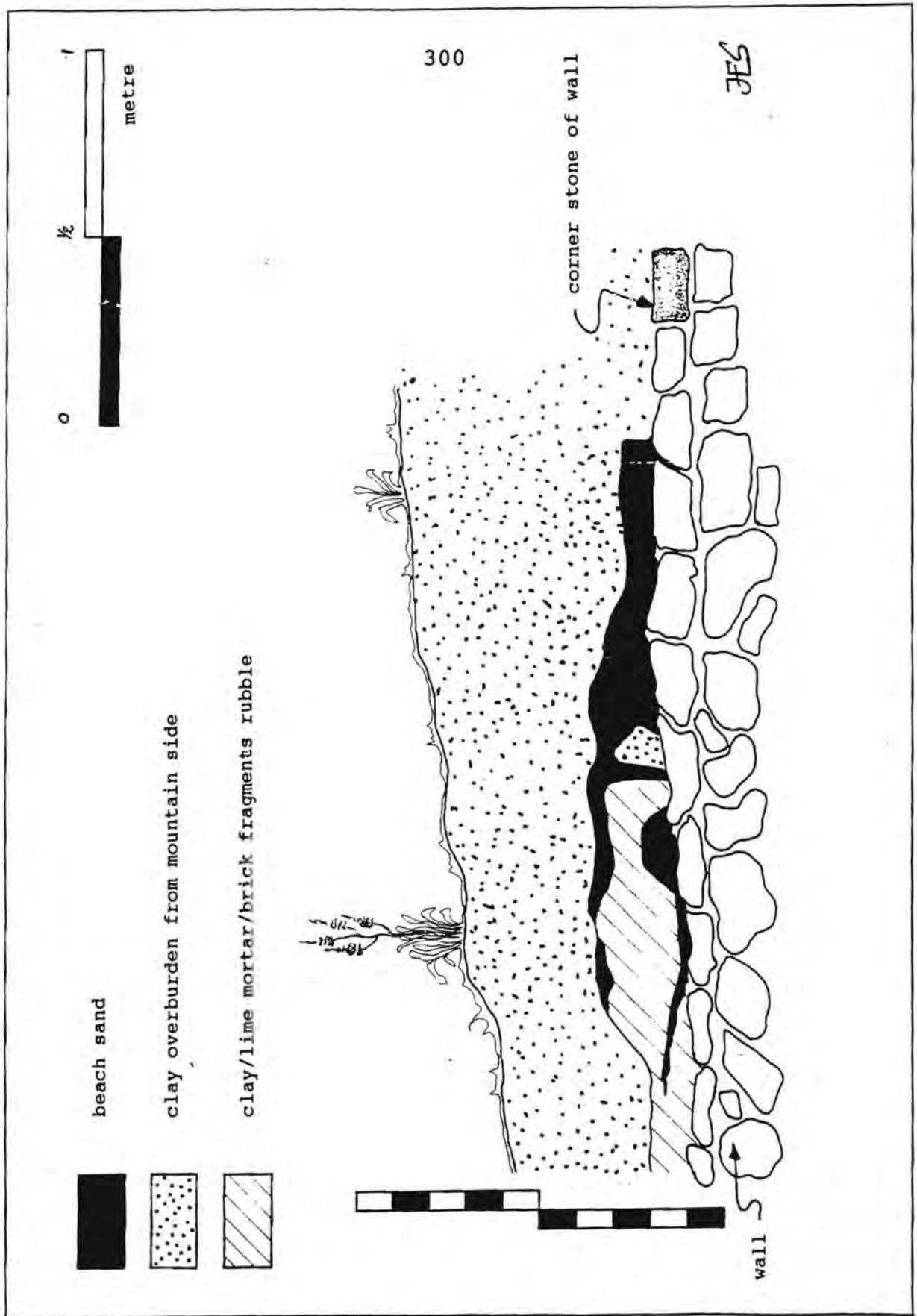


Fig. 218 Stratigraphy of the wall (foundation?) and infill in area G, squares A18, B18, C18, east/west profile, 1993.



Fig. 219 Water run-off and close-up of rampart wall, area I.



Fig. 220 Terreplein retention wall square H6, area J, 1992.

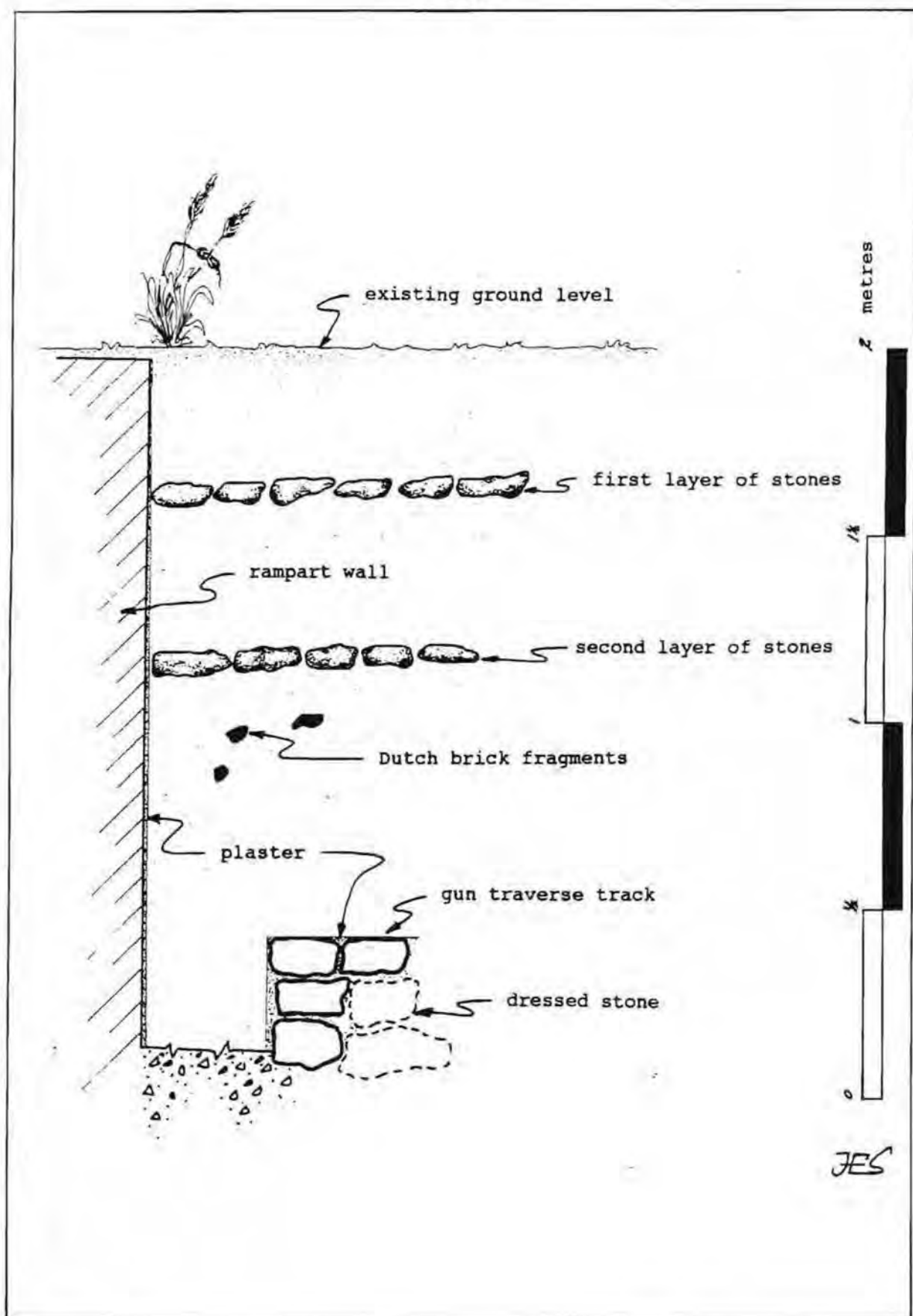


Fig. 221 Stratigraphy of the infill, square I6, area J, south/east profile, left semi-circular gun emplacement, 1992.



Fig. 222 Close-up of the wood lining (or track 'racer'?) and the remains of the track, square I6, area J, 1992.

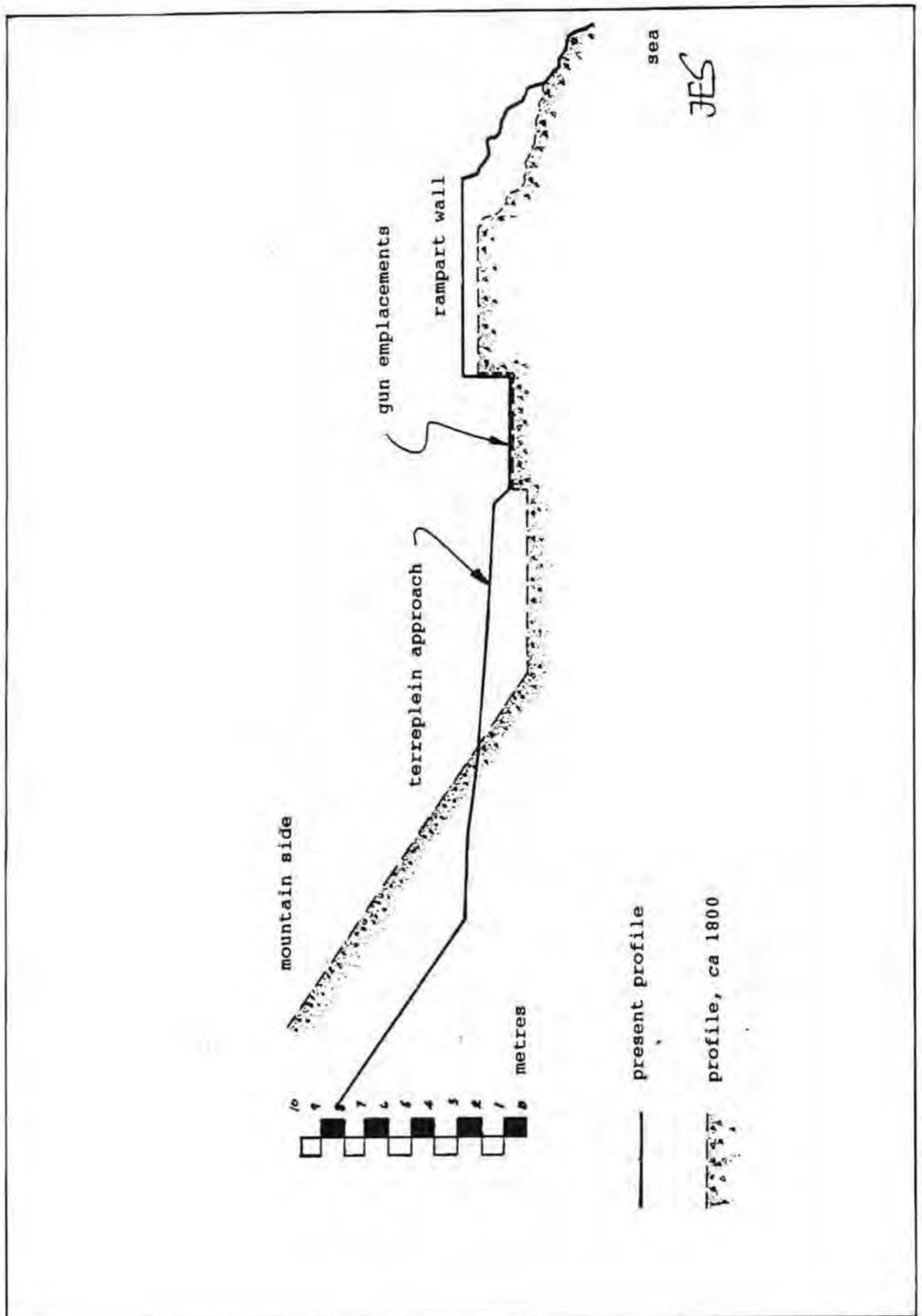


Fig. 223 Hout Bay East Fort, gun emplacement area, comparison of east/west profile of ca 1799 with the present profile. The rampart wall could have been raised during the Batavian period, 1803-1806.

CHAPTER 7

A FORGOTTEN FORT IN HOUT BAY: FORT KLEIN GIBRALTAR

Introduction

At the beginning of the investigation of the Hout Bay Forts it was assumed that there only existed the remains of the Hout Bay East and West Forts. Yet, during the reading of primary documents and especially the report by Lieutenant L.M. Thibault on the Hout Bay Forts, dated 1794 (1), it became clear that a third fort had been built. Lieut. Thibault described Fort Klein Gibraltar in detail. The traveller de Jong visited the Hout Bay valley in December 1794 and recorded in his diary that Hout Bay contained three forts, each with its own hot-shot-cannon ball oven (2).

The discovery of Fort Klein Gibraltar

Following leads from Thibault's document, such as the height at which the fort was built, the distance from the East Fort, the place, and taking the name Military Road into account, we were able to pinpoint the location of the fort, known in its day as Fort Klein Gibraltar.

Lieut. Thibault wrote in his letter:

"These three batteries [East and West Fort, Klein Gibraltar] completely protect the bay, their respective fire crosses each other and can reach the ships in sequence, with regard to the small width of this bay and protect one another mutually, the

1. Cape Archives, C 698, Brieven en Papieren van A.J. Sluysken, pp. 19-21.
2. De Jong, C. (1811). *Reizen naar die Kaap De Goede Hoop, Ierlanden en Noorwegen in den Jaren 1791 to 1797*. Ten Haarlem: Bij Francois de Bohn, 1811, Deel twee, pp. 73-74.

first and the second in the frontline and the third has the advantage of being able to protect the second from all sides and to cover all the paths and roads over the foothills lying along the foot of the chain of mountains that encircle this bay on the left hand side as well as over a portion of the nearby dune".

This nearby dune has now been obliterated by the buildings along Main Road, Hout Bay. The dune is depicted on photographs from the late nineteenth century, most of them taken from the military road which led to the Blockhouse.

Thibault carried on to describe the third fort:

"The third battery on the bay lies in the same area as the second [East Fort] and is also erected against the slope of a hill jutting slightly out into the sea constituting portion of another large hill, the breadth is 110, the 'Terre Plein' 30, and the breastworks 16 feet, and can take 7 cannon, height above sea level is 115 feet".

As the East Fort is about 200 feet above sea level, the third fort must have been situated much lower. The fact that 'their respective fire crosses each other' meant that the forts were situated within the range of a cannon shot, i.e. 1,8 km. Drawing a radius of 1,8 km around the East Fort we looked for a promontory with a level area at a height of 115 feet above sea level at the back of the East Fort.

The partial excavation of the third fort in Hout Bay

Klein Gibraltar has been located on Erf 2067, Military Road, Hout Bay (Fig. 224). The site has been long used by local fishermen as look-out point for the annual 'snoek run', a shoal of fish arriving at a specific time of the year along the Atlantic coast of the Peninsula.

The trace of a fragment of rampart wall (or what we first took to be a 'garden wall') built from semi-dressed stone was found in the thick undergrowth of trees and bushes on a promontory between Military Road and Second World War concrete gun emplacements at the edge of a steep cliff (Fig. 225). Chapman's Peak Drive had been cut into the mountain side 10 m below. We figured that the military of 1794 and those in 1940 would locate their defences on the same strategic points, military reasoning changing not that much in two hundred years (3).

Fort Klein Gibraltar is about 22 m long and 4 m wide at the north end and 16 m wide at the south end. We started by excavating the rampart wall over its entire length, which apart from the last 6 m on the south side, consisted of one course of semi-dressed sandstone of between 0,2 and 0,4 m in height. This was the part facing the beach. It was not required to be of substantial construction as only musket fire from landing troops was expected from that direction. The rampart wall followed the contours of the cliff to a remarkable degree. The earthen cover of the glacis had washed down in many places or had been removed making way for the concrete constructions in 1940. It was only on the left side, facing the open bay to the south that the rampart and glacis seemed intact. The original builders of the rampart included two large granite boulders in the south west corner as part of the defence wall (Fig. 226).

The west corner (Fig. 227) was excavated inside the fort for 0,40 m until a stamped yellow clay floor was reached, which was recognised as being customary in Dutch forts at the Cape in the late eighteenth century (4).

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3. Willem Steenkamp sen., former military correspondent for the Cape Times, pers. comm.
 4. Seemann, U.A. (1989). *The Amsterdam Battery*. Unpublished BSc (Hons) dissertation, University of Cape Town.

The excavation of the hot-shot-cannon ball oven

The southern rampart encloses a hollow granite rock formation, which rises about 1,80 m above the top of the rampart wall. At the side of this granite boulder which faces the inner courtyard of the fort we noticed the remains of plaster, soft bricks and brick fragments on the present ground level. After clearing the heavy bush and trees growing in this area we excavated what turned out to be the complete base of an oven for heating cannon balls red hot (Fig. 228).

This oven is set back 0,60 m from the rampart wall and 0,40 m from the granite boulder. Between the boulder and part of the rampart wall and the oven a plastered platform of 0,60 m height from the original courtyard floor of the fort had been built (Fig. 229).

The oven or furnace measures 2,00 m by 2,00 m by 0,60 m. It was built of brick, at least in the top sections. The V shaped opening of the oven, constructed similarly to the one on the West Fort, faces east, protected from the wind by the granite boulder. It is 0,50 m wide at the oven's edge, about 0,60 m long and ca 0,30 m deep and funnels in towards the centre of the oven. The oven was plastered on the outside. The plaster is of the same consistency as encountered in other buildings of the period on the other two forts in Hout Bay. Roots of the bushes and trees in the immediate vicinity had damaged some of the plaster of the oven (Fig. 230).

The first course of the oven's superstructure had been preserved (Fig. 231). Upright bricks and *klinkers* opposite the V shaped opening suggest a dome structure with a straight back wall (Fig. 232), similar in construction to the Dutch oven in the kitchen of the East Fort. The side of the oven facing the inner courtyard of the fort was paved with one course of flagstones and a substantial flat sandstone at the east corner.

The rampart wall of 0,60 m height, which continues east along the contours of the cliff probably until the edge of the modern Military Road, is also plastered for a length of some 0,50 m (Fig. 233).

Conclusion

Unfortunately time did not permit us to excavate the fort in more detail. We were also loath to cut down more of the trees and the dense bush which covers the site. Consequently very few artefacts were collected in an excavation area of ca 9 m², mainly concentrated around the oven and 0,5 m wide on both sides along the rampart wall. The discovery of the well preserved remains of this hot-shot-cannon ball oven brings a new dimension to the detailed study of day-to-day activities at the fort.

Fort Klein Gibraltar proved to be a more substantial defence work than originally perceived. The question of how long it was occupied, by whom, whether it was armed and with what kind of guns, stationary or traversing, is for the time being left to future research.

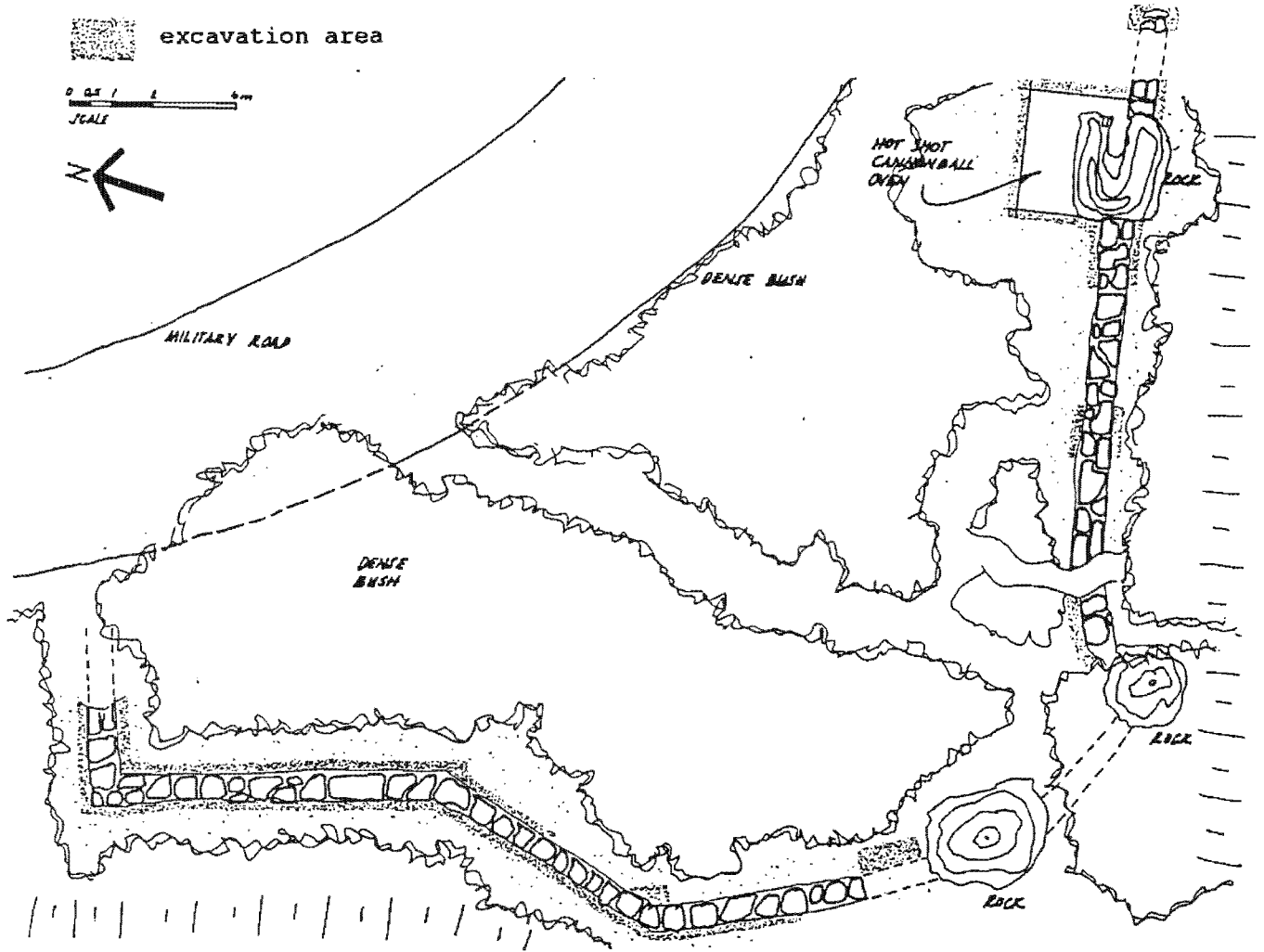


Fig. 224 Map of Fort Klein Gibraltar, 1993.



Fig. 225 West rampart wall



Fig. 226 West rampart wall
1992.



Fig. 227 West corner, excavation to the floor of the courtyard, 1992.

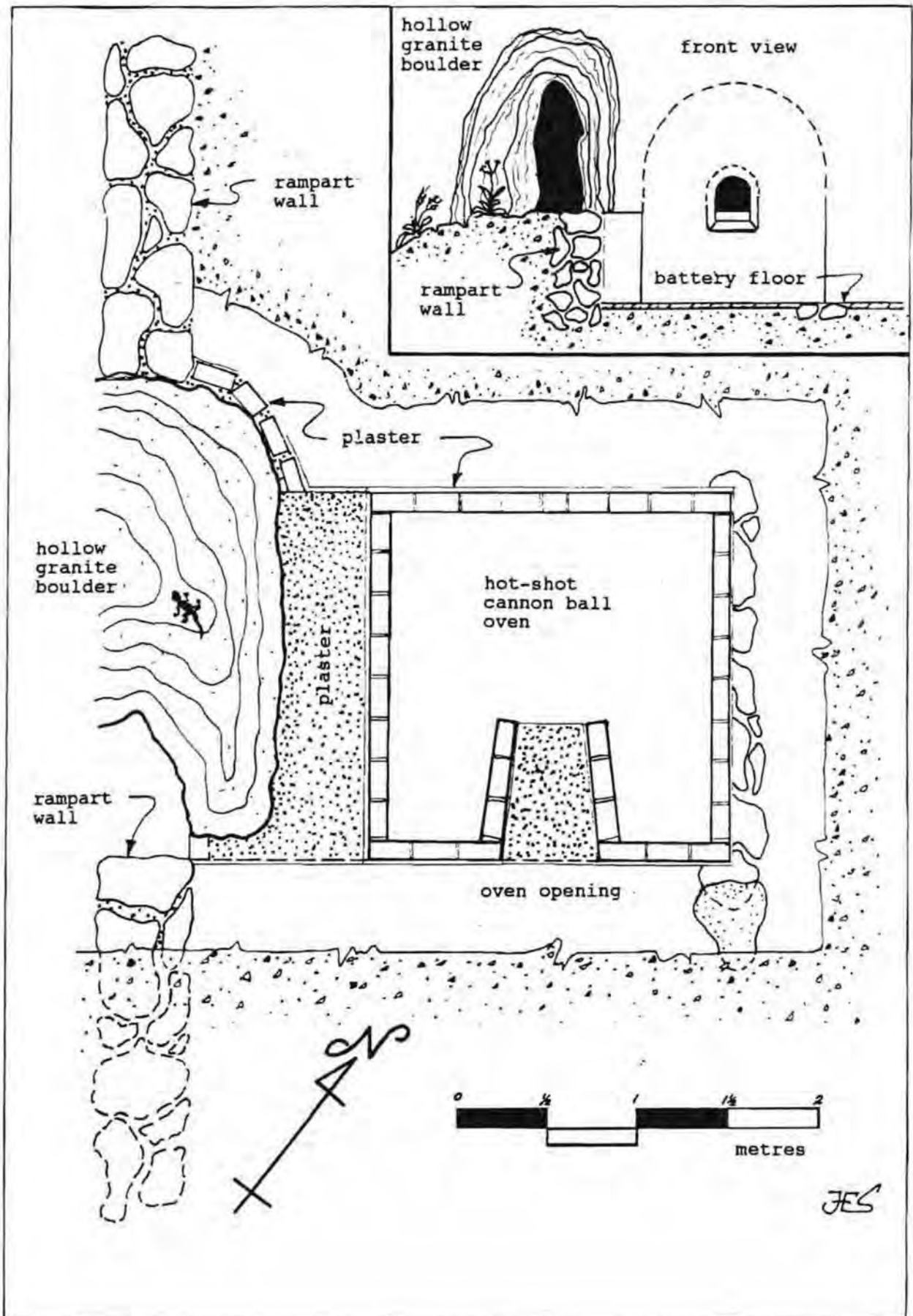


Fig. 228 Remains of the hot-shot cannon-ball oven and possible reconstruction of the superstructure, 1993.



Fig. 229 Platform between the oven and the granite boulder, 1992.



Fig. 230 Remains of the hot-shot cannon-ball oven. Note the plaster on the outside. 1992.

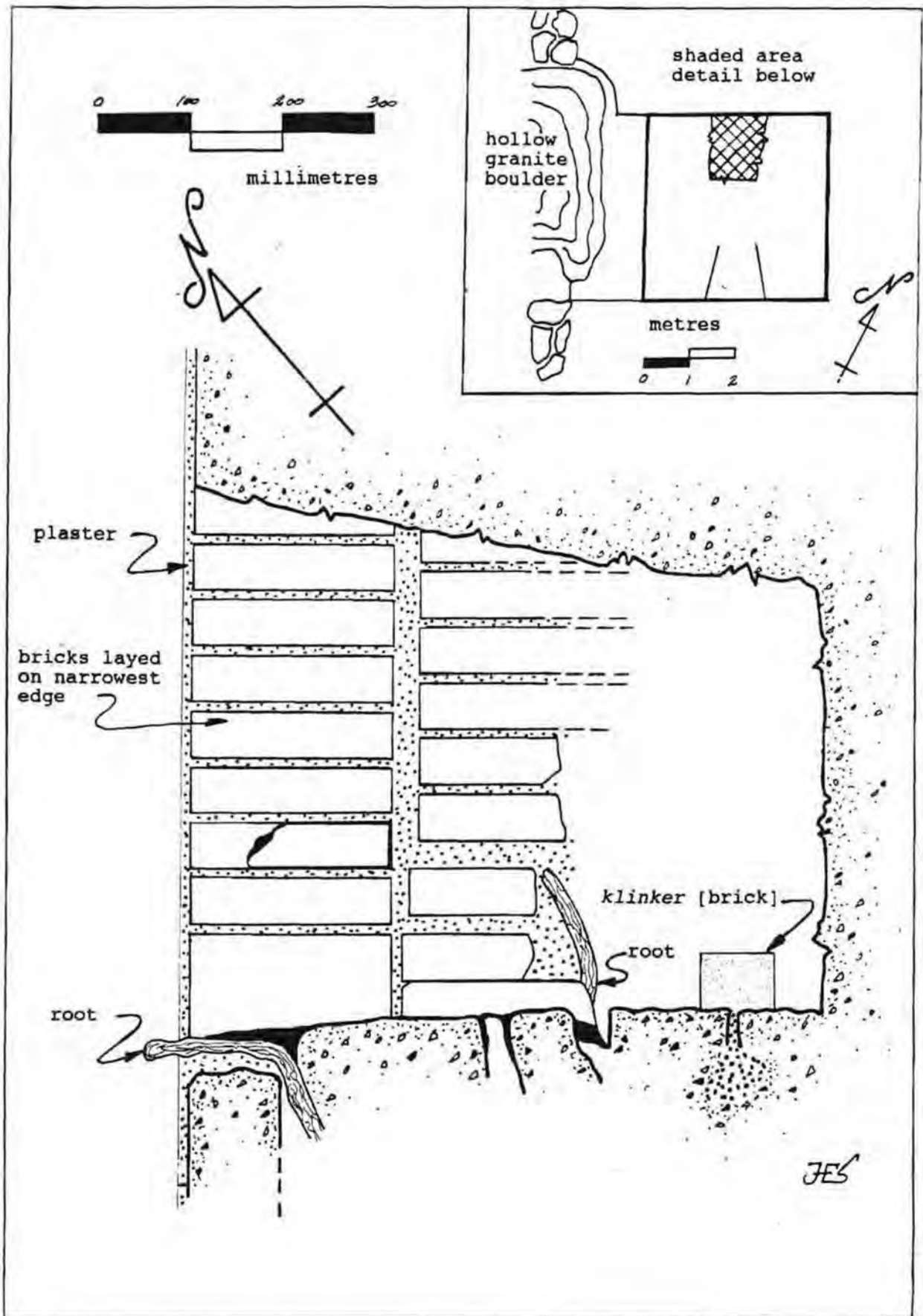


Fig. 231 Detail of the first course of the oven's superstructure opposite the opening, 1992.



Fig. 232 The first course of the superstructure of the oven, 1992.



Fig. 233 Rampart wall west of the oven, 1992.

CHAPTER 8

THE ARTEFACTUAL EVIDENCE FROM THE THREE HOUT BAY FORTS

Introduction

The artefactual remains of the Hout Bay forts can be divided into two categories:

1. Building materials, and military technology, such as guns and ammunition, and
2. The debris left behind by the fortifications workers, the soldiers manning the forts and their visitors.

The remains of the buildings and the built areas have been described in chapters 5, 6 and 7. A few representative samples of bricks and plaster, wood and iron building material were collected and will be described under the appropriate headings.

The guns on the East and West Forts which are displayed at present were found at the sites in the 1920s and 1936 respectively, according to National Monuments (Western Cape Branch) files. How they came to be there, and who put them there is, for the moment, unclear.

Apart from the buildings and armament the sites contained some debris, discarded by the people who were stationed or visited there. However, the quantity of the artefactual remains is not as large or as differentiated as that from civilian sites. Military drill included the frequent 'cleaning' and tidying of occupied sites, whether temporary or permanent. In addition, the possible military dump near the West Fort has long been built over, the remains of the dump at the East Fort, possibly below the kitchen building have been obliterated by the building of Chapman's Peak Drive.

Highlighting some of the aspects of the daily lives of the soldiers manning the forts between 1781 and 1829 is difficult in these circumstances. A few tentative suggestions may be made, augmented by documentary data. Another difficulty arose from the fact that over 90% of the artefactual material has been dated to the middle to late nineteenth and the twentieth century.

The first part of the analysis, then, deals with the building materials and military technology, the second with the possessions the soldiers, fortifications workers and visitors left behind.

Building material and wood

The sand stone and shale used as building material in the three forts is to be found in the vicinity of the Hout Bay valley. The shells for the lime/cement plaster and mortar could have been collected on Hout Bay beach. Temporary kilns were erected on the beaches to burn the lime.

We collected a representative sample of bricks and brick fragments from the West Fort's armoury, where crushed bricks might have been used for the flat roof. The same soft, low fired orange bricks were used for the hot-shot-cannon- ball ovens at the West Fort and Klein Gibraltar. The buildings in the Blockhouse area of the East Fort contained these locally made bricks too. It is only after ca 1840 that a better quality, higher temperature fired brick was manufactured at the Cape. The brick sizes vary from 217 mm by 110 mm by 45 mm to 230 mm by 120 mm by 50 mm which seems to conform to Dutch standards. Later bricks from the British period are thicker than 50 mm, according to my experience on sites in greater Cape Town.

The doorway of the armoury at the West Fort contained a Baltic pine or deal lintel, well preserved (1) (Fig. 234). The lintel is 0,91 m long 0,11 m wide and 0,065 m thick and stepped for water run-off on the outside. Behind the lintel on the inside of the armoury a 50 mm wide course of dressed stone had been built.

Two wood fragments, possibly beam fragments from the ceiling, were excavated from the lime/cement layer inside the armoury at the West Fort. One measures 0,3 m by 0,4 m by 0,3 m, the other 0,3 m long and with a diameter of 0,1 m. The wood has been tentatively identified as teak. The armoury would have had a flat roof. Roofing material such as crushed bricks and lime/cement fragments which we found in great quantity inside the armoury was used for flat roofs only (1). The armoury also seems to have been built as a lean-to.

The fifth, excavated gun traverse track at the East Fort rampart area was lined with a small teak fragment, seemingly in its original place, 0,25 m long and about 0,1 m in diameter (2). This raises the possibility that either the grooves of the track were lined with wood or this fragment is the remainder of a wooden 'wheel' or peg from the traversing gun platform. Wooden wheels and pegs were used before metal wheels - so-called 'racers' - were fitted to the gun platforms (3).

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1. Lewcock, R. (1963). *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa. A study of the interaction of two cultures, 1795-1837.* Cape Town: Balkema, p. 384.
 2. Ernest Lawrence, carpenter, pers. comm.
 3. David R. Barnes, Kent, England, a member of the FORTRESS STUDY GROUP, England, in a letter to Mr Hugh Floyd, architect and town planner, dated 13 June 1988.

Iron and other metal artefacts

Large quantities of wire, nails and iron rods of varying lengths and widths were collected from the West Fort site. Most of it appears to be contemporary fencing material.

A cache of food tins was excavated from area C, at the West Fort, between the steps and the rampart wall. The cache seemed undisturbed. The tins are round, ca 80 to 100 mm in diameter and ca 100 to 140 mm long. Food tins have been used in Europe from about 1840 onwards.

A ten liter iron bucket was found rusted and in fragments in the armoury in the West Fort in layer '*brick/cement*', the lowest layer. This layer also yielded a door hinge (Fig. 235) and a fixed door knob possibly from the door of the armoury (4).

The excavation in the '*brick/cement*' layer also yielded what was tentatively identified as the iron remains of a traversing gun platform. These parts were neatly stacked and placed in a row against the terreplein wall, just above a layer of about 0,10 m of plaster and brick fragments (Figs. 236 and 237).

The following is a detailed list of possible gun platform parts:

Square N5

2 rods, 750 mm long, 35 mm diameter,
9 rods, 650 mm long, 35 mm diameter, one rod is bent,
6 rods, 410 mm long, 35 mm diameter,
1 rod, 350 mm long, 23 mm diameter,
3 rods, 310 mm long, 35 mm diameter,
1 rod, 340 mm long, 35 mm diameter, (nut and bolt),

4. Hugh Floyd, architect and townplanner, pers. comm.

2 rods, 230 mm long, 35 mm diameter, (nut and bolt),
2 rods, 250 by 17 mm square,
2 shafts with a 90° bend, 670 mm long, 50 mm diameter,
2 square brackets, 250 mm across, 40 mm wide,
2 half round rings, 75 mm diameter,
3 square nuts 65 by 65 mm,
2 round washers, 65 mm diameter with hole in centre.

Square N6

4 rods, 750 by 30 mm, square heads,
4 rods, 300-400 by 30 mm, square heads,
7 rods, as above, with nuts or square 'rings',
1 funnel shaped tool, 240 mm long,
1 chissel shaped tool, 280 mm long,
2 end caps (to prevent the end of a timber shaft to splint), 440 by 95 mm internal diameter,
2 rings, 80 by 95 mm internal diameter,
1 ring, 50 by 210 mm diameter,
1 flat bracket, [shaped, 70 mm wide, 120 mm high, 550 mm long,
4 square brackets, -_/ - shaped, 250 mm across, 40 mm wide,
2 assembled brackets consisting of a square bracket and 2 short rods,
2 half round rings, 75 mm diameter,
3 square nuts, 65 mm by 65 mm,
1 pulley, 600 mm long, 160 mm wide,

The weight of the pulley alone is 32 kg (5).

5. Table compiled and iron parts identified by Jorge E'Silva, pers. comm.

Guns, cannon balls and grape shot

a. Guns

At present five 24-pounder cast iron guns are displayed at the West Fort but not in their original gun emplacements (Fig. 238). A sixth 24-pounder iron gun was excavated and reburied after recording. They are muzzle loading cannons, solid cast and with a 140 mm diameter bore shaft. The guns are called 24-pounders because that is the weight of one cannon ball. The guns were found on the site in 1936 when the West Fort was declared a National Monument.

For identification purposes the guns were numbered 1 to 5 from right to left. The following marks are still visible on the guns:

Gun No	Date	Markings	remarks
1	1782	VB	on opposite ends of the trunion
2		none survived	gun very rusted
3		none survived	gun very rusted
4	1752	169 and XI above fuse hole	partial remains of VOC and British asset register numbers
5	1752	VB 6090 above fuse hole	on opposite ends of the trunion British asset no? gun similar to gun no 4

The VB on one end of the trunion is probably the manufacturer's mark and the dates on the trunion ends refer to the date of manufacture. Guns were in use for a very long time, as their basic design did not change for two to three

hundred years. Guns like these were still in use in the Crimean War in 1855 at the Battle of Sebastopol (6).

The Hout Bay East Fort rampart area contains eight 24-pounder cast iron cannons, found on the site when the fort was renovated in the 1920s. The three central guns have been placed slightly to the back of the original gun emplacements. An extra row of flagstones and modern cement secures the guns in the ground. Two guns in the right half circle rampart wall area are in the place where one gun should be. The gun to the right of these is placed in a position never intended for a gun emplacement. Two guns have been placed on the terreplein (Fig. 239). We have numbered the guns from right to left.

The following markings were found on the guns:

Gun No.	Markings	coat-of-arms	remarks
1.	none		very rusted
2a.	N III XIII (?) XII 3732	British	ship's gun
2b.	N IX XIV XV		ship's gun
3.	N XIX XIV X VI 4090 /\		
4.	W I VII 586 (?) 8 IV	VOC	
5.	N LIII XIV X VIX 4(?)6(?)90 /\		
6.	N II W XIII XVI 3796	British	
7.	N XX W III XVIII 3824	British	

6. Hogg, I.V. (1981). *The History of Fortification*. London: Orbis Publishing, pp. 150-151.

Guns no 2a and 2b were ships'guns, they had a ring on each side of the cascable for the block-and-tackle. The markings were engraved above the fuse hole and seem to be VOC (Roman numerals) and British (Arabic numerals) asset numbers. No dates of manufacture were found on the trunions or elsewhere on the guns.

b. Ammunition

We excavated over seventy 24-pounder cannon balls from inside the armoury on the West Fort. In addition, we left ca sixty 24-pounder cannon balls *in situ* (Fig. 240). They had been neatly stacked in a pyramid and were rusted together.

The armoury also yielded about one hundred and twenty 1-pounder cannon balls which were identified as grape shot (7). The grape shot holders were found in the layers *rubble infill, grey/brown soil* and *brick/cement* (Fig. 241). There were about eighty of them, many more were left *in situ*. Each grape shot holder could hold twelve 1-pounder cannon balls. The grape shot holder fitted into the 140 mm diameter 24-pounder cannon muzzle.

Several grape shot were found over the West and East Fort rampart excavations but no grape shot holders other than in the armoury. Grape shot is a typical anti-personnel weapon, intended to repel troops trying to land at the beach (8).

7. Hogg, I.V. (1974). *A History of Artillery*. London: Hamlyn.

8. Barry Berkovitch, Cape Town, expert in small firearms, pers. comm.

Military artefacts

Seven cartridges and four lead grape shot for hand guns were recovered from the three forts' upper layers (Fig. 242). The cartridges all date from after 1860:

Fort	square	description	date
HBWF	C22	.44 rim fire cartridge American carbine	ca 1860's
HBWF	B21	.44 rim fire cartridge	as above
HBWF	F20	.44 rim fire cartridge	as above
HBWF	N6	.303 cartridge case	Second World War
HBWF	N6	lead grape shot, 350 mm diameter, weight 188 g	
HBWF	M6	lead grape shot, as above	
HBWF	M7	lead grape shot, as above	
HBWF	P3, level 3	lead grape shot, as above	
HBEF	C23 rampart	.450 revolver cartridge case	1880-1945
HBEF	B23 rampart	.22 cartridge revolver case	1900-present
KG		outside hot-shot-cannon-ball oven, .303 cartridge case	Second World War

An unused gun flint was found on the surface in the East Fort's Blockhouse area (Fig. 243). It would have been used for a large calibre hand gun some time before 1840, when the percussion lock came into general use. This type of flint was mined in Northern Europe and was always imported into this country (9).

9. Barry Berkovitch, Cape Town, expert in small firearms, pers. comm.

Ceramics

Most of the ceramics collected from all three forts was inexpensive ware, mass produced and imported from Great Britain. We found fragments of cups, saucers, plates, bowls, bottles and jugs. No fragments of tea pots, serving platters, large serving dishes/bowls were amongst the ceramics collected.

Predominant are creamware, blue and white and grey and white transfer printed wares. Early to late nineteenth century shell edged and a few handpainted cup and bowl fragments are also present. Some fine quality English porcelain fragments, decorated and undecorated, might have been reserved for the officers and were collected from outside the lieutenant's quarter at the East Fort and in the armoury on the West Fort. All date from the early to late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century (Figs. 244 and 245).

Fort Klein Gibraltar yielded a small, consistent collection of mass produced creamware plate fragments, one annular ware cup fragment and one blue and white plate fragment. All are British manufactured and can be dated to the turn of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century.

A few Chinese porcelain and stoneware bowl and plate fragments, coarse and fine, were excavated from the lowest level inside the West Fort's powder magazine and outside the soldiers' quarters and kitchen at the East Fort (Fig. 246). They confirm the possible Dutch occupation level as they may be dated to the end of the eighteenth century, although they might not have been found in context.

Salt glazed stoneware fragments from gin bottles and storage jars dated to after 1870 are also present from both the East and West forts.

One coarse earthenware fragment was found in the West Fort's powder magazine (Fig. 247). It has a transparent green/brown glaze. Such earthenware bowls and pots have been known to be used by slaves and in the kitchens of the poorer folk (10).

A detailed table of ceramic artefacts appears at the end of this chapter.

Glass

For the vessel count, classification occurs under nine headings. The following counts were based on identifiable base and neck fragments.

1. Onion/ mallett bottles	none
2. Case bottles	1 fragment
3. Cylindrical vessels (wine and beer)	7 fragments
4. Aqua coloured glass	1 fragment
5. Clear glass bottles	2, and 1 fragment
6. Coloured glass	1 fragment
7. Tableware	4 fragments
8. Flat glass	fragments
9. Miscellaneous	6 marbles.

It is suggested that all the glass fragments date from the mid nineteenth to the twentieth century. Apart from beer, wine, champagne bottles we collected fragments of Holbroock's Worcester sauce bottle, oil bottles, medicine bottles, window glass and tableware (Figs. 248 and 249). Some Talana bottle fragments were also present. The Talana glass factory was established in Natal in 1918 (11).

10. Jane Klose, Archaeology Department, University of Cape Town, pers. comm. See also: Moir, Randall W. and Sampson, G. (1993). *European and Oriental ceramics from rock shelters in the upper Seacow valley*. *Southern African Field Arch.* 2:33-43, 1993. Woodward, C.S. (1974). *Oriental Ceramics at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1795*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
11. Glenda Dixon, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, pers. comm. See also:

All twentieth century glass, such as beer, Coca Cola, cooldrink bottle and window glass fragments, was discarded. The exception was the contents of the Second World War pit in the armoury at the West Fort. This consisted almost exclusively of wine, beer and cooldrink bottles, some of them dated at the base from 1942 to 1946.

Seen in context, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of the glass fragments are not connected with the occupation of the forts by the Dutch and British military but are later, accidental deposits. The exceptions are two wine bottle bases from the oven area at Fort Klein Gibraltar.

The glass collection from the three forts appears in table form at the end of this chapter.

Analysis of the faunal remains

a. Domestic stock.

We recovered mainly sheep bones such as ribs, vertabrae and leg bones. Cattle bones consisted of rib and leg, but were poorly represented. All these bones were chopped and sawed in more or less equal length for cooking purposes.

b. Birds

Albatros are not commonly found on shore as they mainly live and breed in the South Atlantic Ocean. Jackass Penguin were probably more common two hundred years ago on a rocky sea shore. Their eggs were more sought after, but the flesh may also have been consumed. Bank Cormorant is a common species found at the sea shore. A large number of bones of this

Lastovica, E. & A. (1982). *Bottles and Bygones: a guide for South African collectors*. Cape Town: Don Nelson.

Jones, O. & Sullivan, C. (1985). *The Parks Canada glass glossary for the discription of containers, tableware, flat glass and closures*. Ottawa: Parks Canada.

Willis, G. (1974). *English glass bottles 1650-1900 for the collector*. Edinburgh: Bartholomew.

species was collected inside the West Fort's armoury, but this collection is interpreted as prey items in the burrow of some predator.

c. Fish.

By far the majority of fish bones excavated were of snoek and very little else. Snoek heads were well represented.

d. Molluscs

A great number of the molluscs excavated were *Haliotis midae*, generally known as perlemoen. We noticed the - today uncommon - large size of the specimens.

Table of faunal remains at the Hout Bay West Fort

(The numbers in the columns are the number of fragments, g/b soil = layer grey/brown soil)

Squ	layer	ovis capra	Bos	mole rat	bird	fish	other	total weight	remarks
C13 C14	oven area	1		1		1		1,5g	small fish
C22	g/b soil	1						1 g	digit
CC23	"	2			3	2	1	4 g	skull fragments chicken
E20	top layer	1						1 g	butchered vertabrae
E20	g/b soil	4				9	2	14 g	all fragments
F20					1	1	1	15 g	albatros
F21		10	1	1	1	8	3	36 g	ovis butchered
F22		1		1				4 g	molerat pelvis sheep ribs

Squ	layer	ovis capra	Bos	mole rat	bird	fish	other	total weight	remarks
G21 H21	"	4			1	1	2	31 g	bird=jackass penguin, tuna(?)
K8	g/b soil	1						2 g	butchered
M6	g/b	7						20 g	ribs, vertabrae
	soil								most butchered
M6	"			8				5 g	mainly skulls
M6	"					23		10 g	snoek
M6	"				39			50 g	Cape cormorants
M6	lime/ cement	1		3	3	15	1	4 g	snoek heads, worked bone
M7	g/b soil			72		108		37 g 16 g	mainly snoek limb bones, teeth
M7	"	3					16	18 g	butchered vertabrae
M7	"				207			140 g	Cape cormorant
M7	"						5	0,25g	greater musk shrew skull
N6	g/b soil	1						2 g	butchered
N5/N6	"	6		3	1			23 g	ovis fragments
N5/ N6	brick cement	2	1	1	1		1	21 g	bos ribs show butcher marks
N6	"					37		18 g	snoek
N6	"	9	2				3	84 g	mostly butchered
N6	"			66	5	1		81 g	mainly Cape dune molerat, one shrew
N6					72			92 g	Cape cormorant
P3/ Q3	level 1	4				3	1	15 g	fragments

Squ.	layer	ovis capra	Bos	mole rat	bird	fish	other	total weight	remarks
P3/ Q3	level 2						1	0,5g	unidentified
P3/ Q3	level 3	1			1	3	2	6 g	fragments
U11/ V11	g/b soil	1			3	1		38 g	bird unidentified

Discussion

The food remains excavated at the West Fort, which can be assigned to the period of occupation consisted mainly of mutton bones with some beef towards the end of the military presence. The bones were chopped ribs, vertabrae and other lesser cuts, mainly used for stews. There were no prime cuts. Fish was mainly consumed during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Snoek heads only were present in the lowest deposits such as the lime/cement layer in squares M6 and M7 in the armoury. Sea birds may have been consumed to break the monotony of a steady mutton diet.

Given the small size of the sample it would be difficult to infer who ate the meat and fish that contributed the bones in the assemblage. One also has to take into account that fish factories have existed nearby for the last hundred years or so and discarded fish bones could have been worked into the deposits.

Table of faunal remains from the Hout Bay East Fort

Squ	layer	<i>ovis capra</i>	<i>Bos</i>	mole rat	bird	other	total weight	remarks
B5 B6	ram part	2					28 g	leg
B18	ram part		14				215 g	butchered proximal femur
D19		1					5 g	rib fragment
H6					1		3 g	chicken
K7/ L7		1					5 g	rib

The only reliable faunal fragment is the butchered beef femur from square B18, found at the base of the foundation wall in the lower rampart area. The remaining bones might have been discarded at any time.

Fort Klein Gibraltar

Area	layer	<i>ovis capra</i>	<i>bos</i>	bird	total weight	remarks
South wall	plaster floor			1	3 g	not chicken
oven		1		1	4 g	one sheep rib, bird humerus
north corner	rampart wall	1		3	65 g	butchered bones

The bones appear to be relatively recent deposits and cannot be assigned to the fort's occupation of ca 1793-1795.

Analysis of the molluscs of the three forts

Fort	square	layer	no of fragments	total weight	Species
HBWF	CC23		1	3 g	<i>Chitonid</i>
HBWF	M6	lime/ cement	31 4 1 2	340 g 1 g 0,1 g 18 g	<i>Haliotis midae</i> <i>Aulacomya ater</i> <i>Patella compressa</i> unidentified
HBWF	M7	g/b soil	1 2 1	25 g 80 g 0,1 g	<i>Patella cochlear</i> <i>P. compressa</i> <i>Choromytilus meridionalis</i>
KG	south wall	plaster floor	4 12 1	118 g 28 g 1 g	<i>Patella compressa</i> <i>Choromytilus meridionalis</i> <i>Oxysteles variegata</i>
KG	oven		3 1	61 g 0,1 g	<i>Patella compressa</i> <i>Choromytilus meridionalis</i>

No molluscs were excavated at the Hout Bay East Fort.

At the Hout Bay West Fort by far the most representative mollusc is *H. midae* commonly known as perlemoen, which today is a rare delicacy. It seems that it was less exploited in the past, as evidenced by the large shells in the lower layers in the armoury, a diameter of 120 mm by 160 mm being not uncommon. The second most abundant mollusc found at the site is the limpet *P. compressa* which may be consumed cooked or in a raw state, providing a rich source of protein.

The most abundant mollusc occurring at Fort Klein Gibraltar is the limpet, *P. compressa*. The second most abundant mollusc is the black mussel, *C. meridionalis*, which must be steamed or cooked prior to consumption.

We have, however, only collected a representative sample from each site. The distribution of the molluscs has been estimated with the largest number of perlemoen found inside the armoury

(12). We have only taken whole shells into consideration in our count of the molluscan fauna as food residue.

Plant remains

No plant remains were collected. The Hout Bay Forts are situated directly on or above the sea shores. At the West Fort the layers above the excavated features were composed of sand, pebbles, recently discarded artefacts and washed up rotting kelp. The East Fort's rampart and Blockhouse area had been worked and covered with a hardy grass species. Fort Klein Gibraltar was buried under lush vegetation whose roots penetrated into the building features. It was almost impossible to separate recent from archaeological deposit.

The only exception was the sampling of charcoal remains from the powder magazine's three levels. Analysis of these charcoal fragment revealed them to come from a European hardwood species (13). The charcoal might have been used to mix gun powder.

Miscellaneous finds

The coin collection is of very recent origin, except possibly the coin from Klein Gibraltar. This coin is not a genuine one. It is believed to be a fake. The coin purports to be an issue of the Ottoman ruler, Mahmud II (1808-1839), regnal year 28, mint of Constantinople (14) (Fig. 250).

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12. Jorge E'Silva identified the faunal remains and compiled the tables, with advice from Dr Graham Avery, South African Museum.
 13. Ed February, South African Museum, Cape Town, pers. comm.
 14. Miss J.L. Meltzer, Chief Museum Human Scientist, William Fehr Collection, The Castle, Cape Town adds, in a letter to the author, dated 08-07-1993: "The design purports to be one of his series of gold (gedid mahmudiye). But the coin is not gold but base metal, gilt. ... The design, weight and fabric also looks suspicious to me. It is, I believe, a fake. The interesting thing would be to date the fake, as it could be contemporary (with the coin) fake or one made this century".

Fort	layer	coin
HBWF	powder magazine, P3, top level	2 cents, 1965
HBWF	armoury, N6, brown/grey soil	1/2 cents, 1961
HBWF	armoury, N6, brown/grey soil	2 cents, 1985
KG	hot-shot cannon ball oven area	possibly dated 1830

One possible tunic hook was found in the powder magazine, top level, amongst the modern litter.

Two Dutch clay pipe stem fragments were collected from the top of the West Fort's traversing gun track section (Fig. 251). One 'grof' (rough) pipe stem fragment with the *fleur-de-lis* stamp, outside diameter 10 mm, bore hole 3,5 mm and unevenly bored. This fragment dates from 1670-1720 and was produced in and around Gouda. The second pipe stem fragment is of fine clay quality, outside diameter 5,0 mm, bore diameter 2,0 mm and dates to around 1740 (15).

At the Hout Bay West Fort, inside the armoury, square M7, level grey/brown soil, a 12 by 12 by 12 mm ivory dice was found (Fig. 16). It could have been manufactured this century.

At the east Fort, square B18, rampart level an aluminium handle fragment of a fork or spoon was unearthed. It dates to the 1920s or later.

Summary

The only reliable collection of datable artefacts was excavated from inside the armoury on the West Fort. The ammunition and possible remains of gun platform(s) had been left behind in ca 1829 or earlier when the forts in Hout Bay

15. Otto Graf, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, pers. comm.

were abandoned. The ceiling of the armoury would have collapsed shortly thereafter and the contents left undisturbed until the refuse pit was dug sometime during the Second World War. The remaining iron and other metal artefacts can not be assigned to any specific period, other than nineteenth or twentieth century.

The ceramic assemblage is undistinguished and reflects the range of mass produced British colonial exports. One piece of ornamental British ware, dating to the late nineteenth century, might reflect preferences of visitors to the picnic site.

Exceptions are the Oriental and locally manufactured ceramics dated tentatively to the end of the eighteenth century.

To make any assumptions on the evidence of three potsherds or to assign any ceramic artefacts to the people living or visiting the forts during the period 1781 to 1829 would not be prudent.

The majority of the glass collection is dated firmly to the nineteenth and twentieth century, i.e. after the forts were abandoned. The only exceptions are the two wine bottle bases from the hot-shot-cannon ball oven area of Fort Klein Gibraltar, which are dated concurrently with the occupation of the fort from 1793 to 1795.

The excavations at the forts yielded not one contemporary cartridge case from a hand gun, uniform button or any other personal belonging connected with military activities from soldiers or workers stationed there before 1829. As only a small part of the forts was excavated and the areas had been extensively cleaned and landscaped during this century the results were not unexpected.

TABLES OF ARTEFACTS

(Abbreviations: HBWF = Hout Bay West Fort
 HBEF = Hout Bay East Fort,
 KG = Klein Gibraltar
 cent = century)

Building materials, wood, iron and other metal artefacts

Fort square or level	description	quantity
HBWF A, DD23	lid of petrol tin with handle	0,5 kg
HBWF B, C22	lead rod, wire fencing	0,5 kg
HBWF C, E20	horse shoe fragment, wire fencing	1 kg
HBWF C, F21	food tins, round, 90 to 120 mm diameter, 140 to 160 mm high	1kg
HBWF C, G21/ H21	food tins, as above wire fencing, kettle lid, enamel grape shot, nuts and bolts	2 kg 2 kg
HBWF F, rubble infill	nails, wire, slate, charcoal	3kg
HBWF F, level 1	nails, nuts, bolts, flat wrought iron pieces diameter ca 0,25 m	3kg
HBWF F, level 3	1 hub and 3 wheel fragments	
HBWF G, grey/ brown soil	1 bucket, 2 horseshoes, nuts, bolts flat iron pieces as above door knob, door hinge,	5kg 10 kg
HBWF G, M7 grey/brown soil	square copper roof nail, 60 mm long, with round head, 16 mm diameter dated to 19 th cent	
HBWF G, brick/ cement layer	nuts, square and round, for top of grape shot holders	20 kg
HBEF A, outside lieut. quarter	part of pickax, flat iron piece, 0,5 by 0,1 m	2 kg

Fort square or level		description	quantity
HBEF rampart C13		grape shot	1 kg
HBEF	G, A22	food tin fragments, as on HBWF	0,2 kg
HBEF	G, B18	iron rod 0,1 m long, 0,05 m wide	0,2 kg
HBEF	G, B23	nail	
KG oven		nails, wire, iron hinge fragment	1 kg
KG south wall		nails, large and small	0,2 kg

Ceramics

Fort square or area	description	date
HBWF A, CC23	blue band on rim stoneware military issue	19/20 th cent
HBWF A, DD23	blue/white transfer print	1850-1900
HBWF B, B21	creamware	19/20 th cent
HBWF B, C22	handpainted cup or bowl, stoneware sponge decorated	1850-1920
HBWF C, E20	grey transfer print, stoneware	1840-1860
HBWF C, E20	creamware	19 th cent
HBWF C, E20	Oriental enamelled, Chinese (?) black/green overglaze	18/19 th cent
HBWF C, E20	salt glazed stoneware, bottle	19/20 th cent
HBWF C, F20	handpainted stoneware, blue banded	1850-today
HBWF C, F20	handpainted porcelain	late 19 th cent
HBWF C, F21	ibid.	1840-1860
HBWF C, F21	blue/white porcelain	19 th cent
HBWF C, F21	blue/white Chinese porcelain	18/19 th cent
HBWF C, G20	blue stripes, annular ware	1850-1900
HBWF C, G20	grey transfer print, stoneware	1840-1880
HBWF C, G21/H21	ibid.	1840-1860
HBWF G, N5, N6 05, 06	layer rubble overburden salt glazed stoneware, bottle, German stoneware, creamware handpainted stoneware, bowl	19/20 th cent ibid. ibid.
HBWF G, N5, N6 05, 06	layer brown/grey soil creamware, grey transfer print, hand painted, blue/white transfer print salt glazed, white porcelain green/brown translucent glaze, earthenware fragment	19/20 th cent 18 th cent

Fort square or area	description	date
HBWF G, M7,	layer grey/brown soil handpainted bowl fragment, as above, stoneware, creamware	19 th cent
HBWF F level 1	yellow stoneware saucer, creamware painted and white porcelain (stamped CAULDON CP, England) Chinese porcelain	19/20 th cent
HBWF F level 2	porcelain, white and hand painted European	19/20 th cent
HBWF F, level 3	Chinese porcelain, grof and fine coarse creamware, with 3 blue lines on rim	18/19 th cent late 19 th
HBEF inside Blockhouse	porcelain and stoneware	modern
HBEF A, Lieut. quarters	blue and white transfer print creamware, green glazed ornament	19 th cent 19/20 th cent
HBEF A sentry box	creamware, green glazed flower pot blue/gold rimmed egg cup fragment below paving: blue/white willow pattern, fine creamware	19/20 th cent 20 th cent as above
HBEF B K7,L7	unpainted English bone china, creamware Chinese porcelain, Canton border, blue and white	late 18 th century
HBEF C,kitchen	blue/white willow pattern, transfer printed, creamware, coarse and fine	early 19 th
HBEF ramparts C19, B18	shell edged plate fragment, creamware, salt glazed, porcelain	early 19 th 19/20 th cent
KG South West corner	blue and white sponge ware annular ware	19/20 th cent
KG North corner	creamware, handpainted bone china, plain bone china, salt glazed round vessel fragment	19/20 th cent
KG oven	creamware, porcelain	as above

Table of glass fragments

Fort square or area	description	date
HBWF B, B21,	cylindrical bottle, tapering collar tumbler, jelly glass	1820-1920 modern
HBWF C, G20	tapered neck, cylindrical bottle	modern
HBWF C, E20	window glass, clear wine glass shoulder and neck brown bottle	modern 1870-1910
HBWF C, F21	1 tumbler base 1 moulded cylindrical vessel high conical kick-up	modern
HBWF D, U11	Codd bottle marble	1870-1920
HBWF F level 1	cylindrical fragments, 1 neck	modern
level 2	1 pale blue fragment, 5 marbles 1 base cobalt blue, 1 base moulded cylindrical	modern
HBWF F, level 2	2 window glass, 4 light blue 1 green cylindrical fragment	modern
HBWF F, level 3	1 light blue, dark brown bottle fragments	modern
HBWF G, N6,06 rubble infill	1 base, French, possibly champagne	19/20 th cent
HBWF G, N6	1 clear, round glass fragment grey/brown soil	modern
HBWF G, M6	1 clear tumbler base, beer bottle grey/brown soil neck	modern
HBWF G, M7	1 decanter stopper, cut glass grey/brown soil clear glass bottle neck fragments	19/20 th cent
HBWF G, N6	cylindrical bottle fragment	
HBWF I, BB12	medicine bottle base, clear	1850 - present
HBWF I, DD13	medicine bottle: DIE KEISSERLICHE PRIVILEGIERT ALTONATISCHE W. KRONESSENTS	1850 - present

Fort square or area	description	date
HBWF I, DD23	double string rim bottle neck	
HBWF H,C13,C14	1 cylindrical vessel, 3 piece mould	
oven	2 fragments, machine made, mineral or soda water bottle fragments, clear glass	
HBEF A, B7, C7	one marble	modern
HBEF A, B21	jelly glass with decorative ribs	
HBEF A, C7	moulded fragments	contemporary
HBEF B, K7,L7	foot of wine glass with stem	contemporary
HBEF C,	wine bottle fragments	modern
KG, south wall 1920	bottle fragments, Codd bottle nek	modern ca 1870-
KG, north corner,	bottle fragments	modern
KG, oven area,	bottle glass, window glass tumbler bases wine bottle bases	modern modern late 18 th century



Fig. 234 Baltic pine or deal lintel from the armoury doorway, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 235 Door hinge, armoury, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 236 Pulley, armoury, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 237 Iron parts from gun platform, armoury, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 238 Gun at Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 239 Gun on the terreplein, Hout Bay East Fort, 1992.



Fig. 240 24-pounder cannon balls, *in situ*, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 241 Grape shot holders, armoury, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 242 Cartridges and lead grape shot for a hand gun, dated to after 1840.



Fig. 243 Unused gun flint, Blockhouse area, Hout Bay East Fort, 1992.



Fig. 244 British ceramics, hand painted bowl, late nineteenth century, armoury, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 245 British ceramics, early to late 19th century, all Hout Bay forts, 1992.

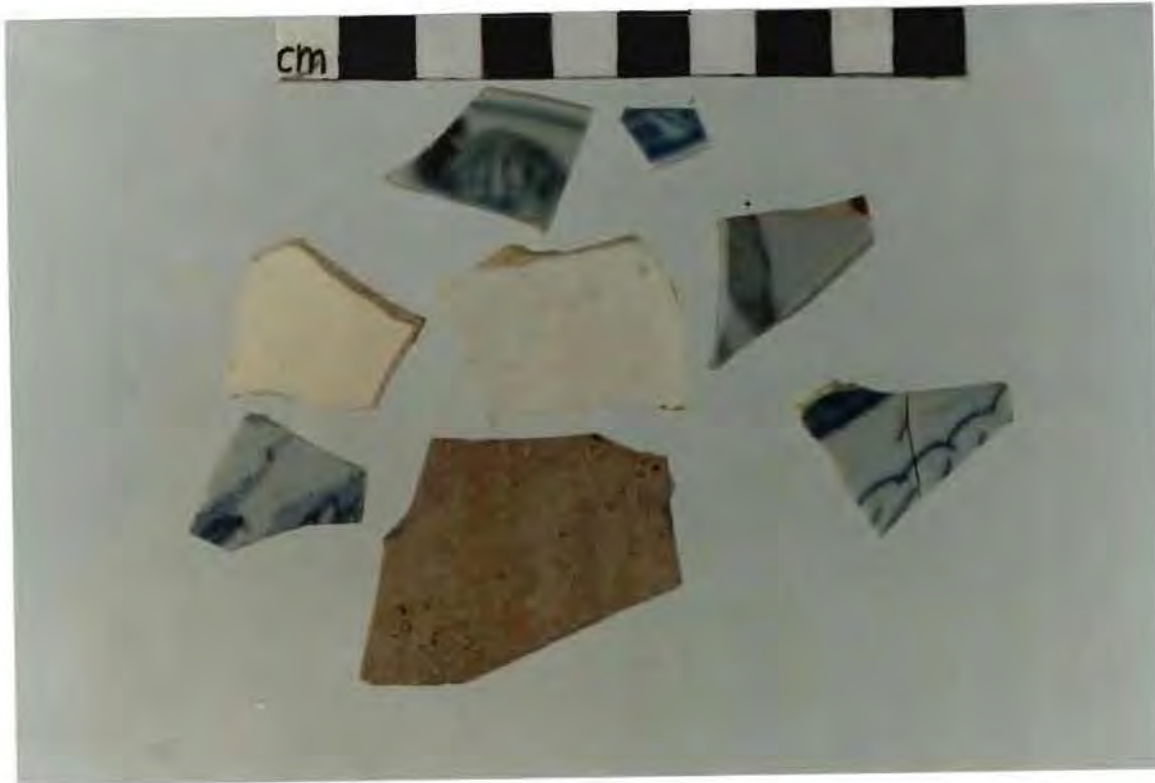


Fig. 246 Chinese porcelain, Continental stoneware, all Hout Bay forts, 1992.



Fig. 247 earthenware, ca late 18th century, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 248 Decanter stopper, bottle neck, late 19th century, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.



Fig. 249 Codd bottle (below) and modern marbles, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.

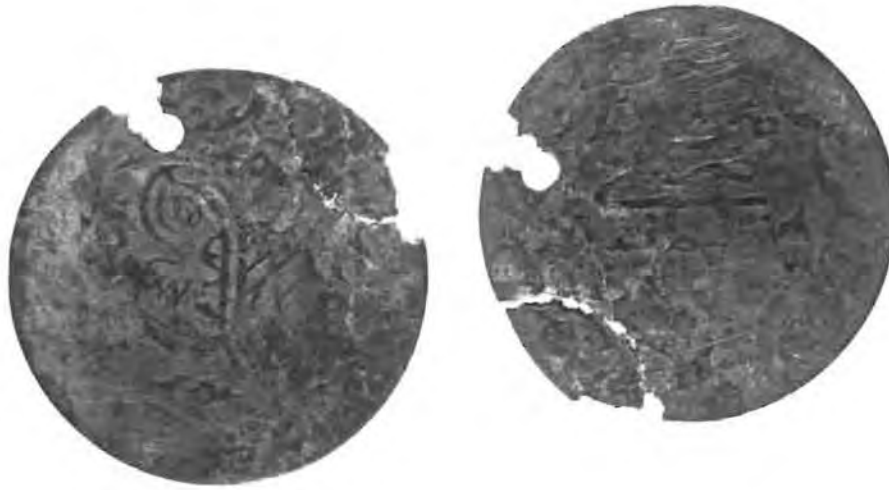


Fig. 250 Coin, Ottoman empire, date of mint 1830, probably a fake, Fort Klein Gibraltar.

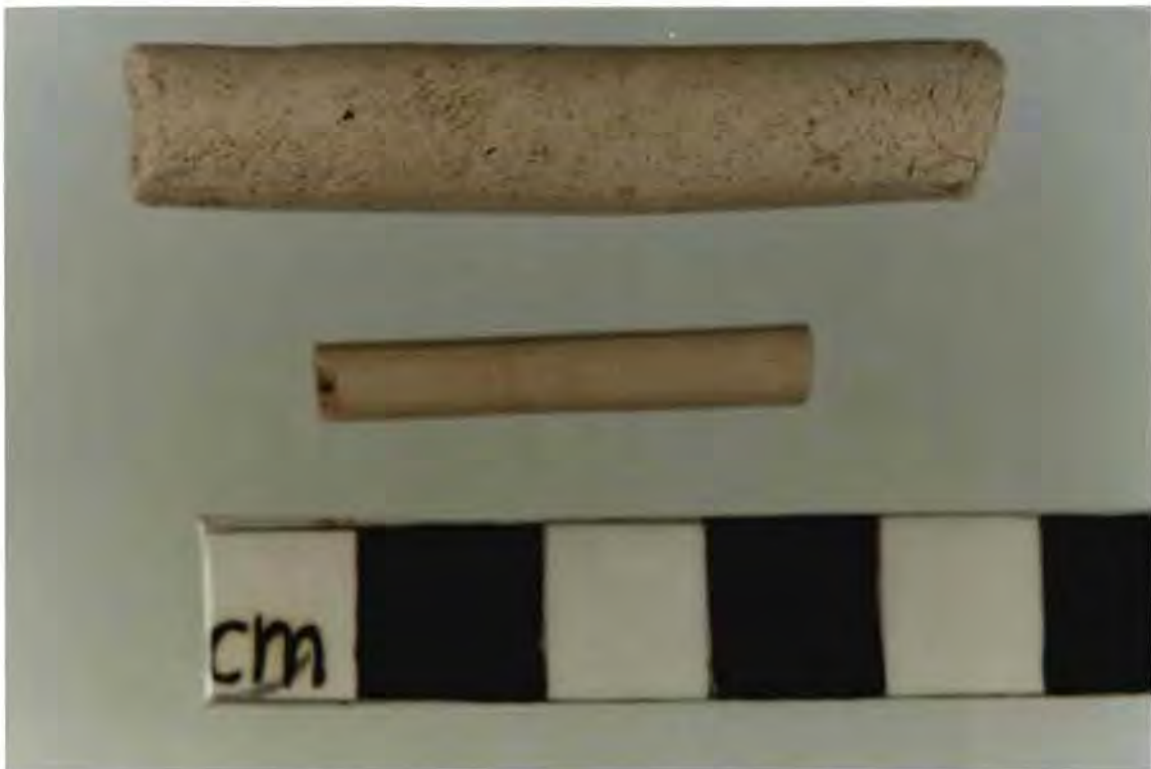


Fig. 251 Dutch clay pipe stem fragments, ca 1670-1730 and ca 1737, Hout Bay West Fort, 1992.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION

"There are times, men, and events about which only history can pass and find judgement, contemporaries and individual observers may write only what they have seen and heard."

Levy

TEXT, CONTEXT AND SUBTEXT

Considerations of space and time have not permitted me to tell the full story of all the forts and fortifications built, repaired, occupied and abandoned between 1781 and 1829 at the Cape. Numerous smaller works, mainly of earthen construction and limited life span, were erected before and during the two British invasions of the Cape along the coast lines. I also have not taken into account the many auxiliary services, attached to the defence works, (signal stations being one of them), the telegraphs from Simon's Town, Hout Bay, Saldanah Bay and further inland. Workshops, repair and maintenance crews, the slaves, Free Blacks, *reconvalescenten* and other fortifications workers have scarcely been mentioned. They seem to be almost invisible in the archaeological context alone. The resolution of these important aspects of military history of the transition period will be left to future research, as this work is an introduction into the subject, starting with the built environment.

From these multitude of 'facts' one would more often than not emerge without a clear understanding 'of what it was all about'. What, in the midst of all this building activity, redistribution of guns and ammunition, training of artillery

personnel, redeployment of troops hither and tither 'was actually going on (1)?' The answer to that would involve writing a lengthy book; so what I am asking from my present material is restricted to the issues of the forts' content, construction, function, their history and design. The question of content, i.e. what physical shapes forts and fortifications took has been dealt with in the text directly. So has the construction and how the forts were put to use. The history of those forts has been reconstructed in broad terms as far as it was possible. But what has not been dealt with is the reality underlying those events: the day-to-day practicalities of the administration, the reality of moving pieces of artillery over the mountains in all weathers between the forts, what did a commander of a fort do? One should forget the romantic vision of great commanders, the mercenaries, the slave, the loyal soldier, the fleets in the harbour. What were the costs of erecting and maintaining the fortifications works, and who bore such costs?

From what I have gathered so far most recent works in historical/archaeological writing on the Cape lack the connections between the world of ideas, underlying conscious or unconscious beliefs (how the buildings were thought of, e.g. fortifications on the shore of the Cape Peninsula) and the economic reality. One aim of this thesis was to highlight that 'crude reality of economic necessity'. What emerges time and again in the reading of the historical documents, which I consulted, and the archaeological evidence is the discrepancy between what was seen as essential defence measures by the engineers and artillerists and what was actually granted them by the 'politicians' in terms of financial and manpower resources during the Dutch and Batavian rule. This restraining factor of economic necessity and stop-gap planning seems to have played a greater role in the decisions taken by the majority of inhabitants of the Cape than hitherto taken into account by historians and archaeologists.

1. Smith, Ken (1988). *The changing Past. Trends in South African Historical Writing*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers (Pty) Ltd, p. 210.

THE PERIOD 1781 TO 1829

The year 1781 has not been accorded the significance it deserves in the Cape's history. Historians writing about the Cape's final years under the rule of the VOC tended to concentrate on social matters. The Cape was nearly taken by the British, who saw it already then as an immensely important strategic place for the following reasons:

1. The American War of Independence tied up the bulk of the British Navy in North Atlantic waters. The American Colonies' arms and ammunition was supplied by Dutch trade via the Dutch West Indian port of St Eustatius. American exports were partially conducted through Holland and her colonies including the settlement at the Cape. In 1774 Britain declared the export of "warlike stores" to the Colonies to be contraband and therefore subject to search and seizure under her rights as a belligerent (2). The Cape became strategically important as it was breaking the blockade of the United States.
2. The British Navy was beginning to be professionally run, i.e. promotions within its active service were being made increasingly on merit and practical experience, not through influence and monetary transactions. The Navy saw its role increasingly as the policeman of the traffic to the newly acquired Eastern colonies, notably the Indian empire.
3. By about 1781 the second stage of industrialisation in Britain, that of cheap mass production, had begun. British industry needed export markets. The colonies were ideal raw material exporters and finished goods importers. The Cape was seen as a potentially vast untapped market.

2. Tuchman, B. (1988). *The First Salute. A View of the American Revolution*. Penguin: Michael Joseph, Ltd, 1989, p. 8.

The Dutch authorities at the Cape were aware of the threat of a British invasion. The preparations of the British navy at Spithead in 1781 were reported to France by a spy named De La Motte (3). A French fleet was urgently put together and arrived at the Cape ahead of the British to assist with the defence of the settlement. This initiated the first intensive fortifications building program in Table Bay, Simon's Bay and Hout Bay. The work was supervised by Colonel G.H. Gilquin a Dutch fortifications engineer trained in the 'Old Dutch Fortifications System'.

This first attempt to take the Cape was thwarted in Hout Bay, when the West Fort builders succeeded in deceiving Commodore Johnstone about the real strength of the armament of that fort. Commodore Johnstone felt it not to be wise to engage the French fleet in Simon's Bay.

The second stage of fort building activity was initiated in 1793 by the threat of renewed war between post-revolutionary France, whose armies had overrun the Netherlands, and Britain. The European continent was effectively blockaded. Liberal ideas had spread to the Cape. The burghers were in revolt against the VOC's administration. With the cessation of hostilities in North America the British Navy was freed to operate in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. The fleet was now looking for bases to supply, repair and refit its ships. The Cape was seen as a vital link in this global network.

The second stage of fort building activities was supervised by Lieut. Engineer and architect L.M. Thibault, who had trained in Paris in the more recent and flexible fortification system of Vauban and Coehoorn. Thibault initiated professional training for engineers, architects, surveyors, builders and building tradesmen in the Cape. The governor, van der Graaff, was also a former controller-general of fortifications in the

3. Smith, A.B. (1981). *The French Period at the Cape, 1781-1783: a report on excavations at Conway redoubt, Constantia Nek.* Milit. Hist. Journ. Vol 5, No 3, June 1981, p. 107.

Netherlands. Thus a more professional approach to the erection of defence works was insured, only hampered by the lack of adequate financial resources.

New technology in the armament of the forts and redoubts was introduced at this stage. Ovens for the heating of cannon balls and traversing gun platforms instead of stationary gun emplacements greatly enhanced the fire power of the batteries. Grape shot, in the form of lead shot, might have been introduced at this stage, but this is not as yet confirmed.

The British takeover in 1795 was well planned and professionally executed. Despite the long sea voyage the troops were ready to fight for 'their first meal of the day on foreign soil' (4). General Craig initiated, even before landing in Simon's Town and Muizenberg, a survey of the western coast of False Bay. The military government installed the first professional ordnance department at the Cape. Its brief was, amongst other duties, to survey, repair and erect such defence works as were needed "to put the defence of the place on a sound footing", in General Craig's words. This could be called the third stage of fortification building.

The major contribution of the first British occupation was the building of defence towers in Simon's Town, on Milnerton Beach, in Hout Bay and on the slopes of Devil's Peak. These towers were modelled on the so-called Martello Tower of Corsica and adapted to conditions prevailing at the Cape. This also was an economical means of fortifying a specific area quickly and efficiently.

The historian Freund wrote that the first British occupation at the Cape was a time of compulsive disorder (5). This would

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4. Dr Daniel Sleight tells me that it was a maxim of the British army to "have breakfast on the enemy's territory".
 5. Freund, W.M. (1979). *The Cape under the Transitional Governments 1795-1814*. In: Elphick R. and Giliomee H. (Ed.): *The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, Longman.

not hold true from a military point of view, at least not in the Cape Peninsula and surrounding country side. The military were firmly in control and were seen by the population to be so. Strategic points had been occupied, inspection of troops, drills and parades were regularly conducted. Survey and maintenance works were carried out by the Royal Engineers. The British Military were here to stay and planned accordingly. Substantial sums of money were granted to be spent on making the Cape a secure way station for the British.

The treaty of Amiens in 1802 required the Cape to be handed back to the Batavian government, as the former Dutch provinces' administration was now known. At the Cape, Commissary De Mist and Governor Janssens gave priority to civilian matters. What little money the government had to spend on defence works was invested in the upgrading of existing works along the coastlines of Simon's Bay and Hout Bay. In 1804 the batteries at both places were extended to incorporate a terreplein each, which raised the level of the stationary guns placed on them and increased the armament. The fire power was enhanced by anti-personnel grape shot of twelve shot of one pound to a case. These additions could be called the fourth stage of building activities at these sites.

The Hout Bay West Fort had a substantial armory and powder magazine added on to the back of the terreplein. Whether these were built by the Batavians in 1804/5 or the British in 1806 is not quite clear yet. The powder magazine might have been added by the Batavians, its rough construction from flat boulders found at the site confirms the statement that 'works should be erected with as much economy as possible'. The armoury, in contrast, is well constructed from carefully dressed stone, crushed rock fragments and mortar.

The second British occupation in 1806 was politically inevitable. The Royal Engineers carried on where they left off in 1802. The only known addition to the defence works in the Peninsula was the Cradock Battery, built on a slope of Devil's

Peak directly above the Castle in about 1811-1813 during Governor Sir John Francis Cradock's term of office. The battery was drawn in a map of 1815 and was possibly situated above the suburb of Vredehoek (6). All military property was kept in good repair. Simon's Town was declared the official headquarters of the Cape Squadron in 1815.

By 1827, with peace established in the world of British influence, it was thought that most of the forts and batteries along the coast of the Cape Peninsula had become obsolete and were therefore a burden on the War Department's finances. A great many were dismantled. The remaining ones, including all military property were handed over in 1829 to be administered by the Board of Ordnance of the Cape of Good Hope.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE THREE HOUT BAY FORTS

With the partial excavation of the Hout Bay East and West Forts it was possible to study in detail the sequence of building and development phases they underwent during the almost fifty years of occupation. Archival and archaeological investigations led to the discovery of a third fort in Hout Bay. Fort Klein Gibraltar was located below Military Road and is relatively well preserved.

Six building stages could be distinguished throughout the East and West Forts and two for Fort Klein Gibraltar, which can be synchronised with the other two forts' developments.

The first building stage: 1781 to ca 1783.

The possible remains of the earliest West Fort construction might be partly visible as the edge of the lowest platform area. Test trenches in areas I₁ and I₂ revealed the edge to consist of tightly packed boulders with pebble and sand

6. Public Records Office, Kew, London, Reference MPH/691.

infill. One might assume that the rampart and embrasure material would have been reused when the second phase of the West Fort's development took place in 1793.

The East Fort's lower and middle level rampart area were probably excavated from the steep mountain side in 1782/3. The rampart wall on the middle level seems to be the only remains of the construction from that period. The ends of the rampart wall were retained with dressed stone. We assume that a powder magazine was placed in this, the only area in the bay fully protected from enemy fire.

The second building stage: 1793 - 1795.

Overlaying the possible original platform of 1781 at the West Fort is an area facing the sea, which consists of a low rampart wall with a gently sloping glacis, and three traversing gun platform tracks. These tracks were all constructed of different materials, which might indicate stages of repair and maintenance over the fort's remaining thirty five years of occupation. Only one type of construction, manifested at the West Fort in the right track, is datable by association. This kind of double groove track, plastered with lime/cement, was excavated from the East Fort rampart area below the terreplein, which was added in about 1804. It thus dates from ca 1793 to ca 1803. The arcs of the tracks differ from those of the map of 1844: the left is 360°, the middle one 90°, the right 180° (7). No fourth track could be located. We suspect it might be buried underneath the terreplein, which was added later.

One 24-pounder iron gun, dated 1752 was found *in situ* on its gun traverse platform track. A 1-pounder grape shot cannon ball near the muzzle might indicate the use of this type of ammunition.

7. Cultural History Museum, Cape Town, map of the West Fort, Hout Bay, 1844.

The excavation of the hot-shot-cannon ball oven at the rear of the battery confirms Lieut. Thibault's statement of having provided the forts in Hout Bay with the means 'to use this hellish type of weapon'. Comparing the dimensions of the West Fort's oven with those drawn on several maps for Table Bay defense works, Simon's Town South Battery and the excavated oven at Klein Gibraltar it seems that they were built at the Cape to standard specifications.

With the provision of a new type of weapon also went a new type of gun platform. Guns on traversing platforms were preferred at this stage, not only in Hout Bay but elsewhere on the Peninsula coastal defences as well.

On the East Fort lower gun emplacement area the straight and right hand semi-circular rampart wall and the glacis are the visible remains of this Dutch reconstruction period. One might assume that the guns which bear the VOC marking and asset numbers date from this period too. Three of the four visible gun traverse tracks are of the same construction as the third West Fort gun traverse track: two grooves, with the remains of some lime/cement plaster. It might signify the use of gun platforms of similar constructions. The gun traverse track on the right hand side (facing the sea) has been set opposite to the other three and is of different construction, dressed small stone. This track might also represent either a repair or a reconstruction at a later date. All the tracks are semi-circular.

Three of the tracks exhibit fixed gun carriage platforms, which abut the rampart wall. They seem to be the original platforms, two have been repaired. At the geometrical centre of the right gun track a square block of dressed stone was found. Whether this was the pivot on which the traversing gun platform travelled is not known, but the possibility exists.

A fourth gun traverse track was located, as already stated, under the terreplein adjoining the 1793/5 rampart wall and gun positions. This track has two parallel grooves, plastered in lime/cement and water run-off channels bisecting it at intervals. One track was partially lined with teak.

Together, the East and the West Forts' cannon ball trajectories covered the entrance to the bay. The fire power of Klein Gibraltar might have covered the rear of both forts and the landing beach.

We were unable to locate the hot-shot-cannon ball oven which was supposed to have been built at the East Fort. One possibility is that the building, referred to earlier in chapter 6 as the 'magazine', could have been the oven (8).

The building of Fort Klein Gibraltar would have taken place during this period. The yellow clay/sand floor of the fort's interior and the hot-shot-cannon ball oven could now be recognised as indicative of Lieut. Thibault's building program of 1793-1795. The oven conforms to the West Fort oven standards. The low rampart wall might indicate that it was thought that an enemy attack was unlikely to come from the direction of the beach. The rampart wall facing the open bay was set deep into the mountain side, which, together with the granite boulders provided shelter from enemy fire.

The third stage: 1795 - 1803

During the First British Occupation of the Cape the East Fort seems to have been designated as the headquarters of the garrison in Hout Bay. The building of the Blockhouse, for which we have documentary evidence, confirms the professionalism the British Army had attained at this stage, even to the extent that they rather 'contracted certain works out, due to the unfamiliarity with the terrain'. It might be

8. Cape Archives, VC 229(2), map of the East Fort, signed by Major W.M. Kersteman, Comd. Royal Engineers, possibly dated to 1800.

correct to state that the upper Blockhouse area was excavated and levelled and the remaining buildings attuned to the slope at the beginning of the building program in 1796. This confirms how important the bay was in the defence strategy of the Peninsula. Direct archaeological or documentary evidence for erection of the substantial quarters for the commanding officer, the soldiers (the 'rank-and-file'), utility buildings, such as kitchen, store rooms, ablution block, sentry box or toilet taking place between 1796 and 1803 has not been forthcoming. The size of the garrison, its composition and importance alone makes it probable that the buildings were erected during this time. The building techniques used by the workmen under the British Royal Engineers are of better and more lasting quality, quite distinct from the haphazard and often unprofessional execution the Dutch had to put up with.

The West Fort seems to have been manned by soldiers from the East Fort. We estimated that it takes no longer than one hour to reach the other side of the bay on foot. The men at the East Fort were plagued with boredom from time to time, hence the 'hassling of his cattle grazing in the vicinity of the East Fort', J. van Helsdingen complained about in 1799.

One might assume, that the type of armament remained the same as that from the Dutch period at both East and West forts. Klein Gibraltar is not mentioned in the documents of the handing over of VOC property to the British occupation troops or thereafter. It might have been of minor interest to the British, who knew that the entrance to the bay could successfully be defended. It lay also on the military road, which was probably repaired and widened at this time. The inspection reports for the Hout Bay forts mention a large quantity of ammunition stored at the forts' magazines, hundreds of rounds for several calibres of guns, mobile and stationary. That, and the building program, required a passable road.

Artefactual evidence from everyday life of the soldiers is sparse. If one assumes that the kitchen was built at this time, the baker's oven can be connected to baking bread and roasts and stews being served. It is known that the British army preferred hammocks to bedsteads, prefabricated huts are mentioned in the documents, with hooks, 'suitable for slinging hammocks'. A few fragments of British mass produced ceramic starts appearing in the archaeological record, a greater number of soldiers with their respective officers were stationed at the East Fort than before.

The fourth stage: 1803 - 1806.

A fourth building phase can be assigned to the Batavian government's period, when Lieut. Cordes had the terrepleins added to the East and West Forts' end traversing gun tracks. These high, level platforms overlaid the track and continued for about 20 m and four stationary gun platforms. The plan of the East Fort shows embrasures for these guns, which were not consistent with the archaeological record. No trace of embrasures have been found. The West Fort's embrasures were lined with lime/cement bricks, an unusual lining which has withstood the test of time.

The West Fort's terreplein was accessed at the rear by a ramp. The East Fort's ramp was barely visible. Here the rampart area was excavated further to the back. The material from this excavation and brick fragments from the magazine wall (or oven) were used for the infill of the fourth gun traverse track.

The building of the terreplein and the fitting of stationary guns are evidence for yet another change of arms technology in addition to those already in place.

The most substantial building on the West Fort was identified by us as the armoury. It abuts the back of the terreplein, a

retaining wall of roughly dressed stone. It must be stated at this point that we have not been able to assign the armoury definitely to either the Batavian period or the second British occupation after 1806. The walls are constructed with great care, as is the doorway. The roof of this building might have been flat and constructed from 'almagasse', a term used by Lieut. Thibault for a construction of layers of beams and reed mats, then a mixture of clay, sand and lime with straw and crushed soft brick fragments. This was then impregnated with whale or seal oil to render it waterproof. This type of roof was subject to collapse in the heavy winter rains. A great quantity of this material was found inside the remains of the armoury. Lieut. Thibault was employed by both the British and the Batavian government. At this time, before the advent of corrugated iron, it was the only method available to fire proof flat roofs.

The powder magazine abutting the rear of the terreplein might have been constructed at this time as well. The rough construction from beach boulders might have to do with Batavian economic measures. Excavation through part of the floor revealed a mixed artefact assemblage dating to the late eighteenth /early nineteenth century.

The fifth stage: 1806 -1829

The armoury building as such might either date to the Batavian government period or, more likely, to the second British occupation. The contents of the armoury, however, are unquestionably British. The neat stacks of ammunition and probable gun platform remains are attributed to British army discipline.

The forts in Hout Bay were kept up, yearly inspection reports attest to attention to detail. A company of soldiers was always stationed at the East Fort until 1829, when the

withdrawal of the garrison formally ended the military occupation of the Hout Bay forts.

The last stage: 1940 - 1945.

The Second World War and the fear of German U-boat invasion initiated the last building program in Hout Bay. The West Fort and Klein Gibraltar were fitted out with concrete gun emplacements and ammunition storage facilities. On the middle level rampart area at the East Fort a concrete bunker supplanted the 'powder magazine'.

The Hout Bay Forts played a minor, but very important part in the military history of the transition period from the Dutch to the British colonial area. The existence of the forts, and their perceived great fire power, were one of the factors in deciding, firstly, not to attack the ships in Hout Bay in 1781 (and thereby taking the Cape fourteen years earlier) and, secondly, the direction of the British invasions of 1795 and 1806.

The forts were built and renovated to ever more advanced standards of fortifications technique and arms technology. Such measures as the Council of Policy passed before 1795 were essentially economic, not political. They were also highly provisional, a combination of stop-gaps and bluff. In contrast, the British army was professionally managed and financially able to provide the service required. The Batavian Republic's military undertakings were guided by prudence and good sense.

It seems that the aims of the archaeological research program was achieved with some measure of success. The building phases of the Hout Bay forts have been delineated and might thus be

applied to other defence works erected and maintained in the Cape Peninsula between 1781 and 1829.

FUTURE OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The initiation of this study was met with much enthusiasm by military historians at the Cape, elsewhere in the country and even as far afield as Britain. We have surveyed the whole Cape Peninsula from Table Bay to Simon's Bay by foot, guided by maps and descriptions of fortification works of the period 1781 to 1829.

We have identified several remains of fortifications works and sites of military interest, which will add whole new dimensions to further studies, most importantly about the daily lives of ordinary soldiers at the batteries and outworks. In one verbatim copy from the Public records Office, London, of a 'list of military works handed over to the British ordnance at the surrender of the Cape in September 1795', the historian George McCall Theal explained in a footnote, that he had only listed the principal buildings and outworks of the forts and fortifications, **the contents of these (e.g. tools, furnishings, kitchen utensils, etc) he deemed not to be of interest to the historian (9).**

The principal works of a military nature which have been reasonably well preserved and warrant further investigation are the following:

York Redoubt (Fig. 252), built in 1796, is situated above De Waal Drive on the slopes of Devil's Peak. It is overgrown by dense vegetation and thus very well preserved. The remains of the foundations of the officer's quarters and the magazine, ramparts and ditches as well as a number of artefacts date the occupation to well into the nineteenth century.

9. Theal, G. McCall (1894). *Records of the Cape Colony*. Vol 1. [my emphasis].

There are two large British military camp sites on the slopes of Devil's Peak, complete with tent floors, remains of poles, camp utensils of every description, permanent building foundations, all in pristine condition. The artefacts can be dated to the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century (Fig. 253). The original military road, built by the Royal Engineers in 1796 can be followed for quite a way up to the Queen's and King's Blockhouses.

The Laboratory buildings and grounds (Fig. 254) at Fort Wynyard, formerly Kyk-in-de-pot Battery have survived and have recently been declared National Monuments. In one corner of the surrounding original wall are the remains of former latrines for the soldiers and officer, the stable and the officer's quarter, a dumping ground since ca 1786. We concede that latrines are unusual recipients of cultural material and the task of excavating them might be challenging.

The hot-shot-cannon ball oven in Fort Klein Gibraltar at Hout Bay was only partially excavated.

The remains of the Central Redoubt in Trafalgar Park in Woodstock (Fig. 255) are of prime importance to elucidate Dutch fortification building techniques. It was surrounded by a dry ditch, which was subsequently, presumably after 1827, filled in. This ditch warrants further investigation. The masonry wall at the entrance was added by the British in 1796. The brick kilns were possibly erected in mid-nineteenth century and have absolutely no connection with the redoubt's original function.

Part of the Hollands Redoubt, a wall section and two guns buried in the ground nearby (Figs. 256 and 257) survive near the Tollgate parking area in Lower Woodstock. It was a part of the French Lines, stretching from Fort Knokke to Zonnebloem estate.

The mountain side in Muizenberg between the Main Road and Boyes Drive in the vicinity of Bailey's cottage and the Natale Labia Museum is criss-crossed with forts, ramparts and other works of a military nature, both Dutch and British (Figs. 258 and 259). They are all in a good state of preservation. This and the following sites need urgent attention as renovation plans for the Muizenberg waterfront are underway and the whole area will undergo extended rebuilding and restoration. This might include the demolition of the building known as Sandton-on-Sea, which incorporates the original Dutch powder magazines opposite the Poshuis (10). Bailey's cottage is situated within the first British fort in Muizenberg (Fig. 260). According to a report by Tim Hart, the archaeological sensitive layers are about one metre below present ground level (11). A cache of cannon balls, stacked like the ones in the Hout Bay West Fort armory, was found near the chimney stack of the cottage. This concurs with the result of historical investigation and my personal survey of the grounds.

* * *

I started to research and write this thesis with the intention to investigate the relationship between the military component of the Cape's various colonial masters and the population. Instead the space has been taken up by listing, describing and tracing the history of the military installations alone. I had hoped to contribute to the social history of the Cape. The understanding of the development of the built environment, the contextualising of the land- and seascape as one component of social history seems to have done just that.

Between 1781 and 1829 the sea shores in the Cape Peninsula were largely perceived by the authorities as military zones of

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10. Inspection of the interior by myself and investigation of the history of the building by the owner, architect Mr P. Mathieson.
 11. *Bailey's Cottage, Muizenberg*. Unpublished report on Cape Town City Council excavations by the Archaeological Contracts Office, University of Cape Town, April 1990.

interaction, to be fortified, defended, watched over. The enemy was expected to come from 'over the water'. Once the waterways were secure, sea shores could be viewed as 'connecting' this known world to others 'overseas', a term still used today in the vernacular.

With the dismantling of coastal defence works the shores of the Cape Peninsula would be rediscovered as places for recreational purposes. The Hout Bay beach was becoming a well visited place for picnic outings 'because of the excellent sea bathing to be had' (Fig. 261). The shores along the Atlantic and False Bay were also put once again, as in pre- and protohistoric times, to economic use and local fisherfolk communities began to flourish.



Fig. 252 Remains of York Redoubt, Devil's Peak, 1993.



Fig. 253 Nineteenth century British campsite on Devil's Peak, ceramic fragments, 1993.

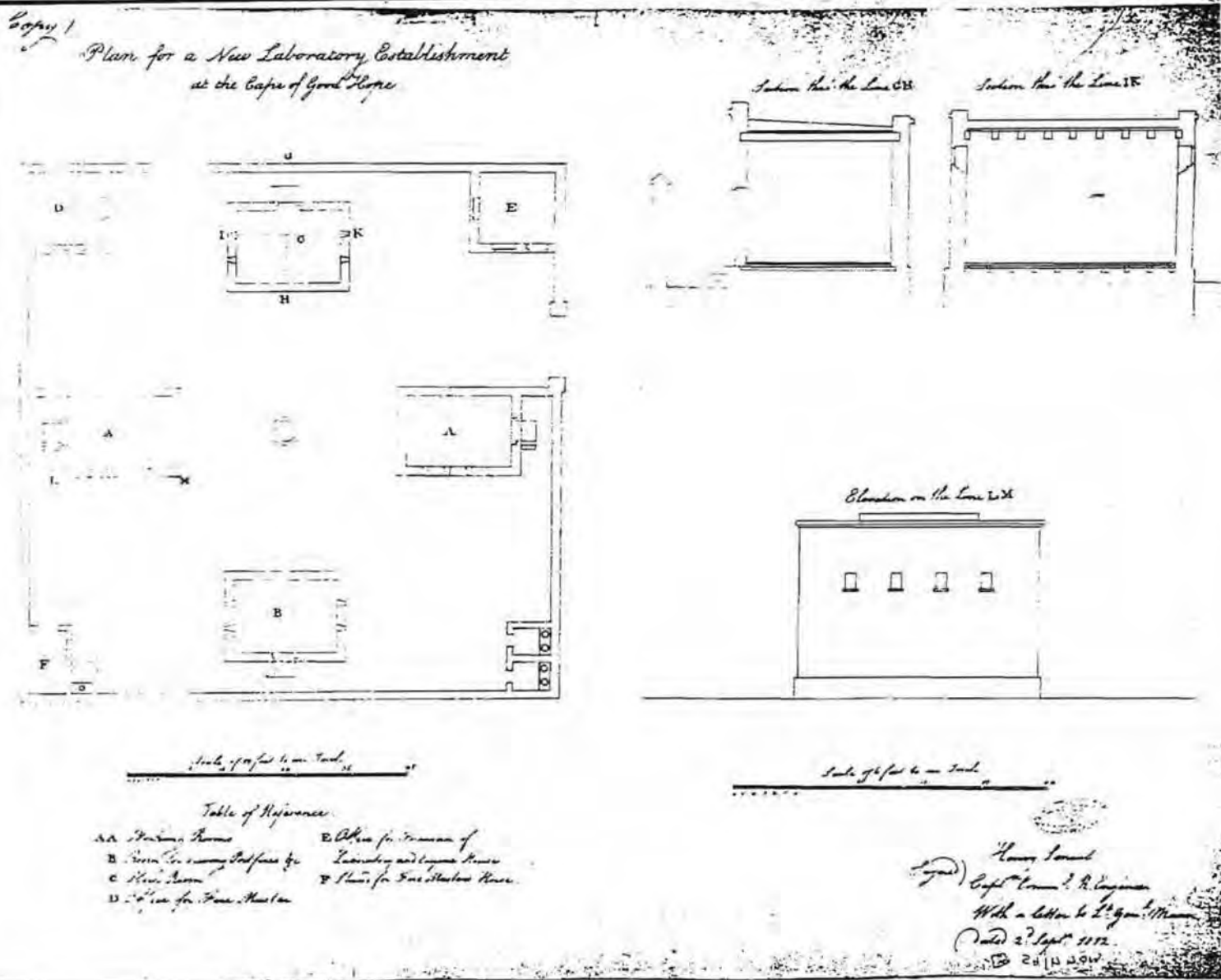


Fig. 254 Plan for a new Laboratory establishment, Kyk-in-depot Battery (later Fort Wynyard), 1812.

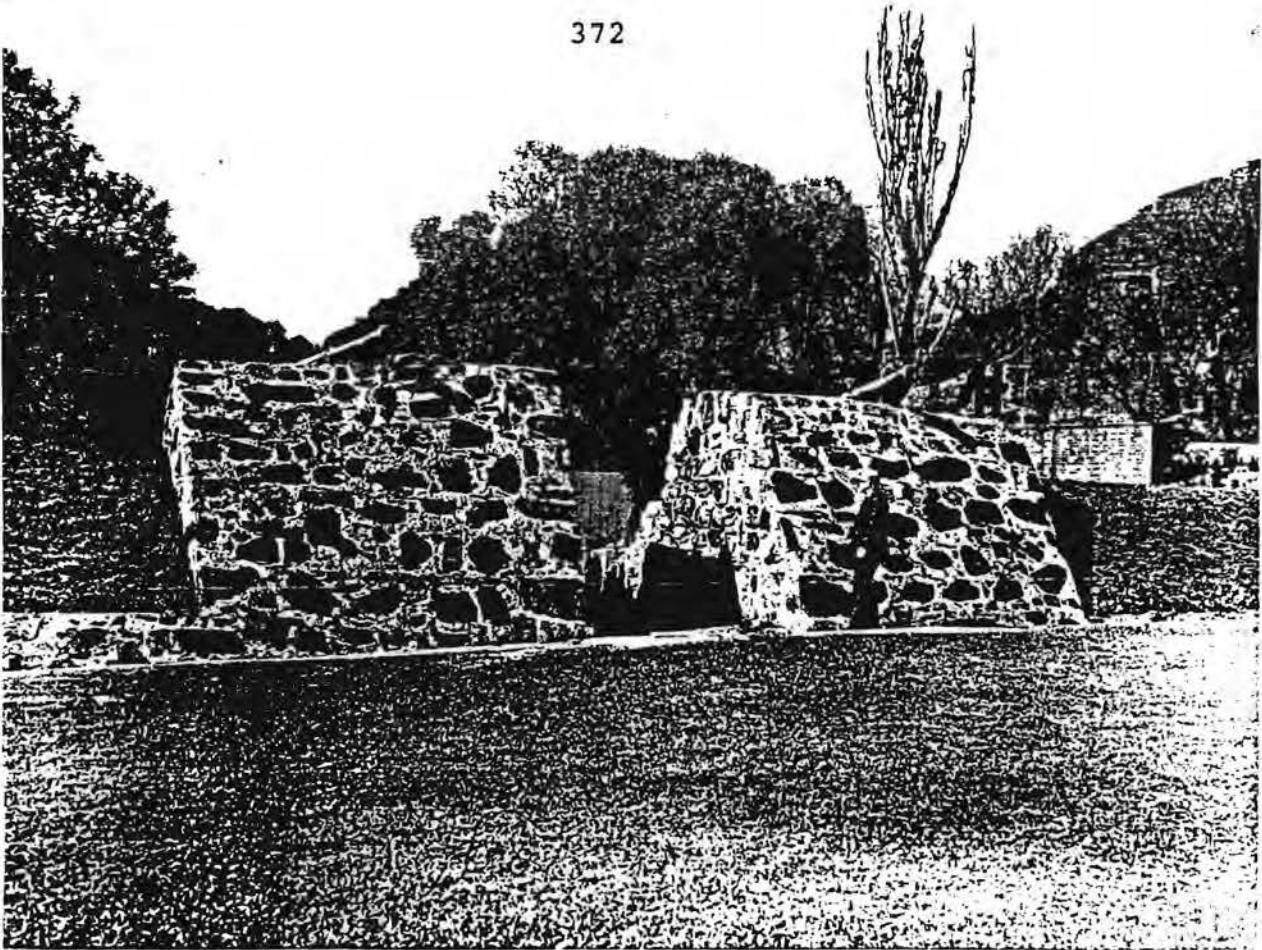


Fig. 255 Centre Redoubt, Trafalgar Park, Woodstock, Cape Town, ca 1960. (Cape Archives, A G.9526).



Fig. 256 Remains of a wall, encompassing the French Lines near the Hollands Redoubt, Woodstock, Cape Town, 1993.



Fig. 257 24-pounder cannon in the pavement in Woodstock, Cape Town, 1993.



Fig. 258 Muizenberg mountain side, remains of the British fort, 1993.



Fig. 259 Muizenberg mountain side, British survey beacon, dated 1844, photographed 1993.



Fig. 260 Bailey's Cottage, Muizenberg, British rampart walls, 1993.



Fig. 261 Hout Bay beach, by C. Webb Smith, ca 1830 (South African Library, Ref A.pic.Mend 19352 (i)).

APPENDIX

Table of forts and fortifications in the Cape Peninsula

Date	Table Bay	False Bay	Hout Bay
1652	Fort de Goede Hoop		
1666-1672	The Castle of Good Hope		
1715-1726	Chavonnes Battery		
1744-1745	Fort Knokke, Sea Lines Imhoff Battery		
1781-1783	French Lines, Coehoorn, Gordon, Kerkhoven Lines Amsterdam Battery, Roggebay, Groote and Kleine, Kyk-in -de-pot, Camps Bay, Kloof Nek, Nieuwe Batteries	North Battery = Zoutman South Battery = Boetselaar	West Fort East Fort Conway Redoubt
1793-1795	Intermediaire Battery	Kalk Bay Battery Muizenberg Redoubts	Klein Gibraltar
1796-1802	Craig's Tower and Battery King's, York and Prince of Wales Blockhouses, York Redoubt	Martello Tower in Simon's Town, Muizenberg batteries	East Fort Blockhouse
1803-1806	renovations and additions		
1811	Cradock Battery Wynberg Camp		
1827-1829	dismantling of most batteries		

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