

PATHWAYS TO THE PAST: TOURISM AND HERITAGE IN THE LITTLE KAROO

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

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ABSTRACT

The rapid growth of tourism, particularly heritage tourism, in South Africa is leading to a detrimental impact on heritage resources. Part of the problem lies in the lack of knowledge visitors have of the significance and vulnerability of the resources they are engaging with. Another part of the problem is the inherent conflict between the heritage tourism sector and the heritage management sector. Whilst sharing the same resource base, each sector has very different aims. Tourism seeks to exploit heritage resources, whilst heritage management seeks to conserve them.

These problems are not necessarily restricted to South Africa and the study of its nature and extent is here limited to the Little Karoo. The Little Karoo is defined in this dissertation as the area in the Western Cape bounded by the Langeberg and Outeniqua Mountains in the south, and the Swartberg in the north. It includes the towns of Montagu, Barrydale, Ladismith, Amalienstein, Zoar, Calitzdorp, Van Wyksdorp, Oudtshoorn, Dysselsdorp, De Rust and Herold. Of importance to this research is the fact that the Little Karoo can be accessed by a variety of passes, poorts and kloofs.

This study has been undertaken in order to explore a non-empirical solution to the problem of the human impact on heritage resources through their thematic interpretation and presentation. This research also aims to improve the relationship between the tourism and heritage industries by introducing a shared terminology in the form of a model or framework. This framework is a way of organising and presenting the heritage story in such a way that both heritage tourism and heritage managers (and other stakeholders) can understand.

The aim of the study is to devise a mechanism with which to identify, organise, interpret and present heritage resources in a thematic manner. The resulting thematic framework will hopefully enrich the heritage experience of visitors to heritage sites while providing guidance as to the vulnerability of heritage resources. A secondary objective is to develop common terminology for the heritage tourism and heritage management communities. The intent is to improve the relationship between these two sectors and thereby mitigate further damage to heritage resources.

Data for this study was collected from several empirical sources. Extant and primary data was accessed. Extant data came from the pertinent published sources, while primary data was collected via a combination of personal and group face-to-face semi-structured interviews and personal observation of heritage sites in the Little Karoo during 2003 and 2004.

The main outcome of this research was the development of a South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework (SAHTTF). The SAHTTF is, in part, based on and inspired by frameworks from the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa. There are three tiers within the framework: theme groups, themes and sub-themes. The framework is intended to be flexible and the

three tiers can be mixed and matched in whatever way best serves the story of the heritage resource in question. The five theme groups are: *Development of the environment*; *Peopling our land*; *Way of life*; *Governing South Africa* and *Developing South Africa*. The whole story of South Africa can be organised and presented using this framework. However, in order to keep this study within reasonable limits, the focus of the story was limited to the heritage story of the Little Karoo. The case studies of the Cango Caves, Cogmans Kloof, Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort tested the effectiveness of the SAHTTF.

It is recommended that the SAHTTF be presented to the heritage tourism and heritage management sectors for further evaluation and testing. This research has proved that the SAHTTF can be an effective tool in the identification, organization, interpretation and presentation of heritage resources.

OPSOMMING

Die snelle groei van toerisme, veral erfhistoerisme, in Suid-Afrika het tot gevolg dat erfnisbronne onder groot druk geplaas word. Die probleem is deels dat besoekers geen of weinig kennis dra van die kwesbaarheid en belangrikheid van die bronne waarmee hulle handel. Verder is die probleem die belangebotsing tussen erfhistoerisme en erfnisbestuur sektore. Toerisme verbruik erfnisbronne, terwyl erfnisbestuur poog om dit te bewaar.

Hierdie probleem is egter nie noodwendig eie aan Suid-Afrika nie en vir die doeleindes van dié studie word die omvang en aard daarvan slegs in die Klein Karoo ondersoek. Die Klein Karoo word beskou as die gebied in die Westelike Provinsie wat in die suide deur die Langeberge en Outenikwaberger en in die noorde deur die Swartberge begrens word. Dit omsluit die dorpe Montagu, Barrydale, Ladismith, Amalienstein, Zoar, Calitzdorp, Vanwyksdorp, Oudtshoorn, Dysselsdorp, De Rust en Herold. Die Klein Karoo kan deur talle passe, poorte en klowe bereik word – die belangrike feit wat in hierdie studie ontgin word.

Die navorsing is onderneem ten einde 'n nie-empiriese oplossing vir die impak van die mens op erfnisbronne deur tematiese interpretasie en voorstelling te vind. Dit beoog om die verhouding tussen die bedryf van erfhistoerisme en erfnisbestuur te bestendig deur gedeelde terminologie in die vorm van 'n model of raamwerk. Hierdie raamwerk bied 'n metode om die verhale van erfnis so aan te bied dat beide die bedrywings van erfhistoerisme en -bestuur begrip daarvoor kan ontwikkel.

Die doel van die navorsing is om 'n meganisme te vind waardeur die erfnisbronne op 'n tematiese wyse geïdentifiseer, georganiseer, vertolk en aangebied kan word. Hierdie tematiese raamwerk sal hopelik besoekers se ervaring van erfnisbronne verryk en leiding gee rakende die kwesbaarheid van terreine.

Data vir die navorsing is uit verskeie empiriese bronne versamel. Bestaande en primêre data is gebruik. Bestaande data was afkomstig van toepaslike publikasies en primêre data is versamel en ingewin via 'n kombinasie van individuele en groepsonderhoude deur middel van semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude, asook persoonlike waarneming van verskillende erfnisterrreine in die Klein Karoo tussen 2003 en 2004.

Die belangrikste opbrengs uit die navorsing is die ontwikkeling van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse Erfhistoerisme Tematiese Raamwerk (South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework – SAHTTF). Die SAHTTF is deels gebaseer op, en geïnspireer deur, soortgelyke raamwerke in die VSA, Australië, Kanada en Suid-Afrika. Daar is drie vlakke in die raamwerk: tematiese groepe, temas en sub-temas. Die raamwerk is aanpasbaar en die drie vlakke kan in enige kombinasie gebruik word om die verhaal of geskiedenis van die betrokke bron ten beste voor te stel. Die vyf

tematiese groepe is: *Onwikkeling van die omgewing*; *Bevolking van ons land*; *Lewenswyses*; *Regering van Suid-Afrika*; en *Ontwikkeling van Suid-Afrika*. Die hele erfnisverhaal van Suid-Afrika kan georganiseer en voorgestel word deur dié raamwerk. Ten einde hierdie navorsing hanteerbaar te hou, is op die erfnisverhaal van die Klein Karoo gekonsentreer. As gevallestudies het die Kangogrotte, Kogmanskloof, Swartbergpas en Seweweekspoort as toets vir die doeltreffendheid van die raamwerk gedien.

Die navorsing beveel aan dat die SAHTTF aan die beheerstrukture van erfistoerisme en erfnisbestuur voorgelê word vir verdere evaluering en toetsing. Die navorsing het bevind dat die SAHTTF 'n doeltreffende instrument kan wees in die identifisering, organisering, vertolking en voorstelling van ons erfnis bronne.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AHC	Australian Heritage Commission (Council)
ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
BMS	Berlin Missionary Society
BP	Before Present
CGH	Cape of Good Hope
CHAP	Colorado Heritage Area Partnership
CIIC-ICOMOS	Committee on Cultural Routes of ICOMOS
CMP	Conservation Management Plans
COM	Cape Overberg Meander
CTRU	Cape Town Route Unlimited
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DEH	Department of the Environment and Heritage
DSWA	Dry Stone Walling Association
EHLAB	Environment and Heritage Legislation Amendment Bill
EPA/QPWS	Environmental Protection Agency/Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service
EPBCA	Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act
ESA	Earlier Stone Age
FITs	Free Independent Travellers
GSSA	Geological Society of South Africa
HASG	Heritage Assessment Sensitivity Gauge
HCWA	Heritage Council of Western Australia
HTTF	Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Committee of Monuments and Sites
ICOMOS ICIP	ICOMOS International Committee on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage
KKNK	Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees
LANOK	Landelike Ontwikkelings Korporasie
LED	Local Economic Development
LSA	Later Stone Age
Ma	Million years
MSA	Middle Stone Age
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHL	National Historic Landmarks
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
NHSC	National Historic Sites of Canada
NHSP	National Historic Sites Policy
NHT	National Heritage Themes
NPS	National Parks Service
NSWHO	New South Wales Heritage Office
NWHO	Nordic World Heritage Office
PHRA	Provincial Heritage Resources Agency
SASA	South African Speleological Association
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAMS	South African Missionary Society
SKEP	Succulent Karoo Ecosystem Programme
TSA	Thematic Site Assessment
TWA	Tourism Western Australia
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

CONVENTIONS

A note on terminology. As Mitchell (2005) points out, no term is ideal when referring to southern Africa's indigenous hunter-gatherer peoples. Both 'Bushman' and 'San' carry potentially pejorative overtones. Nor is there consensus among the surviving communities themselves (Lee & Hitchcock 1998, cited in Mitchell 2005). The common English terms of 'Bushman' and 'Bushmen' are used in the text, while rejecting any racist or derogatory connotations that others may impute to them.

CHAPTER 1: HERITAGE TOURISM: CONCERNS OF CONSUMPTION

Research continually probes the particular interest in heritage and the connection people have with the past. As many people connect with the past through heritage tourism sites, it is appropriate to link heritage tourism with heritage resources and explore ways in which they might sustainably coexist. This introductory chapter commences by demonstrating some ways in which tension has come to exist between the needs of tourism industry and the effect its utilisation has on the heritage resource basis in South Africa. This real-world concern is subsequently translated to a coherent research problem, followed by the formulation of appropriate research aims and objectives, before overviews of the study region, research data and methods are presented to guide the reader.

1.1 DAMAGED GOODS IN THE HERITAGE TOURISM INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Tourism is a growing industry in South Africa, with vast potential for economic empowerment (Rogerson 2002a; WTTC 1999). The addition of heritage resources, particularly archaeological and historical sites, to the tourism stock of the Western Cape may enhance the local destination attraction package significantly. The tourism system comprises various actors, stakeholders (NWHO 1999) and attractions that can benefit from and impact on tangible heritage resources. These elements include the destination environment, tourism operators and entrepreneurs, tourists or visitors, the local community and policy makers of the host area (Glasson et al 1995). Heritage resources, as tourist attractions, form part of the host environment. The focus of the research is on historical and archaeological remains (as part of the heritage resource package) which are defined by the NHRA (1999:2ii) as material remains resulting from human activity ... which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures. In physical terms these archaeological remains are extremely vulnerable to destruction if not looked after carefully. As tourist attractions and as elements of cultural heritage, archaeological resources should be protected and preserved for future generations (Ashworth 1995).

Heritage resources are vulnerable to impacts because of their inherent physical properties (Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1984). These impacts, caused by various agents, such as increased volumes of visitors (Glasson et al 1995; Spennemann & Look 1994), can destroy a resource. To preserve heritage resources the agents of possible impact must be identified in order to facilitate intervention and prevent further damage. The greatest threat to archaeological resources lies in the lack of knowledge the general public have of archaeological heritage resources, of how to treat them and how to protect them (Deacon 1993; 1995). The answer to the problem lies in a sustainable approach to the management, interpretation and presentation of resources to the public, both local and

international.

Heritage resources, specifically archaeological in nature, have four possible agents of decay or destruction (Spennemann & Look 1994):

1. The inherent weakness of the archaeological resource – materials age and disintegrate;
2. Natural or taphonomic agents such as weathering, soil pH, abrasion and burning (Lyman 1994);
3. Biological agents like animals and plants, through trampling and root etching respectively; and
4. Human agents whose actions, direct or indirect, influence the integrity of the resource.

Intentional destruction is usually caused for economic gain, ideology or vandalism (Vinton 2002). Unintentional actions are usually in the form of neglect, poor conservation methods and incompetence. There is an evident lack of interpretation available regarding the correct management and presentation of heritage resources open to the public. All too often the resource is readily accessible without any form of guidance (e.g. guides, information boards). This leaves the visitor free to do whatever they wish. Spraying fizzy drinks on rock art to brighten the paint for a nice photograph is one example of behaviour that will ultimately destroy the rock art (Deacon 1993;1995).

The conflict between heritage tourism and heritage management poses a similar problem. In reality the two sectors share the same resource base (heritage resources), but their aims are very different. Heritage tourism seeks to consume, whilst heritage management seeks to conserve. Wurz & Van der Merwe (2005) define this relationship as one of peaceful coexistence or blissful ignorance (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). In general, the perception is that tourism exploits heritage resources without realising that this exploitation can destroy the very resource they depend on. As demands and pressure increase on the use of heritage resources as tourism products, so an answer to the inherent conflict between the consumption and conservation of heritage must be found. Legislatively, heritage resources fall under the national jurisdiction of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) or, provincially, Heritage Western Cape (HWC). These two agencies, the later still in its infancy, have limited resources and are not yet aware of all the heritage resources already being utilised as tourist attractions. Ideally a method is required for the interpretation and presentation of heritage items which can be used by both the tourism and heritage sectors.

It seems the greatest problem facing the sustainable utilisation of heritage resources is ignorance. The only answer to ignorance is education.

1.2 THE PROBLEM IN RESEARCH TERMS

A host of subsidiary research problems can potentially be isolated for study, but this research

focuses on the human agents or stakeholders who can impact on heritage resources either directly or indirectly (Spennemann & Look 1994) and specifically the means to resolve the conflicting demands between the heritage tourism and heritage management sectors. Two research questions can be derived to capture the essence for research from the problems described above:

1. What can be done to mitigate human impact on heritage resources?
2. What can be done to improve the relationship between heritage tourism and heritage management?

Whilst the issue of human impact is situated squarely in the real world or World 1 (Mouton 2001), the solution presented in this research is primarily set in the non-empirical World 2. World 2, according to Mouton (2001) is the arena of science and scientific research.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS

At the broad societal plane, this study has been undertaken in order to explore a non-empirical solution mitigating human impact on heritage resources through thematic interpretation and presentation. This research also aimed to provide an instrument to improve the relationship between the tourism and heritage industries through a shared terminology in the form of a model or framework. This framework is a way of organising and presenting the heritage story in a way that both heritage tourism and heritage managers (and other stakeholders) can understand. The use of the framework is demonstrated in a range of empirical case study applications to heritage resources in the Little Karoo.

The study broadly aimed to produce a means to educate both visitors and the tourism sector as to the significance of heritage resources. The mechanism to achieve this needed to be useful for the heritage management sector by guiding visitor behaviour through knowledge, by interpreting and presenting heritage resources in a thematic manner. The mechanism or framework derived at also needed to be the basis for common terminology between the heritage tourism and heritage management sectors.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In order to achieve the stated research aims, a series of clear research objectives were set to ensure that definitive research outputs or deliverables would be produced to discipline and guide the research process. These research objectives are clearly and sequentially reflected in the report contents and will be revisited in summary fashion in the final chapter of the dissertation. The objectives of the research were to:

- Isolate and define from literature the concepts relevant to the proper heritage tourism experience;

- Outline the guidelines for proper heritage resource management under tourism exposure;
- Explore international options for successful approaches to heritage interpretation and presentation
- From international models glean a workable model for application in South Africa;
- Apply the constructed model to three typical historical passes and a prominent natural attraction as heritage resources in the Little Karoo. Each resource would be extensively analysed as a substantive body of research.

This model will focus on how to identify broad themes for interpretation and presentation by exploring the heritage stories of the routes and passes of the Little Karoo. It is hoped that this thematic approach will create a more fulfilling experience for visitors, educate the tourism sector as to the true significance of heritage resources and bridge the divide between that sector and the heritage management sector.

It is the stories of the past that are the greatest link between heritage tourism and heritage resources. The stories are the intangible connection between two seemingly dissimilar industries, tourism and heritage management. At the root of heritage resources lie the stories, the places, the people and the times represented by the tangible resources tourists want to see and heritage managers wish to conserve. This study is essentially about telling the stories of heritage places in the Little Karoo.

1.5 THE LITTLE KAROO: A LAND OF VALLEYS, MOUNTAIN RANGES AND PASSES

The Little Karoo has been chosen as a representative region for heritage tourism and resources. The region is relatively underdeveloped, in terms of tourism infrastructure, when compared to the Garden Route or Cape Town. This means that heritage resources can be evaluated in a state before tourism has begun to affect them or in the early stages of commodification and tourism impact. This study is also about finding links. Links between tourism and resources, links between places of interest and links to the past. For this reason the use of the passes into, within and out of the Little Karoo is particularly fitting. In the case of the passes, they not only take the visitor between one place and another, they can also provide a link to the past through the heritage story they represent.

The Little Karoo, for this study, is physically defined by the mountains which bound it. To the north lie the Swartberg and Klein Swartberg and to the south the Langeberg and Outeniqua mountain ranges. Figure 1.1 illustrates this land of valleys, mountain ranges and passes. It is these mountains and the hill and valley topography of the interior regions which give the Little Karoo its particular character. The passes, poorts and kloofs that breach the mountainous isolation of the area

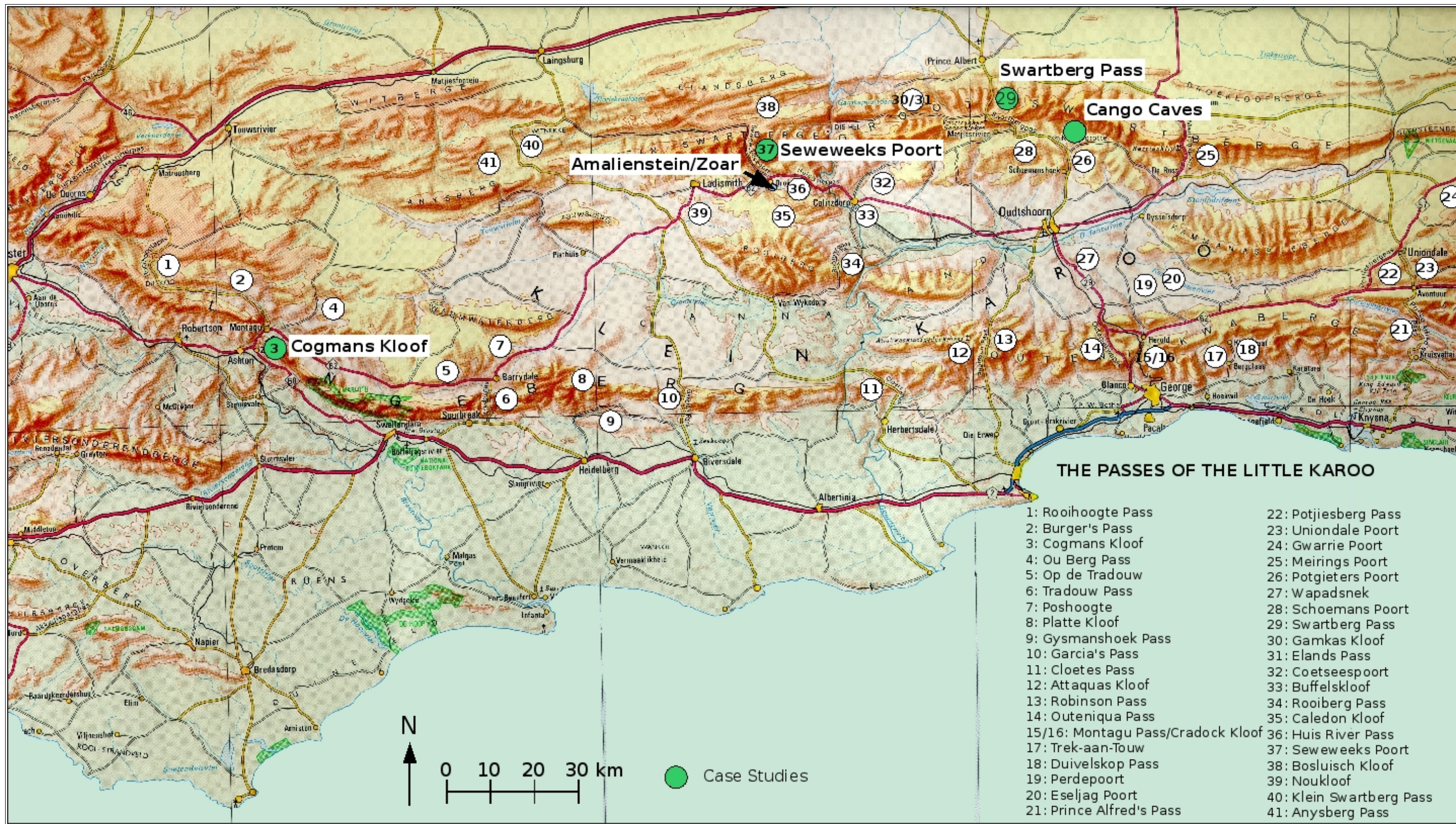


Figure 1.1 The Little Karoo and the location of its passes

Source: Chief Directorate of Survey and Mapping

tell the story of the evolution of the Little Karoo environment. These pathways are also the conduits by which people moved through the Little Karoo in ages past, and lived their lives. The modern visitor must pass through these pathways, not only to access the Little Karoo, but the past as well.

The term 'pass' is used generically, unless associated with a specific place. 'Pass' is defined after Ross (2002:xi) as pathways from one side of a mountain to the other, whether by following a river cut through the mountain or going up, over and down a mountain. Using this definition, 41 passes have been identified and are located on Figure 1.1. The overwhelming number and geographic distribution of the passes has meant that only four have been chosen to represent the heritage narrative of the Little Karoo: the Cango Caves; Cogmans Kloof; Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort (marked in green in Figure 1.1). Appendix A presents general information regarding the 41 passes, for example: whether the roads have tar or gravel surfaces, and if they are still in use.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research is empirical in nature as it deals with a real-world problem. The research is both explorative and descriptive (Babbie & Mouton 2003) as it covers a relatively new area (Little Karoo tourism and heritage resources) and describes the stories and physical condition of these resources. Primary data were collected through observation and interviews, and secondary data through existing data in the form of documents and articles. Figure 1.2 illustrates the research design in more detail.

1.7 FIELD SURVEY RESEARCH METHODS

The exploration of a new topic of interest (Babbie & Mouton 2003), in this case heritage and heritage tourism in the Little Karoo, involves the review of pertinent literature, surveying of the problem and an analysis of examples. This basic methodology was followed in this research. The survey component also incorporates a description of sites based on observation.

The case studies comprise an exploration and description of four sites: the Cango Caves, Cogmans Kloof, Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort. The Cango Caves was included as it is the most visited heritage site in the Little Karoo and a Western Cape and South African tourism icon. However, the main subjects of this study are the heritage resources found on the passes of the Little Karoo. The heritage resources range from the prehistoric to the historic, when written documents augment the archaeological record. Two aspects of the resources are examined: the intangible story imbuing the resource with significance and the physical remains. The stories are generally garnered from the literature whilst the physical remains are assessed in their natural field settings using systematic field observations.

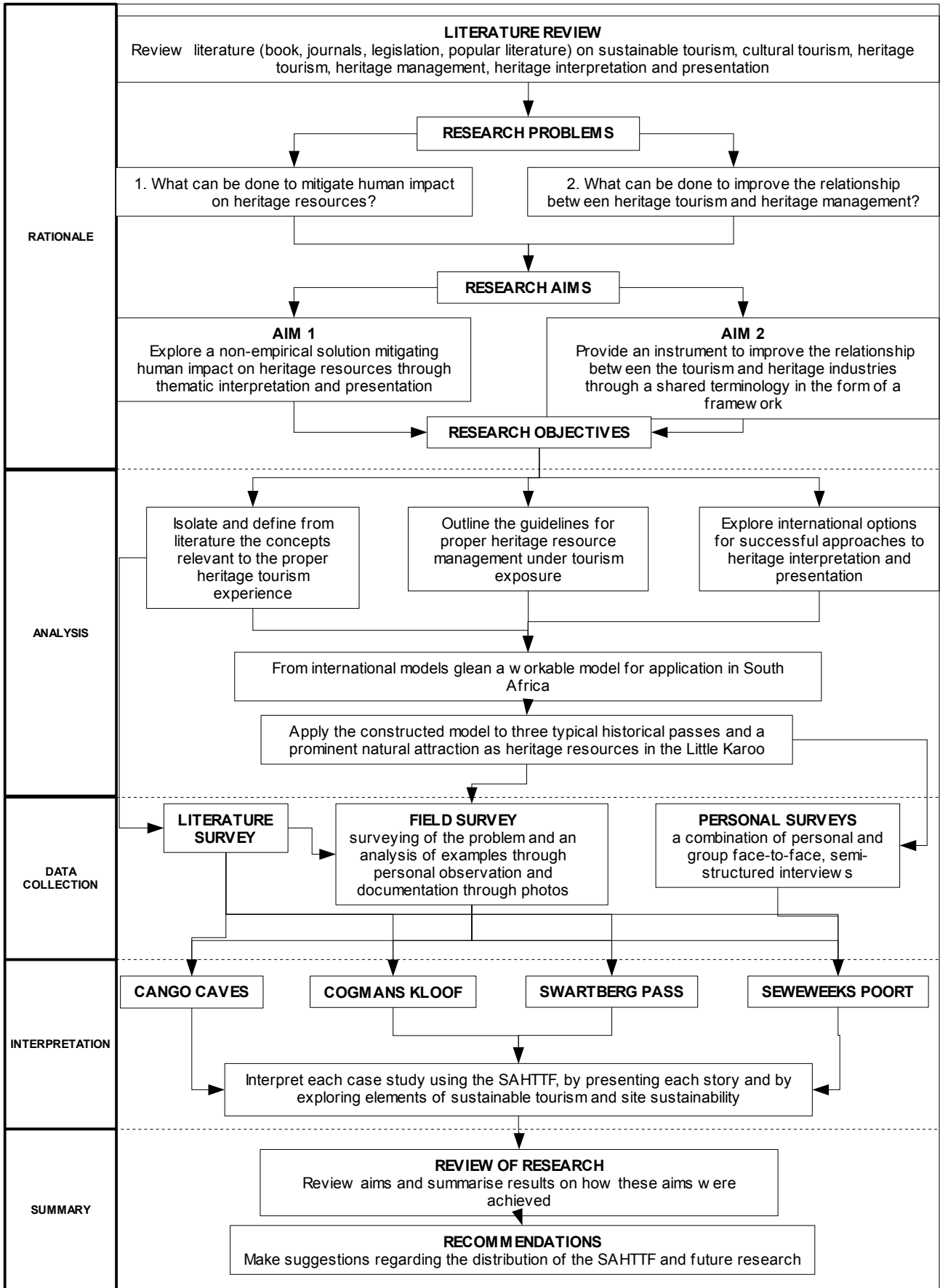


Figure 1.2 Research design

Investigation and assessment of the Cango Caves, Cogmans Kloof, Swartberg Pass, Seweweeks Poort, and other passes, took place over a period of two years during numerous field visits in 2003 and 2004. In preparation for a field survey as much secondary information about a pass was gathered as was possible. A literature review and 1:50 000 maps gave insight into the presence of heritage items and their possible locations. Unfortunately some of these items have already vanished into the mists of time or are so over-grown that they remain invisible. During field investigation, colour photographs were taken as a visual record of the physical state of heritage items, together with personally recorded observations on the resources and the surrounding area. Where possible photographs were compared to earlier records (either in the literature or archival) and notes as to the relative degradation of each resource were made. GPS positioning was attempted, but due to the enclosed nature of these locations was not successful.

Extant numerical data in the form of statistics and visitor numbers has been accessed from Statistics South Africa (2007), Tourism Cape Town (2007), CTRU (2007a) and the Cango Caves (Moos 2007, pers com).

1.8 PERSONAL SURVEY DATA SOURCES

The empirical data for this study was gathered from primary and secondary sources, as illustrated by Figure 1.3. Primary data came from surveys and case studies. The surveys were a

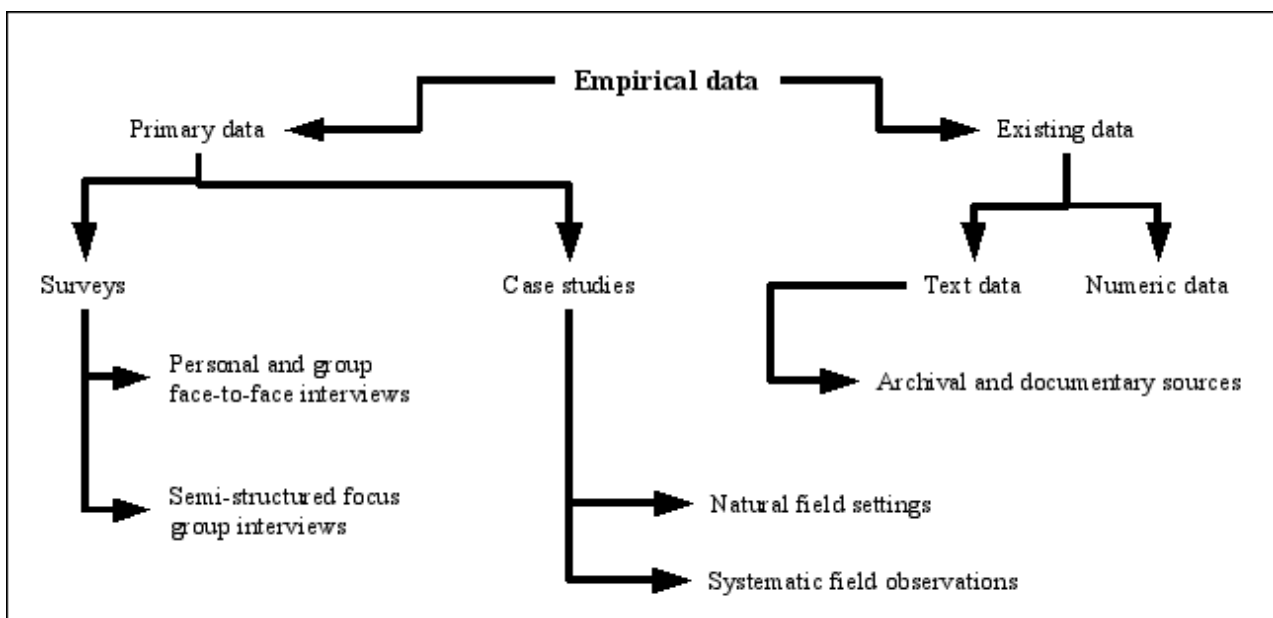


Figure 1.3 Data sources

combination of personal and group face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The interviews took place during a March 2004 survey, using a snowball or referral survey method (Babbie & Mouton 2003; Gray 2003; Hall 1999; Oishi 2003) in conjunction with fellow researcher C Rust. This method was chosen as it was a qualitative inventory survey involving a non-random, non-

probability technique aimed at specific people within the local community. The subjects selected had to meet certain criteria. In this case, an interest in the history and heritage of the Seweweeks region, or individuals that could relate historical events or family histories. Initially, individuals who met these criteria were interviewed. The aim of the interviews was to establish the impression people of Amalienstein and Zoar have of their heritage, both tangible and intangible, and their perception of tourism development in the area. In essence, the survey collected a sample of the oral history of Amalienstein and Zoar. Oral history has much to offer those involved in tourism research (AHC 2000; Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998; Trapp-Fallon 2002), as it offers opportunities for more researcher/researched interaction and participation. The advantage of conducting personal interviews is that the issues of the lives and experience of historically neglected groups can be articulated. Another advantage of personal interviews is that the researcher is able to give a voice to illiterate respondents.

Time and distance were two major constraints to overcome during the survey process. Time relates to both the duration of the interviews and the time it takes to get to an interview because of the distances involved. Distance relates to time and cost – especially transportation, lodging and sustenance expenses. Other costs were communication, whether from a land line or cell phone. Appointments needed to be made and confirmed and these logistical costs add up. As stranger to these relatively unsophisticated communities, the surveyor could not step into subjects' lives and expect them to immediately open up with their treasured memories. Trust had to be earned, and common ground created in order to make a connection. Making the first connection with the interviewees involves a shared language and heritage. The common language (Afrikaans) enabled easier communication and enhanced trust. The shared heritage often manifested in mundane aspects of life, from food, to stories, to cultural nuance. Once the connection was made, however, the trust evident, we could start asking about the past.

A few weeks before the survey was to start CapeNature, Gamkaberg, was approached to recommend individuals that would meet the criteria mentioned above. CapeNature, at least in the Seweweeks Poort region, enjoys a great deal of respect amongst the local communities. This has led to credibility by association with CapeNature. Apart from identifying some of the respondents, CapeNature also assigned two field rangers (C. Julies and W. Wagenaar) to accompany the survey team on two of the survey days. They served as a familiar, non-threatening presence and thus facilitated introductions. The initial respondents were asked to recommend or refer the researcher to other individuals who were then interviewed and asked for further informants. This snowball method continued until respondents were only providing the names of people already interviewed. Therefore the procedure did not necessarily yield a representative sample of the population but was

particularly useful when specific types of subject had to be targeted, resulting in a very small sample. Figure 1.4 demonstrates the feedback mechanism of a snowball survey showing how

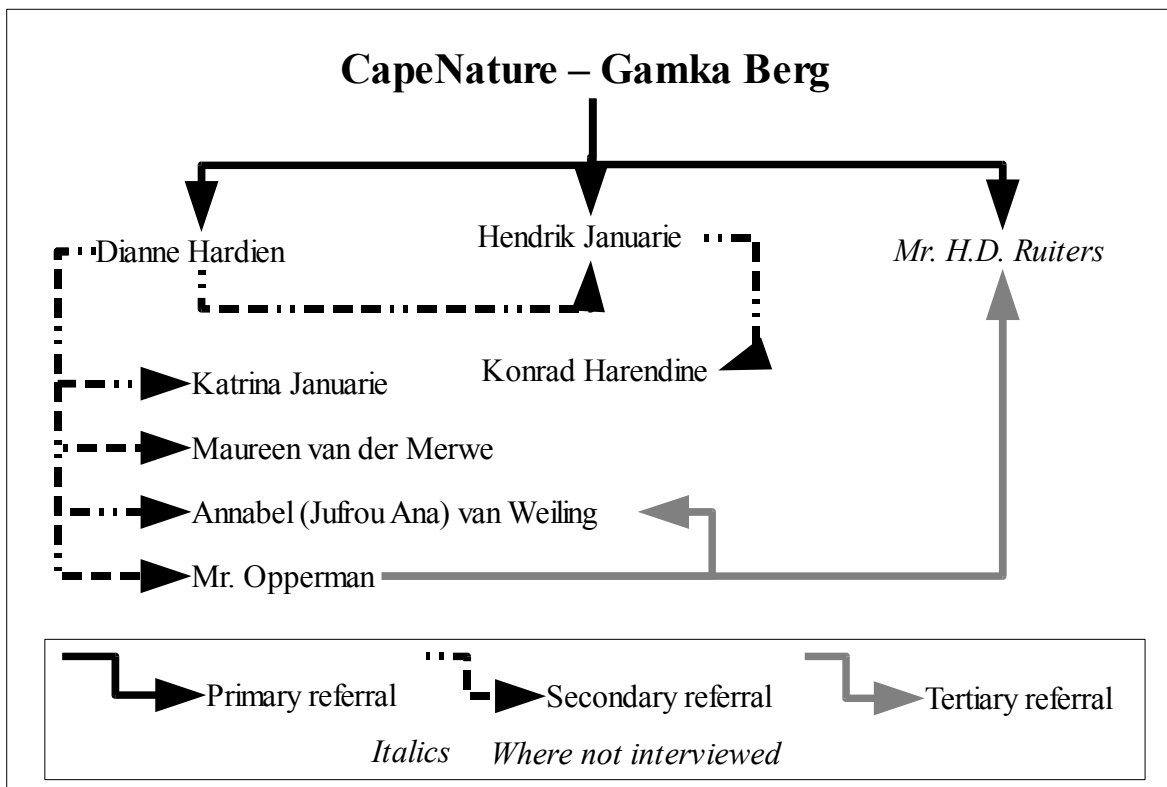


Figure 1.4 Diagrammatic representation of the snowball referral interviews

primary, secondary and tertiary referrals work. The following individuals, listed in Figure 1.4, were identified by the field rangers: Hendrik Januarie (Zoar) and HD Ruiters (Zoar). Dianne Hardien (Amalienstein) was recommended by Nico Jantjies of the Gouritz Mega Reserve Initiative. Hardien referred us to Hendrik Januarie, Katrina Januarie, Annabel van Weiling, Maureen van der Merwe, and Mr. Opperman. Hendrik Januarie took us to Oom Konrad (Konnie) Harendine (Zoar). Opperman then referred us back to Mrs van Weiling and Mr Ruiters.

1.9 REPORT STRUCTURE

Reflecting the research objects formulated, the discussion begins in Chapter 2 with an exploration of the basic concepts and foundations of heritage tourism. Heritage tourism has its foundations in sustainable and cultural tourism. However, it is the principles of heritage tourism which set it apart. The four principles: authenticity; learning experience; building partnerships, and conserving and protecting resources are discussed in this chapter. The present state of heritage tourism and management in the Little Karoo is examined.

Chapter 3 introduces the concept of a thematic framework. The use of three case studies from the USA, Australia and Canada illustrate the implementation of thematic frameworks in heritage

management and presentation. A draft thematic framework from SAHRA is modified for use in this study and made more broadly applicable to tourism. The general theme groups of *Development of the environment*, *Peopling our land*, *Way of life*, *Governing South Africa*, and *Developing South Africa* are introduced.

The Cango Caves (Chapter 4) are the most visited attraction in the Little Karoo. Though the primary attraction of the Cango Caves is the dripstone formations, the Caves have other heritage assets that are perhaps unknown to the general public and can best be explored by using a thematic framework. The theme group *Peopling Our Land* has been chosen as the primary theme group to tell the story of some of the various peoples that have inhabited South Africa. The narrative of the Caves includes evidence of human occupation during the last ice age. Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers left their mark in the form of rock art and archaeological deposit. The Khoekhoen herders, migrating after their sheep and cattle, left intangible remains in the form of the name of the valley in which the Caves are found – Cango. Dutch farmers, colonising the valley in the eighteenth century, rediscovered the caves. Above all, the caves tell the story of the interaction between different peoples within the Little Karoo.

The thematic framework of Cogmans Kloof (Chapter 5) provides the blueprint environmental narrative for most of the river-cut passes into the Little Karoo. The narrative explores the theme group *Development of the environment*, detailing the past landscape of the region using geological formations as heritage items. Yet the Kloof's heritage extends beyond its obvious natural beauty. The human legacy, hidden from most visitors as they speed along the road, has been formed as a consequence of the environmental heritage of the Kloof.

Swartberg Pass (Chapter 6) demonstrates the hidden narrative of the use of convict labour in building the Little Karoo's transportation and communication network within the theme group *Developing South Africa*. The Pass is also a celebration of an individual's contribution to the economic development of the region. In this case, builder Thomas Bain was more than an engineer, his hard work over forty-eight years, building passes, roads and railways was central to the peopling of not just the Little Karoo, but all of the Cape Colony.

Chapter 7 explores the story of a community's *Way of Life*. The communities of Amalienstein and Zoar lie at the foot of the Swartberg mountain range and at the entrance of Seweweeks Poort. Like many other rural communities, these people see tourism as a potential economic lifeline. Their traditions and stories relating to their long heritage and association with the region form the foundation of a potential heritage tourism product. By using a thematic assessment study framework, the traditions, stories and heroes of Amalienstein and Zoar can be identified, assessed and communicated to the public. Way of Life is not the only theme group to be explored within the

shadow of Seweweeks Poort.

The report is concluded in Chapter 8 in the normal fashion with a summary of research results, an evaluation of the research process and outcomes and some recommendations to the heritage industries and next generation of researchers.

CHAPTER 2: HERITAGE TOURISM AND ITS MANAGEMENT

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise heritage tourism and its management needs. This will be done by first defining various concepts regarding the concept of sustainability in cultural tourism as parent to heritage tourism. The discussion then moves to heritage tourism itself. Here working definitions of heritage and heritage tourism are presented. Central to this chapter is the identification of four principles; they are: authenticity in the heritage tourism experience; interactive involvement and learning through interpretation, themes and stories; building partnerships, and management to ensure resource protection and conservation. The four principles are illustrated with international and local examples. In particular local attractions, routes and towns from the Little Karoo are explored to determine if these principles are implemented on the ground.

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Sustainable tourism development as a concept derives from the general principle of sustainable development that seeks to guarantee intergenerational equity in resource use (NWHO 1999). At its heart sustainable development is about resource management (Godfrey 1996) as it recognises that whenever the earth's resource are used, some form of change will occur that may affect them detrimentally. Sustainable development is therefore about managing this change within acceptable limits. This is not to say that sustainable development is necessarily all good. The strength of sustainable development, whether in the tourism industry or elsewhere lies in its general application and as a catalyst for positive change (AlSayyad 2001; Burger 2000; Godfrey 1996). The weakness of sustainable development as management concept lies in its susceptibility to exploitation by governments and industry to justify or legitimise current activities or policies (Collins 1999; Godfrey 1996).

Sustainable development recognizes the principle that continuous development is necessary to improve the human condition (Brundtland 1987) and that a managed process of enhanced utilization of resources without increasing volumes of resource consumption and waste generation is needed. This is to ensure that the reasonable necessities of life of current society are met without compromising the needs of future generations. In turn the World Tourism Organisation (WTO 1998) defines sustainable tourism development as meeting the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. Sustainable tourism development is thus envisaged as leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems. Sustainable tourism develops in such a way as to minimise environmental impacts, whilst offering tourists experiences that do not exceed the

ability of a destination to provide those experiences consistently (Donert & Light 1996; NWHO 1999). Unfortunately the applicability of sustainable development principles for the industry is rarely questioned (Collins 1999; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Sharpley 2000). Sustainability terms like 'green', 'eco' and 'alternative' have glibly been used to justify commercial exploitation of sensitive areas without implementing sustainable principles (Collins 1999). Part of the problem lies in the lack of clarity or consensus concerning the meaning and objectives of sustainable development in tourism (Collins 1999; Donert & Light 1996; Godfrey 1996; Sharpley 2000). This may be addressed by incorporating both the use and conservation of resources within development plans (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Ideally, a well-thought-out sustainable approach recognises the complexity of alternative tourism resources like natural and cultural attractions. It also acknowledges the differing needs of stakeholders, differing levels of site carrying capacity and how many visitors an attraction can cope with sustainably, and that different resources have a varied appeal to tourists.

The WTO (1998:21-22) has developed several principles for sustainable tourism development:

- *Resource conservation*: The natural, historical, cultural and other resources for tourism are conserved for continuous use in the future, while still bringing benefits to the present society.
- *Impact containment*: Tourism development is planned and managed so that it does not generate serious environmental or sociocultural problems in the tourism area.
- *Environmental integrity*: The overall environmental quality of the tourism area is maintained and improved where needed.
- *Economic viability*: A high level of tourist satisfaction is maintained so that the tourist destinations will retain their marketability and popularity.
- *Socio-economic equity*: The benefits of tourism are widely spread throughout the society.

Whilst traditional mass tourism, the four S's of sun, sea, sand and sex (Boyd 2002; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003), still receive the lion's share of patrons, more and more people are attracted to sustainable, alternative or responsible tourism products (Donert & Light 1996; Godfrey 1996; Telfer & Sharpley 2008; WTO 1998). Resources such as eco- or cultural tourism, have been developed in part as the tourism industry's answer to the sustainable development movement and the perceived and potential negative impact of mass tourism on the host nation's natural and cultural resources. A further factor in the development of these alternative products is the seemingly growing number of tourists insisting on a responsible approach to tourism development as they become more environmentally sensitive, though there is little hard evidence to support this (Telfer & Sharpley 2008). It is difficult to quantify the responsible tourist as they, like the cultural or heritage tourist, discussed later, fit into many categories. For example, tourists seeking to participate in sports and

adventure whilst on holiday also tend to learn more about the history, culture and natural environment of their host nation (WTO 1998). However, according to Telfer & Sharpley (2008:147) “fundamental to the successful development of more appropriate forms of tourism is the need for tourist to act more sustainably, to become 'good' or 'responsible' tourists”. Responsible tourists, who share many characteristics of the cultural tourists set out below, are generally more environmentally aware; more quality conscious; more ready to reject passive, structured, mass produced package holidays in favour of more individualistic, authentic experiences.

The 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism (DEAT 1996) deems responsible tourism the most appropriate concept for the development of tourism in South Africa. Rogerson (2002a:35) identifies four key features of responsible tourism for tourism development in South Africa:

1. Responsible tourism implies a “proactive approach by tourism industry partners to develop, market and manage the tourism industry in a responsible manner, so as to create a competitive advantage” (DEAT 1996).
2. Within a responsible tourism framework, government and business are held responsible for the involvement of local communities that are stakeholders in the tourism product and attractions by developing meaningful economic linkages.
3. There is the implication that there is a responsibility to “respect, invest and develop local cultures and protect them from over-commercialisation and over-exploitation” (DEAT 1996).

Responsible tourism also signals a responsibility for local communities to become involved in tourism and to do so sustainably.

Two broad approaches to sustainable tourism development have emerged, namely an industry-wide approach and a niche market approach. The first approach is industry wide and includes mass tourism. Mass tourism to some destinations is inevitable (Godfrey 1996) due to the demand for the four S's. The most generic, sustainable approach to tourism would be to make the entire tourism industry sustainable. This appears to be far too daunting a task and the most common approach to ensure sustainable tourism development is rather product-based. This second product-based approach, and most relevant to this study, is where new niche market segments have been developed. Nature-based, cultural tourism, 'roots', health and religious niche markets have been identified by the WTO (1998) as sustainable, alternative approaches to mass tourism. Alternative tourism tends to be more specialist, operates on a smaller scale and is more sustainable than mass tourism (Donert & Light 1996).

2.2 DEFINING CULTURAL TOURISM IN SUSTAINABLE FORMAT

Cultural tourism can be researched and understood within the broader framework of sustainable tourism and aims to identify the type of attractions cultural tourists visit. Cultural tourists are not as easy to analyse or identify as the attractions they visit. The second part of this section examines two general cultural tourist typologies suggested by the literature, in order to clarify the potential cultural tourism market.

2.2.1 Definition and profile of cultural tourism

Cultural tourism is one of the sustainable alternatives to mass tourism. The demand for unique cultural experiences has grown in response to globalisation and the standardised products and services marketed by mass tourism (AlSayyad 2001; Herreman 1998; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003). As with sustainable tourism, cultural tourism has many definitions (Asplet & Cooper 2000; Herreman 1998; Richards 1996; Silberberg 2003). However a general definition maintains that cultural tourism involves the commodified consumption of all the tangible and intangible elements of culture that a society values (Herreman 1998; Richards 1996; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). For Richards (1996) the most distinguishing element of cultural tourism is the learning element as it separates the specific cultural tourist from the casual. Culture manifests in two ways (Asplet & Cooper 2000; Richards 1996): culture as process and culture as product. The *process* of culture is embedded in the codes of conduct, values and beliefs of a social group – the intangible. Cultural *products* are thus the tangible resources produced by particular social groups. The difference between cultural process and cultural product becomes less clear when applied to the motivations of cultural tourists as discussed in Section 2.2.3. For example, if culture as a process is the act of tourists seeking authenticity and meaning through their tourist experience then the values and beliefs of a society are transformed (commodified) into a tourist product which can be consumed.

Cultural tourism is generally approached in two ways (Richards 1996; WTO 2005). The first, a *sites and monuments* approach, concentrates on describing the types of attractions visited, the check list of cultural products or 'a hundred places to see before you die' approach. The WTO (2005) defines this product-based approach to cultural tourism as the movements of persons, essentially culturally motivated, such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art and pilgrimages. ECTARC (1989, cited in Richards 1996:22) and Asplet & Cooper (2000:308) list the types of attractions which appeal to cultural tourists: archaeological sites and museums; architecture (ruins, famous buildings, whole towns); art, sculpture, crafts, galleries, festivals, events; music and dance (classical, folk, contemporary); drama (theatre, films, dramatists); language and literature study, tours, events; religious festivals, pilgrimages; and complete (folk or primitive)

cultures and sub-cultures.

The second approach of tourists to cultural tourism is conceptual, which is defined by the *motive and meanings* attached by people to cultural tourism activities. This approach emphasises the learning experience of the tourist where they acquire knowledge about the history and heritage of others or about contemporary ways of life or thought (Richards 1996). The WTO (2005) definition for this approach is the movement of persons to satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experiences and encounters. However, as will be discussed below in Section 2.2.2, not all cultural tourists are equally, or as deeply, motivated by culture.

The profile of cultural tourists generally conforms to the following criteria (Blackwell 1997; Cluster Consortium 1999; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Prentice 2001; Silberberg 2003):

1. earns more money and spends more while on holiday;
2. spends more time in an area;
3. more likely to shop;
4. generally better educated;
5. includes more women than men; and
6. tends to be in older age categories.

This profile is similar throughout the world, including South Africa (Cluster Consortium 1999). Obviously this profile makes a desirable target market for anyone wishing to attract revenue to a destination. At the same time these tourists demand more from their destination due to their higher education and associated awareness of issues like sustainability. However some authors (Boyd 2002; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Silberberg 2003) also point out that most travellers participate in cultural experiences at some point during their holiday. Therefore, if any tourist visiting a cultural tourism attraction can be considered a cultural tourist, then the profile defined above must (only) constitute the very core of cultural tourism.

2.2.2 A typology of cultural tourists

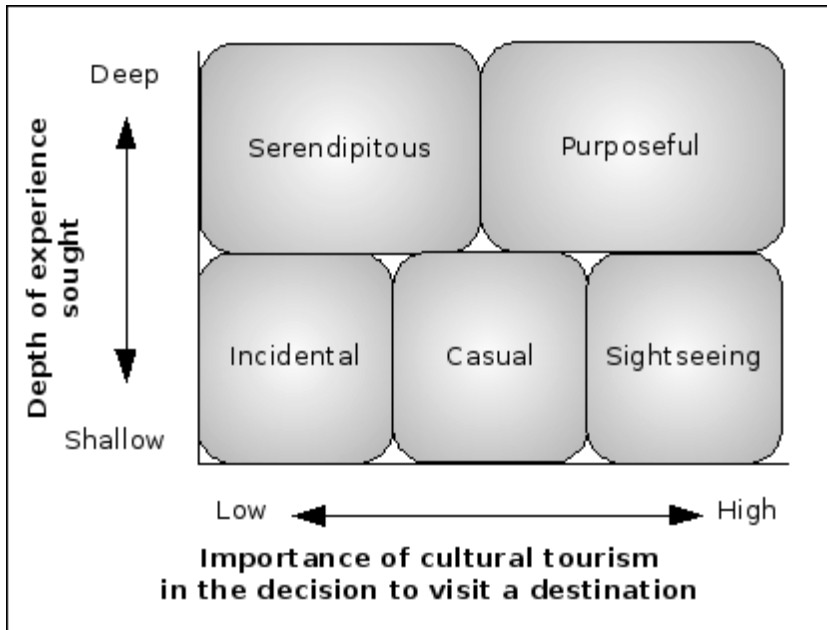
Cultural tourists are those people from outside the host community (but not exclusively), motivated wholly or in part by an interest in the historical, artistic, scientific lifestyle or heritage experience offered by a community, region, group or institution (Cuccia & Cellini 2007; Silberberg 2003). A cultural tourist can also be generally defined as someone who will visit a cultural or heritage attraction, a museum, or attend a performance sometime during their trip (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). This is a somewhat one-dimensional definition and does not take into account why

people want to experience culture or to what degree they are motivated to seek out these experiences. Poria et al (2001:1047), in line with the motive and meaning approach discussed above, advocate that cultural tourism should be approached as a “phenomenon based on tourists' motivation and perceptions rather than on specific site attributes”. This individual motivational approach, they argue, is more useful in order to understand cultural tourism and its marketing and management requirements.

So why are people motivated to experience culture? Some seek the nostalgia (Halewood & Hannam 2001; Li & Lo 2004; Palmer 2003) of another era or an ancient culture. These tourists tend to romanticise the past (Pritchard & Morgan 2001). Others want to experience the places that inspired favourite personalities like Winston Churchill (Palmer 2003; 2005); authors (Herbert 2001) like L.M. Montgomery (Fawcett & Cormack 2001; Squire 1996) or legends like King Arthur (Robb 1998). Some tourists are motivated to find their roots. These people are on a genealogical quest and often engage very intimately with their host environment (Każmierska 2002; McCain & Ray 2003). Still other people want to be informed about the culture and to experience the folklore and customs of rural settings. The rural tourist also participates in other activities such as nature, sports and festivals (MacDonald & Jolliffe 2003). Some people are motivated to travel for spiritual reasons (Murray & Graham 1997; Prentice 2001). By participating in pilgrimages these tourists fill a spiritual void (Martorell 2003; Rogerson 2001). To experience other cultures, particularly those perceived to be indigenous or ethnic is a growing motivation for some people to travel (Moscado & Pearce 1999; Notzke 1999; Rogerson 2001). Another motivating factor for cultural tourists is the desire to learn (Kerstetter et al 2001; Richards 1996) and is probably one of the greatest factors motivating all cultural tourists.

Two cultural tourist typologies are explored at length below and have been chosen to show how motivation to experience culture influences people in deciding which attractions to visit. This is a general approach to motivation and does not examine the type of attraction people are drawn to. It does investigate the degree to which culture is the major motivating factor in visiting a place. By defining who is most likely to visit a cultural attraction and how important culture is to them, marketing campaigns and management plans can be better focused on the correct sector of tourists. The first typology is based on the importance of cultural tourism and the second the degree of motivation to visit a cultural attraction.

McKercher & Du Cros (2002, 2003) have developed a cultural tourist typology based on the importance of cultural tourism in deciding to visit a destination and the depth of experience as illustrated by Figure 2.1. Culture as a motivation for visiting a destination ranges on a continuum from purposeful to incidental with experiences varying from deep to shallow, and the importance of



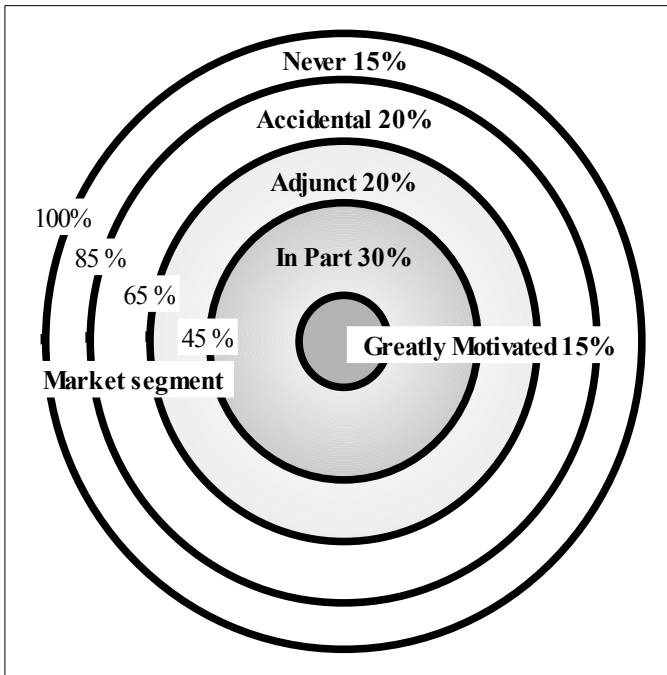
Source: McKercher & Du Cros (2002)

Figure 2.1 The importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit a destination

culture as an attraction from high to low. *Purposeful* cultural tourists see cultural tourism as the primary motivation for visiting a destination. They tend to have a deep, meaningful experience. The *sightseeing* cultural tourist also sees cultural tourism as a primary reason to visit a destination but their experience is more shallow. The *serendipitous* cultural tourist is not motivated to travel for cultural purposes, but when encountering culture has a deep experience. The *casual* cultural tourist has only a slight reason to visit cultural destinations and the resulting experience is equally shallow. Lastly, the *incidental* cultural tourist does not travel for cultural reasons at all, but accidentally participates in some cultural activities where the experience is shallow.

Two other similar studies (Poria et al 2004; Poria et al 2006) attempted to discern whether heritage tourism is motivated by the search for education and knowledge or a search for emotional experience. The different types of motives described in their research also has management implications. Different types of tourists with different reasons for visiting will need different visitor services. This will be discussed later. The study has identified three groups of heritage tourist: firstly, those people interested in the *heritage experience*; secondly those tourists interested in *learning history*; and lastly those people after a *recreational experience*.

The second typology suggested by Silberberg (2003) is based on the degree of motivation expressed by tourists to experience culture. He has identified five groups, depicted in Figure 2.2 from a hard core of greatly motivated tourists to those who will not partake in a cultural experience under any circumstances. *Greatly motivated* tourists travel specifically to experience culture in its different forms. In a study conducted by Silberberg (2003), he estimates that about 15% of the non-resident cultural tourism market can be defined as greatly motivated. Those tourists who visit an



Source: Adapted from Silberberg (2003)

Figure 2.2 The degree of cultural motivation for tourists and market segments

area *in part* to experience culture and in part to visit, for example, friends and family comprise 30% of the market. The main motivation for *adjunct* cultural tourists is non-cultural, but they will include cultural opportunities. These adjunct tourists represent 20% of the market. The *accidental* cultural tourists, comprising 20% of the market, do not intend to participate in a cultural experience but do so owing to circumstances. The last group is made up of 15% of the market and represents those tourists who will never attend a cultural attraction under any circumstances.

McKercher & Du Cros (2002) and Silberberg (2003) have shown that all types of tourists will be found simultaneously at any destination. They visit these destinations for different reasons and seek different experiences and have different degrees of cultural motivation. The core group of serious, highly motivated cultural tourists is actually only a small segment of the potential cultural tourism market. Figure 2.2 shows that by widening the attractiveness of cultural tourism products to appeal to greatly motivated/purposeful, in part/sightseeing and adjunct/serendipitous visitors a greater market segment from 15% to 65% can be exploited. This might be achieved by making the destination less specialised or more flexible in its presentation. This approach is supported by the findings of Poria et al (2004) and the three groups of tourists they identified.

2.3 HERITAGE TOURISM: DEFINITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS

The previous section has defined and placed cultural tourism in the context of sustainable tourism. The discussion now explores a particular kind of cultural tourism, heritage tourism, the focus of this dissertation. The concept of heritage is defined and expanded to contextualise heritage

tourism and the type of attractions commonly allied with it. The issues surrounding the consumption of heritage are also briefly addressed before the unique principles of heritage tourism are introduced at the end of this section.

2.3.1 Heritage defined

Heritage is one of those broad concepts (Deacon et al 2003) with many definitions (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). ICOMOS (1999b) defines heritage as including tangible resources (natural and cultural environments; landscapes; historic places; sites and built environments) and intangible resources (collections, past and continuing cultural practices; knowledge and living experiences). Heritage is therefore that which we have inherited, which means anything from historic buildings to artworks to beautiful scenery (Yale 1998). Heritage, in management terms, can be divided into two categories, natural and cultural (NWHO 1999). Natural heritage comprises places like scenic landscapes, special environments like deserts and coasts, or elements like wildlife sanctuaries, geological features or things in nature like flora and fauna (AHC 2001a). Cultural heritage (NWHO 1999) is the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. It is also an elusive term because it is so pervasive. Heritage is a very complex term (Boyd 2002; Graburn 2001; Phaswana-Mafuyu & Haydam 2005), loaded with connotations of identity, sense of place, values and a myriad other intangible concepts that are manifested in tangible objects and places. Heritage anchors peoples' cultural identity and gives meaning to life. In this study natural and cultural elements combine to form a holistic definition for heritage, where the natural environment is as important as the cultural.

This study regards heritage as an encompassing concept which people can become passionate about, that can stir the imagination as the following quote reveals:

“... heritage is an accumulation of daily details and large traditions. Built up from time and memory, it may involve one time, one of a kind, impossible to duplicate buildings, shrines, sites and artefacts. But more than structures, more than things, we experience an array of feelings, moods, colours, smells and street sounds. It is an accumulation of ethics, foods, medicine and manners; the way people greet each other, love, hate, marry and bury each other. It is the way people dress, drink, drive, dance, weep, weave, worship and go to war. It is their markets and market goods. And then it is the trees, rocks, caves, mountain tops, architectures, archives and archaeology. It is the land and the residents' sense of time, their sense of space and their story of creation” (Robertson Colleens (s.d.), cited in Cluster Consortium 1999:199).

Given the broad concept of heritage it has been necessary to narrow the focus of the research to highlight archaeological heritage and its tangible and intangible manifestations.

2.3.2 Heritage tourism defined and contextualised

As with sustainable tourism and cultural tourism, defining heritage tourism is a challenge. As a daughter to cultural tourism, heritage tourism is concerned with the experience of the historic dimensions of cultural attraction which have associations with the past (AHC 2001a; Blackwell 1997; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; NWHO 1999; Strauss & Lord 2001; Poria et al 2001; Yale 1998). More cynically heritage tourism can be seen as a post-modern nostalgia industry, exemplified by the preservation of the past (Prideaux 2002a) where 'heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing, into a commodity' (Herbert 1995, cited in Leighton 2007). Heritage tourism is more than a 'nostalgia industry' and encapsulates more than merely the cultural past. Conceptually heritage tourism encompasses natural and cultural heritage, oral traditions and a sense of place within the landscape.

Heritage tourism, in this study, follows the working definition of the Cluster Consortium (1999:199) as tourism "...where there is a story or interpretation. It is about creating an experience". Heritage tourism is travel that allows visitors to experience the places and activities that they perceive to be authentic and representative of the stories and people of the past (National Historic Trust cited in Gibson & Evens 2002). Heritage tourism is also more than tourism based on the past (Boyd 2002). The past, for heritage tourism purposes is packaged, commodified by a society, presenting only those elements considered suitable for the tourist's gaze. Heritage tourism, from a holistic product-based approach (Blackwell 2003; Boyd 2002; CHAP 1999; Deacon et al 2003; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Kent & Elliot 1995; Li & Lo 2004; MacDonald & Jolliffe 2003; NWHO 1999; Powell 1999) is the desire to learn about the history and lifestyle of a region by visiting natural, cultural and historic attractions such as nature reserves, museums, galleries, cultural festivals and special celebrations, listening to local music, touring archaeological sites, sampling ethnic cuisine, watching local crafts demonstrations, viewing arts performances or driving down a scenic highway, which highlight a nation's identity.

Heritage attractions overlap a great deal with those of cultural tourism, which is only to be expected as heritage tourism is a niche segment within cultural tourism. Boyd (2002: 213) identifies four types of heritage tourism: *natural heritage* – for example areas of outstanding natural beauty such as Yellow Stone National Park; *cultural heritage* – the fashion, dress and customs of a people; *industrial heritage* – elements of a region's past that influenced its growth and development; and *personal heritage* – elements of a region that have value and significance to individual people or groups of people. Nagle (2000) expands the typology of heritage tourism to include nine types of

heritage attractions. *Natural history and science attractions* – nature reserves and trails, zoos, wildlife parks and technology centres; *agricultural and industrial attractions* – places like working farms, quarries, mines, factories, breweries, distilleries, museums of industry; *transport attractions* – transport museums, working steam railways, canals, docks, preserved ships, aircraft displays; *sociocultural attractions* – including historic sites, museums of rural or industrial life, museums of costume; *built attractions* – stately homes and religious buildings; *military attractions* – castles, battle fields, naval dockyards and military museums; *landscape attractions* – historical town and village scapes, national parks, heritage coastlines and seascapes and geomorphological or geological sites, caves, gorges and waterfalls; *artistic attractions* – galleries, theatres, concert halls and art festivals; and *attractions associated with historic figures* – home or working places of writers, artists, composers, politicians, military leaders or leaders of popular culture. This typology is quite exhaustive and covers the spectrum of heritage attractions. *Rural heritage* attractions overlap with these typologies, by including events, nature and built attractions (Prideaux 2002a). South Africa is a country rich in these heritage attractions.

Heritage tourism is one of the fastest growing tourism segments (Tabata 1999; Waitt 2000). If most tourists are at some point of their visit cultural or heritage tourists then the general statistics of visitors to South Africa can be applied to these niche markets. 8.4 million people visited South Africa in 2006 (Indaba 2007; SouthAfrica.info 2007; Tourism Cape Town 2007). The Western Cape, one of the most important tourism region (Cornelissen 2005), has eight of the ten top national tourist attractions listed by tourists and has consistently attracted more than 50% of these visitors to the V&A Waterfront, Table Mountain, Cape Point, the Wine Route, Kirstenbosch and the Garden Route. The Western Cape attracted 1 591 648 foreign visitors as well as its fair share of domestic visitors (3 million) (CTRU 2007a). The visitor numbers to the Little Karoo is of particular interest in this thesis, but it is difficult to gauge the exact number of visitors to this area, due in part to the identity crisis the region experiences as discussed later. The Cango Cave visitor figures provide the best available indication – this top attraction to the Little Karoo registered 230 532 visitors in 2006 (Moos 2007, pers com) of which 48.89% were foreign.

Foreign and domestic visitation combine to contribute to the development of heritage attractions in the Western Cape, while at the same time increasing the impact on the heritage resources. Many reasons have been given for this trend, but amongst others there is an increasing awareness of heritage coupled with greater affluence, leisure time and mobility (Waitt 2000). The number of 'Free and Independent Travellers' (FITs) is growing in step with heritage tourism as these tourists seek out their own activities, free of the constraints of mass tourism. FITs develop their own customised itineraries, determined by their special interests (Tabata 1999).

2.3.3 Heritage consumption

According to Graham et al (2004:31) “heritage – variously defined – is the most important single resource for international tourism”. This places it in a good position to lead local economic development (LED). Many countries (Agarwal et al 2000; Teo & Yeoh 1997; Rogerson 2005), including South Africa (Binns & Nel 2002; Ferreira 2007; Rogerson 2002a, 2002b), have come to see tourism as a 'passport to development' (Dann 2002:236, cited in Binns & Nel 2002), where the exhibition of local culture and environments brings in foreign exchange. Though not, as some governments like to presume, a universal panacea to socio-economic ills, tourism can form part of a strategy that can redevelop towns and regions (Binns & Nel 2002). Led by tourism development, LED is an acknowledged approach to development and redevelopment world-wide (Agrawal 1999; Binns & Nel 2002; Rogerson 2002b). LED aims to encourage economic growth and diversify the local economic base. In particular, job creation is targeted, as tourism's ability for job creation is significant (Binns & Nel 2002). In situations of economic decline/collapse (Agarwal 1999; Binns & Nel 2002; Ferreira 2007; Rogerson 2002b, 2005) where the end of traditional economies like mining, manufacturing and fishing have meant the loss of livelihoods, tourism can step into this vacant space, helping to diversify the economic base. This often means the literal transformation of space from production (e.g. farming) to consumption (i.e. tourism) (Liburd 2002). A good example of this is the case of Still Bay, where the traditional fishing economy collapsed and has through a great deal of planning been replaced by tourism as the primary economic driver of the town (Binns & Nel 2002; Rogerson 2002b).

Tourism spaces can be defined as socially meaningful places of consumption (Liburd 2002) rather than production-based growth and development (Rogerson 2002b). Consumption of space has the implication of place commodification (Shaw et al 2000), where resources have been packaged for consumption. Heritage tourism spaces are thus places of consumption which are arranged and managed to encourage the consumption of experiences (Graham et al 2004). According to Davidson & Maitland (1997, cited in Rogerson 2002b) there are three ways in which localities can become recognised as tourism spaces. Many localities are discovered by entrepreneurs or developers with an eye for opportunities. In the developed world many places have become tourism spaces almost against their will due to the increased mobility of tourists and the never-ending quest for new authentic experiences. Lastly, some tourist spaces emerge out of necessity as tourism development is driven by economic imperative to create new economic opportunities in the vacuum left by the decline of traditional economies.

Newly created tourism space can be incorporated into the tourism system in two main ways: Firstly, by the tourism industry giving much more powerful meanings to its products by associating

them with particular places and themes. The second approach involves the ways in which particular attractions are associated with or assimilated into a tourism product (Shaw & Williams 2004). Heritage resources are generally commodified by two tourism producers (Graham et al 2004). The first operates on a broader level and aims for regional regeneration and employment. The second on a more micro level, where their own bottom line is the most overriding objective. Capital from these producers, seldom, if ever, finds its way back to the heritage resource itself. And yet the heritage resource needs to be economically viable to support its continued existence. This is why concepts like sustainable and responsible tourism have been so enthusiastically adopted by heritage managers. For Graham et al (2004) there are three basic conditions for sustainable heritage resources: Firstly, the rates of use of renewable heritage resources must not exceed their rates of generation: in one sense, all heritage resources are renewable as they can be continually re-interpreted. Their physical fabric is however, a finite resource. Secondly, the rates of use of non-renewable physical heritage resources should not exceed the rate at which sustainable, renewable substitutes are developed, for example replication. Unfortunately, here the issue of authenticity come into play. Lastly, rates of pollution emission associated with heritage tourism should not exceed the assimilated capacity of the environment.

In the case of heritage tourism, resources are packaged and presented to tourists in ways which can lead to questions about authenticity. This debate is dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter. As part of the packaging process or mediated consumption (Ooi 2002) of heritage resources interesting and significant local cultural elements are pointed out to tourists. Selected intangible cultural meanings and interpretations are enhanced and introduced into the tourism package. The presented cultural elements are shown to be real and authentic in varying degrees, in association with the local society, with authenticity reaffirmed experientially by tourists. Graham et al (2004) point out that in its extreme, the economic commodification of the part will so trivialise it that the process can ultimately result in the destruction of the heritage resource which is, after all, heritage tourism's *raison d'etre*. A cynic might say that the past is transformed from its authentic local roots to a piece of nostalgia sold to fuel the local economy. The packaging process of heritage involves the interpretation of the past often using themes, sign and symbols to communicate concepts (Shaw & Williams 2004). Often the themes chosen by a destination are what really sets it apart from similar places.

Heritage tourism is playing an increasing role in LED where places identify their natural and cultural resources then package and market them to attract visitors. Such place marketing strategies are the key feature of tourism led LED (Teo & Yeoh 1997). For successful tourism spaces, and therefore a successful LED strategy, several factors must come into play. The place must have a

portfolio of resources on which to base their tourism product. The places must also be linked to the process of 'locality development' (Helmsing 2001, cited in Ferraira 2007) and must be effectively planned and managed. Also imperative to the success of tourism led LED is the degree to which the place can market their identity or brand. Specialised products like beverages, food, local crafts, etc. can be both a draw card to the area and a means of establishing community pride (Ferreira 2007). Ideally tourism led LED strategies in rural areas lead to increased employment, increased income and a better standard of living. However, as Agarwal et al (2000) point out, such an approach is not without its criticisms. In some cases large farms monopolise the benefits, there is a high degree of dependence on urban markets and over-commodification to the detriment of the rural economy and communities.

In a case study examining the small towns of the Western Cape (Ferreira 2007) identified several factors which are detrimental to successful tourism development. So, although many of these towns possess an abundance of resources, some failed in their tourism endeavours. Some of these factors include: strong local and national competition; service provision is lacking; all too similar attractions, diluting marketability (seen one, seen them all). Most of the towns have not made the shift from production to consumption space, remaining local service centres for agriculture rather than hospitality centres. A failure to build networks between towns and therefore a more comprehensive portfolio is another detrimental factor to tourism development. Such networking can lead to the development of route tourism initiative, which is discussed later in this chapter.

In summary, heritage and heritage tourism are central concepts to this research. Heritage can be seen as those aspects of our past and present, tangible and intangible, that we consider significant. Heritage tourism can play an important part in the economic regeneration of towns and regions. At its root heritage tourism is about conveying those packaged significant stories so that a wider audience can experience them. So how is heritage tourism, as opposed to cultural tourism, able to sustainably tell those stories?

2.4 CONDITIONAL PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL HERITAGE TOURISM

At first sight heritage tourism mirrors cultural tourism. So what makes heritage tourism different from cultural tourism? It is the principles of heritage tourism that set it apart as a distinct sector of cultural tourism. The conditional principles (Boyd 2002; Cotter-Evens 1997; Jamieson 2000) of successful heritage tourism are:

1. Ensuring authenticity and quality of experience;
2. Provision of a learning environment through interaction and involvement;

3. Building partnerships; and
4. Conserving and protecting resources.

The following subsections deal with these principles and related issues separately, allowing some overlap between the different principles. Authenticity and experiential tourism cover the first principle. The provision of a learning environment is explored through themes and interpretation. Heritage route tourism brings together the first two principles and introduces the partnership building inherent to route tourism. The last principle of conserving and protecting resources is dealt with under the heading of heritage tourism management.

These principles are also used to analyse the heritage tourism of the Little Karoo with Route 62 as the core attraction. Where applicable other attractions not on Route 62, but within the Little Karoo, are described. Many cultural tourists seem to be on a mission to find a new identity by experiencing another culture (Prentice 2001). This identity crisis is a common motivation for travel. The identity crisis is shared by the Little Karoo – a region without agreement on where it begins and ends. For example the town of Montagu lies in the Breede River Municipal district whilst it is marketed as part of the Cape Winelands (Cape Tourism 2005; CTRU 2007b). Barrydale is part of the Overberg tourism district (CTRU 2007b). Oudtshoorn is marketed as part of the “GARDEN ROUTE LITTLE KAROO”. Here the relative size and positioning of the two phrases is an example of the relative importance of the regions, where the Little Karoo is generally perceived to offer less than the Garden Route (Tourism Cape Town 2007:1).

2.4.1 Authenticity and the heritage tourism experience

Earlier experience was discussed as part of the motivation why people visit cultural or heritage attractions. Here experience is reviewed within the debate on authenticity. Authenticity and experience are two central elements of heritage tourism and form the basis of its first conditional principle. Below, authenticity and its experience are defined before Route 66 and the Little Karoo are compared in terms of the heritage experience.

2.4.1.1 Authenticity defined

The heritage tourist is on a quest for an authentic experience of the past (Cohen 1988; Crang 1996; NWHO 1999; Tabata 1999; Waitt 2000). This quest reflects the perceived inauthenticity of the modern world in the throes of globalisation (Harkin 1995; Nagle 2000). The modern world and globalisation have led to a degree of anonymity or alienation for the individual and for culture (Cohen 1988; Lane & Waitt 2001; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Taylor 2001; Waitt 2000). This in turn has led to the abandonment of authenticity in the quest for progress and technology. Many people now seek out a new identity, personal or national (Jones & Smith 2005), and authenticity by

'visiting' the past. The past or pre-modern society is thought, by the alienated modern tourist, to be pristine, natural, untouched by modernity. This perception of the past or exotic destination as having authenticity has given rise to the idea that authenticity exists in space and time (Lane & Waitt 2001; Taylor 2001). Geographic (space) and temporal (time) authenticity suggests that the visitor is enabled to shift an exotic or 'other' place back in time by making that place part of the perceived pristine past and therefore authentic.

At the heart of the debate on authenticity in tourism is the issue of commodification. Inherently tourism, its products and attractions are commodified for the consumption of tourists. In heritage tourism this means a process where traditions, rituals and ways of life are packaged, imaged and transformed into marketable products (Chronis 2005; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Robinson 2001). For MacCannell (1973) this means that as all tourism attractions are packaged, they are therefore all contrived and lack authenticity – they are staged authenticity. If that is the case then a heritage tourist can never have an authentic experience. This is a somewhat harsh view.

Others (Cohen 1988; Robb 1998; Upton 2001; Waitt 2000) suggest that authenticity exists along a continuum from 'false' to 'real' experiences. Mass tourism represents the false experience and backpacking the real experience (Lane & Waitt 2001). Even within heritage tourism some individuals are less concerned with authenticity and will accept as 'authentic' a heritage product which a more discerning heritage tourist, applying stricter criteria, will reject as 'contrived' (Cohen 1988; Upton 2001). Tangible or product-based authenticity criteria might include judging resources or experiences based on uniqueness, originality, workmanship, cultural and historical integrity and aesthetics or function (Halewood & Hannam 2001).

There is a third approach to authenticity – a negotiated authenticity (Chronis 2005; Cohen-Hattab & Kerber 2004; Fawcett & Cormack 2001; Goulding 1998; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Lane & Waitt 2001; Robb 1998; Upton 2001; Wang 2007; Waitt 2000). Traditional definitions of authenticity include words like accurate, genuine, real, true or actual. Following this definition, authenticity can only ever be staged (MacCannell 1973). The continuum approach which has at either end true or false, depends on an absolute, autonomous reality against which knowledge can be tested (Waitt 2000). However, in a post-modern world there can be no absolute reality. The experiences marketed and consumed in heritage tourism constitute only a partial and selective interpretation of the past produced by a variety of planners, entrepreneurs, marketing agents and interpretive guides. Authenticity is not an absolute to be received, but rather a social construct to be negotiated by visitors and place. Thus negotiated authenticity is better defined in existential or self-oriented terms – authenticity is in the eye of the beholder. This last, subjective, authenticity is the favoured definition for this study.

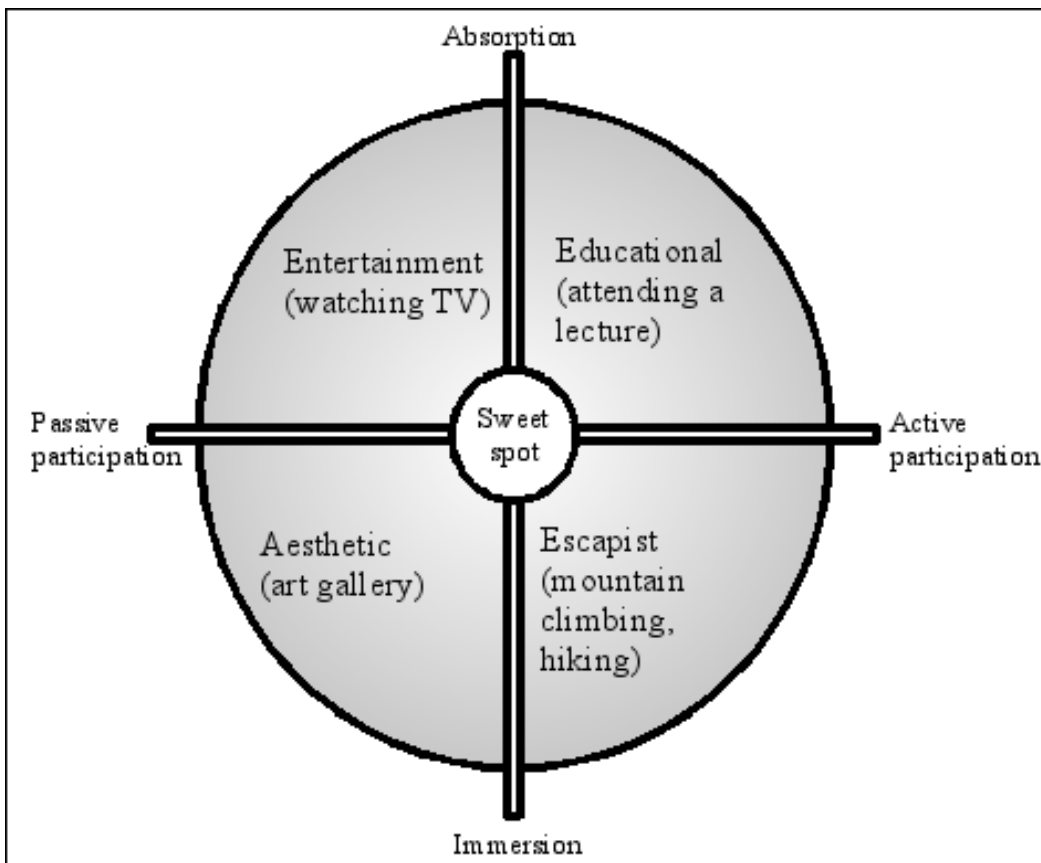
2.4.1.2 Authenticity in heritage experience

The other part of the equation in authenticity is the experience of it. Experience ideally adds a comprehensive living adventure to the short time tourists have available while on holiday (Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003). Experiential tourism (Leighton 2007; Prentice 2001) is the accumulation of experiences rather than the acquisition of knowledge. Individuals' capacity to have a deep experience is affected by a wide array of factors which include time availability, prior knowledge of the destination, whether they have a cultural affinity with the heritage resource or not and their level of education (McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Prentice 2001). Even the four S model can be classed as experiential. However, the paradox of the authentic tourism experience lies in the fact that the experiences are designed, intentionally produced or staged, organised, foreseen, calculated and priced (Hayes & MacLeod 2005; McKercher & Du Cros 2002) in order to facilitate the heritage tourism activity. This is because the heritage tourist is still limited by time, money and the possibly once-off nature of their visit. The heritage tourist wants a quality experience that can fit these restrictions and this sometimes means that authenticity is compromised (McKercher & Du Cros 2002).

Waller & Lea (1999, cited in Prentice 2001) suggest that there are four dimensions which facilitate the authentic tourism experience. The greater the direct contact at the destination with the culture, the greater the perceived authenticity. The fewer the number of visitors at a destination, the more authentic the experience is perceived to be. The more independent the traveller, the more authentic the experience. The greater the extent to which the experience conforms to stereotypes of a country's landscape, climate and culture, the greater the perceived authenticity.

The desire for experiences is not limited to the tourism sector, but is becoming the fourth economic offering (Pine & Gilmore 1998) added to extraction, production and services. In today's world services are being re-packaged as experience (Hayes & MacLeod 2005; Pine & Gilmore 1998). Four types of experiences have been identified by Pine & Gilmore (1998). These experiences are entertainment, education, aesthetic and escapist. While widely applicable to other sectors, they are particularly relevant to the tourist experience (Hayes & MacLeod 2005). Figure 2.3 shows that the categories fall into quadrants according to the degree of active or passive participation or degree of absorption or immersion (Pine & Gilmore 1998; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003).

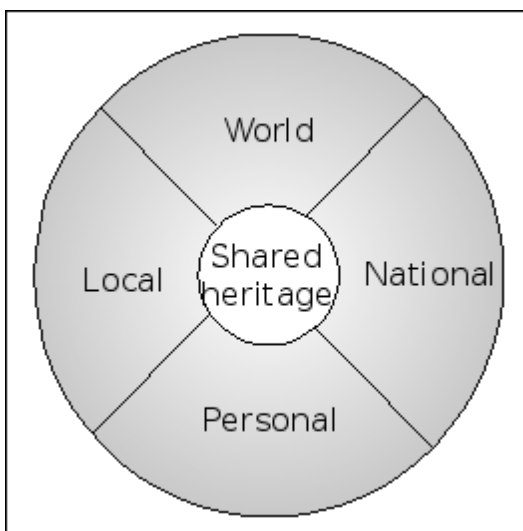
Hayes & MacLeod (2005) use the following examples to illustrate each quadrant. Mountain climbing is an experience which fully immerses the participant and involves active participation and therefore falls into the escapist realm. Visiting an art gallery on the other hand, whilst also completely absorbing, is a passive activity and so falls into the aesthetic realm. Attending a lecture falls into the educational realm, since participant and lecturer are both absorbed and active.



Source: Adapted from Pine & Gilmore (1998); Stamboulis & Skayannis (2003)
 Figure 2.3 The four realms of cultural experience

Watching television is absorbing but passive and falls into the entertainment realm. Heritage tourism can cater for all of these variations and can tap into the 'sweet spot' (Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003) by combining the different realms to create a rich experience.

Timothy (1997) identifies four levels of experience: world, national, local and personal, illustrated by Figure 2.4. The four levels represent different degrees of personal attachment to



Source: Timothy (1997)
 Figure 2.4 Levels of heritage tourism experiences

heritage destinations. This typology recognises that there are overlaps between levels of experience, or shared heritage. What is viewed as world heritage by one person can be very personal heritage to another. Like the realms of experience (Pine & Gilmore 1998; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003), Timothy's (1997) typology has a 'sweet spot'. In this case the shared heritage of different people. This implies that a connection can be made at some level between people from very different backgrounds and places. If a person visiting a World Heritage Site can be brought to see that site through the eyes of a person to whom that site is home then an authentic experience has been achieved.

So how can one cater for such diverse levels of experience and such a wide audience? The key to experiences is to make them memorable by using the following principles (Hayes & MacLeod 2005; Pine & Gilmore 1998:102-104; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003):

- Theme the experience to assist the visitor in organising the impressions.
- Harmonise impressions with positive cues that support the theme, affirming the experience for the visitor.
- Eliminate negative cues that detract or contradict from the theme.
- Mix memorabilia to provide a physical reminder of the experience.
- Engage all five senses to stimulate the participant, and support and enhance the chosen theme.

The important principle for this study is the first, namely to theme the experience, which will be discussed in Section 2.4.2 as part of the presentation of a learning environment.

Heritage tourism is about seeking a sense of place or endowing a place with meaning although different people can imagine different 'places' at the same location (Ashworth 1999 cited McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Prentice et al 1998). As much as different stakeholders appreciate a heritage resource for different reasons, so do different individuals within a stakeholder faction. This creates management and presentation challenges in order to make the heritage resource appealing and relevant for different users. Ultimately authenticity and experience emerge as an interaction or negotiation between visitor and place.

2.4.1.3 Authenticity in heritage conservation

Authenticity is also one of the criteria for the conservation of heritage – not just the tourist experience (McBryde 1997). It does this through its essential role in the interpretation of tangible and intangible heritage and its central role in the assessment of significance. Keywords in the construction of the authenticity principle are integrity, non-degradation, stimulation, commercialisation and sincerity. If a heritage object is, or is perceived to be, authentic then the

likelihood of its being preserved will increase. Some aspects of authenticity can be quantified. The historical dimensions of a building or artefact, its absolute age can give it inherent authenticity. The ethnological or social dimension is subtler in that a heritage object gains authenticity through its meaning to a section of society. Authenticity has a different meaning and perception in Africa, particularly in the post-colonial era. An authentic piece of African heritage must have no known evolution and no European influence must be detected (Dewailly 1998). A traditional African object is valued as an ethnographic object, proof of the material culture of a society. Historical objects, those relating to colonial occupation, power struggles and wars are deemed less authentically part of traditional African cultures.

Thus the authentic experience is a quest driven by the disillusionment of people with the modern world. A search for a greater connection to the past of 'other' cultures is seen as a remedy for the jaded palate. Authenticity is therefore defined on an individual level by each tourist. The resulting experiences range from active to passive participation, and absorption to immersion in the heritage experience. The contradiction is that the authentic heritage tourism experience is generally a guided, interpretive and constructed experience. Route 66 seems to be a heritage experience that can meet all these experiential requirements in its own unique way.

2.4.1.4 Route 66 as an example of a heritage experience

The US Route 66 experience is used here as an example to answer the question: what does a heritage experience entail? Caton & Santos (2007) undertook a study to answer this question and to ascertain to what degree nostalgia motivated people to experience Route 66. Based on heuristic inquiry and in-depth, guided interviews, five elements of the Route 66 experience were identified: gaining historical insight; driving; visiting unique places; interacting with people; and undertaking an odyssey. To enable the use of these elements later in the exploration of the Route 62 heritage experience in the Little Karoo, the study results regarding these elements are now discussed in greater detail.

Gaining historical insight: One of the primary goals of the participants was to learn about particular spatially located aspects of American history. Route 66 offers particular insights into the evolution of road-building practices, the evolution of vernacular architectural styles, the history of American westward migration and the changing form of US urban areas. The Route 66 corridor facilitates the learning process as it comprises smaller regional and local units, each with a distinct history. The participants gained insight from the experience in accord with their own areas of interest – a self-guided tour through American history.

Driving: A central feature of Route 66 is the unusual type of driving experience it offers. The

typical US Interstate highway is characterised by the aim of constructing convenience –landscape insensitivity by boring through mountains, chiselling away buttes and leaving drivers with a visual experience so boring it actually became dangerous by encouraging drivers to speed or to fall asleep at the wheel. In contrast Route 66 represents an opportunity for tourists to experience the landscape in a more intimate way and physically to involve themselves more fully in the driving experience. The low traffic volumes are conducive to a slower pace that allows tourists to take in the variety of landscape the Route passes through.

Visiting unique places: For some the experience is not the road but the places along it. There is a vast assortment of amazing and amusing attractions, both natural and cultural –in particular the 'sideshow style' attractions (Caton & Santos 2007). The 'mom and pop' businesses along the road employ numerous tactics to lure tourists, capitalising on local lore and landscapes (including representations of ethnic groups like Native Americans and Hispanics). Their unique identities are communicated through building design and/or signage.

Interacting with people: The interviews and questionnaires showed that interacting with people met along the route was a particularly meaningful element of the trip. Participants felt that they had genuinely connected with local people. The locals were perceived as honest and open. Their interest in meeting tourists stemmed not from financial gain but from an innate sense of hospitality and curiosity and a sincere enjoyment of interacting with others. “Their encounters did not feel scripted, but spontaneous and from the heart. In an era in which many tourism experiences are perceived as standardised, commoditised and characterised by rigid role imposition, the absence of these qualities along Route 66 seemed markedly noticeable to these tourists” (Caton & Santos 2007:378). Meaningful encounters were experienced when services were provided for tourists with little or no concern for economic profit or under spontaneous and serendipitous circumstances like bad weather or road conditions. The interaction with other tourists enabled significant bonds to be formed, whether travelling in a group or not.

Undertaking an odyssey: An odyssey combines the ideas of adventure, challenge, cooperation, serendipity, reflection and personal growth. The stories of the respondents revealed how the trip along Route 66 can challenge people, place them in a novel situation and lead them to think about things never considered before. The physical challenges of the road and the weather are aspects of the odyssey. Emotional growth can happen through facing those physical challenges and through the interaction with travelling companions.

2.4.1.5 The authentic heritage experience along Route 62 in the Little Karoo

The historical similarities between Route 62 and Route 66 have been mentioned elsewhere.

But does Route 62 offer a similar internal heritage experience to Route 66? This comparison of authenticity and experience uses the five heritage tourism experience elements identified by Jones & Santos (2007).

Gaining historical insight.

Route 62 offers plenty of opportunities to discover the history of the Little Karoo. As the Route comprises several small towns (west to east: Montagu, Barrydale, Ladismith, Calitzdorp, De Rust and Uniondale) with distinctive local histories, insight can be gained into the settlement patterns of the Little Karoo by considering each separately. Amalienstein, Zoar and Oudtshoorn are dealt with in greater depth in later chapters.

Montagu: The Montagu Museum aims to research and portray the cultural-historical heritage of Montagu and its people. They have fully documented the flood of 1981 and its devastating consequences (Route 62 2007). Joubert House is a house museum that depicts the lifestyle of the latter part of the nineteenth century in Montagu. Of particular interest is the wall paper in the Ken Birch room, which is unique as it was specially printed from a sample of the original that was found in the room. The peach pip floor in the kitchen and pantry is interesting as it was laid according to a very old local method and recipe. There is an interesting indigenous medicinal plant garden behind the house where examples of many local herbs are grown and there is also a nursery where these plants are sold.

Barrydale: The Barrydale Heritage Garden conserves the succulent floral wealth of the winter rainfall area of the Little Karoo, which stretches from Barrydale and its surroundings to Ladismith in the north east. The Heritage Garden gives people the opportunity to share in the beauty of the environment while relaxing in a peaceful atmosphere and having a chance of catching *Glottiphyllum barrydalensis*, one of the rarest plants in the Little Karoo, in bloom.

Ladismith: The town can be discovered on foot by starting at the Otto Hager Church in South Street where a short talk introduces the history of the church and town before a guided walk or drive through the town reveals different architectural styles. Visits to the Parmalat Shop, Ladismith Winery, Ladismith Cheese, Kanna Kombuis, Route 62, Mymering Estate Guest House or Ladismith Country House provide quality local cuisine. A trip by car, via Kruiwagensdrift (water monument), to the Hoeko valley and a stop at the birthplace of CJ Langenhoven and Meester Bloemkolk's school which Langenhoven attended rounds off a satisfyingly authentic experience (Route 62 2007).

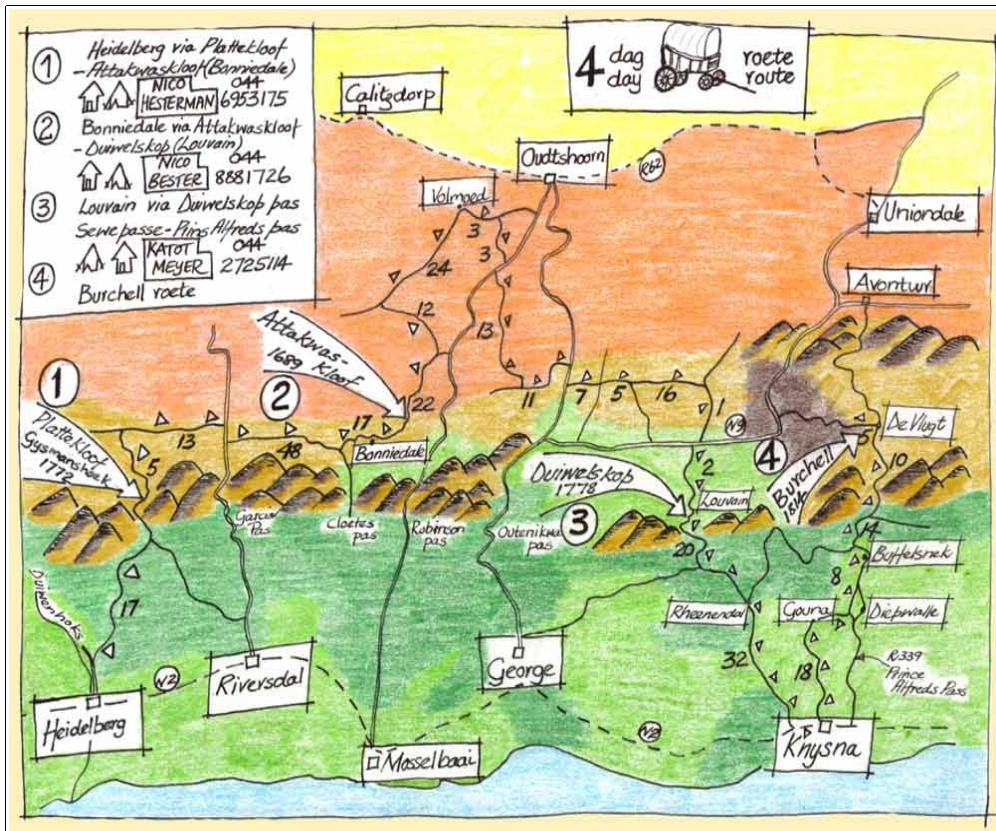
Calitzdorp: The Dutch Reformed Church wall hangings are a cultural attraction consisting of 27 appliqué hangings embroidered by the town's ladies, each 2.2 by 1 metre large, depicting the

gospel of St. Matthew as well as all the parables of Christ (Route 62 2007). St Mark's Church in Calitzdorp is an example of simplified Neo-Gothic (1880) architecture. Also of interest are the church bells, which were cast in London and bear the date 1880. The beauty of this church lies in its stark simplicity. It is possibly the second smallest Anglican church in the world after St. Jade in Scotland. Thirty-three kilometres south west of Calitzdorp lies the Gamka Mountain Nature Reserve (9 428 ha), which comprises virtually the entire Gamka mountain range. The name Gamka is derived from the Khoisan word *gami*, meaning lion. The reserve has four main vegetation types, namely mountain fynbos, arid fynbos, succulent Karoo and riverine vegetation. Many interesting plants exist, including the famous golden mimetes. A member of the protea family, this species was discovered in 1988. The rare and endangered Cape mountain zebra, leopard and honey badger occur in the reserve. The reserve hosts a wide variety of birds, reptiles and insects and is rich in Khoisan rock art and early marine invertebrate fossils. Guided trips to these sites and other places of interest can be arranged if booked in advance (CapeNature 2007; Route 62 2007). Groenfontein and Kruisrivier is a circular route of 50 km near Calitzdorp that offers splendid mountain views and regional architecture (Route 62 2007).

De Rust: Just outside De Rust, the Stompdrift Dam Water Resort (Stompdrift 2007) offers educational adventure and nature camps along with various other activities that bring the classroom outdoors, providing lectures on and practical experience in nature. Survival excursions in nature and exploring the botanical and geological wonders of Meiringspoort are also provided. They have their own Botanical Interpretation Route and introduce learners to navigation with stargazing and night hikes. The experience includes bird watching, adventure safaris and visits to Cango Caves, Ostrich show farms and Cango Wildlife Ranch with its crocodiles, lions and tigers.

Uniondale: This town has three destinations where rock art can be viewed. The Mountain Pastures Private Game Reserve has over 500 rock art paintings. Baviaans-Wes Guest House and San Stop Guest Farm also offer viewing opportunities (Uniondale 2007).

A novel way of experiencing the heritage of the Little Karoo is by following in the footsteps of botanist William John Burchell (Figure 2.5) (Burchell 4x4 2007). Three types of experiences are offered on the Burchell Ox Wagon Trails: 4x4 drives, mountain bikes and hiking. Unfortunately, no real ox wagon trips are provided. However the trails do cover 10 km of the exact track Burchell travelled in 1814. During his exploration of South Africa, Burchell covered 7 200 km and collected 63 000 specimens and objects. The Four Passes 4x4 drive, illustrated by Figure 2.5 takes four days and traverses the Gysmanshoek, Attaquas and Duiwelskop passes and Burchell's trail.



Source: Burchell 4x4 (2007)

Figure 2.5 Sketch map of the Four Passes 4x4 route

Driving.

Caton & Santos (2007) point out that a route can represent an opportunity for the tourist to experience the landscape in a more intimate way, to involve themselves more fully physically in the driving experience. Though on a smaller scale Route 62, like Route 66, is truly a driving experience. Though not marketed by Route 62 (2007) as such, the practical matter of getting from one destination to the next exposes visitors to the beauty of the Little Karoo (Lanz 2000). Route 62 might be shorter than the N2, but it will not be a quicker journey. Passing through different landscapes, mountain passes and small towns enforces a slower pace – ideal for holiday makers.

The low traffic volume, when compared to the N2, is also an advantage.

The journey along Route 62 is not just for motor vehicles. It is a popular route for motorcyclists and cyclists as a cursory search of the Internet revealed (Attakwas 2007; Freedom Challenge 2007). The passes of the Little Karoo can also be explored by 4x4, mountain bikes and on foot (Ecobound 2007; Voortrekker Pass 2007).

Visiting unique places.

The Little Karoo has a number of places to visit that characterise its unique way of life and remarkable natural resources. The Cango Caves is perhaps the most famous 'unique place' in the

Little Karoo and will be dealt with extensively in Chapter 4.

Another example of a unique place is Ronnie's Sex Shop. The story goes that Ronnie painted the name Ronnie's Shop on his cottage next to Route 62, planning to open a farm stall to sell fresh produce and fruit (Route 62 2007). His friends played a prank on him by changing the name to Ronnie's 'Sex' Shop. Initially angry Ronnie left the name and continued fixing the dilapidated building. Friends would stop by for a chat, a few beers and throw a couple of chops on the fire. During one of these evenings, someone suggested: "Why don't you just open a pub?" Ronnie's Sex Shop has had visitors from all over the world; judging by the graffiti, it has also become a regular pitstop for bikers, the local farmers and people travelling this road regularly.

The Barrydale Labyrinth is situated 15km outside Barrydale, in the direction of Ladismith. The labyrinth is built on the design of the classic 11-circuit Chartres Cathedral labyrinth, and retains the atmosphere of the area where it is located: the open spaces of the Little Karoo, blue skies, distant hills and the indigenous veld of this area (Barrydale labyrinth 2007).

Interacting with people.

The structure of Route 62 facilitates the meeting of tourists and locals at every turn (Lanz 2000). Statistics show (Statistics South Africa 2007) that one of the biggest impressions of South Africa that tourists leave with, is one of hospitality.

Undertaking an odyssey.

Like most journeys through life, you get out of Route 62 what you put into it. In other words, the drive along Route 62 can become an odyssey, if one takes the time to explore. Route 62 gives the tourist the opportunity to stop and explore in a variety of ways. It provides access to cultural and natural attractions, physical and mental exercise or relaxation. Personal growth can be achieved, if that is the goal. The generally relaxed atmosphere allows the tourist to do everything or nothing, depending on inclination.

The greatest challenge in discussing this section on authentic heritage experience in the Little Karoo is the lack of information from the tourists themselves about their experience of Route 62. It would be informative to find out if the experiences of heritage tourists on Route 62 mirror those of Route 66, and where those experiences are unique. Another question is whether tourists on Route 62 identify themselves as 'Route 62' tourists as clearly as those exploring Route 66 do. There is an obvious opportunity for further research on Route 62 in terms of the heritage tourist experience.

This section has discussed authenticity and experience, detailing the difficulties of defining authenticity and exploring heritage experiences on Route 66 and Route 62. The next section examines the role interpretation, themes and story lines play in the authentic heritage experience.

2.4.2 Interactive involvement and learning through interpretation, themes and stories

Interpretation is important to the interactive heritage experience as it is key to the understanding of the significance of heritage resources to visitors (Leighton 2007). This section discusses the role of heritage interpretation in guiding the understanding and behaviour of the heritage tourist. Different types of tourists use interpretation in a variety of ways. Here various principles and methods to aid interpretation of heritage resources, in order to cope with this wide audience, are explored and also applied in the Little Karoo. One such method, advocated by this research, is the use of themes and story lines to organise and present heritage.

2.4.2.1 The heritage interpretation and learning process

In a general sense interpretation is the process of making places and objects accessible to public audiences (Austin 2002; Stewart et al 1998). Interpretation aims to stimulate, facilitate and extend people's understanding of places and objects so that empathy towards heritage, conservation, culture and landscape can be developed. Interpretation is a process of communicating to people the significance of a place so that they can enjoy it more, understand its importance and develop a positive attitude towards conservation. Interpretation is used to enhance the enjoyment of place, to convey symbolic meanings and to facilitate attitudinal or behavioural change (Prentice 1996, cited in Stewart et al 1998). ICOMOS (2004) defines interpretation as the carefully planned public explanation or discussion of a cultural heritage site, encompassing its full significance, multiple meanings and values.

Good interpretation has the capacity to take visitors one step beyond wherever they happen to be when they arrive at a site, so that empathy is developed towards the conservation of a place. The initiation of an empathetic bond between visitor and place means that the visitor is less likely to have a detrimental impact on heritage resources. Hopefully, empathy will also create a sense of possession and caring within the visitor, making them feel responsible for the sustainable use of the place. It is on the experiential focus of place – how people sense, articulate, express and give meaning to their experience of place – that success of interpretation depends (Stewart et al 1998). This is done by revealing the meanings of places, provoking thought about such places and making the link between people and places. Interpretive services include visitor centres, leaflets, display panels and guiding activities. Interpretation is the key to understanding and learning (Kwas 2003). Interpretation can lead to respect, not only from the general public but from tourism developers and operators who all too often place money above heritage conservation and appreciation (Herreman 1998). Heritage resources are more than ready-made tourist destinations. The interpretation and presentation of heritage resources must also serve a range of educational and social objectives for the benefit of local communities (Kwas 2003).

2.4.2.2 Interpretation use: visitor profiles

Depending on their use of interpretation and the form of motivation and involvement, visitors fall into the four categories Stewart et al (1998:261) distinguished in Table 2.1. *Seekers* are visitors

Table 2.1 Categories and sub-categories of interpretive users

Main Category	Sub-category
Seekers	Learners
	Gatherers
	Fillers
Stumblers	Satisfied
	Frustrated
Shadows	Formal
	Informal
Shunners	Avoiders
	Uninterested

Source: after Stewart et al (1998:261)

who actively seek out source of information and interpretation. This group is further sub-divided into three sub-categories. Firstly learners, those seeking interpretation (the story) specifically to learn about the place; secondly gatherers, those seeking information (data as opposed to the story); lastly fillers, those seeking information and interpretation to fill in time whilst in a place. The *stumblers* are those visitors who stumble across information and interpretation sources. This group is divided into those who are satisfied to do so and those that are frustrated by encountering aids to interpretation. *Shadows* are those visitors who are chaperoned by other people through interpretation, either formally by guides or informally by eavesdropping on others. Lastly there are *shunners*, those that either purposely avoid interpretation or are passively uninterested in it. It is clear that even if interpretation and information is provided not all visitors are interested or use the interpretive experience in the same way.

2.4.2.3 Principles of successful interpretation

The successful interpretation of cultural heritage resources is a key component of providing memorable experiences to visitors. The draft Ename Charter (ICOMOS 2004; ICOMOS 2007) for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites provides useful principles to realise this goal. The Charter seeks to define the basic objectives and principles of site interpretation in relation to authenticity, intellectual integrity, social responsibility and respect for cultural significance and context. The Ename Charter (ICOMOS 2007) seeks to widen the public appreciation and understanding of heritage sites as places of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development. In order to achieve these aims, seven principles for efficient interpretation have been devised:

- Principle 1 – *Access and understanding*: The appreciation of cultural heritage sites is a universal right. The public discussion of their significance should be facilitated by effective, sustainable interpretation, involving a wide range of associated communities, as well as visitor and stakeholder groups (ICOMOS 2004). Interpretation and presentation programmes should facilitate physical and intellectual access by the public to cultural heritage sites (ICOMOS 2007).
- Principle 2 – *Information sources*: The interpretation and presentation of heritage sites must be based on evidence gathered through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.
- Principle 3 – *Attention to setting and context*: The interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites should relate to their wider social, cultural, historical, and natural contexts and settings.
- Principle 4 – *Preservation of authenticity*: The interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites must respect their authenticity, in the spirit of the Nara Document (ICOMOS 1994).
- Principle 5 – *Planning for sustainability*: The interpretive plan for a cultural heritage site must be sensitive to its natural and cultural environment with social, financial and environmental sustainability among its central goals.
- Principle 6 – *Concern for inclusiveness*: The interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites must be the result of meaningful collaboration between heritage professionals, host and associated communities, and other stakeholders.
- Principle 7 – *Importance of research, evaluation and training*: The interpretation of a cultural heritage site is an ongoing, evolving process of explanation and understanding that includes continuing research, training, and evaluation.

The Ename Charter and ICOMOS ICIP differentiate between presentation and interpretation (ICOMOS 2007; ICOMOS ICIP 2007). Presentation denotes the carefully planned arrangement of information and physical access to a heritage site. These plans are usually developed by scholars, design firms and heritage professionals. As such, it is a largely one-way mode of communication. “Interpretation, on the other hand denotes the totality of activity, reflection, research, and creativity stimulated by a cultural heritage site. In this respect the input and involvement of visitors, local and associated community groups, and other stakeholders of various ages and educational backgrounds is essential to interpretation and to the transformation of cultural heritage sites into places and sources of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development and inter-cultural and intergenerational dialogue” (ICOMOS ICIP 2007:1).

The ICOMOS International Committee on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural

Heritage Sites (ICOMOS ICIP) believes that the interpretation of heritage sites may significantly contribute to their sustainable conservation (ICOMOS ICIP 2007). Interpretation of the meaning of sites is now considered an integral part of the conservation process, equal to the protection of the physical site. ICOMOS charters like the Nara Document on Authenticity (ICOMOS 1994), the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999a), the International Charter on Cultural Tourism (ICOMOS 1999b) and the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites (ICOMOS 2002) have all emphasised the fundamental role of interpretation in the presentation and management of heritage sites.

2.4.2.4 Methods of interpretation

Moscardo (1996) says that interpretation can play a critical role in sustainable heritage tourism by educating tourists about the nature of the host region and culture. Interpretation can inform visitors of the consequences of their actions, enhance their experience and encourage them to engage in appropriate behaviour. The AHC (2001a) recommends a focus on quality education and interpretation at heritage places. Interpretation is the process of helping people discover and appreciate natural and cultural heritage. It is a combination of information, education, entertainment and inspiration. Stories, ideas and experiences are shared to explain and reveal heritage. Walks, talks and displays, among other forms of media, are used to facilitate interpretation. Successful interpretation will enrich the visitor's experience, whilst minimising human impact on resources and facilities. The AHC (2001a:21-22) offers the following pointers for a successful heritage experience, which overlap with recommendations from McKercher & Du Cros (2002):

- Provide *variety* in the interpretive experiences offered to visitors: A change of pace or setting during a visit can provide a positive effect. Carefully choosing a location to discuss significant aspects of a site or providing a task for participants will make for a memorable visit.
- Provide *personal connections*: Making a personal connection is a major factor influencing visitor satisfaction. Ways to do this include: the use of humour and analogies; giving visitors the chance to ask questions; telling stories; allowing visitors to interact, participate in and control their interpretive experience.
- Practice *participation*: Visitor participation has many benefits because it personalises the experience. For example, the Port Arthur site in Tasmania (AHC 2001a:22) introduces the visitor to the interpretation gallery by giving them the chance to play the 'Lottery of Life' and follow the journey of the convicts from the United Kingdom to Tasmania. Each visitor is given a card which permits the visitor to follow the life of a convict. This gives a greater sense of participation and involvement, adding to the meaning and significance of their experience.
- Organise *orientation*: Information is presented in such a way as to direct and create awareness in

visitors. Pamphlets, maps and signs providing quality description help to orientate and direct visitors to areas of interest.

- Concentrate on the *content*: The content of interpretation should be easy to follow. The use of overriding themes will create links between pieces of information. The chronological presentation of historic buildings would be an example, an approach used by the Stellenbosch Village Museum (Stellenbosch Village Museum 2007).
- Allow for *diverse audiences*. All visitors are different. A good understanding of the needs of different audiences is a necessary step in developing interpretation mechanisms. Flexibility in presenting interpretation is an asset, as interpretation will be able to cater to different audiences with greater ease.

An example of the implementation of most of these pointers can be found at the Ename Centre for Public Archaeology Heritage Presentation in Belgium (Pletinckx et al 2003). Here the St Laurentius Church is interactively interpreted through various media. Three general groups of visitors are targeted independently: the individual, family groups; and tour groups. The visitors explore the Church through a series of interactive panoramas and navigation options, based on rings as depicted conceptually in Figure 2.6, that allow them to weave self-selected stories, from

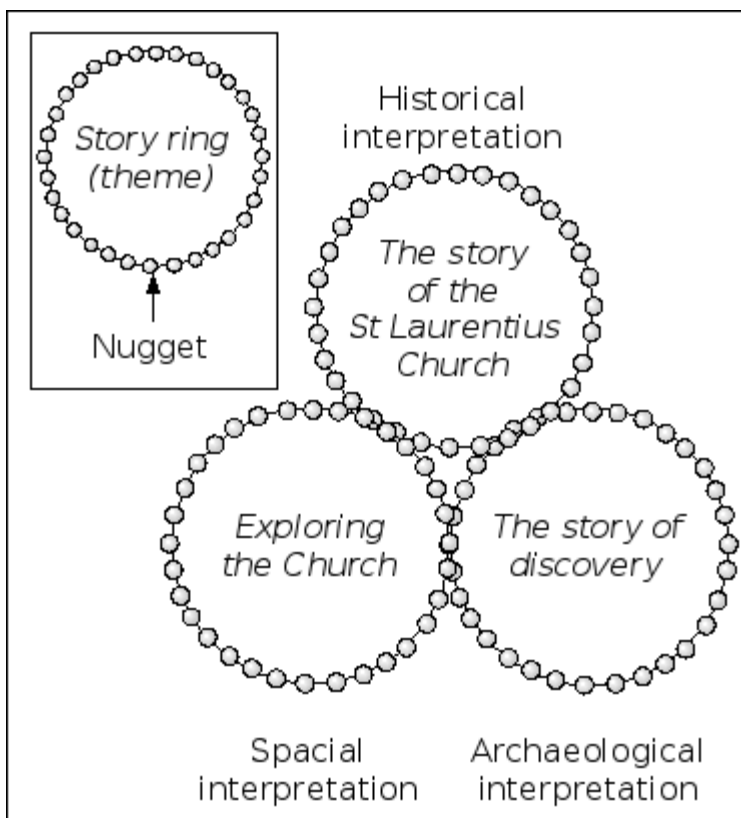


Figure 2.6 Conceptualised drawing of the Ename interpretive system

archaeological facts and historical information, into larger self-produced narratives. The system,

based on touch screen technology, enables the visitor to select any 'nugget' of information from three story rings or themes, switching at will between story rings to create a highly personalised heritage interpretation. A story ring can be entered and left at any time.

Personal connections to the site are facilitated by the freedom to choose which direction to take the interpretation story. If participators wish to follow only the historical story ring, they can. Others choose to hop between rings. The screens also orientate the visitor through time and space, providing maps and images of the Church showing recent renovations and imagined historic landscapes. The content is diverse and can be accessed at a variety of levels, catering for the professional and the layman. The example of the Ename Centre and St Laurentius Church have briefly introduced the terms 'themes' and 'story lines'. The next section explores these concepts in greater depth.

2.4.2.5 Themes and story lines as interpretive tools

A common way to present heritage to the cultural tourist is through themes and story lines. Heritage sites have been described as destinations with a story whilst heritage tourism is described as the process of telling that story (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). This idea supports the definition of heritage tourism used in this study: that heritage tourism is where there is a story or interpretation (Cluster Consortium 1999). Interpretation is the formal manner of telling the story. The story is told in many ways and at many levels so that the consumer or stakeholder can choose at which level they wish to engage with the place. In order to tell a story, especially for heritage resources designed for mass consumption, the narrative must be kept simple and follow a single theme. Yet themes can be flexible and adjustable depending on the nature of the audience. Often heritage resources have little meaning on their own unless their context (or their story) can be conveyed. The world is full of evidence of historic and prehistoric occupation. Such sites have little meaning to tourists whose knowledge of local history and culture may be minimal. An example of this is Stone Age lithic scatters, commonly found on farmland in the Western Cape. Without some kind of context, they are just another group of stones, not the tangible manifestation of past lives.

Themes identify, or highlight aspects of regions' heritage (Anonymous s.d.; Murray & Graham 1997; Paradis 2002; Silbergh et al 1994; Yale 1998). A theme organises the impressions of an experience and drives it toward a unified story line (Pine & Gilmore 1998). An ideal way for tour operators, local communities or other stakeholders to attract visitors to their region or town is by developing themes as marketing tools, creating heritage trails (Yale 1998) and promoting attractive areas.

Interpretation through themes can be integral to creating a learning environment – the second

principle of heritage tourism. Participation in the learning environment relies on the degree to which the visitor wishes to experience the past. Despite the diversity of how authenticity may be perceived, sometimes the heritage tourist still wants some affirmation of when an experience is authentic. In this case tourists require an authoritative marker or signifier telling them that the experience is authentic (Crang 1996; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Harkin 1995; Lane & Waitt 2001; Taylor 2001). Themes can provide a semiotic and phenomenological framework with which to organise the authentic experience and everyday life in terms of a tourist's life-world (Harkin 1995; Lane & Waitt 2001; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003). Without themes or markers making the experience understandable, the whole experience falters, becoming disorientating for the tourist. Themes are strategic segments which align experiences, attractions and other tourist products to provide an experience of the destination (Cluster Consortium 1999).

A theme is a central or key idea (Ververka 2001a) with which to guide the experience and expectations of visitors (Pine & Gilmore 1998). Themes, ideally should be stated as a short, simple, complete sentence, contain only one idea if possible, reveal the overall purpose of the site, be specific and interesting, and motivationally worded when possible (Ververka 2001a). Environment North (cited in Cook 2001:4) defines a theme as a unifying concept that guides a series of interpretive contacts. The adoption of a thematic approach permits disparate landscape elements, facts and stories to be linked, so that a number of interpretive contacts appear not to be isolated pieces of information but an integrated whole.

Weaving or building a story around a place, tangible or intangible, instils that heritage resource with meaning, bringing it to life and making it relevant. It creates consumer interest in hearing that story first hand. Telling a story provides signals as to how the visitor should interpret or use the heritage resource. Which stories are selected to be told also provides signals about what activities are acceptable or unacceptable with regard to the heritage resource. An enjoyable and engrossing experience motivates the tourist to spend more time at the attraction. This will enhance the chances of a meaningful and deep use of the heritage resource.

The following elements contribute to a compelling story (Hayes & Macleod 2005):

- Coherence of story;
- Storytelling genre;
- Style and use of language;
- Depth of meaning;
- Credibility; and
- Sensory elements.

Telling the story should be the aim of all heritage developers. Some places are blessed with a

wealth of architectural or historical significance or are associated with a well-known personality. Other places must construct a narrative based on more tenuous associations or use other creative devices to establish an identity. Examples of the use of themes and story lines are discussed in the next section.

2.4.2.6 Examples of interpretative themes and story lines

Themes become an attraction mechanism readily identifiable to interested visitors and thereby form an integral part in redeveloping whole regions (Paradis 2002). The English Tourist Board and other local councils have developed themes to enhance their local heritage (Yale 1998). Taking advantage of their claim to fame, the town of Thirsk in North Yorkshire has developed a Television theme, based on the series 'All creatures great and small', calling the area Herriot Country. Other English themes are based on literary authors or personalities like Shakespeare (Prentice 2001). Historical themes range from Robin Hood to Captain Cook. The one similarity between these themes is their linear nature.

Ireland has a rich and diverse heritage which has not always been easy to interpret. In 1992 Bord Failte (the Irish national tourist board) devised a National Heritage and Tourism strategy (Anonymous s.d.). The strategy involved the recognition of five major themes: Living landscapes; Making a living; Saints and religion; Building a nation; and The spirit of Ireland, as demonstrated in Table 2.2, to be used across the country.

Table 2.2 Irish heritage and tourism themes and story lines

Theme	Story Line	
Living landscapes	Land and sea Mountain and moorland Cliffs and caves	Bogs and wetlands Rivers and lakeland
Making a living	Emigration and famine Working with the sea Industry, transport and power	Inventions Lifestyles through the ages Farming heritage
Saints and Religion	Pagan Ireland Early Christianity Saints and scholars	Missionaries Religious upheavals The living faiths
Building a nation	Celts and high kings Invasion and conquest War and rebellion	The Anglo-Irish People and places Ireland's story in modern times
The spirit of Ireland	Literary Ireland Language, folklore and legend Ireland entertains	Art in Ireland Irish games and sports Famous personalities

Source: Anonymous s.d.

The five themes are broad and cover the heritage spectrum from natural to cultural heritage, from prehistoric to modern times. Within each theme, several possible story lines were recognised. The story lines expand the themes and help to identify potential interpretation avenues. Links can be

made between different themes by exploring the story lines. For example the theme 'living landscape' can be linked to the theme 'making a living' through the story lines of 'land and sea' and 'working with the sea' respectively. Through shared themes and story lines, links can be made between different parts of the country, between towns and regions. As the next chapter shows, the Irish themes and story lines are remarkably similar to the thematic frameworks developed by the USA, Australia and Canada for heritage management purposes. This implies that a story-based or narrative approach is equally applicable to tourism presentation and heritage management and therefore brings a balance to the two sectors.

2.4.2.7 Examples of heritage themes and story lines in the Little Karoo

Similar to the other principles of heritage tourism, it proved difficult to find it represented in the Little Karoo. Only two attractions met the criteria of 'interactive involvement through interpretation, themes and stories'. The Cango Caves experience will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4. Here the Ostrich Show Farms of Cango, Highgate and Safari as one of the highlights of touring the Little Karoo will be analysed. Oudtshoorn is considered the 'ostrich capital of the world' and all three farms are located within 20km of the town (Cango 2007; Highgate 2007; Safari 2007).

From a heritage perspective, the farms offer an insight into the ostrich feather boom that started in the late 1880's in South Africa. Ostrich feathers were in high demand world-wide and prices soared in the first decade of the twentieth century. The value of ostrich plume export from South Africa ranked fourth after gold, diamonds and wool. The newly acquired wealth enabled ostrich farmers (dubbed Feather Barons) to build impressive sandstone mansions. Examples of these can be found on Highgate and Safari farms and in Oudtshoorn itself.

The learning experience offered by the show farms is organised around the theme of the ostrich life cycle. Tours, lasting anything from 45 minutes to 1½ hours, take the visitor on the journey from egg to adult and beyond. Visitors have the opportunity to test the strength of the eggs by standing on them, an excellent photo opportunity (Cango 2007; Highgate 2007; Safari 2007). Activities include watching chicks hatch (in season), feeding ostriches, sitting on the birds, or riding them (at own risk). The local craftsmen also demonstrate the hand manufacturing of various ostrich products, such as feather dusters and handbags. All three farms have a derby, where local jockeys race the ostriches. The farms pride themselves on their personal attention to each guest and provide multi-lingual guides who explain every aspect of ostrich farming during the tour. The farms also have curio shops where the visitor can buy ostrich products, cuisine and wine from the region.

This section has explored the second principle of heritage tourism: interactive involvement and learning through interpretation, themes and story lines. The heritage interpretation process has

been discussed, showing how good interpretation can engage the visitor on a myriad sensory levels. Admittedly not all tourists want to engage through interpretation. Some actively seek out understanding, others shun it. Universal principles have been developed by ICOMOS (2004) to define the basic objectives of interpretation, particularly in relation to widening public appreciation of heritage sites. This section has also reviewed some methods of interpretation, with emphasis on the use of themes and story lines as interpretive tools. Examples like the Irish heritage tourism themes and story lines and, to a lesser extent the Ostrich Show Farm, indicate that the use of these methods can facilitate route tourism development and the building of partnerships – the subject of the next section.

2.4.3 Building partnerships for heritage route tourism

The third principle of heritage tourism – building partnerships – is explored through route tourism. The discussion aims to define route tourism, illustrated by various examples. The focus then narrows to examine US Route 66 as this tourist route is used in comparison to SA Route 62. As contextual backdrop some tourism routes of the Western Cape are also reviewed before Route 62 is explored in detail.

2.4.3.1 The need for building partnerships

Ideally, sustainable heritage tourism is a partnership that satisfies both tourism and heritage management demands (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). In reality, excessive or poorly managed tourism and tourism development can threaten the physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics of heritage resources (NWHO 1999). However well managed, heritage tourism can capture the economic characteristics of heritage and harness it for conservation by generating funding, educating the community and influencing policy (ICOMOS 1999b). There are a number of stumbling blocks to the sustainable use of heritage resources (McKercher & Du Cros 2002): the continued operation of tourism and heritage management in parallel rather than in partnership; ignorance of the other's needs, and suspicion of the other's motives. Successful, sustainable heritage tourism “depends on understanding the different perspectives of tourism operators, heritage managers and communities and then establishing common ground, building relationships and forming partnerships” (AHC 2001a:6).

Before identifying the different partners or stakeholder in heritage tourism, it seems appropriate to discuss the different forms partnerships can take. These forms are based on the degree of cooperation between stakeholders (McKercher & Du Cros 2002).

- *Full cooperation*: True partnership for the mutual benefit of both sectors;
- *Working relationship*: Realisation of common needs and interests, working to ensure both

interests are satisfied;

- *Peaceful coexistence*: Sharing of the same resource, deriving mutual benefits from its use but still largely separate and independent;
- *Parallel existence/blissful ignorance*: Separate and independent, with little or no contact and an out-of-sight, out-of-mind attitude;
- *Mild annoyance*: Goal interference attributed to one stakeholder, with one stakeholder exerting adverse effects, but with little real conflict;
- *Nascent conflict*: Problems emerge defying easy solutions. A stakeholder becomes dominant whose needs are detrimental to the other established stakeholder; and
- *Full-scale, open conflict*: Direct conflict between stakeholders.

Partnerships for the sustainable use of heritage resources might be simpler if only two parties are involved. In reality a heritage resource can have multiple stakeholders, all of whom are potential partners in sustainable management and whose attitudes can range from full cooperation to full conflict. The stakeholders have differing degrees of connectivity to the heritage resource, differing levels of legitimacy in being considered as a stakeholder. Different stakeholders also have differing viewpoints about how to manage resources. And, often, there is a history between stakeholders with formal or informal alliances that may mitigate against easy resolution of issues (McKercher & Du Cros 2002).

Though not an exhaustive list, stakeholders in heritage tourism are heritage managers; local communities or cultural groups who are culturally attached; schools and universities which use heritage as a resource; government heritage authorities, engaged in the management of heritage, and commercial users like the tourism industry (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). The AHC (2001a) more conveniently identifies three broad groups: the tourism operators; heritage managers, and the community. Heritage and communities are important for tourism, as they are the foundation upon which heritage tourism is built. For heritage management, tourism can help to meet requirements to provide public access and raise awareness of the value of resources. Local communities are important to heritage management as sources of oral history and for identifying the full significance of a heritage resource. Tourism is important for local communities as it can provide income and employment and diversifies local economies. For local communities heritage management is important as it can help protect and conserve places which are valuable.

A large amount of literature is available on tourism and its relationship with the local community and/or indigenous populations (e.g. Besculides et al 2002; Dewailly 1998; Donert & Light 1996; Glasson et al 1995; Hampton 2001; Hitchcock & King 2003; Jamieson 2000; Johnston

2000; Ko & Stewart 2002; Lane & Waitt 2001; McKercher 2001; Simmons 2000; Tosun 2002; Uriely et al 2002; Wanhill 2000). There is a growing movement that advocates that local residents should control and/or participate in tourism in their environment (Aas et al 2005; AHC 2001a; Binns & Nel 2002; NWHO 1999; Prideaux 2002b). Communities are involved in tourism in many ways: employed in tourism businesses run by outsiders; ownership of tourism businesses, and consultation or participation in tourism development. From a heritage conservation perspective the involvement of the local community in heritage tourism is essential for the sustainable use of heritage resources (Vinton 2001). The active involvement of local communities will help ensure that endeavours to attract tourists are sensitive to community aims and aspirations and that the essence of the place and its people are captured correctly (AHC 2001a). The danger for communities initiating heritage tourism development is that the lack of proper investigation and consultation with potential partners may result in the development of attractions that are non-viable in the long run and which prove to be a financial burden (Prideaux 2002a).

The lack of partnership and cooperation between stakeholders can be detrimental to the longevity of heritage resources. Vinton (2001) points out, specifically in terms of archaeological resources, that as long as the significance of such resources remains inadequately justified to the business sector (e.g. tourism developer) and the public (tourists and local community), the resources will continue to experience:

- an increase in the destruction of significant archaeological sites through accidental or intentional means;
- unsympathetic development proposals that result in salvage excavations with little or no public outcomes;
- the continued loss of, or lack of public dissemination of, important archaeological information retrieved from salvage archaeological excavations;
- increasingly belligerent behaviour from site owners responsible for the safe-keeping and investigation of archaeological remains because of the perceived lack of public benefit to be gained from archaeological research;
- increased resistance by developers and site owners to fund post-excavation analysis and interpretation of significant archaeological remains;
- probable increased breaches of the law, which will require an increase in government expenditure on law enforcement and prosecution;
- dissatisfaction from those members of the community who have a genuine interest in amateur archaeology and gaining new perspectives about the past; and

- the major loss of rare heritage resources that belong collectively to all, neither to individual site owners nor to heritage managers alone.

The answer to these concerns, according to Vinton (2001), is to engage the different stakeholders through public education, community outcomes and by building partnerships through participation. Management of heritage resources will then be supported by the broader public through stewardship and interaction.

Full cooperation between stakeholders may seem like wishful thinking, but the two examples from Australia discussed below, show that partnerships between heritage managers and tourism, and heritage managers and the local community, is possible.

Western Australia offers an example of full cooperation between heritage tourism and heritage management and the application of themes. The Heritage Council of Western Australian (HCWA) and Tourism Western Australia (TWA) are jointly developing a heritage tourism strategy for Western Australia (HCWA & TWA 2005a; 2005b). They are specifically identifying heritage themes to explore the stories of individuals, communities, industries and areas that have shaped their social and physical environment. They conduct thematic assessment studies that aim to identify key heritage themes that can then be integrated with, or developed as, tourism products linking various sites and towns to form heritage tourism routes. A fuller discussion of themes and a thematic approach to heritage tourism and management follows in the next chapter. The identified possible stakeholders in developing heritage tourism in Western Australia are listed in Table 2.3, as an

Table 2.3 Stakeholders and levels of stake-holding in the heritage tourism strategy for Western Australia

Level	Stakeholder
National	Department of Environment and Heritage; Australian Heritage Council; Australian Tourist Commission; Department of Transport and Regional Services; Department of Industry Tourism and Resources; Department of Communication, Information Technology and the Arts; Australia Council
State	Tourism Western Australia; Department of Local Government and Regional Development; Regional Development Council; Lotterywest; Department of Conservation and Land Management; Department of Industry and Resources; Department of Culture and the Arts; Department of Education and Training; Department of Housing and Works; Department of Planning and Infrastructure; Office of Multicultural Interests; Rottnest Island Authority; Department of Sport and Recreation
Local/Regional	Local Governments; Regional Development Commissions; Redevelopment Authorities
Community	National Trust of Australia (WA); Regional Cultural Alliance; Forum Advocating Cultural and Eco-Tourism; Heritage and Historical Associations
Associations	WA Local Government Associations; Others
Private sector	Industry, Individuals
Academe	Universities

Source HCWA & TWA (2005b)

illustration of how stakeholders may be organised. This comprehensive list does not imply that all stakeholders will be consulted all the time. Indeed HCWA & TWA (2005b) state that stakeholders will be consulted on a case-by-case basis.

Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park is the Anangu (Aboriginal) name for the landscape in which Uluru (Ayers Rock) is found (Uluru 2007). In October 1985 the Australian government returned the Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park lands to the Anangu. The Anangu then leased the lands back to the Director of National Parks for 99 years under the proviso that Anangu and Parks Australia staff jointly manage the Park. The management policies and programs of Uluru - Kata Tjuta National Park aim to maintain Anangu culture and heritage; conserve and protect the integrity of the ecological systems on and around the park, and provide for visitor enjoyment and learning opportunities within the Park (Reid et al 2004; Tjamiwa 1996; Uluru - Kata Tjuta Plan of Management 2000). The Anangu take up eight of the twelve seats on the Board of Management and ensure that the traditional laws, knowledge and religious philosophy (Tjukurpa) of the Anangu are upheld and are at the forefront of any park development.

There can be many paths leading to partnerships between heritage tourism, heritage management and the local community. The concept of heritage routes is such a path.

2.4.3.2 The heritage route concept

Heritage route tourism facilitates the building of partnerships between different stakeholders of heritage and heritage tourism. This is also a perfect example of the use of themes and interpretation in presenting an authentic experience for heritage tourism. The nature of heritage routes provides the opportunity to integrate interpretation with tourism product development and marketing in communities (Tabata 1999). The development of routes not only identifies natural and cultural resources unique to an area but also builds partnerships between the diverse stakeholders of a region. Heritage routes can integrate and coordinate the efforts of private, public and NGO's in preserving and enhancing identified heritage resources and developing and marketing new products. Heritage routes are potentially a very marketable attraction which can lead to community and rural development (Briedenhann & Wickens 2004; Dewailly 1998; Murray & Graham 1997; Rogerson 2002a). Route tourism allows for the clustering of development areas, stimulating cooperation between communities and energising economic development through tourism. Routes are developed around themes for particular regions, promoting linkages which encourage visitors to venture away from major attractions and enjoy new experiences in less commodified rural areas. In this way, wealth is spread to less developed areas as more visitors spend time and money there.

Traditionally, the sole function of routes was to link one place to another (Murray & Graham

1997). A road took you from home to your destination, or from one destination to another. More recently, the role of a route has begun to change (Briedenhann & Wickens 2004; McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Route tourism is defined as a road or trail with more than one attraction (Yale 1998) and can form part of the broader cultural tourism theme (Murray & Graham 1997). The route itself has become part of the destination experience. The experience of the journey is at least as important as the destination, where the theme route becomes part of the product (Murray & Graham 1997).

Heritage routes form networks between destinations with similar or complementary heritage resources. Linking different communities in this manner provides a low-cost option for many destinations, especially those in rural areas. The sum of the heritage resources shared between communities has a greater appeal than individual resources marketed individually. By bundling diverse attractions into a themed touring route an appealing primary attraction is created. A route can define a region, transcending geographic diversity and distance, to make a large scale integrative theme. For the purpose of this discussion Silbergh et al's (1994:123) definition of theme trails comes closest to the needs of this study: "A theme trail is a route for walking, cycling, riding, driving or other forms of transport that draws on the natural or cultural heritage of an area to provide an educational experience that will enhance visitor enjoyment." Routes vary in scale (Murray & Graham 1997; Silbergh et al 1994) from global (e.g. round the world sea cruises) to regional (e.g. the Garden Route), to local (e.g. Oudtshoorn Historic Walk) to site specific (e.g. Cango Caves).

Several authors (Silbergh et al 1994; Veverka 2001a; 2001b; NSWTO 1995) emphasise the importance of interpretation for the route. Without interpretation, however minimal, the route becomes just another road from A to B. Examples of types of physical interpretation include signboards, printed literature and guides. Interpretation has the function of giving meaning to the route and enables the visitor to appreciate the path. Interpretation (Tabata 1999) focuses attention on the whole destination area, rather than on individual sites. It develops themes that appeal to potential visitors and provides a 'way-finding' mechanism function for visitors. Interpretation also increases holding power by provoking the interest of visitors and providing memorable visitor experiences which support other local industries and businesses e.g. local souvenirs/foods.

Heritage routes have the potential to theme regions by packaging a series of linked sites with each package telling a distinctive story (Hayes & MacLeod 2005; Pine & Gilmore 1998). Routes that are developed to incorporate both education and entertainment themes and material, and which immerse the participant in the story, have the potential to hit the 'sweet spot' and become truly compelling experiences rather than being simply functional products (Hayes & MacLeod 2005). Heritage routes (Hayes & Macleod 2005) are flexible, multi-faceted products with benefits ranging

between social, physical, environmental, cultural and economic. Heritage routes also assist in environmental conservation, visitor management and economic development and contribute towards a deeper sense of place for communities. The 1300 identified routes in England encompass a number of different themes including architecture, famous people, local industries, historic events and wildlife (English Heritage 2007).

2.4.3.3 International routing examples

Linear landscapes and heritage routes are now considered a special type of landscape, listed as part of the World Heritage Areas (UNESCO 2005), with their own particular management needs. The international Committee on Cultural Routes of ICOMOS (CIIC-ICOMOS 1994) was established in 1994. This committee helps to define the theoretical scope of cultural routes and develops appropriate conservation and management strategies (Martorell 2003). CIIC-ICOMOS (1994) defines a heritage route as composed of tangible elements whose cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions. The route illustrates the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time. The Silk Road and the African Slave Route are two heritage routes recognised by UNESCO (UNESCO 2002) and marketed by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO 2005). Most countries have only recently begun to identify and list cultural landscapes and heritage routes in their jurisdiction. These same routes are already being used as tourism routes, which leads to heritage management for tourism after the fact.

The Queensland Heritage Trails Network (Cook 2001; Prideaux 2002a) in Australia has been designed to facilitate rural development by conserving and protecting its natural, indigenous and historical heritage, developing educational resources, creating jobs and generally stimulating development and fostering tourism. The Network provides a framework through which visitors can experience Queensland's heritage by visiting a network of sites and towns by road, rail or backpacking. One overarching theme is 'use of the land', which incorporates all human activity and facilitates interpretive interaction between indigenous and historic stories.

The Path of Progress (Kerstetter et al 2001; Strauss & Lord 2001) in south-western Pennsylvania portrays three centuries of heritage development in the State. The theme defining the route is America's transition from farming and extraction, to trade, through Industrial Revolution and into the current mix of cultures and traditions. Marketed as an integral package linking over twenty historic sites, the Path of Progress allows the tourist to trace three centuries of cultural development in a leisurely, yet systematic fashion.

Another series of heritage routes, or scenic byways, in America is administered by the Department of Transportation Federal Highways Administration. A scenic byway is "a road having

roadside or corridors of high natural beauty and cultural or historic value which give the traveller glimpses of nature, history, geology, landscaping and cultural activities” (Department of Transportation Federal Highways Administration, cited in Kent & Elliot 1995:342). The Scenic Byways Program in America (Eby & Molner 2002) identifies two types of heritage routes: *National Scenic Byways* and *All-American Roads*. National Scenic Byways are those roads with one or more specific qualities that exemplify a region. As of 1998 there were 43 National Scenic Byways in 23 states. An All-American Road has one or more specific qualities but to a greater extent than a National Scenic Byway. As of 1998 there were eleven All-American Roads in eight states. The qualities defining National Scenic Byways and All-American Roads are:

- *Archaeological qualities*: evidence of historic or prehistoric life;
- *Cultural qualities*: evidence and expressions of customs or traditions of a distinct group of people;
- *Historic qualities*: legacies of the past that are distinctly associated with the physical elements of the landscape;
- *Natural qualities*: features in the visual environment that are relatively undisturbed;
- *Recreational qualities*: outdoor activities directly associated with the natural and cultural elements of the byway; and
- *Scenic qualities*: heightened visual experience derived from the viewing of natural and man-made elements.

2.4.3.4 US Route 66 as model

Highway Route 66 is another heritage route in the USA, some 3 840 km (2400 miles) long (Route 66 2005). Figure 2.7 traces the path of Route 66 which links Chicago with Los Angeles and crosses eight states. Route 66 is important to the discussion as it has been used on a limited basis as a blueprint for the South African Route 62. The discussion of Route 66 not only addresses the linkages between the towns and regions of Route 66, but also examines the heritage management strategies and tourism experiences of the Route.

Before the development of the Interstate highway, many thriving communities lived alongside Route 66. The development and completion of the Interstate in the mid 1950's, meant that fewer and fewer people used Route 66. The roadside communities, whose economies depended on the route, began to decline. The initiative to preserve Route 66 began in the late 1960's, under the non-profit organisation, National Historical Route 66 Federation (Route 66 2005). Their aim was to preserve the historic landmarks and revitalise the economies of the roadside communities. To this end they



Source: Adapted from Route 66 (2005)

Figure 2.7 Route 66, USA

campaign and in 1999, the Route 66 Preservation Corridor Act (NPS 1999) was passed. The act has made available \$10 million in grants to individuals, corporations and communities to preserve or restore historic properties along Route 66.

The National Parks Service (NPS), which supervises the implementation of the Act, has undertaken a contextual heritage significance evaluation of Route 66, in order to identify historic resources along the route for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The 380-page document entitled 'Route 66 Corridor: National Historic Context Study' (NPS 2004a) details the heritage and conservation issues surrounding Route 66 and is in essence a thematic assessment study of the route. The Federation also designed an 'Adopt-a-Hundred' program (Route 66 2005), in which twenty-seven volunteers each take responsibility for 100 miles of road (all 2400 miles have been adopted). The idea is to tour the stretch twice a year and report any possible preservation problems to the Federation.

The Federation also plans to develop Route 66 visitor centres and/or museums (Route 66 2005). The visitor centres and museums form part of the community revitalisation program. The visitor centres and museums are designed to increase visitor and tourist traffic to communities hardest hit by the interstate bypass. Full signposting will be developed along Route 66 with signs along the interstate to indicate that the next off-ramp leads to Route 66. The Federation has

introduced the Route 66 Dining & Lodging Guide, listing all the attractions, accommodation and restaurants along the route to facilitate the visitors' journey. The Adopt-a-Hundred volunteers also evaluate the accommodation and restaurants along their hundred miles according to ten criteria. Their reports form the basis of the Guide.

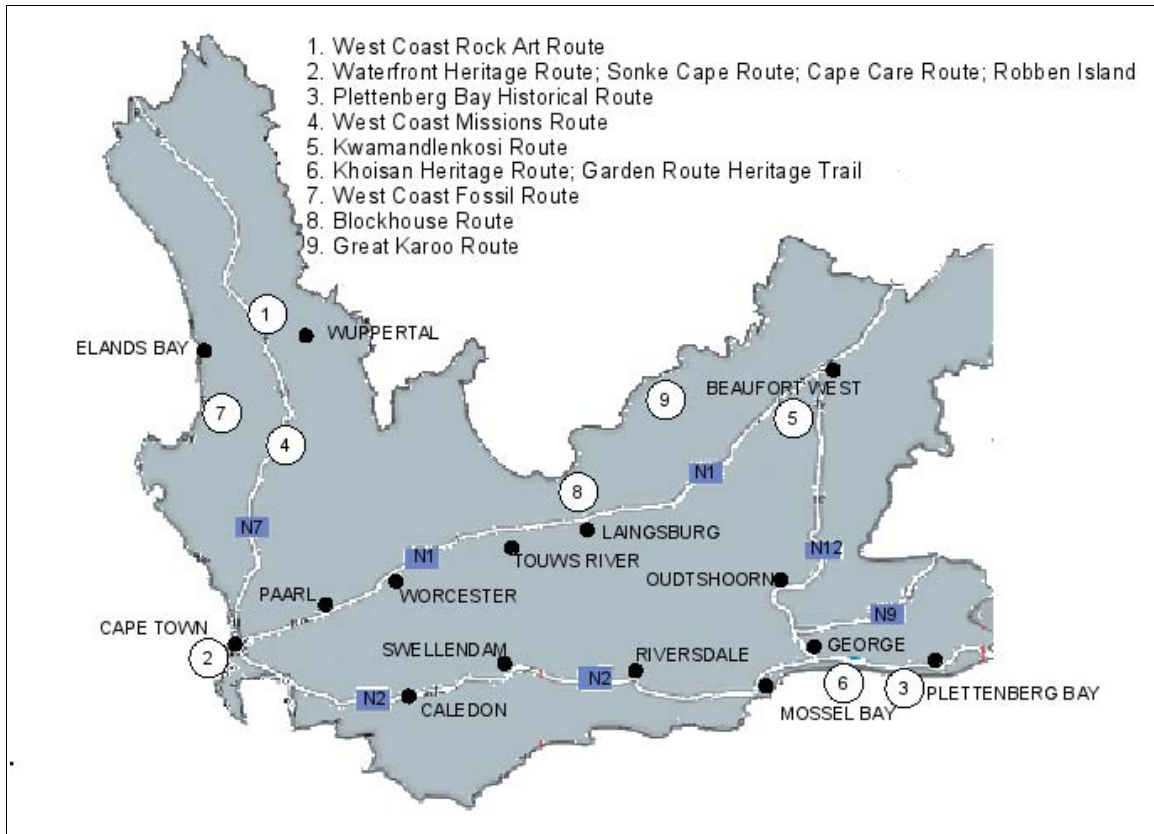
Incentives to encourage preservation and promotion of the road exist in the form of awards. The John Steinbeck Award is awarded annually to a person who has contributed significantly to the preservation of Route 66. The award, named after the author of *The Grapes of Wrath* (a story set on the route) is administered by the John Steinbeck Foundation and the National Historical Route 66 Federation. The Cyrus Avery Award, named after the person who originally developed and promoted the concept of Route 66, is given to an organisation for a significant preservation project on Route 66.

The general perception of Route 66 as a 'journey down memory lane' is not substantiated by a study undertaken by Caton & Santos (2007). They concluded that nostalgia does not encapsulate the participants' experiences of Route 66. Tourists did not appear to hold a predominantly past-orientated view of Route 66. To the extent that history was an important element of the experience, none of the tourists came away with a 'rosy' view of the past. Nor did the tourists seek and experience any familiarity along the Route. Instead they sought and experienced challenges and personal growth. Rather than being passive recipients of information, the tourists were active constructors of their own heritage experiences.

2.4.3.5 Routes of the Western Cape

South Africa has several examples of route tourism, such as the wine routes of the Western Cape (Briedenhann & Wickens 2004; Bruwer 2003), the world famous Garden Route, and Route 62 which is particularly identified with the Little Karoo. The official heritage routes in the Western Cape as identified by South African Tourism (2005) are the West Coast Rock Art Route, the Waterfront Heritage Route, Sonke Cape Route, Plettenberg Bay Historical Route, West Coast Missions Route, Kwamandkenkosi Route, Khoisan Heritage Route, Cape Care Route, the Garden Route Heritage Trail, West Coast Fossil Route, a Blockhouse Route, Robben Island and the Great Karoo Route. These routes are located on the map in Figure 2.8.

The Overberg Meander, illustrated by Figure 2.9 below, (Cape Overberg Meander (COM) 2002/2003), is another tourism marketing endeavour, invites the visitor to explore the Overberg region of the Western Cape. 'At the end of a continent...the adventure begins' so their slogan reads. The use of the word 'meander' implies (like a river as it slowly winds across the landscape) that one should take time to explore the various themes in the region. The Overberg Meander is divided into



Source: South African Tourism (2005)

Figure 2.8 Heritage routes of the Western Cape



Source: COM (2002/2003)

Figure 2.9 The Cape Overberg Meander

four environmental themes: mountains, river, meadows and coastal. Major stops on the Mountain route are Grabouw, Elgin, Villiersdorp, Genadendal and Greyton. The river route finds its inspiration in the Breede River and encompasses the towns of Swellendam, Suurbraak, Barrydale, Malgas and the towns at the mouth of the river. The third route, the Meadows, travels into the heart of the Overberg farmland. Caledon, Myddelton, Riviersonderend, Bredasdorp and Napier make up the urban component of this route. The Coastal route comprises some of the prime coastal landscape, villages and towns of the Overberg from Rooiels to Waenhuiskrans and includes some excellent whale-watching experiences and reaching the southern tip of Africa. Listed within each theme are accommodation, activities, arts, crafts, food, and beverages, to help the tourist choose their destination. Paging through the brochure, it is evident that heritage is an important attraction for the area, but little information is presented.

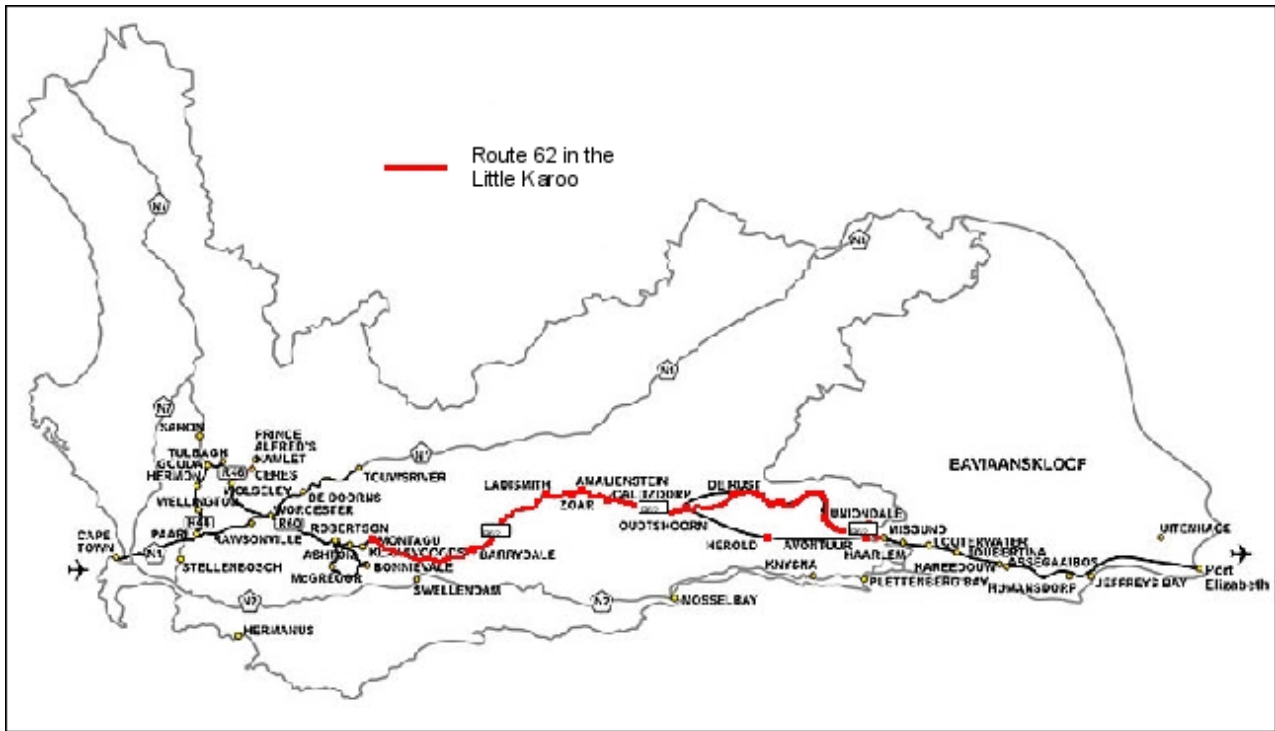
Given the history and evolving nature of the country, there is an identity crisis in South Africa. As the Cluster Consortium (1999) points out: in a real sense, the issue of what is and what is not South Africa's heritage is still highly politicised and requires definition. What characterises South African tourism routes is a distinct lack of coherent interpretation linking the various destinations along the path. Information is limited to where to stay and what to do, with little regard to the significance of the attractions or route.

2.4.3.6 Going local: Route 62 and partnerships in the Little Karoo

Partnerships and routes come in different shapes and forms. Here Route 62 is first discussed in general terms, whilst its wine and brandy routes are explored in greater detail.

Route 62 in the Little Karoo.

Route 62 extends from Paarl in the west, through the Breede River Valley, the Little Karoo and the Langkloof in the east as shown in Figure 2.10. Since the focus here is on heritage tourism in the Little Karoo, the section in the Little Karoo is distinguished in the map. Route 62 is the home-grown, South African version of Route 66. The distance from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth (via the Route 62 towns of Paarl, Tulbgh, Worcester, Montagu, Oudtshoorn and Uniondale) is 850km. Of this 400km lies within the Little Karoo as defined in this study. In contrast the distance using the N2 between the major centres is 765km. Tourists are willing to travel between 180 and 200 km (one-way) for a day trip, whilst exploring a wine route (Bruwer 2003). As such, wineries not located within that radius, like the Klein Karoo Wine Route, should consider forming partnerships with tour operators taking visitors on 2-3 day wine farm tours and local accommodation enterprises, or consider investing in their own overnight facilities.



Source: Adapted from Route 62 (2007)

Figure 2.10 Route 62 in the Little Karoo

Upon entering the Little Karoo, the traveller leaves the typical wine-lands of the Boland and the patch-work agricultural landscape of the Overberg. The Little Karoo itself is a landscape of extensive plains and foothills, surrounded by soaring mountains (SKEP 2008). This changing environment allows for great extremes in rainfall and seasonal temperatures (Gouritz Initiative 2008). Rainfall occurs most often in winter, though it becomes more evenly distributed throughout the year towards the east. Rainfall is generally low (except on the mountains, which have a higher annual rainfall) with between 150 to 300 mm per year (Acocks 1988; Hoffman 2008). Summer temperatures often peak above 40°C (Gouritz Initiative 2008). These environmental factors help foster the great diversity of plant species (SKEP 2008). The Little Karoo is home to fynbos and succulent Karoo species and the Swartberg forms part of the Cape Floral Region, declared as the sixth World Heritage Site in South Africa by UNESCO in 2004 (UNESCO 2008). In terms of land use, the Little Karoo is primarily agricultural in nature with generally deep and fertile soils. Where irrigation is possible grapes and grains (wheat, lucerne and oats - the latter mainly as summer fodder for Ostriches) are the main agricultural crops. Ostriches lie at the centre of farming in this region, although small stock and cattle are also farmed. The Little Karoo Route 62 towns and their attractions have been described above (Hoffman 2008).

The wine and brandy routes of Route 62 in the Little Karoo

Wine routes, as a special interest or alternative tourism fits well with heritage tourism as the history of the estate is often an important component of a tour. The proud history of some 350 years

of wine-making in the Cape is often presented during wine-making and cellar tours. Wine tasting is also a sensory experience, the aroma, colour and taste of the wine making each bottle unique. The tour of a wine farm often has an educational element, where the tourist can learn about wine and wine making. When marketing themselves, each wine region stresses its unique attributes in terms of the nature of the grapes and wines they produce, the soil and climate that produce those grapes and the cultural heritage that lends the wines that distinctive character. A wine route also projects an image of exploration and discovery – an odyssey – that can lead to any number of unexpected experiences that allows the tourist to engage with a diversity of natural and cultural features.

But why are wine routes important to tourism and in particular to building partnerships? The location of wine routes is generally in rural areas, which means that local communities can be directly involved, either in the wine production or in wine tourism (Bruwer 2003; Rogerson 2001), without having to relocate. It also means that the wine industry can play a vital role in regional development, employment generation, corporate investment, business growth and tourism (Bruwer 2003).

Bruwer (2003) maintains that the best framework for wine route development is found in cooperative work between government, private enterprise and associations, the tourism industry, wineries and the local council. Cooperation will harness the energies of stakeholders to facilitate regional development, creating jobs and enhancing economic and cultural development. These wine route networks (Bruwer 2003) link a wide range of cooperative behaviour through economic and social relationships and transactions. A basic assumption of network relations, or partnerships, is that stakeholders are mutually dependant upon resources and that there are gains to be made by pooling developmental efforts.

Within a wine route concept, the wineries are the most important stakeholders. The route image and reputation is only as strong as its weakest member. Bruwer (2003) points out that in South Africa, wine industry associative networks are either not particularly strong or non-existent. A disappointing 25% of the respondents in Bruwer's (2003) study could not identify the direct stakeholder in their wine route. Nor is tourism regarded as a direct stakeholder in wine routes.

Route 62 in the Little Karoo can be explored via the Klein Karoo Wine Route or alternatively through the R62 Brandy Route. There is some overlap as the wine producers also tend to have their own brandy. The Klein Karoo Wine Route begins near Cogmans Kloof in Montagu and ends at Du Rust near Meirings Poort (Klein Karoo Wine Route 2007). Fourteen cellars belong to the Klein Karoo Wine Route, mainly centred around the towns of the Little Karoo as indicated in Figure 2.11.



Source: After Klein Karoo Wine Route (2007)

Figure 2.11 Route 62 Wine and Brandy route

Cellars are listed in Table 2.4, along with the activities which tourists can experience. These include wine tasting and cellar tours, though unfortunately none of these places offer

Table 2.4 Cellars on the Klein Karoo Wine Route and R62 Brandy Route

Cellar	Wine	Brandy	Sales/Tasting	Cellar tours	Light lunches	Special attractions
1. Uitvlugt	*		*			
2. Montagu	*		*	Appointment		
3. Rietrivier	*		*	Appointment	*	
4. Joubert-Tradauw	*		*	Appointment	*	Educational farm tour
5. Barrydale	*	*	*	Appointment		
6. Ladismith	*		*	Appointment		
7. Boplaas	*	*	*	Appointment		
8. De Krans	*		*	Appointment		
9. Calitzdorp	*		*	Appointment		
10. Peter Bayly	*		Appointment	Appointment		
11. Grundheim	*	*	*			Liqueurs and witblits
12. Kango	*	*	*	Appointment	*	Rolled tobacco
13. Domein Doornkraal	*		*	Appointment		
14. Mons Ruber		*	*	Appointment		Walking routes
15. Excelsior Vlakteplaas	*		Appointment	Appointment		

Source: Route 62 (2007); Klein Karoo Wine Route (2007)

accommodation. The R62 Brandy Route cellars are also listed. The R62 Brandy Route follows the same path as the wine route. The aim of the R62 Brandy Route is to introduce the broader public

and tourists to the history of brandy distillation in the region, and of course to the different brandies on offer in the Little Karoo (Route 62 2007). The history of brandy distillation in South Africa dates back to the Dutch settlement of the Cape in the 17th Century. The marketing of the R62 Brandy Route by the Route 62 website (R62 Brandy Route 2007) maintains that the route is an addition to the area's many tourist attractions and can lend an extra dimension to the South African viticulture industry. The experience of brandy is also highlighted by saying: “once you've experienced how much love, attention, time and skill is put into each bottle of South African brandy, you'll have a greater appreciation and knowledge of the magical gift of nature we call brandy” (R62 Brandy Route 2007:1, 8). There are five brandy cellars on the R62 Brandy Route, Boplaas, an international award winner, is the highlight of this route from a connoisseur's point of view (Boplaas 2008).

There is evidence of some form of cooperation and of partnerships within the wine routes of the Little Karoo. Marketing through the Route 62 website indicates an awareness of tourism as a stakeholder and as an important mechanism to spread information about the various wine farms. Superficially there does not seem to be large scale community involvement in wine tourism, apart from the traditional roles of farm workers and tourism services, such as involvement with catering or hospitality.

In conclusion, there is great opportunity for the growth of partnerships and network development between various wine farms, local communities with special products and the public sector. The distilling of *witblits*, a traditional high-alcohol drink produced locally from grapes, is an excellent example. A major constraint to any development or analysis of the region is the lack of information and data on the profile of tourists exploring the Route 62 wine and brandy routes: Who are they; where do they come from; how long do they stay; what motivates them to travel – is it wine specifically? The Little Karoo wine route is unexplored territory.

This section has examined the third principle of heritage tourism: building partnerships, and has demonstrated its potential towards the development of Route 62 as heritage route. The next section considers the management principle in successful route development.

2.4.4 Management for heritage resource protection and conservation

The fourth principle of heritage tourism is conserving and protecting resources. This principle is explored in this section, firstly by discussing the exploitation/conservation conflict which is then considered within the South African context. Secondly, this section discusses the different ways in which heritage resources are considered significant and how these significance criteria are applied and graded in South Africa.

2.4.4.1 The exploitation-conservation conflict

Sustainable heritage management is the systematic care taken to maintain a representative sample of heritage resources in the form of objects, practices and places for the enjoyment of present and future generations (Deacon et al 2003; Grady 1977; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Nagle 2000:429; Powell 1999). The main goal of heritage management is to protect the significance of heritage resources by conserving them, preserving their context and educating people about their intrinsic value. Education relies on interpretation and, in the process of interpreting the human past, heritage professionals also contribute to the construction of memory for contemporary societies (Van Dyke & Alcock 2003). Management of cultural heritage, especially cultural heritage institutions like museums, have a duty to offer information, to present their resources to the public (Deacon et al 2003; McManamon 1993; Sowunmi 1998). However, public access to heritage resources is often in conflict with protecting the heritage resources themselves, so access needs to be mediated and controlled. Interpretation is a mechanism by which the heritage manager can control the message received by the visitor and visitor behaviour. The heritage professional is witness, in one way or another, to the history of humanity (Young 2003). The stories, not just stories about the past but also stories of discovery, personal reflections on the assessment of the place and the archaeological excavation stories are just as much a part of the heritage story of a site as the official interpretation.

Heritage tourism is big business around the world (Ashworth 1995; Poria et al 2003; Prentice 2001) and in South Africa (Fabricius 2003; South African Tourism 2005). In an effort to capitalise on this growing sector of the tourism industry, many heritage attractions are being promoted without consideration for the impact tourism may have on the heritage resources themselves (Drost 1996; McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). The feeling is that both heritage tourism and heritage management work toward different and sometimes mutually incompatible goals, thus leading to conflict (Helmy & Cooper 2002; Leighton 2007; Prideaux & Kininmont 2007). Heritage tourism consumes heritage whilst heritage management seeks to conserve. As demands and pressure increase in the use of heritage resources as tourism products, so an answer to the inherent conflict between the consumption and conservation of heritage must be found. Common ground can be found in the shared resource base and in the interpretation of heritage. “In the end, both tourism and cultural heritage management are talking about the same thing – presentation of assets – but they look at this issue from different perspectives. Interpretation tends to be a more all-encompassing idea” (McKercher & Du Cros 2002:216).

Deacon et al (2003) maintain that the heritage sector in South Africa needs to communicate more effectively with the public in order to educate them about the significance of heritage

resources. Added to this there is increasing pressure on the heritage sector to earn its own way by generating income and jobs through the exploitation of intellectual property or heritage. The challenge lies in the fundamental role of heritage management as interpreter and protector of a nation's cultural capital. By its nature, cultural capital does not lend itself to the commodification necessary for the sale of products like art and craft goods. The very appeal of these resources is their vulnerable and unique nature. Tangible heritage resources are finite; tangible heritage resources are scarce; tangible heritage resources are non-renewable and tangible heritage resources are valuable (Spennemann & Look 1994). What heritage management does have for sale is an interpretation of the past, a heritage experience that can brand a destination by association and turn it into a viable heritage tourist destination.

Tourism is, however, a legitimate user of heritage resources (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Failure by heritage management to accept this truism will lead to the development and presentation of heritage resources in a manner that is not amenable to the needs of the tourist. When this happens fewer people will visit. Those that do will not be as satisfied with the experience. All this threatens the commercial viability of the heritage attraction. Conversely, the consequence may mean continued high level of visitation, but without proper interpretation the message signalling how the resource is to be used is lost. This results in tourists defining the experience themselves, placing the sustainable management of the heritage resource in danger.

On the other hand, heritage resources have legitimate intrinsic value, above and beyond their use value as a tourism product. These values are meaningful to other users beyond tourists. Tourism can overwhelm a heritage resource and damage the very essence of what makes it appealing in the first place. When some elements of the tourism industry fail to explain these intrinsic values the quality of the tourist experience can decline. At worst, the unethical actions of some tourism operators that not only permit but encourage inappropriate uses of cultural assets can lead directly to the destruction of the resource or to open conflict with local custodians or tradition bearers (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). One example of this is climbing Uluru (Ayers Rock). Uluru is of particular significance to Aboriginal Australians. Spiritually they have a very close connection to the land. The Uluru climb is the ancestral route taken by Mala men upon arrival at Uluru. Whilst the climb is not prohibited the Anangu would prefer that visitors choose not to climb out of respect for traditional laws and culture (Uluru 2005). Despite attempts to discourage climbing, visitors continue to do so – bringing heritage and tourism into conflict (McKercher & Du Cros 2002).

A balance is achieved when heritage tourism helps to protect the resources that define a community's distinctive character, thus sustaining interest for visitors and quality of life for residents. Heritage tourism can provide an effective economic advantage by attracting higher-than-

average yield visitors within an expanding market sector (NWHO 1999). This means increasing challenges for managing the flow of visitors to cultural sites. The solution lies in the promotion of symbiosis rather than conflict between the industry and the cultural resource (McKercher & Du Cros 2002; NWHO 1999). Well-managed heritage tourism integrates resource stewardship with economic development, allowing social and environmental benefits to accompany economic gains. Cross-discipline partnerships are essential for this process.

The social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism are well discussed in literature (e.g. Glasson et al 1995; Mill & Morrison 1992; Nagle 2000; NWHO 1999) and acknowledged in the developed world. However, as McKercher & Du Cros (2002) point out, in areas where rapid tourism development is under way and an ethos of conservation has not been established, a surprising ignorance of the potentially negative consequences of tourism exists. The perception is that the economic benefits of tourism far outweigh any adverse impacts on the heritage resource. The developed world now advocates a more balanced approach to tourism and heritage, an approach which acknowledges both the beneficial and detrimental impacts of tourism on heritage resources. In the best of worlds, tourism plays an important role in the overall management and presentation of heritage resources. Heritage management strategies incorporate tourism needs into heritage activities. On the other hand tourism appreciates that heritage products are treated differently from other tourism products as they exist to serve more than the narrow interests of tourism.

2.4.4.2 Management structure conflicts in South Africa

The management structure of heritage and tourism in South Africa can aggravate potential conflict between the sectors. Heritage tourism is a commercial activity, driven by profit or the desire of a government to achieve economic benefits such as job creation (DEAT 1996). Heritage management, in contrast, seeks to conserve and protect a representative sample of our heritage for the future (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). The distance, as illustrated by Figure 2.12, between the two sectors is exacerbated by the fact that in South Africa, heritage falls under the jurisdiction of both the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) (Deacon et al 2003, Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Nationally, tourism is developed by DEAT. In the Western Cape heritage matters are under the control of the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, whilst tourism falls under the Department of Economic Development and Tourism. Naturally such diverse reporting bodies can lead to miscommunication of goals and intentions at best, and no communication at all at worst.

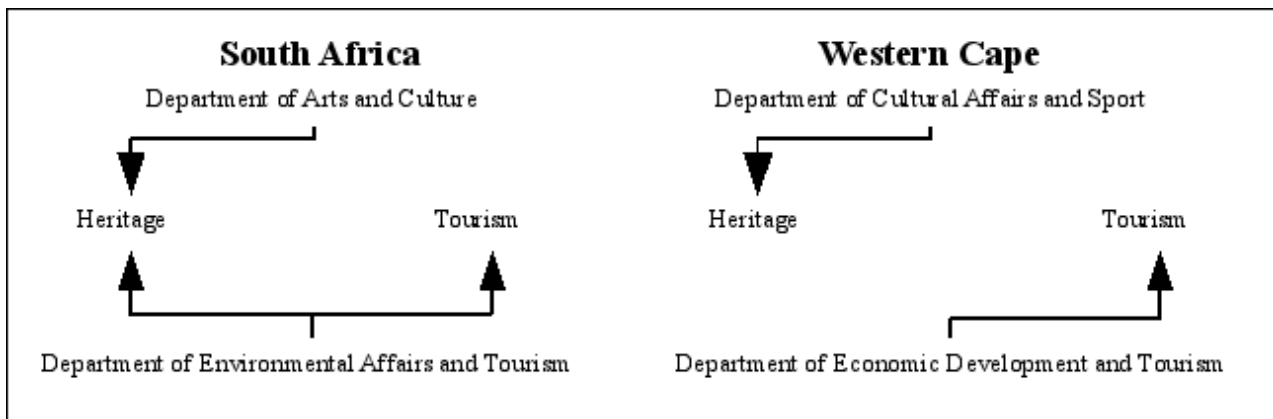


Figure 2.12 The accountability of heritage and tourism management in South Africa and the Western Cape

The situation on the ground is not much better. The relationship between heritage tourism and heritage management in the Western Cape can best be described as peaceful coexistence or blissful ignorance (McKercher & Du Cros 2002; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Peaceful coexistence describes a situation where both sets of stakeholders share the heritage resource but feel little or no reason to cooperate. According to McKercher & Du Cros (2002) this situation is most likely to occur when visitation levels are low or when large numbers of visitors consume the attraction in an unobtrusive way. Management procedures do not interfere with the tourism experience. Blissful ignorance or parallel existence occurs when heritage tourism and heritage management operate independently of each other. In this situation little tourism activity occurs, or tourism activity is focused on other attractions.

The general state of “blissful ignorance or peaceful coexistence” (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005) pervading the Western Cape is in evidence in the Little Karoo. Through personal observations during field surveys, it was found that heritage tourism management in the Little Karoo is conspicuous by the absence of management mechanisms like information boards and monitoring. In part this is due to the evolving nature of the heritage industry in South Africa. The NHRA (1999) has restructured the governing bodies of heritage in South Africa at national, provincial and local levels (Wurz 2007, pers com). It has taken time to establish these bodies and get them operational. Indeed, some Provincial Heritage Resources Authorities (PHRA’s), have not yet been established. Only the PHA's for the Western Cape, Heritage Western Cape (HWC) and Amafa KwaZulu Natal (Amafa means 'heritage' in isiZulu (Heritage-KwaZulu Natal 2008)) have been established (Van der Merwe 2003).

The NHRA (1999 44(1)) reviews the manner in which protected resources are to be presented. Where appropriate, heritage resources authorities and local authorities are to co-ordinate and promote the presentation and use of the culturally significant places for which they are responsible. These places are to be presented for public enjoyment, education, research and tourism.

Management steps should include the erection of plaques and interpretive facilities; the training and provision of guides; the monitoring of exhibitions; the erection of memorials, and any other means necessary for the effective presentation of the national estate.

The South African Heritage Resources Agency develops policy and guidelines for the management of heritage resources. The Archaeology, Palaeontology and Meteorite Unit of SAHRA is responsible for the management of archaeological resources. Their activities provide a good example of best practice heritage management principles. For example, SAHRA (2002b) has developed Minimum Standards for archaeological sites and rock art sites open to the public. These standards contain specifications to prevent damage to archaeological and rock art sites (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Before any site may be opened to the public, individuals and organisations must apply for a permit from the relevant heritage resources authority (either SAHRA or a PHRA like HWC). The Minimum Standards have been devised specifically for archaeological resources, which in this study are also applied to historical resources identified for each thematic assessment. "Archaeological" as defined by the NHRA (1999:2(ii)(a)) means material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse, are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures. Another possible requirement for sites open to the public is the compilation of a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) by a registered heritage practitioner. The SAHRA (2002a) guidelines for CMP's make recommendations regarding detailed site recording, research and site management measures (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). The CMP guidelines also outline procedures to set up adequate infrastructure, monitoring the site, visitor experience and the impact and interpretation of the heritage resource.

Heritage Western Cape (HWC) is still busy establishing many of its policies and regulations. They will use the policies and guidelines developed by SAHRA to formulate similar documents for the Western Cape (Jerardino 2005, pers com). In terms of tourism management, Jerardino (2005, pers com) says that HWC is under no obligation to present interpretation material about heritage sites to the public. A minimum requirement is the placement of a plaque on a site if it is a declared Provincial Heritage Site (PHS). Management and conservation guidelines may be written for a site, with the consent of the owner. HWC is also allowed, but not obliged, to implement conservation measures (e.g. fences), again with the consent of the site's owners.

2.4.4.3 Dimensions of heritage significance as management criterion

The concept of significance is central to both the assessment and management of heritage resources and as potential selling points with which to attract visitors. Heritage resources can have different types of meaning and significance (Spennemann & Look 1994). Significance is embedded

in the place itself (Truscott 2001), in the fabric, the setting and use of that place. The meaning of a place is significant to people. People may have an association or special connection with a place. This connection includes social or spiritual values and a feeling of cultural responsibility for that place. The participation of people for whom a place has special associations is needed in defining its significance. Based on these largely subjective meanings and values, management decisions are made.

The process for assessing significance is threefold (Schiffer & Gumerman 1977). Firstly, explicit criteria for judging resources in relation to each type of significance must be specified. Secondly, the fit between criteria and the heritage resource is evaluated. Thirdly, an overall judgement must be arrived at, based on a weighing of the types of significance that have been considered. The most common flaw in evaluating significance is failing to treat all relevant types of significance. The NHRA (1999 2(vi)) identifies eight type of significance or value: aesthetic; architectural; historical; scientific; social; spiritual; linguistic; and technological. These are discussed below with additional types of significance from others sources (e.g. Schiffer & Gumerman 1977; Parks Canada 1999; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005).

Aesthetic significance is usually associated with natural heritage but can apply equally to rock art or a cultural landscape (Spennemann & Look 1994). It can also be a response derived from the experience of the environment or a particular natural or cultural attribute within it. The response can be emotion, a sense of the spirit of place or any factor which has a strong impact on human thought, feeling and attitudes (Truscott 2001).

Architectural significance refers to structures which represent a particular building type, style, period or major architect (Davie 2004). More practically, architectural significance, like aesthetic significance, can be assessed in terms of form, scale, colour, texture, design and technical integrity (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005).

A place can be said to be *historically significant* when it has a connection to an historic event, person or people (Spennemann & Look 1994). This marks a potential for the identification and reconstruction of specific cultural periods, lifestyles and events. If resources provide a typical or well-preserved example of a prehistoric culture, historic tribe, period of time or category of human activity they are to be considered historically significant. This extends to an association with specific individual events or aspects of history, including for example the history of archaeology (Scovill et al 1977; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005).

Natural, archaeological and historical sites have the potential to answer scientific questions (Spennemann & Look 1994). For example: *Scientific significance* means that there is the potential for using archaeological resources to establish reliable generalisations concerning past societies and

cultures and to derive explanations for the differences and similarities between them. Data overlap between historical and scientific significance might occur. The treatment and scope of information is different however. Generalisation and explanation require controlled comparison of statistical samples from all categories of archaeological data relevant to past human life i.e. artefacts, settlements, dietary remains and evidence of past environments. The value of data is determined in a regional archaeological context (Scovill et al 1977). Research potential is evaluated by an analysis of surface collections and test excavations. The importance of archaeological remains and scientific potential (Schiffer & Gumerman 1977; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005) should be assessed by consideration of :

- The relative abundance of the resources;
- The degree to which specific resources and their contextual-environmental situation are confined to the potential environmental impact;
- The cultural and environmental relationships of the archaeology of the impact area to the archaeology of the relevant physiographic province;
- The variety of evidence for human activities and their environmental surroundings that is contained in the impact area;
- The range of research topics to which the resources may contribute; and
- Specific deficiencies in current knowledge that the study of the impacted resources may correct.

A place that embodies meaning important to a community (Spennemann & Look 1994) has *social significance*. Places of tradition, ritual and ceremony (Truscott 2001; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005) may have social value for a particular group within a community. The same place may have different heritage values for various communities, and these values may also be in conflict. Social significance can also be the direct and indirect ways society at large benefits from the study and preservation of heritage resources (Scovill et al 1977).

Spiritual or *ethnic significance* relates to heritage resources which have religious, mythological, social or other importance for a discrete population or community. Assessing spiritual significance requires consultation with groups who have occupied a site, descendants of such groups and groups who presently own or live near sites under consideration. Such sites can become tourist attractions and a matter of pride to local communities (Schiffer & Gumerman 1977; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005).

Linguistic significance is important in a country like South Africa, which has eleven official languages. Unofficial languages, like Nama, are quickly vanishing and need some form of

intervention if they are to survive. Linguistic diversity, groups and places with associations with such aspects are significant (Kapoor-Vijay & Blackmore 2000).

Technological significance refers to the myriad technological achievements made by the people of a country, from the Stone Age to the present day.

Wurz & Van der Merwe (2005:18) have included other types of significance: The *experiential significance of the surrounding landscape* relates to the extent to which the natural setting, in the terms of landscape form, scale, colour, smells and texture, enhance the visitor's experience; The *educational value and potential* of a heritage resource can be defined as the potential a resource has for interpretation and transformation into a setting which can be used to facilitate learning; and a resource may also have *significance as a potential national unifying socio-cultural symbol*. A place may have symbolic value that helps to build common identities and reinforce national myths and cultural symbols.

To summarise, heritage resources have both an extrinsic and intrinsic significance. Extrinsic significance, mostly related to economic activities like heritage tourism, may prove fleeting and ephemeral. The intrinsic significance of heritage resources should receive management priority as these are the truly sustainable values we wish to conserve for future generations.

2.4.4.4 Application of heritage significance rating in South Africa and the Little Karoo

This section examines the significance criteria and grading of heritage in South Africa. A comparison is made between the significance criteria and grading typology of South Africa and Australia.

Significance application in Australia and South Africa compared

In South Africa the NHRA (1999(3):a-i) prescribes a nine point list of criteria, which are listed in Table 2.5, with which the intrinsic, comparative and contextual significance of heritage resources are assessed for management purposes. In conjunction to the types of significance discussed in the previous section, the relative benefits and costs of protection can be evaluated according to the criteria set out in Table 2.5. The table also shows how closely the South African and Australian significance criteria resemble each other. The Australian heritage system under the Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH 2004) has a similar list of criteria to the NHRA (1999) as set out in legislation as the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act (EPBCA 1999) and amended in 2002 and 2006 as the Environment and Heritage Legislation Amendment Bill (EHLAB 2002; 2006) and is set out in Table 2.6. The one discordant note is that the EPBCA (1999) does not have a criterion relating to slavery, an aspect of history which does not apply to Australia as British slavery was abolished before the European settlement of Australia.

Table 2.5 Significance criteria for heritage rating in South Africa and Australia

South Africa (NHRA 1999)	Australia (EPBCA 1999)
a) Importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history	A) Importance in the community, or pattern of Australia's history
b) Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage	B) Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural heritage
c) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage	C) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural heritage
d) Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects	D) Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: (I) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or (II) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments
e) Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group	E) Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group
f) Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement of a particular period	F) Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement of a particular period
g) Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons	G) Strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons
h) Strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa	H) Strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history
i) Sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa	

Source: EPBCA (1999); NHRA (1999)

However the EHLAB (2002) has introduced a criterion dealing with the places that have significant heritage value because of their importance as part of Indigenous tradition.

The NHRA (1999) criteria are somewhat vague in practice (Wurz 2007, pers com) and offer little guidance in assessing a heritage resource (Kotze & Jansen van Rensburg 2003). The New South Wales Heritage Office (NSWHO) has devised a number of guidelines (listed in Table 2.6) for the inclusion and exclusion of heritage resources for the different types of significance set out by the EHLAB (2002). The NSWHO guidelines are pointers rather than constraints which can assist decision making during the evaluation process. As the significance criteria of Australia so closely resemble those of South Africa, the NSWHO guidelines can easily be transferred to be used in the evaluation of significance in South Africa. Table 2.6 sets out the amended list of significance criteria for Australia (EHLAB 2002) and the NSWHO guidelines (NSWHO 2000).

Table 2.6 Australian clarification criteria and guidelines for inclusion and exclusion

Australian clarification of criteria (EHLAB 2002)	Inclusion guidelines (NSWHO 2000)	Exclusion guidelines (NSWHO 2000)
<p>A.1.Importance in the evolution of Australian flora, fauna, landscape or climate.</p> <p>A.2.Importance in maintaining existing processes or natural systems at the regional or national scale.</p> <p>A.3.Importance in exhibiting unusual richness or diversity of flora, fauna, landscape or cultural features.</p> <p>A.4.Importance for association with events, developments or cultural phases which have had a significant role in the human occupation and evolution of the nation, State, region or community.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Shows evidence of significant human activity •Is associated with a significant activity or historical place •Maintains or shows the continuity of historical process or activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Has incidental or unsubstantiated connections with historically important activities or processes •Provides evidence of activities or processes that are of dubious historical importance •Has been so altered that it can no longer provide evidence of a particular association
<p>B.1.Importance for rare, endangered or uncommon flora, fauna, communities, ecosystems, natural landscapes or phenomena, or as a wilderness.</p> <p>B.2.Importance in demonstrating a distinctive way of life, custom, process, land-use, function or design no longer practised, in danger of being lost, or of exceptional interest.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Provides evidence of a defunct custom, way of life or process •Demonstrates a process, custom, or other human activity that is in danger of being lost •Shows unusually accurate evidence of a significant human activity •Is the only example of its kind •Demonstrates designs or techniques of exceptional interest •Shows rare evidence of a significant human activity important to the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is not rare •Are numerous but under threat
<p>C.1.Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of Australian natural history, by virtue of its use as a research site, teaching site, type locality, reference or benchmark site.</p> <p>C.2.Importance for information contributing to a wider understanding of the history of human occupation of Australia.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Has the potential to yield new or further substantial scientific and/or archaeological information •Is an important benchmark or reference site or type •Provides evidence of past human cultures that is unavailable elsewhere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Has little archaeological or research potential •Only contains information that is readily available from other resources or archaeological sites •The knowledge gained would be irrelevant to research on science, human history or culture
<p>D.1.Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of the range of landscapes, environments or ecosystems, the attributes of which identify them as being characteristic of their class.</p> <p>D.2.Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristic of the range of human activities in the Australian environment (including way of life, philosophy, custom, process, land use, design or technique).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is a fine example of its type •Has attributes typical of a particular way of life, philosophy, custom, significant process, design, technique or activity •Is a significant variation to a class of items •Is a part of a group which collectively illustrates a representative type •Is outstanding because of its setting, condition or size •Is outstanding because of its integrity or the esteem in which it is held 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is a poor example of its type •Does not include or has lost the range of characteristics that make up a significant variation of a type
<p>E.1.Importance for a community for aesthetic characteristics held in high esteem or otherwise valued by the community.</p>	n/a	n/a
<p>F.1.Importance for its technical, creative, design or artistic excellence, innovation or achievement.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Shows, or is associated with, creative or technical innovation or achievement •Is the inspiration for a creative or technical innovation or achievement •Is aesthetically distinctive •Has landmark qualities •Exemplifies a particular taste, style or technology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is not a major work by an important designer or artist •Has lost its design or technical integrity •Its positive visual or sensory appeal or landmark and scenic qualities have been more than temporarily degraded •Has only a loose association with a creative or technical achievement
<p>G.1.Importance as a place highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, symbolic, cultural, educational or social associations.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is important for its associations with an identifiable group •Is important to a community's sense of place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Is only important for amenity reasons •Is retained only in preference to a proposed alternative
<p>H.1.Importance for close associations with individuals whose activities have been significant within the history of the nation, state or region.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Shows evidence of a significant human occupation •Is associated with a significant event, person, or group of persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Has incidental or unsubstantiated connections with historically important people or events •Provides evidence of people or events that are of dubious historical importance •Has been so altered that it can no longer provide evidence of a particular association
<p>I) The place has significant heritage value because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.</p>	n/a	n/a

Sources: adapted from EHLAB (2002); NSWHO (2000)

Grading of heritage in South Africa

In South Africa management of heritage resources includes the conservation, presentation and improvement of a place protected in terms of the NHRA (1999 2(xxiii)). In order to facilitate the management of such places, heritage resources are graded based on the level of significance derived from the criteria discussed above. Grading, together with the criteria listed in Table 2.5, is used to assess the intrinsic, comparative and contextual significance of heritage resources and the relevant benefits and costs of their protection. Grading has direct implications for the management of heritage resources, as it forms part of the process towards a formal declaration of a heritage resource as either a National Heritage Site, Provincial Heritage Site or placement on the Register of Heritage Resources (SAHRA 2004). As Table 2.7 demonstrates, these three grades (NHRA 1999 7(1)) relate to the significance level of management required by the heritage resource.

Table 2.7 The structure of grading responsibility in South Africa

Grade	Management level	Responsible authority
Grade I	National	South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA)
Grade II	Provincial	Provincial Heritage Resource Agency (PHRA), e.g. Heritage Western Cape (HWC)
Grade III	Local	Local authority

At present (Ndlovu 2007, pers com) no local authorities have been given approval to decide on the various sections of the NHRA. HWC remains responsible for all provincial and local heritage resources, of which a list for the Little Karoo appears in Appendix B.

Grade I comprises those heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they have special national significance and can be declared a National Heritage Site. *Grade II* are those heritage resources which, although forming a part of the national estate, can be considered to have special qualities within the context of a province or a region and therefore a Provincial Heritage Site. Other heritage resources worthy of conservation fall into *Grade III* and are listed on the Register. National Heritage Sites are administered by SAHRA, Provincial Heritage Sites by Provincial Heritage Resource Agencies (PHRA's) and Registered sites are the responsibility of Local Authorities.

Heritage management, whether for tourism or other purposes, falls under the jurisdiction of SAHRA on a national level (Grade I sites). Provincial Heritage Resource Authorities (PHRA's) like Heritage Western Cape (HWC) administer heritage sites on a provincial level (Grade II sites) while Local Authorities are supposed to look after heritage resources which are of local significance (Grade III sites). The absence of Local Authority structures for this purpose means that responsibility for Local Heritage Sites has devolved to HWC (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Furthermore, all National Monuments were demoted, becoming Provincial Heritage Sites (PHS)

with the enactment of the NHRA in 1999. Some sites in the Western Cape have already been declared National Heritage Sites (NHS), and others are in the process of being reviewed. Sites under review will remain PHS's until the new review process is completed (Wurz 2005, pers com). This means that most, if not all, previous National Monument sites in the Western Cape are now under the jurisdiction of HWC. This poses a challenge for HWC, as it was only established in early 2004 after a protracted period of legal and procedural complications (Van der Merwe 2003) and is still appointing staff (Jerardino 2005, in Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Heritage management in South Africa still has a long way to go in order to be effective and pro-active (Ndlovu 2007, per com).

The NSWHO has a wide range of accessible practical information on heritage and heritage assessment available on their web site. The NSWHO (2000) also has a grading system which rates heritage resources as having exceptional, high, moderate, little and intrusive significance based in part on the degree of intactness of the resource. *Exceptional* heritage resources are rare or outstanding resources of local or state significance. They have a high degree of intactness and can be interpreted relatively easily. Resources with a *high* significance have a high degree of original fabric and demonstrate a key element of the resource's significance. The fact that these heritage resources have a slight degree of alteration does not detract from their significance. *Altered* or *modified* resources are said to have a moderate significance. These resources have elements with little heritage value, but contribute to the overall significance of the resource. Alterations which detract from significance mean that the heritage resource has little significance and is difficult to interpret. The last grade is *intrusive*, where damage to the heritage resource is so severe that it no longer has any significance.

The South African significance criteria as set out by the NHRA (1999 3:a-i) seem to be difficult to implement and to have little practical application. They are broad concepts and should be used as a starting point in the evaluation of heritage. The great similarities between South African and Australian legislation allow for direct comparison between significance criteria. This allows for the use of the NSWHO (2000) guidelines for inclusion and exclusion in the assessment of South African significance. Grading of sites into categories (Grades I-III) enables sites to receive the appropriate level of management from national, provincial or local heritage authorities. Grading in South Africa does not seem to take into account the integrity of a site, unlike the NSWHO (2000) approach. Ultimately, a number of lessons can be learnt by South African heritage from the Australian examples.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has dealt with the concept of heritage tourism by firstly placing it within

sustainable development, sustainable tourism and cultural tourism contexts. The principles which define heritage tourism make it relatively unique and separate from other forms of alternative tourism. The expression and implementation of those principles are what draw millions of people to heritage destinations around the world in ever growing numbers.

At the heart of heritage tourism principles lies the quest for an *authentic experience*. This chapter has shown that despite the many definitions of authenticity the ultimate experience of authenticity lies in the eye of the beholder. Each visitor will experience authenticity in their own terms, given their own frame of reference. The literature review has shown that there are different types of heritage tourists who engage at different levels of authenticity and at different depths of experience.

The second principle of heritage tourism is creating a *learning environment*, generally achieved through interpretation. Interpretation serves two purposes. Firstly it presents the information currently available about a site, and secondly it informs the visitor of how to behave at a particular site. Interpretation can therefore be used as a management tool as well as for engaging the visitor in a learning experience. Themes are part of making interpretation understandable and accessible by using stories or narratives in explaining the significance of place. Themes serve as markers, guiding tourists in their search for an authentic experience.

Building partnerships is the third principle of heritage tourism. Partnerships between stakeholders, in particular the involvement of local communities, is vital to sustainable heritage tourism. Route tourism has been used to illustrate the building of partnerships. The use of the authentic experience, guided by interpretation and themes, is nowhere better exemplified than in heritage route tourism. Heritage routes, particularly those that explore regions, bring together towns, individuals and other stakeholders in a cooperative effort.

The last principle of heritage tourism is *conservation and protection of resources*. Heritage management is often an area of contention between those that wish to conserve heritage and those wishing to sell the experience. Some countries, notably Australia, have examples of close cooperation between the tourism and heritage sectors. South Africa is struggling towards this goal. Unfortunately the state of 'blissful ignorance' still characterises much of the tourism industry with regard to heritage management. In part this is due to the slow implementation of the recommendations of the National Heritage Resources Act. Therefore there are just not enough heritage professionals on the ground to deal with the explosion in heritage tourism.

The discussion on heritage tourism in the Little Karoo has raised more questions than it has answered. There is a dearth of relevant literature dealing with the Little Karoo specifically. Often the region is placed with other regions for administrative, management or tourism reasons, with

little appreciation of its diverse characteristics and unique needs. The overwhelming image whilst travelling Route 62 is of undiscovered country, a back road that only a privileged few have found. This is not necessarily true, but the image remains.

Despite its potential, the Little Karoo has not optimally implemented heritage tourism principles. It does provide an authentic experience. It can provide a learning environment. The Route 62 initiative is a sound start to partnership building. The question is how positive partnerships between a variety of stakeholders can be realised.

The Little Karoo has been discussed in terms of the four principles of heritage tourism. The conclusion reached is that these principles are not optimally implemented in the Little Karoo. A thematic approach can be used to work towards a more authentic tourism experience. This will be explored in the rest of the thesis by means of four case studies, three of which are located on passes. The passes of the Little Karoo offer a perfect entry point, both to the region and to the stories of the past. But first, the next chapter examines themes and thematic frameworks and how they organise and interpret heritage resources.

CHAPTER 3: A THEMATIC APPROACH TO HERITAGE INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

This chapter presents a new way of organising, interpreting and presenting the heritage narrative and heritage resources of the passes of the Little Karoo as exponents par excellence of heritage resources, especially in this regional context. The concept of a thematic framework as a different way of telling the heritage story of the region is outlined first. A framework provides multiple story lines for a place and a broader understanding of all its cultural values. At issue here is the way in which heritage stories can be presented. The multiple layers of stories associated with a heritage place are not easy to present to the public. It is suggested (AHC 2001b; Parks Canada 2000) that such stories can best be presented in the form of a thematic framework. Frameworks have been used by the USA, Australian and Canadian heritage management agencies, in order to express their interpretation of the human experience. The NPS Thematic Framework (NPS 2003a) is the assertion of the American human experience, as is the Australian Historic Framework (AHC 2001b:4) and the National Historic Sites of Canada (NHSC) System Plan (Parks Canada 2000). Here, these countries form case studies for the evaluation of the structure and use of thematic frameworks. Subsequently, a thematic framework and theme groups for the organisation, management and presentation of heritage in South African tourism is suggested here, and applied to heritage resources in the Little Karoo. Later chapters follow this format in the form of thematic site assessments.

3.1 THE THEMATIC FRAMEWORK AS A MEANS TO ORGANISE REGIONAL NARRATIVE

This section introduces the concept of a thematic framework as a means of organizing a regional heritage narrative. The principle around which the thematic framework is generally organized is the human experience, whilst the mechanism by which the framework is presented is the theme.

3.1.1 Defining the heritage narrative through the human experience

The stories of the past (Clark et al 2003) can be found in material culture, the objects and traces of past lives. The narratives can even be found in the landscape, as demonstrated by the European Pathways to the Cultural Landscape Project (Clark et al 2003). The 12 constituent projects cover most if not all of Europe's landscapes. The theme or narrative of the projects is that the landscape of Europe is cultural, with multiple layers of evidence or stories. The landscape has been created by human actions and as a construct by human ideas and thought. The idea that the

environment is both human and natural is discussed in greater length later in this chapter.

The term 'presentation' seems a very static concept, which does not reflect the current inclination of interacting with the past, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Clark et al 2003; ICOMOS ICIP 2007). The word 'presentation' connotes a complete product, the last word in the narrative. The idea of communication as a dialogue, an exchange of ideas and views of the past better fulfils the purpose behind presentation, turning presentation into interpretation. Communication between the heritage experts and the public requires more interaction, an exchange of ideas, perceptions and perspectives (ICOMOS ICIP 2007). The term 'communication' denotes the imparting of news or information, access or a means of access from one place to another. Communication connotes an impression of 'Here is what is known, this is how the past has been interpreted, but this is not the whole story – what do you think?'. A passage or connection by rail, road, or telephone forms the means by which information is transmitted between places. This idea ties in with and plays on the use of the passes of the Little Karoo as a conduit of knowledge and not merely a road between A and B. As the visitor travels over or through a pass so the past is revealed in the tangible form of heritage resources and intangibly through the multiple stories associated with the passes.

Ideally, heritage interpretation is about trying to communicate past human experiences to present and future generations. Heritage can be communicated through common experiences. Experts communicate the human experience of the past by telling the narrative of the heritage resources that best express that experience. These are what allow us to identify with other and ancient cultures. We all experience similar things, the same aspects, needs and dreams are expressed in diverse and surprising ways. It is the motivation behind these actions that lures the curious to seek answers to the variety in the human experience. The human experience is what drives us to study the past and is a useful way of illustrating past experiences through material remains (cf. Renfrew & Bahn 1991:149-152). As discussed in Chapter 2, it is also a reason why people travel to other parts of the world: to explore other cultures and how they have expressed their interpretation of the human experience.

The essential human experience is remarkably similar world-wide. It is how people have expressed their experiences of living in this world that has evolved and changed through time. It is these changes and differences that draw people into exploring other cultures (past and present) and other countries. Heritage is the expression of the human experience, in different guises, through time. The expression of the human experience can be seen in resources held to be significant to the heritage of a nation or culture. The stories, or narratives, of heritage resources associated with the human experience, are placed within a thematic framework and presented to the public.

Five common experiences (AHC 2001b; NPS 2003a; Parks Canada 2000), to which humans can relate, are the common denominator of the thematic frameworks presented in this chapter. The five common experiences are: the *natural environment*, the *places we live*, how we *materially sustain ourselves*, the *governing* of our lives and countries, and the *society or culture* we express ourselves in. The natural environment forms the arena within which human experience takes place. The environment shapes how we move, where we settle, what we eat, how and where we earn a living. It subtly influences almost every aspect of lives, inspiring us spiritually and creatively. People move from one place to another, settle in a particular place for a certain reason. We all need to eat, we all have material requirements that will enhance our lives. These needs are addressed by the economic lifestyle we find ourselves in. Once the material demands of our lives have been met, the more ephemeral, but no less important, aspects of our social life must be satisfied. The governing of our lives, whether informal within the family structure, or formal on a national government scale, directs our lives. The human experience, the thoughts and creativity which make the human experience unique, is one set within a co-operative society. Structures, organisations, formal or informal again guide our steps.

3.1.2 Organising the heritage narrative by means of themes

The human experience is vast and complex and far from easy to comprehend at a glance. In an effort to understand the human experience in terms of heritage, various heritage institutions (AHC 2001b; NPS 2003a; Parks Canada 2000) have created general themes that encompass human experience. By associating general themes with heritage resources, the expectations of both the heritage professional and the tourist can be guided (Pine & Gilmore 1998). Themes create a structure around which information and impressions can be organised for visitors. Themes can place heritage resources into a larger context, and imbue such resources with greater significance (AHC 2001b). A thematic study provides a framework around which heritage experiences can be organised. As an interpretation aid the thematic study is easily accessible to all and can be manipulated for various audiences, from the school child to the serious heritage enthusiast. Set within a thematic framework a heritage resource can be linked to other resources in that place or given a wider context by association with other places within the same framework. Prestige can be gained by being linked with a heritage organization, which can lend authenticity to an attraction, for example World Heritage Status lends legitimacy to heritage attractions (Buckley 2002). Trends in heritage tourism, linked to themes, can aid heritage management by locating heritage resources that are at risk of tourism impact for monitoring.

A thematic framework is grounded on the identification of themes. Themes, a collection of like activities, processes, patterns of use or experiences, can be used to understand and organise

resources by relating them to their wider environment. A thematic framework is a set of themes relating to a subject, region or activity that provides a systematic method for discussing heritage resources. Frameworks can be used in different ways. A framework can be used to organise or define history, to identify places, persons and events in a holistic manner (Parks Canada 2000). They can help organise the narratives of the area. They aid management decisions and define presentation programmes. A framework is a comprehensive way of looking at a country's past.

Broadly applied themes form a base on which to build levels of national, regional and local heritage interpretation (Clark et al 2003). The USA, Australia and Canada use slightly different terminology to express the same concept, as demonstrated in Table 3.1. On a national level the US

Table 3.1 Terminology used by different national thematic frameworks

	USA	Australia	Canada	South Africa (suggested)
Level 1 - National	Themes	Theme Groups	Themes	Theme Groups
Level 2 – Regional/Provincial/State	Topics	Themes	Sub-themes	Themes
Level 3 – Local/Other		Sub-themes		Sub-themes

and Canada both use themes, while Australia uses theme groups. At a regional level the US uses topics while Canada uses sub-themes and Australia sub-themes. Australia is the only country to use a *third* level for local heritage, using the term sub-themes. Given the similarities between South Africa and Australia discussed in Chapter 2, as well as its practical accommodation at the local level, it is suggested that South Africa follows the Australian example.

Frameworks consist of several theme groups or themes at a national level. One short sentence must convey the full meaning of the theme, with expansion in the form of sub-themes. This illustrates the need for themes to be simple to communicate. These themes encapsulate a general network of more specific sub-themes at a regional level. A local facet can then be developed within the theme, sub-theme or topic level which are applied in a regional context. Australia uses a third tier of sub-themes to further structure the thematic framework. The themes are not hierarchical and can link to several themes or sub-themes (AHC 2001b). Imagine, as Kass (2003) suggests, that stories related to heritage resources are listed in a single book. This book is large, and is divided into a number of volumes. Each volume addresses a single theme and is broken up into chapters. Each chapter corresponds to a sub-theme. The contents of the chapter refers to the heritage resources that can best illustrate the stories within that sub-theme.

The United States, Australia and Canada have frameworks in place and share similar historical contexts with South Africa. The prehistoric past is a point of connection, as is the colonial past. All four countries are former British colonies, with similar historical implications, though South Africa has a longer period of human occupation. The First Peoples and pre-colonial

inhabitants of all four nations have had their heritage obscured (Parks Canada 2000). Minority histories, certain colonial and modern populations, later immigrants from Asia, Europe and elsewhere around the globe, find their contribution to the heritage of their adopted homes neglected. The contribution of women to the history of a nation is an evolving issue within heritage (Nugent 2002). These issues have been inadequately addressed in communicating the past of South Africa, and lessons on presenting these minority sections can be learnt from the international case studies.

How thematic frameworks are applied in the USA, Australia and Canada is discussed next. These frameworks are used not only to tell the stories of the past, but also to manage cultural resources. This is essential as heritage resources are non-renewable, finite resources that need to be protected whilst their importance in the stories of the past is effectively communicated to the public. The use of thematic frameworks in assessing and managing heritage resources with reference to the Little Karoo will be examined in later chapters.

3.2 FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States has been chosen as a case study as it has the longest running formal use of a thematic framework for the presentation and management of heritage resources. The thematic framework of the USA is developed and implemented by the National Parks Service (NPS) which has the responsibility of looking after both natural and cultural resources (Feller & Miller 2000). The NPS not only serves as an educator but manages historic preservation, provides recreational facilities and has links to tourism. The NPS as an institution has two major challenges (Little 1997). The first is the necessity of making choices about which cultural resources are the most significant or representative of the human past, and therefore worthy of preservation. The second challenge is to encourage visitors to connect historical trends and contexts with the material remains of the past: the buildings, landscapes and artefacts of bygone days.

One of the ways they attempt to meet these challenges is through a thematic framework. This tool provides a comprehensive, contextual overview of cultural resources and allows for the comparative analysis of the relative significance of individual resources (NPS 2003b). It provides a useful check-list of possible contexts to address within educational and interpretive programmes in parks. For Feller & Miller (2000), in their discussion of the role of public history in the national parks, the role of a framework is vital in identifying gaps in the park system and assessing and justifying the addition of new parks and resources for preservation. The comprehensive outline of broad themes in American history is meant to assist in communicating American history to the public. Within the NPS framework cultural resources are categorised and classified according to historical topics. The framework is used to describe and analyse the multiple layers of history encapsulated within each resource (NPS 2003b), not only at a national but at local, state and

regional levels as well.

First developed in 1936 (NPS 2003b), the framework was revised in 1970 and 1987 (Little 1997). A more recent revision occurred in 1996. These revisions were deemed necessary to recognise shifts in thought, as history, or at least our interpretation and perception of what forms part of history, changes over time. The framework prior to the 1987 (NPS 2003b) review of their system, had nine themes, with various sub-themes and facets linked to each theme. After the 1987 review the themes became far more specific and increased to 34 (as shown in Table 3.2) with many

Table 3.2 The 1987 USA thematic framework

I Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations	XVIII Technology (Engineering and Invention)
II European Colonial Exploration and Settlement	XIX Literature
III Development of the English Colonies, 1688-1763	XX Theatre
IV The American Revolution	XXI Motion Pictures
V Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1860	XXII Music
VI The Civil War	XXIII Dance
VII Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1939	XXIV Painting and Sculpture
VIII World War II	XXV Prints and Photography
IX Political and Military Affairs after 1945	XXVI Decoration and Folk Art
X Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763-1898	XXVII Education
XI Agriculture	XXVIII The Law
XII Business	XXXIX Intellectual Currents
XIII Science	XXX American Ways of Life
XIV Transportation	XXXI Social and Humanitarian Movements
XV Communication	XXXII Conservation of Natural Resources
XVI Architecture	XXXIII Historic Preservation
XVII Landscape Architecture	XXXIV Recreation

Source: adapted after NPS (2003a)

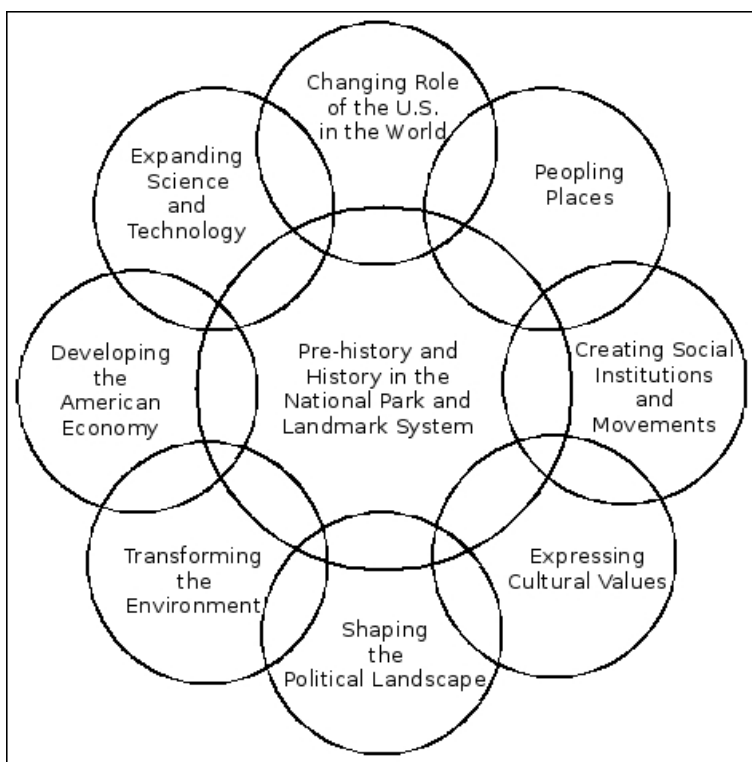
of the previous sub-themes now upgraded to full theme status and over 600 different categories at the sub-theme level (Feller & Miller 2000). The themes rigidly identified events and time periods such as the '*Development of the English Colonies 1688-1763*' and '*Political and Military Affairs 1865-1939*'. All the frameworks prior to 1996 were organised in terms of 'stages of American progress' (Little 1997), celebrating the achievements of the founding fathers and the march of democracy

This 1987 framework was judged outdated, unwieldy and too limiting an approach to the past (Feller & Miller 2000; Little 1997). The 1987 framework, as with earlier versions, tended to pigeonhole past events and left little room for new ideas about the past as reflected by scholarship of the time. The frameworks prior to 1996 always isolated each theme. Under pressure from historical societies (Feller & Miller 2000), Congress mandated a select group of professionals to develop a new improved framework in 1993. The new thematic framework was eventually released as the Revised 1996 NPS Thematic Framework (NPS 2003a).

The 1996 Framework reflects current scholarship and perceptions of history. It moves away from the obsession with chronology and periodisation (Feller & Miller 2000) as seen in the strictly

defined 1987 framework (e.g. Development of the English Colonies, 1688-1763). The 1996 framework deals with inadequately represented issues like 'The Earliest Americans Theme Study' (NPS 2005). Unlike the earlier versions, the 1996 Framework does not assume progress or inevitability in interpreting the past. While it is important to know what happened, the emphasis should lie on how and why things change. The past is presented as a larger and more integrated whole. The 1996 framework acknowledges that perceptions of the past will continue to evolve in the future. The thematic framework is not set in stone and is not a definitive statement. It forms part of an ongoing effort to ensure that the interpretation and preservation of America's heritage resource continue to be communicated by the best scholarship available (Little 1997).

The new framework (Figure 3.1) has eight broad themes making no distinction between pre-



Source: NPS (2003a)

Figure 3.1 The 1996 NPS thematic framework

history and recorded history. The framework investigates the past in terms of themes of human experiences (Little 1997) in no specific order. These themes express the common thread of the human experience as perceived by Americans. The reduction in the number of universal themes identified allows for a more flexible framework, which the diagram reflects. The interlocking circles represent the integrated, diverse, complex human experience (Little 1997). Each circle represents a universal theme of the human past. The reality of the interrelationships is shown in the overlapping circles. The thematic framework encourages cross-disciplinary research (NPS 2003a) in order to develop the past into a coherent integrated whole. This new integrated method is a step

closer to representing the true complex context of the past. Appendix B1 lists the complete themes and topics developed by the NPS.

Common to each theme are people, time and place, detailing the human experience (NPS 2003a). People, in the variables of race, ethnicity, class and gender help explore each theme and in turn link the themes. Time is not simply a mechanism to locate or isolate events in history, as in earlier frameworks. Here, according to Strauss & Lord (2001), the concept of time is used to focus attention on processes and change. Lastly, place is the most tangible representation of the past (NPS 2003a). Place binds the human experience to a particular space that can be assessed by touch, scent, sight and hearing. It is the only tangible element common to each theme. People and time are intangible elements that require a great deal of imagination and interpretation to be effectively communicated to the public.

NPS (2003b) has several examples of the thematic framework studies. One example takes the subject of 'the Earliest Americans' (NPS 2007a) and examines this topic in terms of each theme identified by the NPS framework. Another example is the Lower Mississippi Delta Heritage Survey (NPS 2004b), a regional study in which the general themes were used as guidelines for research. Modifications were made to individual themes as needed. Other studies include the underground 'slave railroad' (NPS 2007b) and labour history (NHL 2007).

The various incarnations of the NPS framework show that a thematic framework is a flexible tool. A tool that should change over time in order to deal with the changing needs and perspectives of the past. The NPS framework has had a great deal of influence on the Australian Historic Themes, the subject of the next section.

3.3 FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY: AUSTRALIA

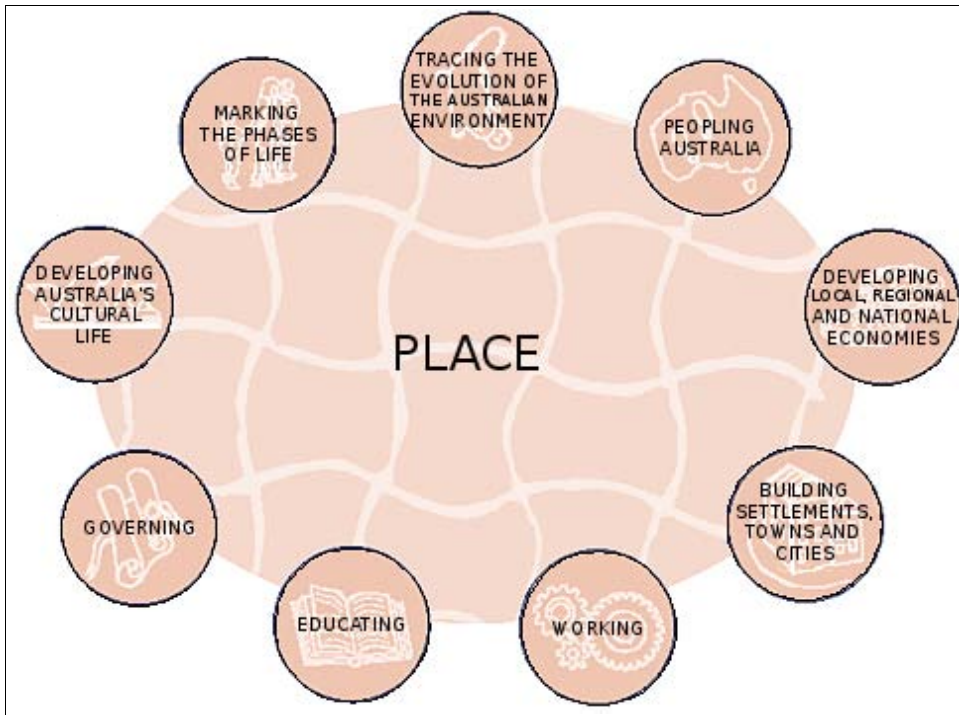
The Australian Heritage Council (AHC), formally the Australian Heritage Commission, has similar responsibilities to the NPS, looking after natural and cultural resources. The Australian Historic Themes (AHC 2001b) or thematic framework was developed over a period of five years by the AHC in consultation with State and Territory historic heritage agencies, consultants and heritage practitioners. The framework is in part (AHC 2001b) based on the revised 1996 American NPS framework (NPS 2003a), though the concept of themes has been used since 1975. The aim of the consultations was to develop a practical and comprehensive network of historical themes to assist in the identification, assessment, interpretation and management of significant heritage resources. The current framework, though in use since 1998, was officially endorsed in March 2000.

The themes of the framework are applicable to all levels, from national to local. The Australian framework is designed to mesh with existing regional frameworks (e.g. NSW 2001)

being used at state level by heritage professionals (Kass 2003; Nugent 2002). Ongoing efforts were made to integrate databases and develop a common national standard for the identification and conservation of heritage places. Themes are integrated with heritage assessment and management (AHC 2001b). Within documentary research they allow the researcher to explore fully the history of an area or particular place. Themes are used to identify significant places associated with historical processes, events, activities or people. In field research, themes alert the researcher to historical associations not physically apparent or previously identified in the field, and assist in oral history interviews. The analysis of State databases, the identification of resources with particular historic associations, is facilitated by using themes to establish comparisons with places demonstrating similar themes across State boundaries. In managing heritage places, themes assist in the development of management priorities, providing guidance for the conservation of resources and the interpretation of historic values. Themes used in educational and interpretation material can broaden the understanding of the public about the diversity of heritage. In showing that a place has more than one meaning, heritage becomes less about the preservation of old buildings and more about the human experience.

Heritage agencies are under increasing pressure to justify heritage listings (AHC 2000) as funding becomes scarce. To this end themes can explain how particular elements of a place are significant as they illustrate important aspects of its history. Significance is judged in terms of historic value as defined by the package of bills introduced in 2002 (DEH 2004), though natural, social, scientific and aesthetic values may also contribute to the significance of the place. A framework can help in the process of assessing significance. During significance assessment, themes enable comparative assessment of resources.

The AHT framework has nine broad Theme Groups, illustrated in Figure 3.2, with several themes and sub-themes. The Theme Groups (see Appendix B2 for the full list of themes and sub-themes) are fairly fixed, but at the theme level and below, state and local themes may be added and amended as required. The figure illustrates that whereas people, time and place linked the NPS framework, only place is used to connect the Australian themes. This perhaps reflects the influence of the Australian Aborigines and their belief in the importance of place in connecting the human experience – a conviction in accordance with space-centred Geographical thought. The circles representing the themes groups do not intersect, isolating the themes despite the holistic approach described by the text in AHC (2001b). Australia's thematic framework is the only one of the three case studies in which the environment is an independent entity, functioning without human influence. This emphasises the primacy of the natural environment and how humans adapt to, adapt and has to properly manage the natural environment.



Source: AHC (2001b)

Figure 3.2 The Australian historic themes framework

The Australian theme groups express the Australian way of life, how they experience their country's heritage and culture. It offers a good example of the role the environment plays in the human experience. Australia has the most national level themes (theme groups), which tends to make it somewhat cumbersome, especially when compared to the National Historic Sites of Canada, discussed below. As the complete list of Australian themes in Appendix B2 attests, the Australian framework is quite detailed as regards the theme level. Twenty-six themes with the theme group of economy may seem somewhat excessive, with notable overlap between themes evident. In places the sub-themes are regarded as too detailed (AHC 2001b: pull-out section) and may need more of the flexibility of the Canadian system (Parks Canada 2000), discussed in the next section, and to a lesser extent the NPS (2003a).

3.4 FRAMEWORK CASE STUDY: CANADA

The Canadian thematic framework has been developed within the National Historic Sites of Canada (NHSC) System Plan, administered by Parks Canada (Parks Canada 2000). As with the NPS and AHC, Parks Canada cares for both natural and cultural resources. The NHSC system plan, like the USA 1996 Framework, deals with evolving history and heritage. When the system plan was first developed in the early twentieth century it was preoccupied with 'great men and events' and the establishment of the nation of Canada. Mid-twentieth century saw a shift to focus on political and economic history. The new millennium is seeing the focus change to social history, telling of the achievements and experiences of everyday Canadians (Parks Canada 2000).

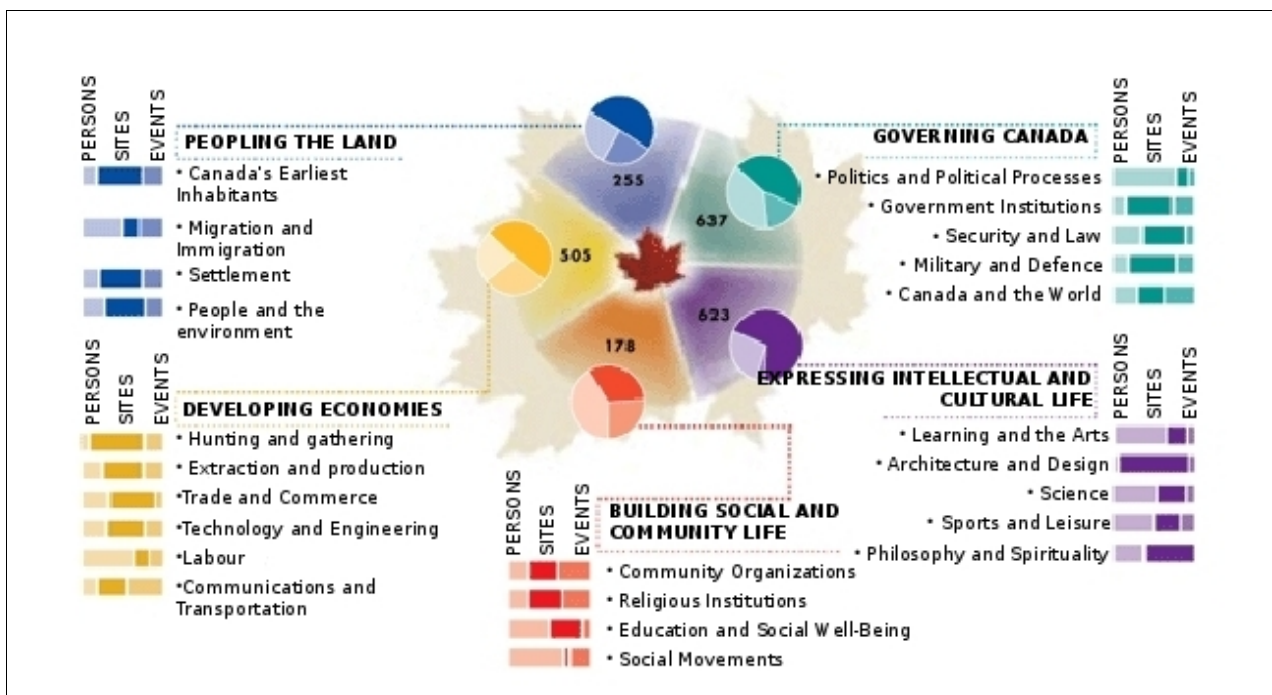
The previous NHSC system plan, introduced in 1981, identified priorities that enhanced the thematic representation of areas that were previously under-represented, including economic history and built heritage. The new plan (Parks Canada 2000) recommends an open-ended approach to history and maintains that what people view as significant is a dynamic process that changes through time. Parks Canada, as primary implementer of the plan, is provided with a means to monitor progress on an ongoing basis and to adjust priorities to ensure that the goal of a representative system is being achieved. The implementation of the system plan depends on active participation of individuals, heritage partners, provinces, territories and the private sector. Though caring for less than a quarter of the national historic sites, Parks Canada takes a leading role in the designation and stewardship of the collective heritage of all Canadians. Of the 861 designated sites, more than 600 are administered by provincial, territorial or local governments, Aboriginal groups, local heritage groups, the private sector and individuals – a laudable goal, and partnership-building in action.

The NHSC system plan has three objectives: firstly, to foster knowledge and appreciation of Canada's past through a national program of historical commemoration. Secondly, to ensure the commemorative integrity of national historic sites administered by Parks Canada by protecting and presenting them for the benefit, education and enjoyment of future generations in a manner that respects the irreplaceable legacy represented by these places and their associated resources. Lastly, to encourage and support the protection and presentation by others of places of national historic significance that are not administered by Parks Canada (NHSP 1994).

The second objective mentions an interesting concept, that of commemorative integrity, which provides an ideal toward which management strategies can be directed. Commemorative integrity describes the health and wholeness of a national historic site (Parks Canada 2002) and is said to exist when three conditions are met: that the resources that symbolise or represent a site's historic significance are not impaired or under threat; that the reasons for the site's historic significance are communicated to the public effectively; and, that the heritage values of the site are respected by all whose decisions or actions affect the site. Commemorative integrity is an expression of the Parks Canada Cultural Resource Management policy, as applied to specific national historic sites (Parks Canada 2002). The concept forms part of the guiding principles of Parks Canada. It protects ecological integrity and ensures that commemorative integrity take precedence in acquiring, managing and administering heritage places and programmes (Parks Canada 2003). The NHSC system plan with its thematic framework facilitates the documentation of commemorative integrity.

The NHSC system plan relies on a thematic framework, which defines and organises history to identify and place sites, persons and events into context with each other. The new 2000 system

(Parks Canada 2000) as represented by Figure 3.3 builds on the 1981 themes but is simpler in



Source: After Parks Canada (2000)

Figure 3.3 The Canadian thematic framework

approach. It responds to evolving concerns and interests and reflects recent scholarship on the evolution of historiography. Figure 3.3 also indicates the total number of person, sites and events associated with each theme, and the sub-theme division within each theme. The complete framework can be found in Appendix B3.

The Canadian thematic framework organises history into five broad inter-related themes, each with a number of sub-themes as illustrated by Figure 3.3. The sub-themes are simple, yet broad, encompassing issues that serve as guidelines for thought. Between four and six sub-themes are used in each theme, and this leads to a lighter, less pigeon-holed approach, unlike the USA and Australian frameworks. The latter two tend to get bogged down by detail especially within the economic theme. The circle is divided into five equal parts, indicating that no theme is more important than any other. The themes are not numbered, emphasising the holistic approach with no hierarchy. The sub-themes are included in the diagram.

As with the NPS framework, the Parks Canada framework has three common elements that connect all the themes. Sites, persons and events (Parks Canada 2000) replace places, people and time (NPS 2003a). The different phrasing might seem arbitrary, but sites are more specific than places. They refer to a specific space, whereas place can imply a landscape or region. 'Persons' refers to particular individuals, whilst 'people' is a more general term. Events are moments in time, windows into certain actions. Time, as defined by the NPS (2003a), is used to account for the

process of change.

The sites, people and events that represent Canada's heritage are more than the threads binding the different themes, they are what the National Historic Sites of Canada are. The NHSC are sites, persons and events of national historic significance. Between 1919 and 1999 some 800 sites, 500 persons and 300 events have been designated by the Minister of Canadian Heritage on the advice of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The criteria for recommendation for designation are that sites, persons or events must have had a nationally significant effect on, or illustrate a nationally important aspect of, Canada's history. The Parks Canada (Parks Canada 2000) focus is on nationally important resources rather than encompassing regional and local resources.

Sites or places can occur in urban, rural and wilderness areas but must comply with at least one of the following criteria. Firstly, the site must be associated with exceptional creative achievements in concept and design, technology or planning, or a significant stage in the development of Canada. Secondly, it must illustrate or symbolise, in whole or in part, a cultural tradition, a way of life or ideas important to the development of Canada. Thirdly, it must explicitly and meaningfully be associated or identified with persons who are deemed to be of national historic significance. Lastly the site must explicitly and meaningfully be associated or identified with events that are deemed to be of national significance. South Africa has similar criteria for cultural significance as set out in the NHRA (1999) and discussed in Chapter 2. Persons of national importance must have made an outstanding and lasting contribution to the history of Canada. People can only be considered for designation twenty-five years after their deaths, though Prime Ministers can be designated immediately on their passing. Generally persons of national significance are political figures, literary figures, athletes, educators, performers, artists and scientists. Events represent defining actions, episodes, movements or experiences. For the Canadians this means events like the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway or the arrival of Jacques Cartier at Gaspé.

The new thematic framework has identified strategic priorities, areas that are under-represented at this time. Aboriginal peoples, ethno-cultural (minority) communities and women have thus far received less attention than other more popular subjects. These subjects cross-cut the themes and are being addressed within each theme. To date (Parks Canada 2000), sites, persons and events associated with Aboriginal history represent ten percent of the Parks Canada designation system. The recognition of ethno-cultural communities is being addressed through the adoption of broad principles and community consultation. The role of women in history, also long neglected, is being explored through various studies. Parks Canada (2000) has completed at least three thematic studies: women and health, women and power, and women and work. Two studies, women and

education and women and technology are being completed.

Parks Canada has also developed a guide (Parks Canada 2007) which connects the NHS of Canada to the school curriculum. The guide presents activities that will help students understand how nationally significant places, people, and events interacted to create the story of Canada's past. The national historic sites, people, and events are organized in thematic areas in the NHSC System Plan, which provides a comprehensive way of looking at Canadian history. Each activity in the guide is linked to at least one theme or sub-theme from the thematic framework. Based on the history curricula taught in grades 5 to 11 across Canada, the activities explore:

- Canada's dynamic cultural and natural heritage;
- connections between the land, the waters, the past and the people;
- how the national historic sites are connected to the places, people, and events that define Canada;
- the responsibility all Canadians have for these powerful symbols of the past;
- the stories of our land and the stories of our people, and
- defining moments in Canadian history

The Canadian System Plan is a concise, well organized thematic framework. It is easy to understand and flexible in its approach. The use of the thematic framework within the school curriculum is particularly innovative. However, it fails to place the environment into context and focuses mainly on the human element of heritage – a fatal flaw in the South African context. The Draft National Heritage Themes (Hart 2005a) and the suggested Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework, discussed in the next section, place greater emphasis on the dynamic role of the environment within heritage.

3.5 THEMATIC FRAMEWORK FOR HERITAGE TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

In meeting the research objective to develop a new thematic framework for heritage tourism in South Africa, the foregoing American, Australian and Canadian approaches have been emulated to varying degrees. South Africa's draft National Heritage Themes (NHT) scheme, devised by SAHRA to aid in the grading process for the conservation and management of heritage resources, has provided a template and is evaluated and adjusted to compile a framework for this research that is more appropriate for heritage tourism in South Africa. This section assesses the NHT), before the new South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework (SAHTTF) is presented. In conclusion an argument is developed to emphasise the importance of place as a central thematic concept in this framework.

3.5.1 The draft National Heritage Themes

South Africa does not yet have an official thematic framework for heritage or heritage tourism. The draft NHT scheme set out in Table 3.3 has been compiled by Hart (2005a¹). The NHT scheme is based on the Australian (AHC 2001b) and American (NPS 2003a) thematic systems. The Canadian (Parks Canada 2000) Systems Plan does not seem to have been consulted (Hart 2005a). The NHT scheme has been developed to assist with understanding the historical development of South Africa when evaluating the significance and grading of a site proposed for heritage site status (SAHRA 2004). The underlying principle for the thematic framework emphasises the activities and events that produced the places we value, and the human response to South Africa's environment. Places are used as an organising principle and are related to the processes and stories associated with them, rather than to the type or function of place. As with the Australian and American frameworks, the themes are generic and interlink, regardless of the period or place or typology of the resource.

Hart (2005a) divided the draft NHT into two sections (Table 3.3), the first dealing with the development of the natural environment, the second with the people of South Africa. The division reflects the influence of the environment on the people, their way of life, tradition and technologies – perhaps a perpetuation of the standard distinction between natural and cultural heritage (e.g. NWHO 1999).

3.5.2 A suggested new South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework

Informed by the thematic frameworks of the USA, Australia and Canada and using the NHT scheme as a starting point, a South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework (SAHTTF) has been developed. Five theme groups have been identified for the SAHTTF as displayed in Figure 3.4. The theme groups are placed in intersecting circles, much like the USA framework, to represent the complexity and interrelatedness of the various theme groups. The circles also imply continuity between past, present and future. This ties in with the idea that heritage is a process rather than a fixed state (NPS 2003a; Parks Canada 2000). The circles are thus the substructure which places the theme groups into context. Place becomes the primary concept in this scheme as it provides a tangible link between past and present, and links people and time to a physical location in space. The South African flag is placed in the background as a symbol of 'unity in diversity' that has

1 After I formulated a South African thematic framework in November 2004 (Van Pletzen-Vos draft 1), S Wurz drew my attention to the fact that SAHRA is using the draft National Heritage Themes to assess the significance of sites in the grading process. SAHRA and D Hart have kindly permitted the incorporation of this draft document into the discussion of a South African Heritage Tourism Framework. The draft NHT scheme was largely similar to the one developed independently by me (see Appendix B4).

Table 3.3 Proposed draft National Heritage Themes

<p>Development of the Natural Environment</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Climatic, geological and topographical change 2. The emergence of South African plants and animals 3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments 4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa 5. Evolution of Man 	<p>The influence of the environment on the people, their way of life, tradition and technologies</p>	<p>The People of South Africa</p> <p>Advent</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. South Africa's earliest inhabitants 2. Migrating, arrival and settling 3. The displacing of peoples and resisting displacement 4. Interaction between different groups of people with South Africa 5. Settlement patterns <p>Way of life</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tradition, custom, belief, values 2. The life cycle 3. Social and labour practices 4. Arts and cultural expression 5. Integration, adaptation and coexistence 6. Emergence of a national identity 7. Heroes and happenings <p>Governance and the political landscape</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interaction with powers outside South Africa 2. Defending South Africa 3. Systems of governance and resistance 4. Institutions and movement 5. Administering South Africa <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Systems of governance b. Law c. Health d. Welfare e. Social systems <p>Developing South Africa</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Living off the land <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Adaptation to and use of local conditions b. Adaptation of local environments 2. Development of Industry and Technology <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Agriculture b. Technology and medicine c. Mining d. Transport and communication e. Construction f. Manufacturing 3. Education, welfare 4. Exploration and mapping
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Source: Hart 2005a

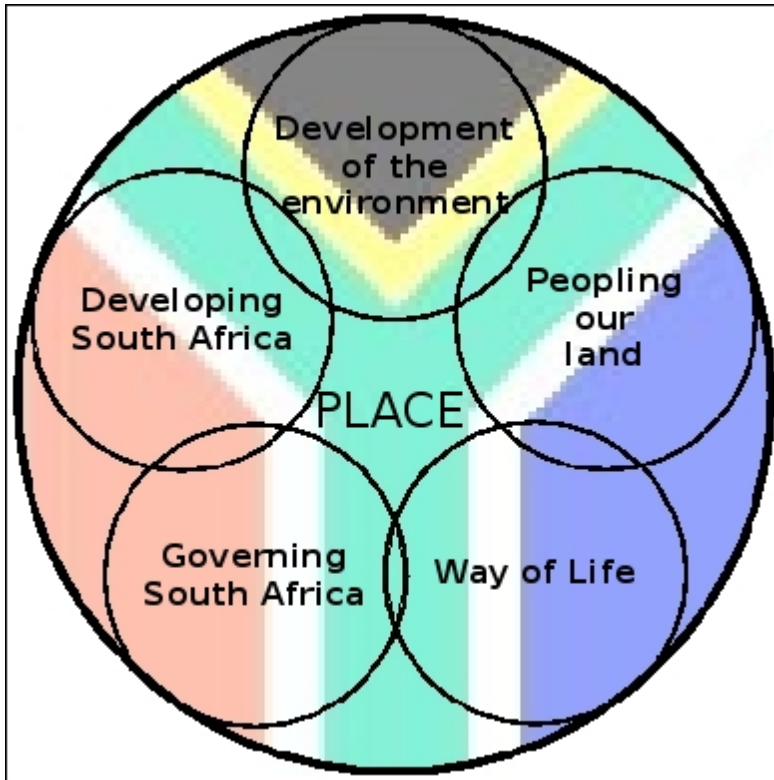


Figure 3.4 The relationship of the theme groups in the South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework

inspired nation-building in the recent past.

The theme groups represent the universality of the human experience. They illustrate the prominence of place in the heritage narrative of South Africa. The un-numbered state of the theme groups implies that no hierarchy exists, so no theme group is more important than another. Fewer themes lead to greater flexibility and more latitude in thinking. The theme groups chosen for the thematic framework for South African heritage tourism are mostly inspired by the NHT framework (Hart 2005a), but some like *Peopling our land* were taken from the American, Australian and Canadian frameworks. The basic structure of the SAHTTF follows that of the Australian Historic Themes (AHC 2001b). The thematic framework consists of several theme groups representative of the larger heritage of South Africa and the human experience. A theme group is divided into themes that best illustrate that group. Sub-themes further expand a theme into more specific narratives. Table 3.4 lists the theme groups and their corresponding themes identified for the SAHTTF.

The complete framework can be found in Appendix B5. Alternative and new elements different from the NHT (Hart 2005a) framework appear in *italics*. The following sections justify the inclusion of these theme groups and themes selected to explore the human experiences in South Africa.

Table 3.4 The South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework

Theme groups	Themes
<i>Development of the environment</i>	1. Climatic, geological and topographical <i>processes and phenomena</i>
	2. The evolution of South African plants and animals
	3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments
	4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa
<i>Peopling our land</i>	1. <i>Evolution of our early human ancestors and other hominids</i>
	2. Evolution of modern humans
	3. Movement, migration and arrival
	4. Settlement patterns
	5. Interaction between different peoples within South Africa
Way of life	1. Tradition, custom, belief, values
	2. The life cycle
	3. <i>Social and cultural life</i>
	4. <i>Arts and sciences</i>
	5. Emergence of a national identity
	6. <i>Heroes and happenings – South African achievements</i>
Governing South Africa	1. <i>South Africa and the world</i>
	2. Defending South Africa
	3. Systems of governance and resistance
	4. Institutions and movements
	5. Administering South Africa
Developing South Africa	1. Living off the land
	2. Development of industry and technology
	3. Exploration and mapping

3.5.3 Place as central thematic concept in the SAHTTF

As discussed previously, the American, Australian and Canadian thematic frameworks use concepts like people, time and place to anchor their themes. Place is the most tangible, logical and easily defined concept. It is also the most vulnerable to exploitation and damage. Significant places are located in urban, rural or pristine settings. Such places may have significance in and of themselves, independent of human involvement. Or they may have acquired their meaning by association with particular people or times. Whilst place is tangible, in that a visitor can stand on a place, see it, and touch it, some places go beyond the tangible to the intangible. A sense of place is a term used when expressing the atmosphere, the feeling, the essence that a place imparts to the visitor (Schama 2004). That feeling is different for each visitor and for some as important as tangible aspects of a place.

In terms of a thematic framework for South Africa, place can gain significance due to its association with significant people. The concept of people thus needs to be explored in conjunction

with place. This follows both the American and Canadian thematic approaches. People are both cultural groups and significant individuals who have contributed to the heritage narrative of a place. By approaching people in terms of gender, ethnicity, class and race, minority segments of a population are not easily neglected when telling the heritage narrative (NPS 2003a). The Canadian approach of commemorating significant individuals (Parks Canada 2000) is appealing, as these people can serve as inspiration for future generations. From a narrative perspective, it is easier to identify with individuals whose story touches us. People personalise the human experience.

A place also achieves significance through its association with a particular time or event. Time, as a concept for a South African thematic framework, is defined by the NPS (2003a), and is preferred to the Canadian 'event' (Parks Canada 2000). The emphasis of time is on *how* things changed rather than on what happened, though what happened is still significant. By asking how or why things change, the 'what happened' or event is placed into context and the undesirable mental barrier of 1652 as the beginning of colonial history in South Africa is avoided. Importantly, the US approach makes no distinction between pre-history and history. Prehistoric cultures are dealt with in the same way as historic ones, with no need to assign a specific theme to them. This approach recognises the universality in human settlement histories and battles the assignment of 'settler' roles to later migrations. If assigned their own theme, other aspects of pre-historic cultures could be neglected by not asking the questions related to other themes. For example, the stories of hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists could be approached from the perspective of women's role in the economy. In not distinguishing between pre-history and historic time, the conceptual wall of 1652, between pre-colonial and colonial societies in South Africa, can be abolished.

Place is the most tangible and accessible heritage resource. Place grounds the narrative in space, allowing for the identification of specific resources and forging links with intangible aspects of a region's heritage. In this research, four places have been selected as the embodiment of the key narratives of the Little Karoo in terms of the five theme groups. On a broad level, they epitomise the heritage of the larger region, yet still exhibit features making them uniquely attractive for tourists. The theme groups selected are not exclusively associated with these places, but can be seen as the key narratives which define their place in the heritage of the Little Karoo.

To summarise, the concept of place is preferable over site or location since landscapes or regions contribute more to the heritage experience than a single site. People are more important than a single person, however, and an individual's experience is far easier to relate to than that of an anonymous group of people. Time as a process rather than an event is preferred, as the process of change over time is better able to deal with the multiple stories of the past. The next section continues the exploration of the SAHTTF application in heritage tourism in South Africa.

3.6 THE SOUTH AFRICAN HERITAGE TOURISM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK THEME GROUPS

The previous section introduced the five theme groups of the SAHTTF in detail. Here their associated themes and sub-themes are expanded on and convincingly argued, where appropriate. Particular attention is given to those themes and sub-themes that differ from the NHT scheme.

3.6.1 Development of the environment

It is worth considering the coupled character of the environment and the human appreciation of it. The environment exists in two dimensions. The first is independent of humans. In the absence of humans the earth would continue functioning as it has for millions of years. The second dimension is the environment people see and experience as a construct of human consciousness and culture. Humans can only ever experience nature as they have mentally constructed it, despite the desire to encounter pristine nature. The paradox here is that the very act of identifying a pristine condition presupposes the presence of humans, and therefore the place is no longer untouched (Clark et al 2003; Schama 2004). Another dilemma lies in the fact that there is not a single natural system that has not been affected by human culture. Some (Schama 2004) take the first impacts back to early domestication, though it can be argued that possible hunter-gatherer fire-farming perhaps as early as the Middle Stone Age already impacted on the environment (Deacon & Deacon 1999).

The validity of the term 'natural' in the NHT (Hart 2005a) can be debated on these grounds. 'Natural' has connotations with pristine, untouched by human hand. Thus the title of this theme group is changed to '*Development of the environment*' to denote the pervasiveness of human impact. For the purposes of the SAHTTF this distinction is artificial. By separating natural and cultural elements the impact of culture on our concept of the environment is lost. The environment is all too often excluded in the discussion of cultural heritage yet it is an integral part of our natural and cultural heritage story.

The environment is an integrated, holistic natural and cultural phenomenon, recognised as such in the integrated environmental management approach dictated by South African law (NEMA 1998; White Paper on Environmental Management Policy 1997). The SAHTTF follows the example of the Australian Thematic Framework that emphasises the integrated holistic nature of the environment. For Australians the description below the theme group of 'Tracing the Evolution of the Australian Environment' (AHC 2001b) reads: "*The environment exists apart from being a construct of human consciousness. However, a thematic approach recognises the human factor in the natural environment, and how our understanding and appreciation of the environment has changed over*

time.” In the SAHTTF the theme group *development of the environment* is copied specifically from the Australian framework. The environment both in its independent guise and as a conscious human construct is central to the human experience. The Australian framework highlights both aspects whilst the American framework concentrates on how humans have shaped the environment.

The themes defining *Development of the environment*, listed in Table 3.5, are mostly taken from the Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHC 2001b). The Australians have used the term

Table 3.5 Themes of Theme group: Development of the environment

Theme group	Themes
Development of the environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes and phenomena
	2. The evolution of South African plants and animals
	3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments
	4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa

'changes' to describe climatic, geological and topographical developments. The more accurate term 'processes' is used in the SAHTTF. This not only reflects the nature of climatic, geological and topographical changes, but links with the idea Hart (2005a) refers to of processes and stories associated with places. The theme *Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa* is about more than merely gazing at a cave formation, soaring mountains or endless vistas. Appreciation can also be manifested in the formal recognition that a natural place is significant. The creation of a nature reserve and other protected places is one way in which a people can celebrate the natural wonders they find special, unique and significant. The evolution of man as a substantive theme is not in question, but its placement in the theme group *Development of the natural environment* in the NHT scheme is debatable. By placing this theme in the theme group *Peopling our land*, the evolution of humans, their ancestors and other hominids are taken out of the biological realm and placed into a human context. This means that cultural aspects like subsistence, social organisation and life cycles can be explored more readily. The theme group *Development of the environment* therefore contains the four themes with a pure physical environmental focus.

3.6.2 Peopling our land

Peopling the land is a common theme in all the thematic studies dealt with in this chapter and those of the NHT presented earlier. The US, Canada and Australia all make the distinction between First Peoples and colonial settlers. The SAHTTF approach is different. If the concept of time that is preferred here does not discriminate between prehistory and history then there should be no difference in the approach to pre-historical and historical inhabitants.

To this end the theme group *Peopling our land*, listed in Table 3.6, inspired by the Canadian

Table 3.6 Themes and sub-themes of Theme group: Peopling our land

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Evolution of our early human ancestors and other hominids	
2. Evolution of modern humans	
3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
	b. Colonisation
	c. Displacement and resistance of peoples
4. Settlement patterns	
5. Interaction between different peoples within South Africa	

approach (Parks Canada 2000), is suggested for the SAHTTF. The word 'our', as introduced in an earlier version of the draft NHT (Hart 2005b, see Appendix B6 for the previous version of the NHT scheme), is retained for its inclusiveness of all people, indicating a shared ownership of the past, no matter how early or recent the arrival in South Africa. The themes of *Peopling our land* address the imbalance in previous heritage tourism approaches that obscured the prehistoric inhabitants of our country and their historic descendants. It is important to note that America, Canada and Australia are all New World countries. Their human inhabitants only arrived some 12 000 and 45 000 Before Present (BP), respectively (Hamilton & Goebel 1999; Rogers et al 1992). South Africa has a long legacy of human habitation, stretching back for millions of years. Despite this fact, many South Africans have a mental picture of the country's heritage beginning in 1652. This historical wall means that millions of years of the nation's heritage lie in obscurity. By presenting the peopling of the land as a continuous movement and settlement of people in the landscape over time, this mental wall can be bridged.

The theme of the *Evolution of our human ancestors and other hominids*, moved from the NHT scheme's theme group Development of the natural environment, becomes the first theme of *Peopling our land* within the SAHTTF. The theme 'migrating, arrival and settling' from Hart (2005a) is more sensitively termed 'movement, migration and arrival' because it better describes the historical and continuing settlement dynamics of a diverse population. Three sub-themes are suggested here to capture a historical chronology. The theme group of *Peopling our land* therefore encompasses four main themes covering all aspects of human settlement and interaction among groups in the country.

3.6.3 Way of life

This theme group, detailed in Table 3.7, captures both social and community life and addresses intellectual and cultural expression. It commemorates the intellectual and cultural wealth, intellectual pursuits, artistic expression and athletic achievements of the people of South Africa. *Way of life* is thoughtfully presented in the NHT scheme, amalgamating several elements that are

Table 3.7 Themes and sub-themes of Theme group: Way of life

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Tradition, custom, belief, values	
2. The life cycle	
3. Social and cultural life	a. Social movements
	b. Sport and leisure
4. Arts and sciences	a. Fine arts, philosophy, literature, entertainment
	b. Architecture and design, hard sciences
	c. Fine arts, philosophy, literature, entertainment
5. Emergence of a national identity	
6. Heroes and happenings – South African achievements	

difficult and cumbersome to represent otherwise. *Way of life* is inspired by the Australian theme groups of Education, Developing Australia's Cultural Life and Marking the Phases of Life. The Canadian (Parks Canada 2000) theme group of Building Social & Community Life and Expressing Intellectual & Cultural Life also deal with social and cultural life. The approach taken by the NHT scheme (Hart 2005a) is far simpler and better expressed than the cumbersome detail of the Australian Historic Themes (AHC 2001b). Some slight changes for the SAHTTF from the NHT can be made to remove direct overlaps. Theme 3 'social and labour practices', for example, needs to be changed to social and 'cultural life'. The addition of 'cultural life' brings to the study elements like social movement and sport and leisure. In our sports loving country this last sub-theme is imperative. 'Arts and science' is proposed as a theme, which would then include more specific sub-themes like fine arts, architecture, pure sciences, philosophy, literature and entertainment. Labour practices can be moved to the theme group *Developing South Africa*.

The theme of integration, adaptation and coexistence has not been defined by the NHT (Hart 2005a). Integration, adaptation and coexistence of our diverse peoples seem to have been dealt with in the theme of interaction between different people within South Africa in the theme group *Peopling our land*. The theme of heroes and happenings – South African Achievement is a great way to acknowledge the contribution of individuals to our heritage and in which to connect with the past. The concept of South African achievement is taken from the earlier version of the NHT (Hart 2005b). The theme group *Way of life* embraces the social and cultural richness that is uniquely South African.

3.6.4 Governing South Africa

The theme group, *Governing South Africa*, listed in Table 3.8, explores the different ways in which people bring formalised order to their lives. This theme includes the role South Africa plays in the world order and military conflicts at home and abroad. Only two changes are recommended

Table 3.8 Themes and sub-themes of Theme group: Governing South Africa

Themes	Sub-themes
1. South Africa and the world	
2. Defending South Africa	
3. Systems of governance and resistance	
4. Institutions and movements	
5. Administering South Africa	a. Systems of governance
	b. Law
	c. Health
	d. Welfare
	e. Social systems and slavery
	f. Labour

for the theme group Governance and the Political Landscape suggested by Hart (2005a). The title of the theme group is too long. A short, concise title, which is easy to remember is more appropriate. So, following the Parks Canada (2000) example, *Governing South Africa* is suggested as an alternative title. The wording of the first theme changes from 'interaction with powers outside South Africa' to 'South Africa and the world' – a far more powerful phrase that retains the simple, concise approach to theme terms. The only other change is the acknowledgement of slavery, specifically mentioned in the NHRA (1999 3(3i)), and in the previous version of the NHT (Hart 2005b).

The placement of slavery within the theme Administering South Africa and the theme group *Governing South Africa* is debatable. However, the framework is meant to be flexible, and slavery can be approached from many different theme groups and themes, as illustrated by the options posed in Table 3.9. Approached from the theme group *Governing South Africa*, slavery is examined from a legal perspective, the laws and governance controlling the institution of slavery.

Table 3.9 The narrative of slavery in South Africa explored by way of theme groups and themes

Narrative	SLAVERY			
	Theme group	Peopling our land	Way of life	Governing South Africa
Themes	Movement, migration and arrival	Traditions, customs, belief, values	Systems of governance and resistance	Living off the land
	Settlement patterns	Social and cultural life	Administering South Africa	Development of industry and technology
	Interaction between different peoples within South Africa	Arts and sciences		
		Emergence of a national identity		
	Heroes and happenings – South African achievements			

From the viewpoint of *Peopling our land*, the sub-theme of slavery can explore where slaves in South Africa came from, and the impact those different cultural backgrounds had on our country can be examined under the theme group *Way of Life*. At one time slavery was an important

economic factor in the development of our country. This facet of slavery can be discussed under the theme group *Developing South Africa*. Thus it can be seen that sub-themes can be mixed and matched, or used as a central organising concept and explored through the use of theme groups by 'inverting' the thematic framework as demonstrated by Table 3.9.

The ideal behind a thematic framework is to make it flexible enough for a sub-theme or any other concept to be used as a starting point. Table 3.9 shows that slavery can be examined from any number of perspectives using almost any theme group, theme or sub-theme. For example, by using the themes of the theme group *Way of life* to explore the narrative of slavery it becomes obvious that the legacy left by slaves and their descendants permeates much of our culture, particularly in the Western Cape. Their traditions echo in the New Year celebrations of the Cape Minstrels Carnival, and the Malay influence which is felt strongly both architecturally in sections of Cape Town, and in traditional foods like bobotie. These are just a couple of many possible examples of the heritage of slavery in South Africa, but are beyond the scope of the current research.

3.6.5 Developing South Africa

This theme explores the myriad ways in which humans have sought to sustain themselves materially. The human experience of providing food and shelter is a basic one. Again, the expression of this experience has changed over time, though the need has not. From the Stone Age to the computer age, humans have creatively developed technologies to enhance their ability to survive, as Table 3.10 demonstrates.

Table 3.10 Themes and sub-themes of Theme group: Developing South Africa

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Living off the land	a. Adaptation to and use of local conditions
	b. Adaptation of local environments
2. Development of industry and technology	a. Agriculture and fisheries
	b. Technology and medicine
	c. Mining
	d. Transport and communication
	e. Manufacturing and construction
	f. Business and services
3. Exploration and mapping	

Development over the ages is captured from relatively simple hunter-gatherer strategies, living off the earth, to nomadic pastoralists with domesticated animals. The story then moves to more sophisticated economic strategies represented by settled farmers producing crops which are then traded or sold. The increasingly complicated system leads to complex technology and engineering solutions to meet modern needs. All this is driven by different labour systems, from

egalitarian hunter-gatherers to slave and convict labour, to labour unions. As central to the changing forms of economic development as labour, communications and transportation facilitate the development of a nation. The idea of communications in the modern world is often limited to hearing the human voice. In times past, roads, harbours and other physical infrastructure made communication possible. Thus the development of transportation routes and nodes was just as important to communications as to trade and commerce.

The theme of education has been moved up to the theme group *Way of Life*. Within the theme development of industry and technology some sub-themes have been added whilst others have been combined. Fisheries have been added and combined with agriculture as both are seen as primary industries. Manufacturing and construction have been combined, and business and services has been added as a new sub-theme.

There are three themes expanding the theme group of *Developing South Africa*. The theme group covers the various forms of economic endeavour people have undertaken in South Africa. *Developing South Africa* explores the way people have adapted to the environment and have adapted the environment to their needs.

The SAHTTF is essentially a tool with which to organise and present heritage resources. The next section examines ways in which the SAHTTF can be used in telling the stories of the Little Karoo whilst taking the need for conservation into account.

3.7 A THEMATIC STUDY OF THE LITTLE KAROO

The SAHTTF theme groups and themes are standard categories that can be applied to any region in South Africa. The heritage places selected for the next chapters tell the story specific to the Little Karoo, though certain story lines can be seen as representative of the Western Cape region, and in some cases the country as a whole. Of course, the complete narrative of the Little Karoo could be told by using the various theme groups and themes, but doing so would require time and labour input beyond the scope of this research. The thematic site assessment undertaken in this research in the next chapters therefore communicates a representative story encompassing the narrative of the Little Karoo. The narratives are used as an example of how a thematic framework can be used in the heritage and tourism industries.

The first case study examines the iconic site of the Cango Caves and the other three case studies explore the passes of Cogmans Kloof, Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort. Each study first presents the thematic framework using the theme groups, themes and sub-themes relevant to the site. A narrative approach is taken as it is able to bring structure, intelligibility and coherence to multiple heritage story lines (Trapp-Fallon 2002). The theme study then discusses the heritage

resources in terms of tourism potential and site sensitivity. Tourism potential surveys the types of extant tourist activities and accommodation in the vicinity, as well as suggesting ways in which to incorporate thematic interpretation and presentation into the current offer. As discussed in Chapter 2, the conservation of a tourism resource is paramount to ensure sustainable tourism use. Therefore the site sensitivity is assessed by examining the physical state of the heritage resources found at each location. Suggestions are made regarding the suitability of visitation to the resources.

Table 3.11 presents the various theme groups, themes and sub-themes harvested from the

Table 3.11 A heritage tourism thematic framework for the place assessments of the Little Karoo

Places	Theme Group	Theme	Sub-theme
Cango Caves	Development of the environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes and phenomena	
		3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments	
		4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa	
	Peopling our land	1. Evolution of our early human ancestors and other hominids	
		3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
Way of life	6. Heroes and happenings		
Cogmans Kloof	Development of the environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes and phenomena	
	Peopling our land	3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
	Way of life	6. Heroes and happenings	
	Governing South Africa	2. Defending South Africa	
	Developing South Africa	2. Development of industry and technology	d. Transport and communication
Swartberg Pass	Developing South Africa	2. Development of industry and technology	d. Transport and communication
			e. Manufacturing and construction
Seweweeks Poort	Way of life	1. Tradition, custom, belief, values	
		4. Arts and sciences	c. Fine arts, philosophy, literature, entertainment

SAHTTF which are relevant to the thematic study of the Little Karoo. All five theme groups can be applied to this unique region. Specific themes and sub-themes then expound on each theme. The Cango Caves are explored through the, perhaps unexpected, angle of *Peopling our land*, though the cave environment is addressed as well. Here the narrative follows the journey of our human ancestors and other hominins in settling South Africa. It also sees the arrival of new peoples and cultures and the interaction between those people. A hero is also chosen to put a more personal touch on the narrative.

The heritage of Cogmans Kloof is described in terms of the influence the environment has

had on its development, tracing the changing climate, geology and topography of the region. Here the environment has influenced the peopling of the land, how terrain impacts on military strategy and economic development.

Swartberg Pass tells the story of the development of industry and technology through the master piece of engineer of one remarkable person (Thomas Bain) and the convicts who built the pass.

Lastly the narrative is brought to the present and the living heritage of Seweweeks Poort through the theme group *Way of life*. Seweweeks Poort and its strong connection to the people of two local traditional settlements, Amalienstein and Zoar is explored through its associated traditions and the Poort's ability to inspire literature.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced and champions the concept of thematic frameworks for the interpretation and presentation of heritage resources and their stories. At the heart of the frameworks presented are general heritage themes which tell the heritage story of different times, people and places. Thematic frameworks are a cross-over technique which can be used by both the tourism industry and heritage practitioners.

Three prominent international thematic frameworks from the USA, Australia and Canada have been presented and evaluated. The South African draft National Heritage Themes (Hart 2005a) scheme has been examined and modified as the South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework to meet the requirements of systematic tourism study. Five interlinking theme groups are presented: *Development of the Environment*, *Peopling Our Land*, *Way of Life*, *Governing South Africa* and *Developing South Africa*. The thematic framework finds its place within the study as a way of identifying, organising, interpreting and presenting the narrative or story of a heritage resource. The following chapters illustrate this thematic approach to heritage interpretation and presentation by applying the SAHTTF to four case studies in the Little Karoo.

CHAPTER 4: CANGO CAVES HERITAGE TOURISM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

The Cango Caves have been chosen as a case study because of its influence as an icon destination (Buckley 2002; McKercher & Du Cros 2002) on the tourism of this region. This chapter explores the heritage narrative of the Cango Caves through a brief discussion of its geological and human ancestral history before focusing on the peoples populating the Little Karoo through time. The critical role the Caves play in regional tourism within the Little Karoo is examined as well as the impact visitors have on the delicate heritage resources of the Cango Caves of which three have been identified: the dripstone formations; the rock art; and the archaeological deposit.

4.1 THE LOCATION OF THE CAVES IN THE LANDSCAPE

The Cango and related caves analysed in this chapter are located as indicated in Figure 4.1.



Source: Google Earth (2008)

Figure 4.1 Location of the Cango and related caves

Some 28 km from Oudtshoorn, from which the Cango Caves are generally approached, the Caves are accessed via Schoemans Poort. The caves (Cango I-V) form an extensive network below ground. The present tourist route (Cango I) extends 1.2 km into the mountain whilst a further 4.1 km (Cango II-V) are closed to the public as a conservation measure. Cango I forms an almost circular route journeying through Halls named after discoverers (Van Zyl's Hall), administrators (Botha's Hall) and more whimsical names like the Bridal Chamber.

Montagu Cave, Boomplaas and Klasies River are other caves within the Western Cape from which a comprehensive picture of the theme *Our early ancestors and other hominids* are gleaned. The spatial distribution of these features show how a regional narrative can be woven from dispersed heritage resources.

4.2 THEMATIC NARRATIVE OF THE CANGO CAVES

The thematic narrative of the Cango Caves, organised as in Table 4.1, sets out to illustrate two points about the SAHTTF: firstly that different theme groups can be used as building blocks to

Table 4.1 Cango Caves – Thematic Framework

Theme Group	Theme	Sub-theme
Development of the environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes and phenomena	
	3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments	
	4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa	
Peopling our land	1. Evolution of our early human ancestors and other hominids	
	3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
Way of life	6. Heroes and happenings	

clarify one primary narrative. And secondly, that different sites, linked by various themes, can be used to demonstrate key story lines. In the first case, whilst the primary theme group of the Cango Caves thematic narrative is that of *Peopling our land*, a secondary theme group is the *Development of the environment*. Here the secondary theme group is used to 'set the scene'. In the second case other archaeological sites like Montagu Cave, Boomplaas and Klasies River within the Western Cape, will be used to flesh out the detail needed to give a comprehensive picture of the theme *Our early ancestors and other hominids*.

4.2.1 Theme: Development of the environment – The geological history of the Cango Caves

The adage that caves are living, breathing entities is not hard to believe when stepping into the Cango Caves. The atmosphere is close, there is the distant drip-drip sound of water, and the dripstones, stalagmites, stalactites and columns form fantastical shapes. This place stands witness to millions of years of heritage, starting with the geological foundation of the Little Karoo. Not all theme group feature equally in a narrative. In the case of the Cango Caves the theme group *Development of the environment* is discussed more succinctly than *Peopling our land*.

The limestone in which the Caves have formed was deposited 800-1000 Million years (Ma) ago in a tropical shallow sea in the Precambrian (Johnson et al 2006; Scotese et al 1999; Tankard et al 1982). Subsequent geological processes saw this Kango Formation folded and sheared in a Late Precambrian episode of mountain building known as the Saldanian orogeny (Deacon et al 1992). Later the limestone underwent intrusion by granites. Time passed and the topography and climate of what would one day be the Little Karoo changed and changed again. These geological changes are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Then 20 Ma after water levels had fallen sufficiently to allow ground water to filter along fractures in the limestone (Cango Caves Information Sheet 2004), the caves began to form. Fifteen million years of warm tropical conditions and high rainfall accelerated cave formation. A major fall in sea level followed, causing rapid erosion of the ancient landscape. Ravines were deeply incised by fast flowing rivers, with ground water within the rocks falling apace with the valley incision. About 4 Ma ago temperatures and rainfall gradually decreased. The forested land became open grassland. Rivers breached the Swartberg at Meirings Poort and Seweweeks Poort. Water levels in the caves began to drop and stalactites began to grow from the ceilings. Eventually, when the cave floor was free of water, stalagmites began to reach upward. Cooler, drier conditions set in about one million years ago and erosion rates slowed. Fynbos took over higher lying areas. Stalagmites and stalactites grew and met forming columns (Norman & Whitfield 2006).

The Cango Caves experience revolves around appreciating the wonders of dripstone formations. People seem to reserve a special reverence for places of outstanding natural beauty and wonder. An aspect of that wonder is curiosity over how that natural phenomenon came about. The formation of limestone caves and speleothems is a fascinating process. As rain water percolates through soil it picks up carbon dioxide (CO₂) from plant roots and humic acids (Marker 1988). When the water, now rich in CO₂ reaches the limestone, it begins to destroy the rock through the process of acidic solution, infiltrating through cracks and fissures. The solution hollows become caves when the water table drops further, leaving the openings free of water. Speleothems are also formed by rainwater soaking through the limestone (Deacon & Deacon 1999). In this case, the rainwater, as a weak carbonic acid, is able to dissolve calcium carbonate in the limestone roof. The calcium is held in solution as bicarbonate until it is exposed to the open chamber. Here the vapour pressure is released and the dissolved calcium dioxide is lost and the insoluble calcium carbonate is precipitated where drips fall, eventually forming the magnificent stalagmites of the Cango Caves.

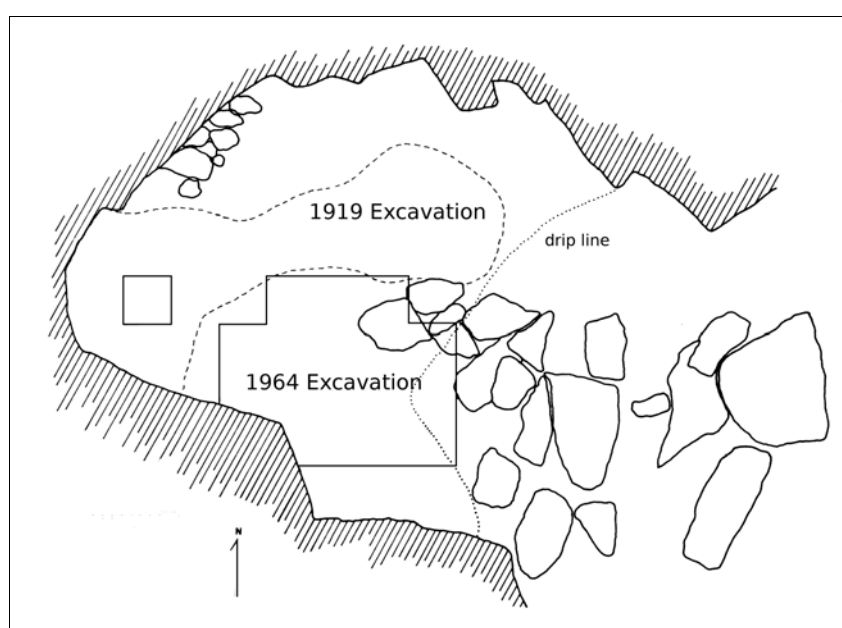
4.2.2 Theme: Peopling our land – Evolution of our human ancestors and other hominids

Whilst the focus of this chapter is on the Cango Caves, the story of the evolution of our human ancestors and other hominids would not be complete without evidence from other sites. Linking sites like Montagu Cave, Boomplaas, Klasies River and Blombos to the Cango Caves demonstrates a thematic framework's ability to cross space as well as time. The chronology of human occupation of the area starts at Montagu Cave, where signs of our early ancestors *Homo ergaster* are found. This history is augmented in this section by evidence of later occupations from the Cango Caves and the Boomplaas and Klasies Rives sites.

4.2.2.1 Montagu Cave

Before we enter the Cango Caves with modern humans, Montagu Cave to the south west near the town of Montagu and Cogmans Kloof yields important chronological information. The reason why it is discussed here and not in the Cogmans Kloof chapter is that Montagu Cave introduces us to *Homo ergaster*, the humans populating most of South Africa before the emergence of modern humans, and the ancestors of the first people to use the Cango Caves. *H. ergaster* is also known as *Homo erectus* depending on which number of species are recognised in the genus *Homo* (Deacon & Deacon 1999). Under the identity of *H. erectus*, these truly upright and bipedal humans were the first people to step out of Africa around 1.8 Ma (Dennell & Roebroeks 2005).

Montagu Cave chronologically starts the long record of human settlement of the Little Karoo. It is also significant as it is one of the few cave occupation sites dating to the Acheulian period (Deacon & Deacon 1999) of the Earlier Stone Age (ESA) in Southern Africa. There are Middle Stone Age (MSA) and Later Stone Age (LSA) occupation levels present in the site (Deacon 1979; Keller 1973). Montagu Cave was rediscovered by Ravencroft in the 1880's (Deacon 1979; Keller 1973). It was not until the owner began removing the guano on the cave floor for fertilizer that artefacts were found. A team, none of whom were archaeologists, was sent out by the South African Museum, Cape Town, to investigate in 1919. October and November of that year saw the team remove one third of the deposit, taking the artefacts back to Cape Town for analysis. The results were published in 1929 (Goodwin 1929). The remaining deposit was excavated by Keller (Keller 1973) between 1964 and 1965. As the sketch map in Figure 4.2 indicates, some deposits are left within the cave.



Source: Adapted from Keller (1973: Figure 2.)

Figure 4.2 Sketch map of the 1919 and 1964 excavations of Montagu Cave

4.2.2.2 Congo Cave

The first evidence we have of human habitation of the Congo Caves dates back to the Middle Stone Age, somewhere between 250 000 and 20 000 years ago (Deacon 1979). This may seem a long time ago in human terms, but in terms of the geological history of the Congo Caves it was a very recent occurrence. The Middle Stone Age (MSA), was a time when small groups of hunter-gatherers roamed the landscape (Deacon & Deacon 1999). The distribution of sites and artefacts suggests widespread settlement in different environments. It was during this time, just prior to the onset of the last glacial period, 100 000 years ago, that anatomically modern humans emerged to populate the landscape, not only of southern Africa, but eventually also the world. Some of the earliest evidence of anatomically modern humans is found in South Africa. Evidence from the Congo Caves (Goodwin 1930), though sketchy, indicates that modern humans made use of the Caves in much the same way as they did caves at Boomplaas where people lived between 70 000 and 300 years ago (Deacon & Deacon 1999). The latter site is only a few kilometres from Congo.

Much of the knowledge about the prehistoric human occupation of the Congo Caves comes from archaeological excavations dating to 1930 under the direction of A.J.H. Goodwin (Goodwin 1930). Goodwin had previously visited the Congo Caves in 1925 and again in 1929 with the Abbé Breuil. The first trip in 1925 had revealed ostrich eggshell beads, segments, potsherds and bone points on the debris slope outside the cave. This slope was eventually sealed off by concrete paths leading to the entrance of the cave coincidentally preserving the archaeological deposit beneath. The 1930 excavation revealed hearths, artefacts and faunal remains. These features occurred throughout the deposit and indicated that the cave had been occupied periodically by Middle Stone Age (MSA) and Later Stone Age (LSA) peoples. Unfortunately the Congo Caves have not been systematically investigated since the 1920's (Brink 1996) and the excavation of Goodwin. A more recent (1970's) survey was undertaken in order to relocate Goodwin's excavation and to correlate evidence from the Congo Caves with that of the Boomplaas excavation (Deacon 1979).

4.2.2.3 Boomplaas and related caves

The limited evidence from the Congo Caves means that we must turn to Boomplaas to fill in the gaps in our narrative. Boomplaas is a cave in the same Kango Formation within which the Congo Caves lie. The site was excavated in the 1970's and in contrast to the Congo Caves is well documented (Deacon 1979; Deacon 1995; Deacon & Deacon 1980; Deacon & Deacon 1999; Deacon et al 1976; Deacon et al 1978; Klein 1978; Moffett & Deacon 1977). The site comprises 5m of deposit dating back to 80 000 BP with evidence of episodic occupation by MSA, LSA, Khoekhoen and historic settlers. The lower members of the deposit tell the tale of the MSA.

The MSA is primarily associated with a stone tool flake technology. The first occupied member of the deposit contains the Howiesons Poort stone tool assemblage. The Howiesons Poort marks a deviation from the traditional use of quartzite tools. During this period (~70 000 BP) smaller backed artefacts were produced on a variety of materials including hornfels and silcrete (Wurz 2002). After this, the MSA III saw a return to larger flakes. Stone tools are not the only evidence of past behaviour. Circular hearths, like the ones found in the Cango Caves (Deacon 1979), are characteristically 300mm in diameter. Organic remains of plants and marine foods show the systematic exploitation of these resources. Active fishing is one exception to the exploitation of marine resources. The MSA tool kit perhaps lacked this specialised fishing technology. A very few sites have evidence of grindstones, wood and bone artefacts and personal ornamentation.

Few dispute the physical emergence of anatomically modern humans around 100 000 BP. The academic debate rages over how modern their behaviour was compared to that of more recent populations (McBrearty & Brooks 2000). Some (e.g. Klein 1995) believe that modern behaviour, particularly the use of symbols, exploded onto the world scene about 40 000 years ago, in Europe. Citing the limited size of prey animals, the absence of dangerous prey animals in the faunal assemblage Klein (1976) argues that early MSA populations were not modern in their behaviour. Binford (1981) takes an even more extreme view, stating that MSA people only hunted the smallest of antelope and prey. He believes that the other animals remains found at such sites as Klasies River were scavenged from carnivore kills. Recent studies at Blombos Cave in the Western Cape (Grine et al 2000) reveal a different story that says early MSA populations were modern in behaviour. The use of perforated beads, ochre and other materials indicate that these people lived beyond day-to-day survival. There are similar finds at Klasies River. Ochre in particular has implications of symbolic thought as it has no economic value, but its red colour is one of universal significance. Limits to the MSA tool kit do not imply the absence of modern behaviour (Deacon 1992). MSA people may not have had fish hooks, but the LSA people had no boats. Does this mean that LSA people were not modern in their behaviour?

4.2.2.4 Hero: AJF Goodwin

This section now introduces to the narrative of the Little Karoo, albeit for demonstration purposes only, one of our first heritage heroes – an item which would normally go under the theme group *Way of Life*. He is Astley John Hilary Goodwin, an excavator of the Cango Caves shown in Figure 4.3. He is a significant person in the development of South African sciences and has been called the father of South African archaeology. Born in Pietermaritzburg in 1900, he was the first South African to be trained as an archaeologist. Goodwin studied at Cambridge and returned to South Africa in 1923, whereupon he began to change archaeology into a more



Source: Cango Caves (2004)

Figure 4.3 The Goodwin excavation of 1929/1930

systematic study of the material past. Together with Van Riet Lowe, Goodwin published '*Stone Age Culture of South Africa*' in 1929 (Goodwin & Van Riet Lowe 1929). They proposed a three stage division of the Stone Age in South Africa: Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Ages. These divisions have influenced and guided the development of South African archaeology. The ESA dates roughly between 2.5 Ma and 250 000 BP and is linked with *H. ergaster* (Deacon & Deacon 1999). The MSA dates to between 250 000 BP and 20 000 BP and is connected with *Homo sapiens*. The LSA starts around 20 000 BP and continues to historical times. Like the MSA, the LSA is associated with *H. sapiens*. The historical links, historical documents and ethnographic records allow us a closer view of LSA people and their life styles, including the interpretation of rock art.

This section has introduced our early ancestors to the narrative of the Little Karoo. Our attention now turns to the more recent inhabitants of the Cango Caves.

4.2.3 Theme: Movement, migration, arrival and the interaction between different peoples

By its nature the movement, migration and arrival of peoples implies the interaction of those people with others already present in a region. People move from different places, some with intent, as part of a colonising effort. Others migrate with little planning, following their herds to greener pastures. They seldom arrive in places that are empty of human life. The arrival of different cultures

leads to interaction between peoples who perhaps follow different customs, values and beliefs. This theme is illustrated by three groups of people: first the hunter-gatherers from the Stone Age, followed by the herders and farmers.

4.2.3.1 Hunter-gatherers

The story of the hunter-gatherers can be told through the rock art found at the Cango Caves. These hunter-gatherers were the descendants of the earlier Middle Stone Age inhabitants of the Little Karoo discussed above. Around 20 000 years ago these ancestors of today's San or Bushmen hunter-gatherers used Later Stone Age toolkits. At this time the transition from the MSA to the LSA was marked by a series of technological innovations or new tools (Mitchell 2005). LSA stone tool technology was generally characterised by tiny microliths, some less than 25mm long (with the exception of the Albany and post-Wilton technologies) (Wurz 2007, pers com). Some of these tools were still being made by Khoisan people when Europeans arrived in the country 400 years ago. The relatively good preservation of leather, wood and other organic materials gives other insights into the life of LSA people. Decorative beads and bone tools with engravings are popular items of the LSA. Tortoiseshell bowls and polished bone tools like needles and arrowheads abound. And at last the elusive fishing equipment appears in archaeological record with hooks, gorges and sinkers in the tool kit. For the last 2000 years earthenware pottery has been found, adopted by the hunter-gatherers from their new neighbours the Khoekhoen herders.

Documentary and ethnographic accounts give glimpses into the Stone Age past. The most visible and enchanting legacy of the LSA is their contribution to spirituality and art. Rock art, paintings and engravings like those at the Cango Caves are a tangible reminder of other cultures' belief systems. During the 1929 excursion to the Cango Caves the Abbé Breuil found two engravings as well as rock paintings. The engravings are unusual in their style and position (Deacon 1979) as they are scratched outlines of elephants and situated away from natural light. The engraving nearest the cave entrance is associated with a painting. The second is tucked away some distance from the opening and extremely difficult to see even when looking directly at the spot it should be. In a preservation effort, attention is deliberately not drawn to the rock art at the Cango Caves.

Whilst pleasing to the eye, rock art is more than paint on rock walls. Rock art sites can be seen as ritual galleries. Rock paintings and engravings represent the ritual or spiritual side of San culture. The rock art portrays rituals of healing, trance and trance dancing, rain making and animals of potency (Deacon & Deacon 1999). The interpretation of South African rock art relies on the use of research by talented individuals from different centuries. The work in the nineteenth century of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd interviewing /Xam and !Kung San-speakers in Cape Town between

1870 and 1884 is a corner stone for rock art interpretation. Their informants gave testimony to the life-styles, languages and beliefs of a dying culture (Deacon & Dowson 1996). Twentieth century anthropological work by the likes of Richard Lee (Lee 1979) among the !Kung give modern resonance to the old folklore and myths recorded by Bleek and Lloyd (Bleek & Lloyd 1911). More recent work by people like Vinnicombe (1976) and Lewis-Williams (1981) has brought together these separate strands of research to form a theoretical foundation for the interpretation of rock art.

Though debated in the literature (e.g. Dowson 2007; Lewis-Williams 2006; 2007; Solomon 2006; 2007), the common interpretation of rock art relates the art to Bushmen beliefs and rituals (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). And central to those beliefs and rituals are Bushmen shamans. Shamans are people within a hunter-gatherer society who enter a trance in order to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather, ensure good hunting and a vast variety of other spiritual elements. Both men and women could be shamans. Bushman shamanism is practised principally at a trance dance (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). During these dances women clap their hands whilst chanting ritual songs. The men dance in a circle around the women. The sounds of their dancing rattles, thudding steps and chanting awake the supernatural potency that is contained within the songs of the shaman. When the potency boils and rises up the shamans' spine the trance state is entered. The trance experience involves three neuropsychological steps (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). During the initial period the shaman will see patterns of light or entoptic grids and other geometric shapes. The second stage reveals animals or objects significant to the person. These animals are usually from the shamans' environment and culturally dictated. A Bushman shaman would most likely have seen an eland while a North American Indian shaman might see a grizzly bear. In the third stage of trance the shaman would merge with the animal. These half human, half animal creatures are known as therianthropes. Rock art depicts the curing dance and the sensations felt by shamans when receiving potency. These ritual actions are encoded in the postures of the human figures and associated images.

One of the tasks a shaman performs while in a trance state is healing (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). A shaman will lay his hands on the ill to draw the sickness from them, into his own body. Emitting a high pitched shriek, the sickness is expelled through a 'hole' in the nape of the shamans neck or *n//au* spot. The sickness returns from whence it came, usually a malevolent shaman or spirits of the dead.

Rain making was another important ritual event portrayed by rock art. Paintings associated with rain making often show fat animals, sometime led by a thong, others surrounded by people and occasionally therianthropes. Some paintings have ordinary and fantastic creatures surrounded by geometric shapes, fish, snakes and other images. Rain making involved trancing and an altered state

of consciousness. Leaving his body, a shaman's spirit would capture the rain's animal or *!khwa-ka xoro* (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989) during the night in the spirit world. The rain's animal, captured at a water hole, in a kloof or on a mountain would be led across the veld. The shaman would kill it and where the blood or milk fell, the rain would fall.

Certain animals, it was believed, have more potency than others. The eland in particular (Deacon & Deacon 1999) has great significance. It occurs more often than any other animal in rock paintings and engravings in South Africa. The mythic creation of the eland is closely associated with water, vitally important on mundane and spiritual levels to the survival of the Bushmen. It was thought the eland had more fat than other animals and so potency could be more easily accessed through it. In a /Xam myth an eland is actually the rain (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989).

These activities, healing, rain making, controlling animals and the trance dance experience are the images recorded by rock art. The rock art from the Cango Caves (Figure 4.4) appears to depict a



Source: Cango Caves (2004)

Figure 4.4 A rock painting from the Cango Caves

few common images associated with paintings depicting healing trances. The arrows in the hands of one person and in the chest of another may be arrows of sickness. These were small invisible arrows that malevolent shamans shot into people they wished to make ill. The figure on the far right is bending over, an image associated with the moment potency begins to boil in the shaman's stomach. At this point the stomach muscles contract and the shaman is forced to bend over.

As significant as its content, is the placement of rock art (Deacon & Deacon 1999; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). Like any religious place, the location enhances the message and the importance of the place. It must be remembered that not all rock shelters that are painted were occupied by Bushmen and not all occupied shelters have paintings. The placement of rock art seems to have been decided by two factors. The first factor was the type of surface used to paint or engrave on. Rock was more than a canvas for San artists, it was seen as a veil between the artist and the spiritual world (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990). Images that were seen in the spiritual world during trance were later painted or engraved onto a rock surface. The second factor was the landscape. Certain sites are believed to be associated with particular rituals like rain making or initiations. Whatever the motivation behind the rock art, the paintings at the Cango Caves contribute to the overall aesthetic appeal of the place.

4.2.3.2 Herders

For most of the last 2000 years the LSA hunter-gatherers shared their environment with Khoekhoen herders (Boonzaier et al 2000). The herders had moved into territory already inhabited by LSA hunter-gatherers or San. The name San represents the hunter-gatherer societies co-existing with Khoekhoen herders. Collectively these indigenous groups and particularly their languages are referred to as Khoisan. 'Bushman' is still the most commonly used term among the general public including those of Khoisan descent when referring to the San people. The arrival of the Khoekhoen with their herds put pressure on the hunter-gatherer resources and changed San social life and environment.

Based on linguistic evidence from Botswana, the Khoekhoen were derived from southern African LSA hunter-gatherer societies who had adopted domesticated animals and the associated social and economic structures from farming people migrating from eastern Africa (Gifford-Gonzalez 2005). It is possible that initially the Khoekhoen from the north were a lower class, serving the new farming societies entering their territory. They later moved on in search of new pastures and water for their fat-tailed sheep, which led them southwards across the Kalahari to the Orange River (Elphick 1985). Here paths diverged, with some groups heading towards the Vaal River, whilst other headed to the West Coast and southwards along river valleys to the south coast. It is likely that the first Khoekhoen arrivals in the Cape had only domesticated sheep with them. Cattle appear in the archaeological record ~1300 BP and were a later acquisition from black African farmers in the eastern Cape (Boonzaier et al 2000). Herds had a ratio of 4.7:1 small stock (sheep and goats) to large stock (cattle). Herd sizes were kept in check by disease and drought. These were not the only mechanisms controlling herd size. Raiding of cattle between different Khoekhoen groups or clans was another way. Raiding also allowed young men to acquire herds and establish

themselves as adults (Boonzaier et al 2000).

Apart from the obvious economic differences between the hunter-gatherers and the herders, the social structures of the groups differed. The higher population concentration of herders, owing to reliable food resources, affected the ideas of ownership and private property. Now one person could own property and control resources. Herders, unlike hunter-gatherers, were hierarchical societies, with social classes, the rich controlling resources with servants and clients (Bushmen) as lower classes. The Khoekhoen also spent time in the Cango valley, feeding their cattle and sheep as we know from the archaeological evidence of thick layers of calcified dung and bones of cattle at Boomplaas indicating that herders lived there.

4.2.3.3 Farmers

The 1700's saw the arrival of European settlers in the fertile valley at the foot of the Swartberg. These settlers adopted the Khoekhoen name Cango, and so continued the intangible legacy of the Khoisan. Cango is thought (Coombe & Slingsby 2000) to be a corruption of the Khoisan word 'xanga' [!/a-!kanub] which means the flats between the hills, perfectly describing the Little Karoo. The word 'Karoo' is itself from the San word meaning hard, dry, sparse place. Coombe & Slingsby (2000) speculate that 'Karoo' was in use before the arrival of the Khoekhoen 2000 years ago and is thus one of the oldest names still in use today. The Dutch farmers with their land grants and farms settled in the Cango valley in the 1700's (Burman 1981) together with their livestock and other property. This property included slaves. Slaves, their history and the places associated with them, are a hidden and neglected part of South Africa's heritage and are unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In the case of the Cango Caves, slaves were instrumental in discovery and exploration in historic times. The caves were rediscovered in 1780 by Klaas Winvogel (Cango Caves Information Sheet 2004), a herder in search of stray cattle. On 11 July 1780 Winvogel, Van Zyl (the local farmer) and Oppel (a teacher in the employ of Van Zyl) returned to the cave. Van Zyl was lowered by rope into the chamber that would one day take his name. Van Zyl enthusiastically estimated that the hall was five miles long, three miles wide and one mile high. As his only light was a single candle, he could perhaps be forgiven for his generous measurements.

Burman (1981) has a slightly different story of Van Zyl entering the caves. In this story, Van Zyl returned to the cave with slaves carrying long torches and rawhide ropes. Leading the way into the cave, Van Zyl was followed by the fearful slaves. Reaching a precipice Van Zyl tied the rope around his waist and had the slaves lower him into the huge cavern. Some nine metres later he reached bottom and began to explore. The fame of the magnificent caves soon spread and visitors

began to arrive. In a form of historical graffiti, the oldest name scribbled on the walls dates to 1790.

Later, in 1822, George Thompson gave the following account of his visit to the caves (as cited in Burman 1981:114), relating to his descent into the caves' Van Zyl's Hall:

“it penetrates inward, till at the distance of about 60 feet it is terminated by another abrupt descent. No one had hitherto explored the cavern beyond this spot, and as the ladder at the entrance could not conveniently be brought forward, I contrived to scramble down the precipice which was only about 14 feet in depth. Three of the slaves followed me, but so confusedly that all their torches were extinguished in coming down ... I directed the slaves to keep a good distance behind me in order that their lights might remain in reserve in the event of mine being extinguished. Proceeding in this manner I fully examined this chamber.”

Upon leaving the caves, Thompson was congratulated by the guardian of the caves, a gentleman by the name of Botha, who said that the second hall would be named after Thompson (Burman 1981). There is no Thompson's Hall, but there is a Botha's Hall, so poor Thompson did all the hard work for no reward. And as usual the names and contribution of the three slaves slipped through the cracks of history.

Exploration of the caves continued throughout, a leading light in the efforts being Johnny van Wassenaar, who spent all his spare time in the 1880's searching for the end of the caves. It was Wassenaar who became the first official guide to the caves in 1891. His explorations opened up the whole of Cango I and established the route to the Devil's Workshop. In 1956 an accurate survey of the Cango Caves was undertaken by the South African Speleological Association (SASA) (Burman 1981). Cango II was entered on 17 September 1972 after much hard work and drilling. Dubbed the Wonder Cave, Cango II consists of stalagmites and stalactites of myriad colours and formations. Cango III was discovered during an international symposium on cave biology in August 1975. SASA invited an international team of cavers to explore the caves in an effort to discover the end of the cave system. After pumping water out of the underground river system the team headed upstream to Cango III, IV and V.

Since the historic rediscovery of the Cango Caves, people have sought them out as an attraction. Already a tourist attraction in 1828, the Field-cornet of the Cango District was allowed to charge an entrance fee, turning the Caves into a money-making concern. The proceeds were used for educational purposes (Burman 1981). Few if any improvements were initially made to access the caves or for the safety of visitors. Ladders with broken rungs were standard facilities.

4.3 TOURISM AT THE CANGO CAVES

The Cango Caves are South Africa's oldest tourist attraction, having been at the forefront of tourism in South Africa since the end of the 17th century. This section starts off by sketching the tourism resources and opportunities surrounding the caves complex before focussing on the visitation patterns to the Caves and finally commenting on heritage presentation and management at the caves.

4.3.1 Tourism in the vicinity of the Cango Caves

The Cango Caves have attracted numerous visitors to the region which other tourism initiatives have taken advantage of. Other attractions, events, activities and festivals typifying rural and farm tourism keep visitors to the Cango Caves in the area for longer stays. The most famous of these secondary attractions are perhaps the ostrich show farms like Highgate, established in 1934 (Bothma 2004, pers com), and the Safari Ostrich Farm. On these show farms the visitor is led through the history of breeding and ostrich farming products. Schoemanshoek Farm Tour invites the visitor to relax on a working ostrich farm, which includes tobacco farming. The Cango Wildlife Ranch boasts an impressive reptile collection, including crocodiles (Derwent 2003) and other endangered animals like the pygmy hippo and aardwolf, and are reputed to be in the top five of cheetah breeding centres in the world.

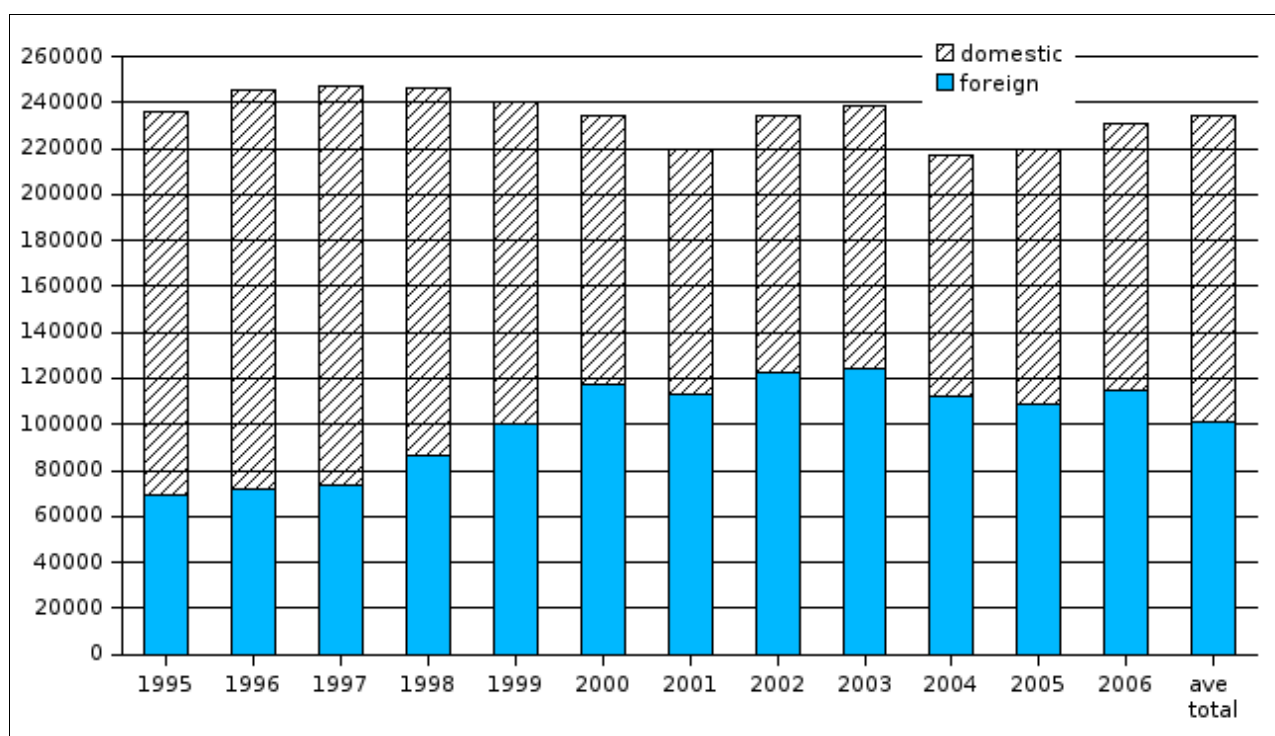
For urban tourism, Oudtshoorn itself offers numerous historic buildings which date from the Ostrich Feather Boom in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Burman 1981) when ostrich feathers became a high fashion item in Europe. Feathers were easy to transport and commanded astronomical prices. With the resulting wealth the 'feather barons' built 'ostrich palaces' made from local sandstone and imported British wrought iron and corrugated tin roofs. The Oudtshoorn Historic Walk perambulates past 27 of these houses and four cemeteries. Four routes, a 20 minute walk, a 45 minute walk and two of an hour each have been developed. The annual Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK), held in Oudtshoorn, celebrates contemporary artists, actors, music and dance, mostly in Afrikaans.

Oudtshoorn, and by extension the Cango Caves, lies on Route 62, though this tourism marketing initiative is of less importance in this area than elsewhere on the route, as the tourism infrastructure of the Oudtshoorn/Cango Caves area was in place and active long before the Route 62 concept was activated. On the subject of routes, Swartberg Pass (fully explored in Chapter 6), Meirings Poort, Schoemans Poort and Potgieters Poort are all within reasonable driving distance of Oudtshoorn.

4.3.2 Visitation to the Cango Caves complex

The proximity of the Cango Caves to Oudtshoorn, the 'capital' of the Little Karoo, has led to this centre enjoying a fair share of the tourism market as a destination. The Caves, along with Oudtshoorn, are marketed within the Little Karoo region and the Garden Route (Cape Tourism 2005; Route 62 2004), therefore gaining maximum market exposure. The Caves are the most visited attraction in the Little Karoo. On average some 234 180 people a year from 1995 to 2006 (Moos 2007, pers com) have visited the caves. They are open to the public every day of the year except Christmas Day.

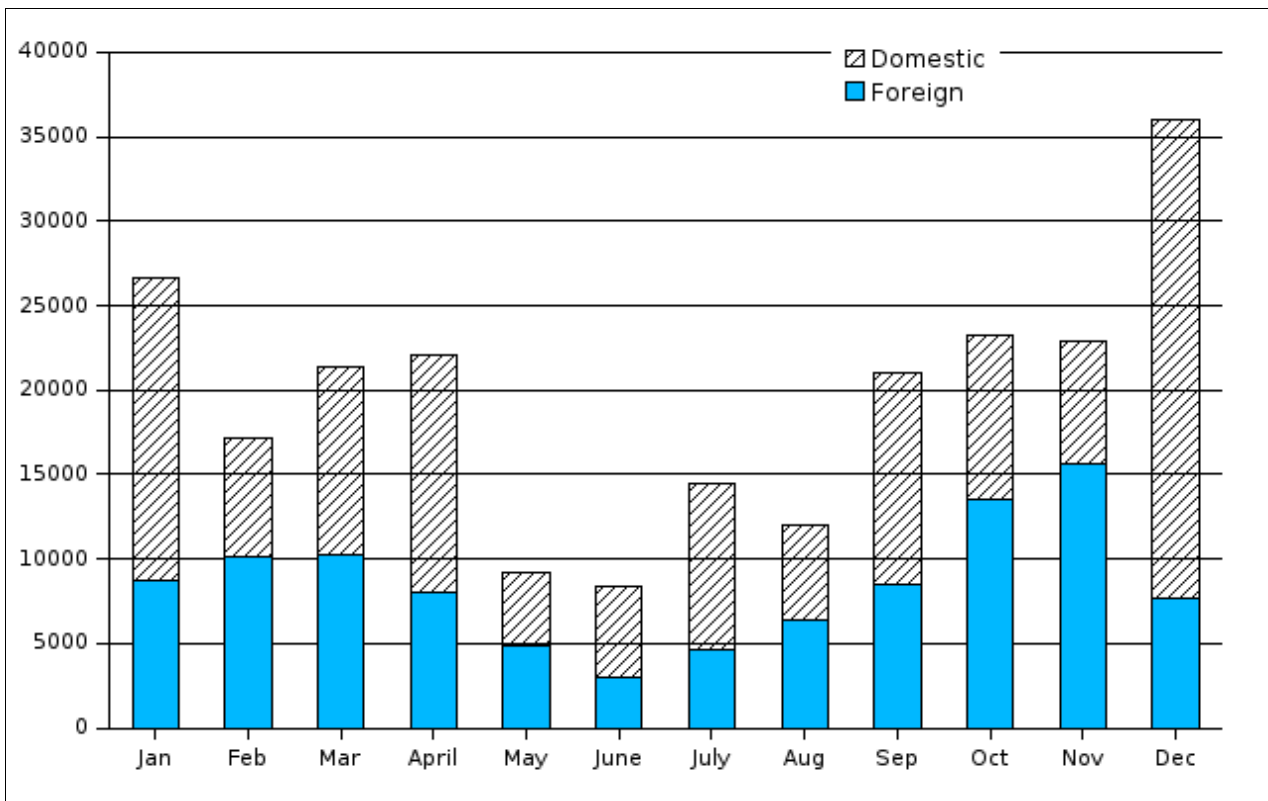
The Cango Caves can be considered an icon resource (McKercher & Du Cros 2002) for the Little Karoo, as it is a truly unique asset and draws people to the region. It has also played an important role in shaping the destination image of the region. The Cango Caves' visitor numbers provide the best insight into the tourist visitation patterns to the Little Karoo, including the number of foreign tourists. Figure 4.5 indicates a steady rise of foreign visitors from 1995 with a peak in



Source: compiled from Moos (2007)

Figure 4.5 Number of domestic and foreign visitors to the Cango Caves 1995-2006

2003. Thereafter numbers have dropped off slightly. Domestic tourists, who once predominated, now generally comprise about half of the annual visitors. The Cango visitor numbers also provide data on the seasonality of visitors. Figure 4.6 indicates a generally 'U' shaped curve with a dip in visitors in winter, though July shows a small up-swing, perhaps due to school holidays. Autumn and Spring (February-April and September-November) have very similar overall numbers. Spring has more foreigners. Interestingly October and November have the highest number of foreign visitors.



Source: compiled from Moos (2007)

Figure 4.6 Seasonal visitation to the Cango Cave

December and January have by far the most domestic tourists when holidaymakers from the south coast diversify their beach activities. December stands above all the others at an average total above 35 000 visitors compared to January with >26 000. Of the December total 79% are domestic, making December proportionally the poorest month in terms of foreign visitors.

The reason for the popularity of the Cango Caves is the unique experience of exploring one of the few limestone caves open to the public in the world (Show Caves 2005) and seeing dripstone formations. As a primarily natural attraction, the setting and scenic ambience of the Cango Caves is critically important to its appeal. However, a high degree of modification to the area, particularly around the entrance to the Caves has occurred since its rediscovery in the eighteenth century. The modifications do not completely detract from the beauty of the caves or the surrounding environment. The highest impact has been on the cave formations of Cave I. The exposure of the dripstone formations to visitors has meant that Cave I is now 'dead' with no actively growing dripstone formations (the sensitivity of the caves will be discussed later). The standard tour, which has been in operation since 1806 (Cango Caves 2004), starts from Van Zyl's Hall and ends in the African Drum Room, approximately 600m on. The tour takes an hour and allows the visitor to experience the largest of the chambers and dripstones. The adventure tour came into being in 1896 when further exploration of the cave system opened new chambers. This is a 'soft adventure' route which explores the oldest adrenalin icon in South Africa. The visitor must not be claustrophobic,

must be in good health and have a sense of adventure.

The experience of the Caves leaves no sense untouched: the smell of the cave, the taste of the enclosed space, the drip-drip of water, and the sight of natural wonders spun out of rock. The other-worldliness of the subterranean cavern is an experience which can stir the spirit. The Congo Caves as a whole forms an exceptional heritage item. The dripstone formations' beauty and attributes are unique.

4.3.3 Current presentation of heritage at the Congo Caves

The facilities of the Congo Caves complex now include a curio shop, a restaurant and an Interpretive Centre that offers a well designed template for the presentation and interpretation of heritage resources to the public. It is the Interpretive Centre that offers the visitor the information necessary for them to better appreciate the natural wonder of the Congo Caves and introduces the cultural narrative of the Caves. It is the story behind the caves that gives meaning beyond the aesthetic appeal of the formations. The Interpretive Centre opened in December 1999, and was designed to give visitors to the Congo Caves a better understanding and appreciation of the caves, their history and formations (Congo Caves Information Sheet 2004). Until that point the only on-site interpretation had been through guides. Time constraints meant that they were unable to convey the large amount of information available. Many tourists went away without their questions being answered. The Interpretive Centre was primarily developed for South African visitors, to educate them about their own heritage and the nature of the caves. It is interesting that the manager of the Congo Caves interprets the typical reaction to the centre as one of caution and avoidance, perhaps because it resembles a museum (Gerstner 2004, pers com.).

The idea of the Interpretive Centre began with the conceptual problem: how to choose a theme for a cave. If only 10% of the visitors to the caves are truly interested in caves, what captures the interest of the other 90%? The answer was in choosing a broader context to explain the concepts represented by the caves: time. Time was chosen as the thread that cuts through everything and introduces the visitor to significant processes (Congo Caves Visitors User's Guide 2004). Time is also a dimension that few people can truly grasp and understand. The caves are presented as the interpreter of time, the writer of the past (Congo Caves Information Sheet 2004). Time is expressed holistically. Geological time is expressed in the cave development and stalagmites which can be analysed for time calibration and reconstruction of past climatic conditions. Prehistoric time is recorded in the archaeological deposits of the caves and in the eras of occupation. The Interpretive Centre is seen as an excavation that takes visitors on a 'journey through time' (Congo Caves Visitors User's Guide 2004).

The information boards sketch the development of life through time from geological beginnings to palaeontological evidence and finally the origins of modern humans. The different groups of panels were designed by professionals in the relevant fields. The present use of the caves, not only as a spectacular natural phenomenon but also as a scientific classroom is also addressed. Part of the function of the

Interpretive Centre is to help children with school projects that deal with specific sections of time. They may only need to use two or three boards dealing with palaeontology. Other visitors must choose for themselves how much or how little information they wish to view. The Interpretive Centre is not merely a centre for the caves, it also plays a role in educating visitors about the Little Karoo and its heritage. And it is on this later point that the Centre falls short. Little attention is given to the heritage of the wider region. The Centre has also been designed for repeated viewings, leaving first-time (or one-off) visitors lost in the sheer volume of information. Whilst 'time' as a theme is a good place to start, other entry points into the heritage narrative of the Cango Caves and the Little Karoo is needed to guide the visitor experience. This is where the SAHTTF can be of use. The different (equally weighted) theme groups would allow the visitor to choose their own point at which to start their heritage journey.

Today the Caves are owned by the Oudtshoorn Municipality, with profits going to the Oudtshoorn district (Gerstner 2004, pers com.). The Cango Caves form an exciting tourism product with many stories associated with the attraction. These stories have tangible and intangible origins and form the foundation of the heritage significance of the caves.

From a tourism perspective the Cango Caves appear to be a well managed tourist attraction with both natural and cultural heritage items. The natural resources, the dripstone formations within the Caves, are obviously the main attraction to the Caves and have been developed as such. The cultural items are not immediately obvious as an attraction and have required a more complex approach in presenting them to the public. This has been dealt with by widening the Cango Caves experience to include more than just the standard and adventure cave tours. The facilities around the caves have expanded to include a restaurant, curio shop and interpretation centre.

4.4 THE CANGO CAVES AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

The Cango Caves have drawn people to its attractions for almost three hundred years. It attracts more people to the Little Karoo than any other single place in the region. In this way the Caves help expose the larger region to a wider audience. However, high visitation rates and the potential affect on a delicate resource pose a challenge to the sustainable maintenance of this tourism icon. To establish how successful management has been to ensure this requirement, the

physical fabric of three heritage items have been evaluated by means of literature survey and personal observation. The dripstone formations which form the basis of the Cango Caves attraction, the rock art and archaeological deposit which are the physical manifestation of the narrative told above are discussed below.

4.4.1 Dripstone formations

Apart from its aesthetic appeal, dripstone formations are of high scientific importance and therefore its conservation a matter of concern. Dripstone formations are the repositories of temporal evidence relating to environmental conditions over vast periods of time when air and even biotic particles are trapped in the layered chemical accretions of dripstones. These layers may be 'peeled back' and exposed through scientific chemical analysis to allow the reconstruction of past environmental conditions. Therein lies its unique scientific significance. A speleothem study (Talma & Vogel 1992) revealing how the environment has changed in the Cango area over the last $\pm 30\ 000$ years offers a particular example. A 2.7m tall stalagmite with a diameter of 8cm at the top and 20cm at the base was taken from Cave II and sawn lengthwise in a laboratory to provide two equal sections. One half was used for dating samples, the other for carbon and oxygen isotope ratio analyses. Radiocarbon and uranium disequilibrium dating of the sample determined the age of the speleothem at $\sim 28\ 000$ years. Interestingly there is a depositional break between 13 800 and 5000 BP. Though Talma and Vogel (1992) have no definite explanation for this hiatus in deposition, they speculate a lack of cave drip water supply either locally (break in water flow) or regionally (a generally dry period) may have been the cause.

Results from the Cango speleothem $^{16}\text{O}:^{18}\text{O}$ ratios show that the Last Glacial Maximum, when temperatures were lowest during the last ice age, occurred between 15 000 and 18 000 years ago (Talma & Vogel 1992). The mean cave temperature of that time was 12°C , or $5\text{-}7^\circ\text{C}$ lower than the present average of $\sim 18^\circ\text{C}$. Temperatures over the last 5000 years show fluctuations between 1°C above and 2°C below the present average. The stable carbon isotopes, ^{12}C and ^{13}C of the Cango speleothem, tell the story of changing vegetation in the area. The rainwater percolating down through the soil into the caves also recorded the type of vegetation it travelled through. Temperate grasses, indicating a winter rainfall region, use the same form of metabolism to fix carbon in living matter as trees and shrubs do, known as a C_3 pathway. Tropical grasses, growing in a warm wet season use a C_4 pathway. By measuring the ratio between the two carbon isotopes the difference in the way carbon is fixed can be discovered. The last 5 000 years in the Cango Valley have seen an increase in tropical grasses indicating higher summer temperatures and more seasonal climates. It is likely that more summer rainfall now occurs. Prior to this the vegetation was dominantly woody with fynbos.

4.4.2 Rock art

The rock art discussed in earlier in this chapter remains a vulnerable finite heritage asset at the Cango Caves, but is hidden in plain sight. While the art is clearly visible at the entrance to the Caves, near the old tea room, attention is not drawn to it. If a responsible guide is not present to deter visitors, the art is accessible and can easily be damaged by careless visitors. Attention is not drawn to the paintings and engravings inside the cave. The painting associated with an engraving is very near to the entrance and can be damaged by people brushing against the panel, not realising the art is there. The elephant engraving is hidden away in a small cul-de-sac passage and is difficult to locate even by people who know where it should be. Rather than exposing the rock art in situ, the interpretation centre is used to expose and educate people to it in a controlled manner.

Rock art in the form of paintings and engravings is the most visible and well known form of prehistoric heritage in South Africa. Rock art is not limited to South Africa and is a global phenomenon testifying to the existence of prehistoric humans (ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Rock Art 2001). Unfortunately, rock art is also extremely vulnerable to natural and human impacts. In South Africa natural impacts in the form of weathering by wind, water and fire and the simple degradation of pigments with time has led to the disappearance of many rock art sites. More serious and preventable impacts are of human origin.

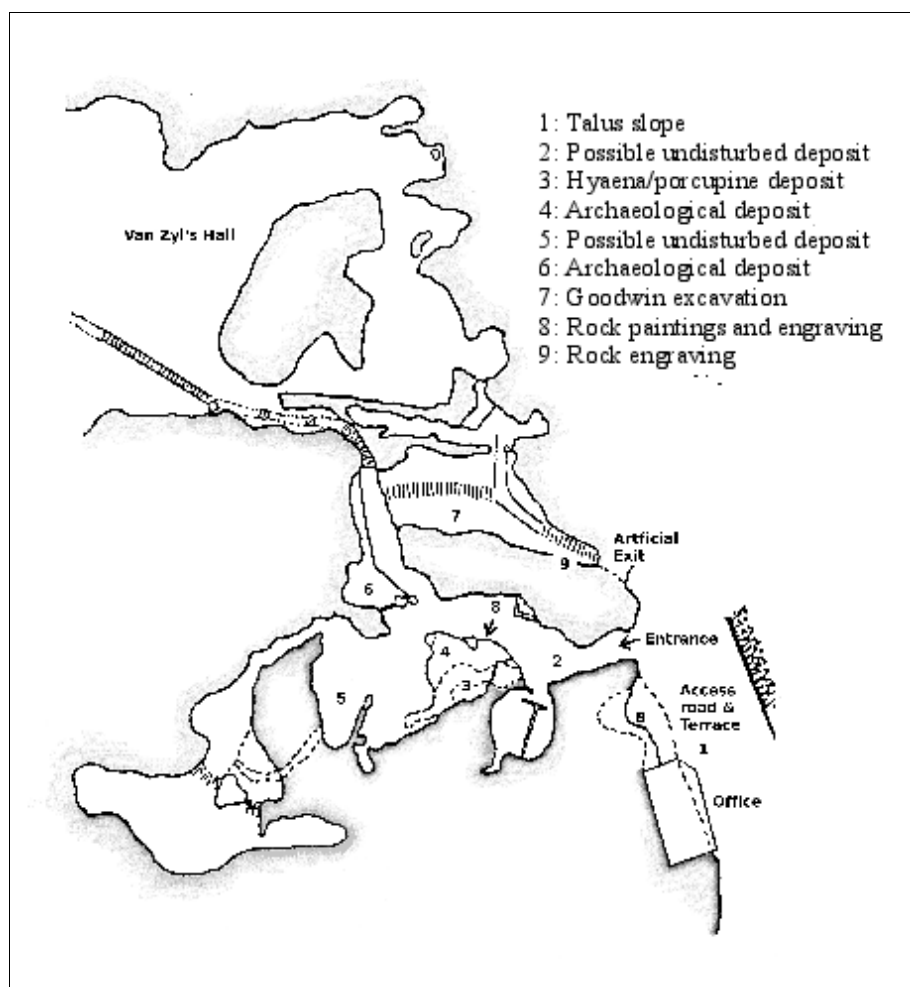
Vandalism, in the guise of graffiti, is a major problem and can cause irreparable damage to prehistoric painted surfaces (ICOMOS South Africa 2001). Only registered specialists may remove graffiti (Deacon & Deacon 1999), an expensive and time-consuming exercise. Visitors, in ignorance, splash water or other liquids onto the paint to get a brighter photograph. Needless to say this only increases the rate of deterioration. Only through education and interpretation can such vandalism be stopped (Deacon 1993).

Of the estimated 15 000 South African rock art sites (Deacon 1993) most are located in isolated areas with little or no control over access or interpretation. As farmers turn to tourism for additional income, more sites are being used as tourist attractions. These sites are open to the public without notifying SAHRA or implementing any of the policies recommended by the agency (SAHRA 2002a, SAHRA 2002b). That is not the case at the Caves, where a controlled visitation environment has been created, yet is not sufficiently enforced to protect the art at this site.

4.4.3 Archaeological deposit

The archaeological deposits at the Cango Caves have also suffered through the development of the site as a tourism attraction. Cemented ramps, pathways and stairs have been built through and over archaeological deposits dating from the MSA to historical times. The deposits situated beneath

the concrete slabs have been accidentally preserved, but remain inaccessible. Some of the remaining quaternary deposits, those dating from 1.8 million years ago to the present, identified by Brink (1996) and depicted in Figure 4.7, have archaeological assemblages. Further scientific investigation



Source: After Brink (1996)

Figure 4.7 The location of archaeological deposit and rock art in the Cango Caves

is required to determine the extent of the deposits, in particular areas 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7. Of the areas identified, areas 6 and 7 are vulnerable as they are exposed and accessible to visitors.

As with rock art, archaeological deposits are presented to the public in the interpretation centre, where Boomplaas is used as an exemplar site and has pride of place in one corner of the centre. Stone Age archaeological deposits are a fairly common occurrence in South Africa. Their greatest vulnerability seems to be through ignorance of their existence. Developers bulldoze through sites without realising their presence. Developments are then halted whilst emergency excavations are undertaken. Layers of stones and shell are not much to look at to an untrained eye. The NHRA (1999) makes provision for archaeological assessments with Environmental Impact Assessments, so hopefully more archaeological sites will be documented and assessed in the future. As is the case with rock art at Cango Caves, the archaeological deposit here is not adequately

managed and protected against inadvertent damage.

4.4.4 Heritage management at the Congo Caves

For long term management, the delicate nature of the caves is of great concern. The caves are a non-renewable resource and very little research has been done on the rehabilitation of caves (Gerstner 2004, pers com). Natural impacts are limited to the effects of water percolating down to the caves. Visitor impacts are greatest in the form of carbon dioxide (CO₂) derived from expelled breath. As discussed previously, CO₂ is central to the development of the caves and its features; however, elevated CO₂ levels will result in the destruction of the cave dripstones. To combat this, certain sections of the caves have been closed to visitors, to conserve them for the future and new scientific techniques of analysis and conservation. A 1996 Scientific Report (Grobbelaar et al 1996) recommended, among other points, that visitor numbers per day be restricted to 200. However, the Congo Caves' average visitor numbers per day for 2006 was 632 (Moos 2007, pers com) and between 1995 and 2006 the figure was 642. Clearly this constant exposure to high levels of CO₂ must affect the longevity of the dripstones formations of the Congo Caves as sustainable tourism resource. Ultimately, if 250 000 people a year visit this tourist icon, which happens to be a highly sensitive environment, a serious environmental management problem is created – a time bomb for conservation (Gerstner 2004, pers com).

The use of the Caves for organised entertainment, not including the Cave Tours, was a controversial issue while it lasted years ago. Live concerts were held that literally shook the caves. Holes were drilled for equipment, irreparably damaging some of the dripstone formations. Fortunately these practices have ceased in order to conserve the Caves. The use of the Congo Caves as a tourist attraction continues, though the experience is expanded by the inclusion of the Interpretation Centre and other facilities.

The Municipality of Oudtshoorn is the custodian of the Caves (Gerstner 2007, pers com), according to the ordinance proclaimed in 1921 and revised in 1971. The annual budget must be approved by the Provincial Government, Department of Local Government, Housing and Planning. This function was delegated to the Western Cape Government by the then Union Government in 1915. The current situation must be re-assessed as it is no longer a *bona fide* function of Municipalities as such. This issue was raised in the draft Management Plan and also with MEC Brown. So who will take responsibility for the Congo Caves? In an effort to resolve the matter Gerstner (manager of the Congo Caves) approached the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) early in 2007. DEAT responded by directing queries regarding the Congo Caves to the Department of Arts and Culture as the Caves are not a tourism matter. However, the Congo Caves are not perceived to be a cultural resource either (Dippnall 2007) as they do not have an

impact on the region's cultural heritage, since they are not known for their rock paintings. At the moment the ownership and status of the Cango Caves remain unresolved (Gerstner 2007, pers com). This is an example of how the current governmental organisational structures create confusion, as discussed in Chapter 2. The institutions responsible for conserving the cultural capital of the country may ultimately be responsible for its downfall or destruction because of inefficient planning, communication and foresight.

4.5 CONCLUSION

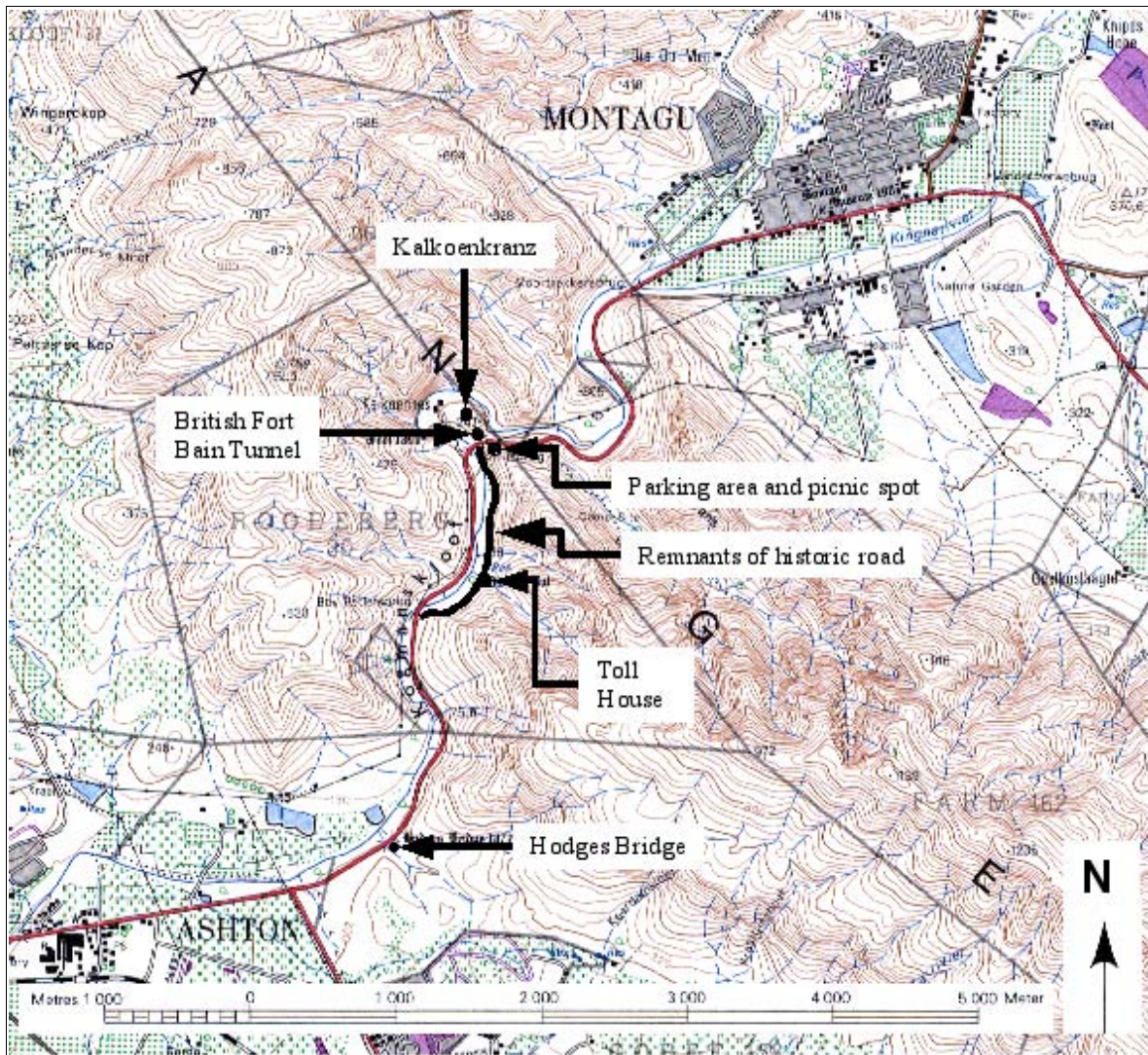
The Cango Caves has an international profile and is the most visited attraction in the Little Karoo. It is connected to Oudtshoorn and Route 62. As the thematic study shows, the heritage of the Cango Caves encompasses all the ages of the Little Karoo, from its foundations to the present use as an attraction. The thematic study of the caves explores the diversity of the human experience through time, from the Earlier Stone Age to historical times. In addition to the standard cave tours, the complex now offers a well-designed interpretive centre which caters to all types of visitors, but is primarily geared towards learners. The cultural heritage of the place has been established by the use of this interpretation centre.

The primary significance of the Cango Caves lies in their contribution to scientific investigation and economic development. However, as the thematic narrative has shown, the caves are about more than dripstones and money. The theme group *Peopling Our Land* as explored here, reveals a glimpse into the lives of our early human ancestors and their relatives. The story tells of the movement, migration and arrival of LSA hunters, Khoekhoen herders and European farmers.

Despite all its attractions and management plans, the Cango Caves remain vulnerable to visitation – the dripstones specifically. The interpretation centre is an effort to lure people away from the caves while educating them at the same time, but the current heritage management at the site is deemed inadequate. This chapter concludes the analysis of a site-bound heritage resource and makes way for the analyses of the three route-bound resources in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 5: COGMANS KLOOF HERITAGE TOURISM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Cogmans Kloof has been selected for thematic framework analysis and interpretation as an example of the typical river pass found at the western entrance to the Little Karoo. In essence Cogmans Kloof (Figure 5.1) stands as a template for other famous river passes of the Little Karoo



Source: Chief Directorate of Survey and Mapping

Figure 5.1 Location of heritage resources in Cogmans Kloof

like Meirings Poort and Seweweeks Poort. Their geology and rock formations are similar. The differences lie in the small details of their human exploitation. Like the Cango Caves, Cogmans Kloof's initial appeal to the visitor is environmental. The towering cliffs with their tilted and folded strata are striking natural phenomena. A further reason for selecting Cogmans Kloof is its unrealised potential as a heritage tourism attraction. Few if any facilities are available to date, in sharp contrast to the Cango Caves.

The thematic study of Cogmans Kloof follows a similar structure to that of the thematic study

of the Cango Caves and tells the heritage story of Cogmans Kloof with specific reference to five distinct features (geology, historic road, Hodges Bridge, Toll House and British Fort) in a manner that visitors can appreciate. The narrative uses the theme group *Development of the environment* as a golden thread running through the stories of *Peopling our land*, *Governing South Africa* and *Developing South Africa*. The thematic narrative is presented in a generally chronological order starting at the theme group level and narrowing in focus to theme and sub-theme levels where appropriate. The discussion then turns to tourism in Cogmans Kloof and the surrounding area. Finally this chapter evaluates vulnerability of the place and associated heritage items to human and non-human impact to glean some heritage management guidelines from it.

5.1 THEMATIC NARRATIVE OF COGMANS KLOOF

This section firstly provides some historical setting to the pass and its regional significance that determines the thematic heritage framework that was selected in which to cast its narrative. The discussion then turns to the distinct themes explored in this chapter that concludes with heritage heroes active here.

5.1.1 The selected thematic heritage framework for Cogmans Kloof

What immediately impresses about Cogmans Kloof is its natural beauty. The towering sandstone cliffs rise, sometimes vertically, from the river bed. The faulted and folded landscape forms the cradle in which other heritage items find their context. On an experiential level few things can compare with watching the sun set against these ravines with dassies screaming in the distance and the wind swirling about. The geology of Cogmans Kloof can be seen as representative of the geology of the Little Karoo and is used as a template for the region in the thematic narrative that follows.

In terms of historical significance, Cogmans Kloof has strong associations with the South African War. The British Fort dates to this time (1899). The historic road, built by Thomas Bain in the nineteenth century, was constructed during an intense period of road building in the old Cape Colony. The transport and communications network created by these roads marked the emergence of the Little Karoo as a regional source of marketable goods. This allowed the inhabitants of the Little Karoo to move beyond subsistence farming and into commercial production. The factors which make Cogmans Kloof historically significant also raise its importance as a potential educational source, or outdoor classroom. The information encapsulated by the heritage resources of Cogmans Kloof can contribute to the study material of primary and secondary learners. The setting is ideal to enhance the learning experience. The geology and river can combine to present the geological and geomorphological genesis of the region.

Table 5.1 shows the theme groups, themes, and sub-themes associated with the heritage of

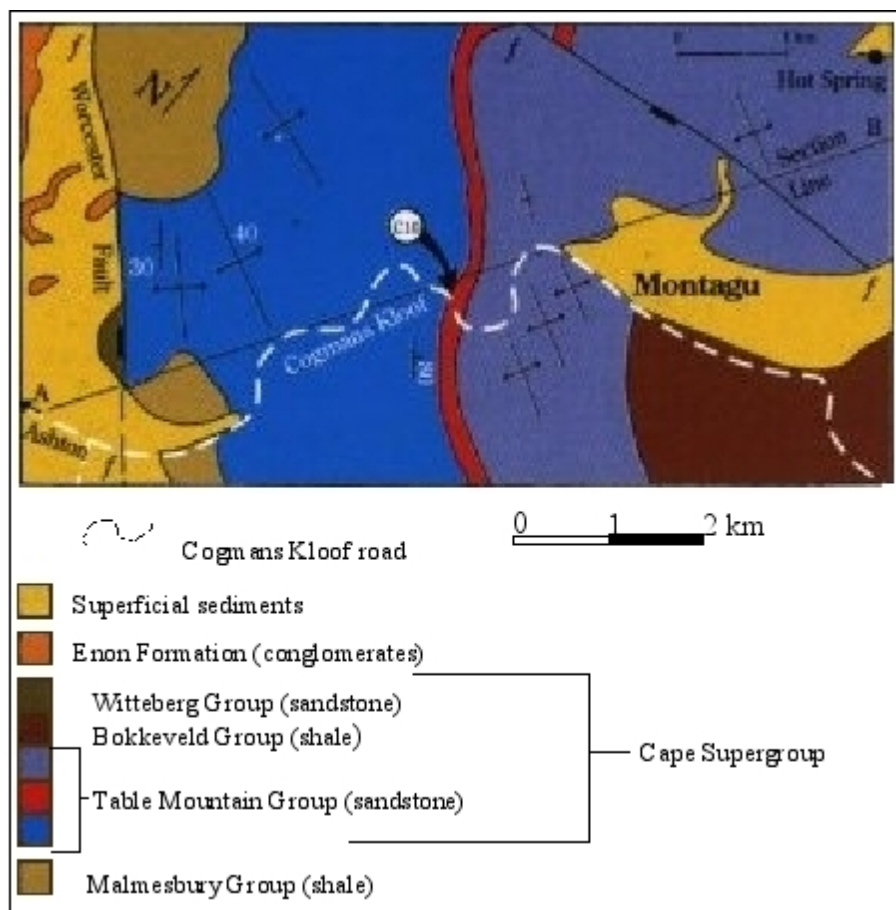
Table 5.1 Cogmans Kloof – Thematic Framework

Theme Group	Theme	Sub-themes
Development of the Environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes	n/a
Peopling our land	3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
Governing South Africa	2. Defending South Africa	n/a
Developing South Africa	2. Development of infrastructure, industry and technology	d. Transport and communication

Cogmans Kloof. Four theme groups will be explored by means of themes and sub-themes where applicable. The key theme group is *Development of the environment*. The narrative tracks the changing topography and climate of a region that would become the Little Karoo. The influence of the environment – specifically the geology and geomorphology of the Kloof – pervades the human story of Cogmans Kloof. The theme group *Peopling our land* picks up the story of movement, migration and arrival, rejoining the herders and farmers first encountered in the previous chapter. *Governing South Africa* examines the role landscape plays in military conflict and the theme group *Developing South Africa* explores the way the development of Cogmans Kloof as a transport route influenced the regional economy.

5.1.2 Theme: Development of the Little Karoo environment

The geological heritage of Cogmans Kloof surrounds the visitor in an awesome display of grandeur. The geology of Cogmans Kloof is the force behind the modern history of the pass. Fortunately the barriers between geological history, pre-history and history can be taken down by presenting the Kloof in a thematic assessment. The passages into and within the Little Karoo are literally cross sections of the region's geological history. The geology of Cogmans Kloof (mapped in Figure 5.2) and the Little Karoo region reveal some 1100 Million years (Ma) of land formation history (Barnett et al 1997; Brink 1981). The pass itself is dominated by the soaring cliffs of the three members of the Table Mountain sandstone formation where the river cut a passage through the barrier. Along the valley floor of the kloof some superficial sediments were deposited in recent times. Table 5.2 shows the geological range beginning with ancient Precambrian Formations and ending with the most recent Cainozoic formations. On this canvass the formation of the Breede River, and in particular the Gouritz River, drainage systems, were pivotal to landscape formation. Each sequence is characterised by its unique type of rock and the fossils embedded in it. Thus the creation, life and death of the super-continent Gondwana, the emergence and extinction of new forms of life and the building of a landscape to support human endeavours are chronicled.



Source: After GSSA Site C10

Figure 5.2 The geology of Cogmans Kloof

Table 5.2 The Cogmans Kloof geological stratigraphy

Formations	Geological Period	Time Scale	Main Rock Type
Precambrian Formations	Precambrian	1100 – 510 Ma	Shale, metamorphic
Cape Supergroup	Early Ordovician to early Carboniferous	500-340 Ma	Sandstone, shale
Karoo Sequence	Late Carboniferous to Jurassic	208-145 Ma	Sandstone
Enon Formation	Cretaceous	>100 Ma	Conglomerates
Cainozoic Formations	Cainozoic	65 Ma - present	Sediments

5.1.2.1 Precambrian Formations

It may be hard to believe, looking at the arid landscape in modern times, but for the majority of its palaeo-history the Little Karoo has been a sea. The Malmesbury shales to the west and the Kango limestone to the east testify to the presence of a shallow Precambrian sea. These metamorphosed rock formations were later folded and sheared in a Late Precambrian episode of mountain building or orogeny known as the Saldanian orogeny (Deacon et al 1992; Johnson et al 2006; Norman & Whitfield 2006; Viljoen & Reinold 1999). The intrusion by the igneous granites of the Cape Granite Suite give the ancient formations an upper limit date of ± 585 -510 Ma (Visser

1998).

5.1.2.2 The Cape Supergroup trilogy

Subsequent erosion reduced the older Precambrian Cape mountains to a level plain (Deacon et al 1992). On this surface a new cycle of sedimentation was initiated by renewed subsidence and the accumulation of the material that makes up the Cape Supergroup, its massive sandstone layers folded upright in Cogmans Kloof in Figure 5.3. For a period of 150 million years, from the early



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.3 Vertically tilted Table Mountain Sandstone strata in Cogmans Kloof

Ordovician to the early Carboniferous (500-340 Ma), sand and clay flowed from rivers originating from northern highlands into a shallow inland sea to form this supergroup. The Cape Supergroup has three distinct accumulations. The Table Mountain Group is almost entirely made up from coarse-grained sandstone and was deposited from the Early Ordovician to Early Devonian (Visser 1998).

The late Devonian (400-362 Ma) Bokkeveld Group is characterised by alternating layers of mud (shale) and sand (sandstone). The last group, the fine-grained Witteberg sandstone, accumulated during the late Devonian to the early Carboniferous (362-340 Ma) and is less well documented than the other Cape Supergroup elements (Cotter 2000; Rust 1973). Each group has several formations, strata with distinct lithologies. The accumulation of sediments within the Cape Basin ceased with uplift and the migration of the main centre of deposition towards the north and the vast Karoo Basin (Deacon et al 1992). The initial sedimentation of the Karoo Sequence, the

Dwyka Formation, represents a continent-wide glaciation.

5.1.2.3 Karoo Sequence

Together with the Dwyka Formation, the Cape Supergroup was folded during an episode of mountain building. The Cape orogeny took place during the Permian and Triassic (278-215 Ma). As the Cape Fold Mountains rose, they became a southern source of sedimentary material for the Karoo Basin (Deacon et al 1992). The Karoo Sequence deposit terminated in the Jurassic (208-145 Ma) with increased volcanic activity. The Drakensberg volcanism (190-140 Ma) marked the beginning of the break-up of the Gondwana super-continent. The large scale volcanism would have spewed dust and gasses into the atmosphere, fundamentally changing the chemical composition of the atmosphere, and may have led to a lowering of global temperatures.

As the continental plates constituting Gondwanaland broke up, the early South African coastline emerged. Separation of the continental plates was completed when the Falkland Plateau drifted past the Cape around 100 Ma, opening up the South Atlantic Ocean. River and estuarine sediments are preserved on-shore in fault-controlled basins along the South West and Southern coast of South Africa. The Oudtshoorn Basin is one such area (Theron 1983; Theron et al 1991) and runs along the southern slope of the Kango Fault. This basin and others formed during the Mesozoic serve as a record of this period of continental break-up. As Figure 5.2 indicates, no Karoo deposits occur in the immediate vicinity of the kloof.

5.1.2.4 The Enon Formation

The Enon Formation, the largest onshore repository of Cretaceous strata (Visser 1998) comprises conglomerates at the base, followed by red sandstone and an upper unit of coarse conglomerates and breccias alternating with red sandy layers. Early Cretaceous formations include fossil evidence of invertebrates, small dinosaurs, plants, leaves, wood and sporopollens – but no flowering plants. Dispersal of flowering plants only occurred during the mid Cretaceous at a more advanced stage of continental separation. A good example (Figure 5.4) of an outcrop of the Enon Formation can be found near Buffels Kloof, Calitzdorp where these red stone hills form an alien landscape off Route 62. As Figure 5.2 indicates, small Enon deposits occur to the west and outside the kloof only.

5.1.2.5 Cainozoic Formations

The beginning of the Cainozoic (65 Ma) saw Southern Africa maintain a form essentially similar to that of the present (Hendey 1983). Cainozoic (0-65 Ma) sediments come in the form of colluvial scree, alluvial gravels and fossil soils as well as in coastal deposits. The coastal deposits in particular record the number of transgressions and regressions of the sea in embayments along

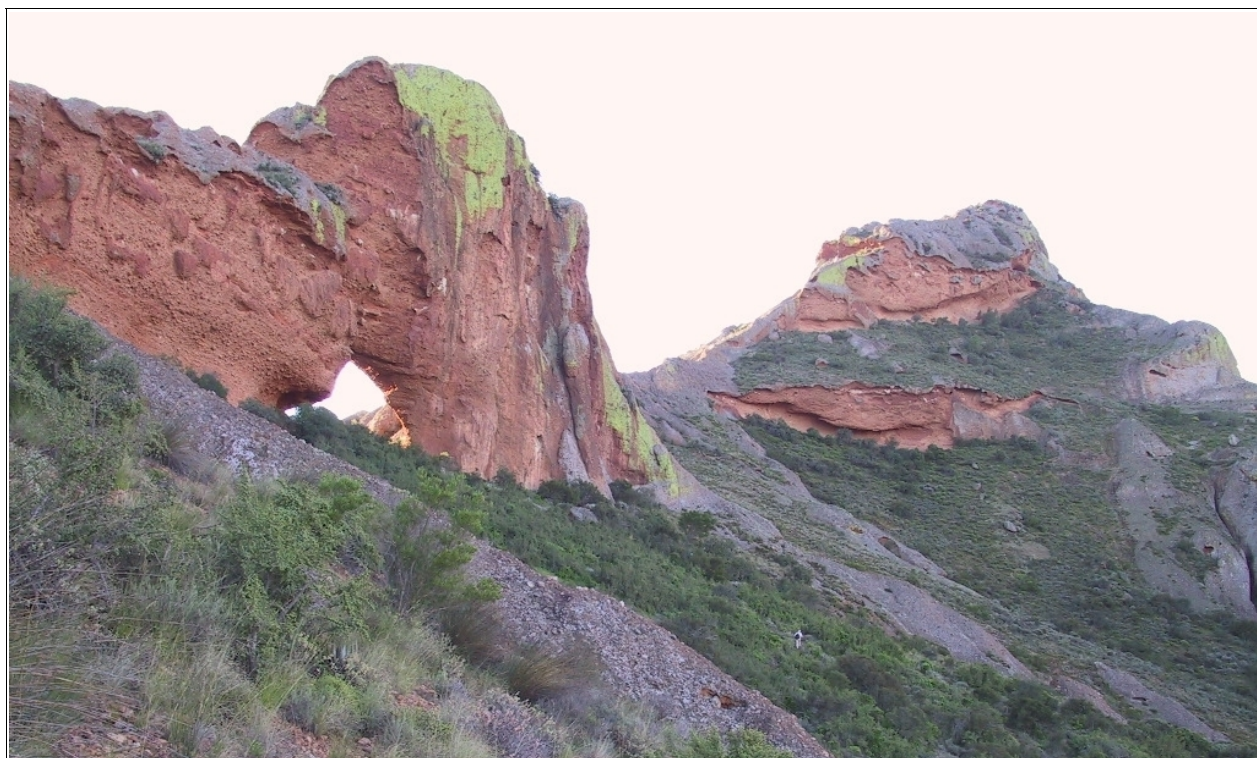


Photo: C Rust

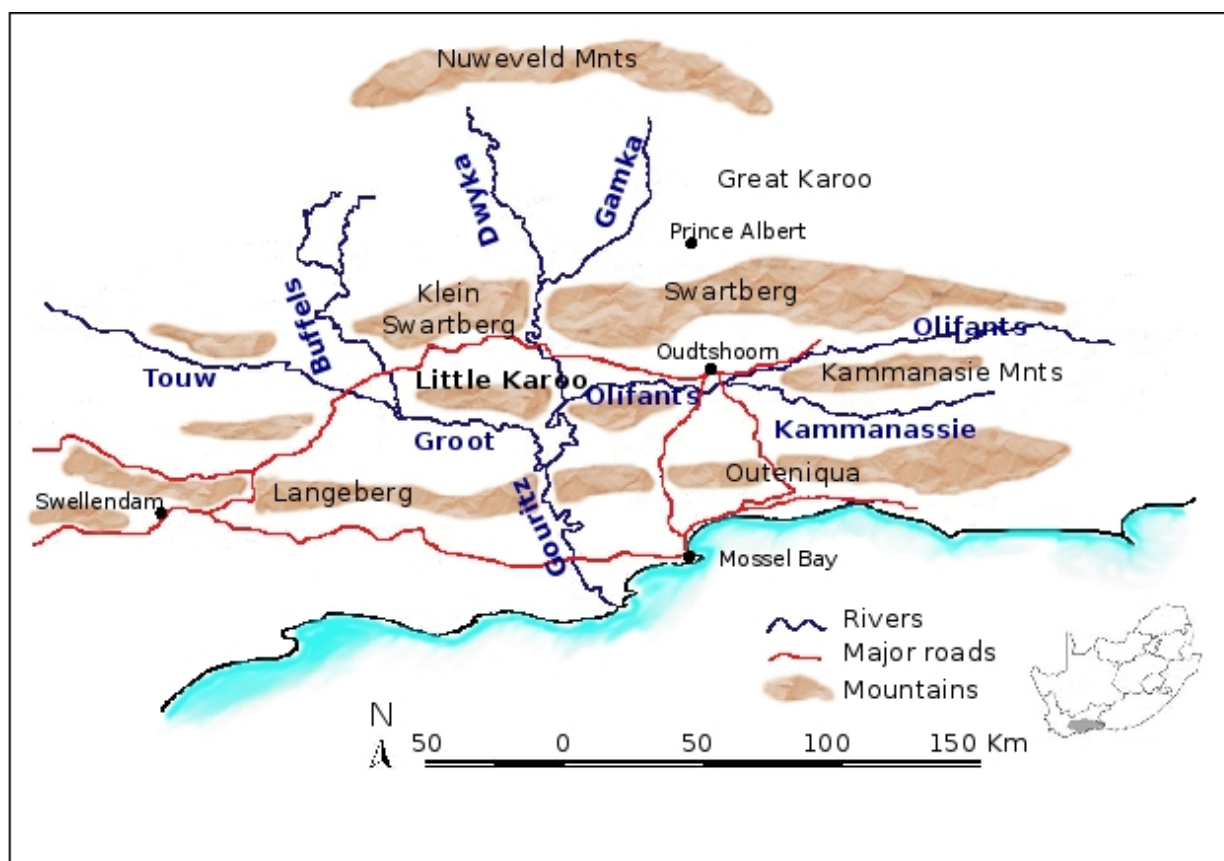
Figure 5.4 An outcrop of the Enon Formation near Calitzdorp

the coast, which relate to the volumes of water locked up in polar ice caps at any one time. Large bodies of sand deposited on the outer margin of the coastal platform by high sea levels have been reworked several times to form extensive coastal dune fields.

The coastal platform bordering the Cape Fold Mountains to the south is a remarkably uniform plain. The platform is cut across hard quartzose as well as softer rocks by high sea levels during the Cretaceous and Cainozoic. Modified by sub-aerial weathering, it is stepped from an elevation of 400 metres in the foothills to the coast. This has been interpreted by King (1962, cited in Deacon et al 1992) as the planation of the platform by an older African cycle of erosion initiated at the time of continental break-up in the Early Cretaceous. This was followed by younger post African cycles initiated through flexuring of the continental margin and uplift in the Miocene. As Figure 5.2 indicates, these recent deposits do occur in and near the kloof, but as fairly shallow and superficial sedimentary deposits only.

5.1.2.6 Evolution of the Gouritz River drainage system

In the intermontane valleys, such as the Little Karoo, the African erosion cycle is correlated with elevated silica-cemented gravels, into which the present drainage is incised (Partridge & Maud 1987). The drainage pattern of the Little Karoo is exceptional because the Gouritz River and its tributaries escape the mountain barriers at only one point: between the Langeberg and Outeniqua mountains (Figure 5.5). The Gouritz River and its tributaries drain an area of $\pm 45\,700\text{ km}^2$



Source: After Gouritz Initiative (2007)

Figure 5.5 The Gouritz River drainage system

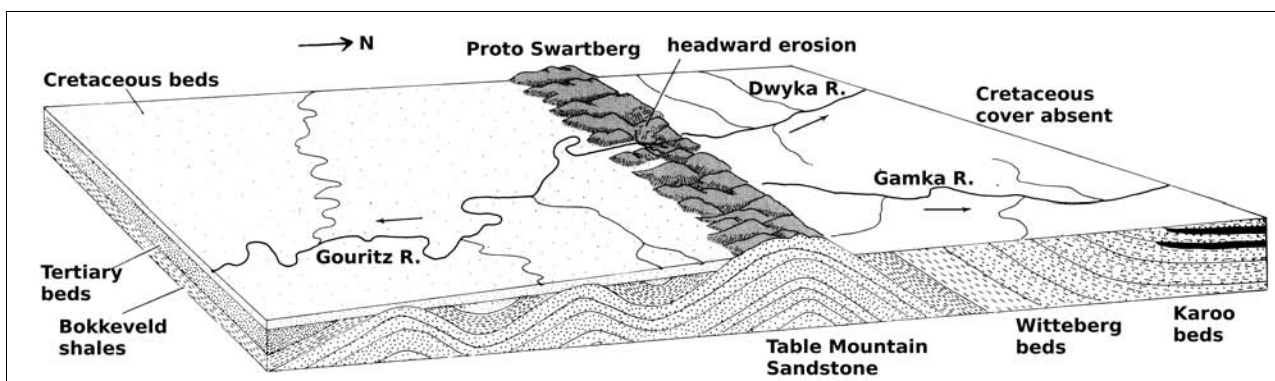
(Heydorn 1989). It is the third largest catchment area in South Africa, after the Orange River and Olifants River systems. The main tributaries are the Grootrivier, the Gamka and the Olifants. In turn, the Grootrivier is fed by the Buffels River that has its origins on the southern slopes of the Nuweveld Mountains in the Great Karoo. From these mountains, it flows southwards through Laingsburg and then cuts through the Klein Swartberg into the Little Karoo and the Grootrivier. There the Touw River from the west joins the Buffels River to form the Grootrivier. The Grootrivier follows an easterly direction before turning south to join the Gouritz.

Many tributaries, chief amongst which is the Dwyka River (Heydorn 1989) feed the Gamka River. They have their origin in the Nuweveld Mountains as well and pass Beaufort West in a south-westerly direction en route to join the Olifants River. The Olifants River has twelve major tributaries rising from the Swartberg and Kammanassie Mountains. The Olifants and Gamka Rivers join to form the Gouritz River that flows southward, through the gap between the Langeberg and Outeniqua Mountains. It is estimated that, along a major tributary, the Gouritz runs 1045 km long (Heydorn 1989).

Apart from having the third largest catchment area in South Africa, the Gouritz is also a pirate river. River piracy is triggered by continental uplift, erosion and sea level changes (Partridge &

Maud 1987) where one river captures the headwater (source) of other rivers. These factors, combined with the topography of the Little Karoo, give us the distinctive incised river poorts through which so many of the passes were built. A waterfall, like the one in Meirings Poort, can be seen as the starting point of the river's incision into the poort. Eventually the waterfall will carve away enough rock, forming a new poort.

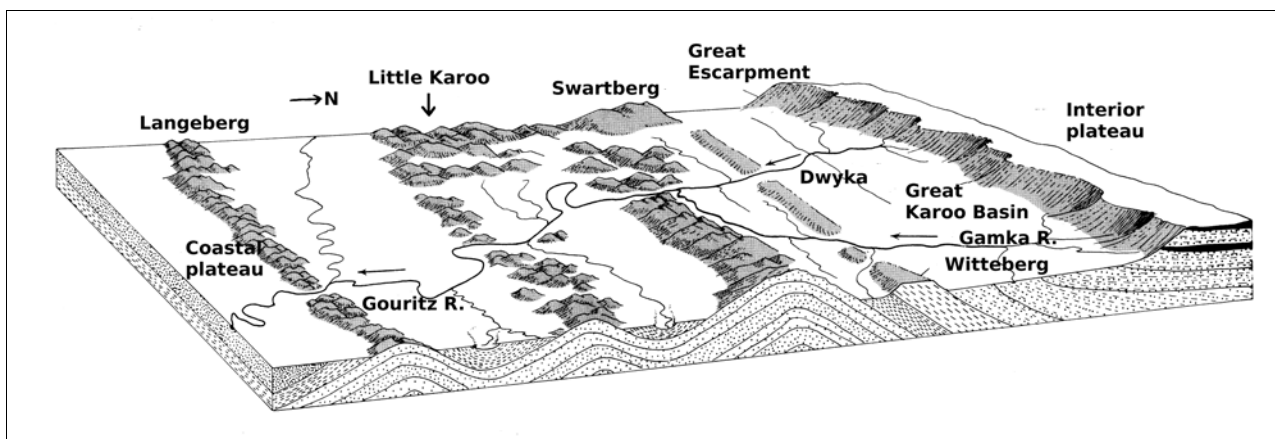
Generally a faulted and folded landscape, such as the Cape Fold Belt, would give rise to an acutely angled, trellised drainage pattern controlled by variable geology and differential erosion (Nagle 2000). This is not the case with the Gouritz system. So why is it different from the expected? The Gouritz established its drainage pattern on Cretaceous beds and eroded surfaces of the African surface (Partridge & Maud 1987). It drained to the south from the proto-Swartberg, into the sea as Figure 5.6 demonstrates. The Dwyka and Gamka Rivers of that time, drained northwards from the



Source: Adapted from Pritchard (1979:62)

Figure 5.6 The Proto-Gouritz River establishing its drainage pattern on Cretaceous beds

same mountains. The folded sediments that were to become the Langeberg and Outeniqua Mountains were below the land surface and did not influence the drainage of the Gouritz. As the land was elevated, headward erosion enabled the proto-Gouritz to break through the mountains. The Gouritz captured the Dwyka and Gamka Rivers, which now drain to the south (Figure 5.7). As the



Source: Adapted from Pritchard (1979:62)

Figure 5.7 The Gouritz has captured the Dwyka and Gamka rivers by headward erosion

Cretaceous surface eroded away, so the underlying Cape Supergroup strata of the Langeberg and Outeniqua were exposed. Instead of controlling the Gouritz drainage, the river cut through the mountains, superimposing its existing drainage pattern on the earlier rock formations (Pritchard 1979; Nagle 2000).

The form of the coastal platform and the intermontaine valleys has changed little in the Cainozoic, underscoring the antiquity of the landscape (Deacon et al 1992). In the Pleistocene, high sea levels of the warmer interglacial did not rise more than a few metres above the present sea level. However, during low sea levels the Pleistocene coastlines extended up to 100km to the south over the Agulhas Bank.

Compiling a narrative on the geological heritage of a site in a compelling story is difficult and has been attempted here in a deliberate technical format. However, the nature of the landscape genesis is complex and broad-scaled and the inquisitive tourist will require this backdrop. The narrative regarding the peopling of the Little Karoo is more pliable to suit the general tourist appetite – even if only because it occurs some 1000Ma closer to the present.

5.1.3 Themes: Peopling our land and governing South Africa

As Table 5.1 indicates, two themes are combined in this section to provide the proper heritage framework. Therefore the two related themes (*Peopling our land* and *Governing South Africa*) are dealt with in tandem and in this sequence in the next four paragraphs. The interaction of different people (a theme within *Peopling our land* in Table 5.1) is an underlying facet when examining the stories found in the theme *Defending South Africa* within the theme group *Governing South Africa*. *Defending South Africa* does not necessarily involve an external enemy. It can involve a conflict between different South Africans, each defending their own concept of what South Africa represents. As will be discussed in the following section, the Khoekhoen who attacked a Dutch military outpost in the vicinity were defending their South Africa against foreign invaders. The Dutch in return were defending their new country against people they regarded as savages. Similarly the average Boer soldier during the South Africa War was defending his way of life, his country against foreign invasion. All of this demonstrates the interaction between different South Africans and is just one part of evolving relationships between different peoples.

It was into the relatively stable physical environment described in the previous section that people emerged some 2 Ma in the form of *Homo ergaster* (introduced in Chapter 4). Nine recorded archaeological sites (ADRC 12154-12162) document the presence of *H. ergaster* as well as MSA and LSA peoples.

Then out of the history books the Kloof appears. A Khoekhoen tribe attacked a regional

military outpost and retreated through a kloof. The conflict arose between Khoisan and a Dutch garrison, and settlers when in November 1701 (Burman 1963) a Khoekhoen chiefdom attacked the military outpost of the Land of Waveren (Tulbagh valley). The Sergeant in command of the outpost reported on November 26 that the Koekman tribe had attacked the fort and retreated via a ravine in the Langeberg. The settlers gave the name of this Khoekhoen tribe to the poort through which they moved. The spelling of the name has varied over the years, Koekemans, Kochmans, Kochemans, Cochmans, eventually settling on the present form – Cogmans Kloof. This is an almost forgotten intangible linguistic legacy of the Kloof. The 1701 raid by the Cogmans tribe on Dutch settlements was just one of a number of continuing efforts by Khoekhoen peoples to discourage Dutch settlement in the Cape.

Governance is never easy, especially with diverse cultures and different perspectives of the governed. One person's 'new world' is another's home. Settlers and indigenous inhabitants have differing needs and both think that right is on their side. The initial relationship between the local inhabitants, both Khoekhoen and Bushmen, with the early European settlers of the Cape was one of imbalance. The Khoisan saw the Dutch as a temporary problem – strangers, who, like previous visitors to these shores, would one day pack up and leave on their water crafts, never to be seen again (Boonzaier et al 1996). The Dutch saw the Khoekhoen and Bushmen as savages, with the Khoekhoen slightly better treated because they were to trade their cattle so necessary to the success of the Cape as a resupply station. By 1656 (Boonzaier et al 1996), the Khoekhoen realised that the Dutch were here to stay. As Dutch settlements began to encroach on Khoekhoen pastures, tensions between the parties rose. Raiding by Khoekhoen ensued with Dutch retaliation, often brutal. The confrontation ended with both the Khoekhoen and the Bushmen completely subjugated by the European migrant society.

The South African War of 1899-1903, a conflict between the Boers (European descendants) and the British, was fought under different circumstances, yet both Khoisan and Boer recognised that their territory was under threat and had to be defended. In both cases, no matter who was right, might prevailed. In an effort to protect and subdue the Cape Colony during this war, the British military established forts and block houses at strategic military choke points to guard potential infiltration and key infrastructural choke points. Many block houses today still squat near railway crossings or in the mountainous regions of the Western Cape guarding over critical access routes. Attaquas Kloof and Cloetes Kloof also have fortification ruins, though not as accessible as the one in Cogmans Kloof. A second Little Karoo fort is located, out of site but at least on a map, on a hilltop just north of Montagu. Line of sight suggests that the two forts worked in concert, protecting access to Cogmans Kloof and the vulnerable coastal plain to the south.

The British fort depicted in Figure 5.8 in Cogmans Kloof dates back to 1899. Martial law was



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.8 The British Fort in Cogmans Kloof

in effect in the Robertson and Montagu area, of which Lieutenant Colonel Sidney of the Royal Field Artillery was commandant (Burman 1963). It was Sidney who chose the site and design of the fort, to be built by a stone mason named William Robertson. The 'Sidney Fort' was garrisoned by the Gordon Highlanders, survivors of the battle of Magersfontein. Today the fort is easily accessible on foot from the parking lot nearby and is open to the public – an open invitation to sustain damage. Without any interpretation or guiding documentation to facilitate an 'authentic' experience, the opportunity to an elevated experience of heritage is lost.

The story of Cogmans Kloof is an example of how one place can funnel human events, of how the physical parameters of a place can force events of human interaction. The next section examines the human achievements associated with the Kloof.

5.1.4 Theme: Developing South Africa

Cogmans Kloof played an important role in opening the Little Karoo to economic development. The process was one where roads as means of transport and communication (a sub-theme within the theme group *Developing South Africa*) were vitally important. However, before the roads were built and territory settled by farmers, other explorers braved the unknown interior.

The nature of the Cogmans Kloof, rocky and prone to frequent floods, meant that settlement

by early Europeans took place from the north, via the Hex River Valley. Eventually, from 1725 onwards, farms beyond Cogmans Kloof were granted to colonists, and they struggled through the river bed of Cogmans Kloof with their produce and supplies. The complaints to the authorities were many and loud, but fell on deaf ears until the 1860's. Large scale trade and commerce through the Kloof was limited until a proper road could be built.

The flood recorded to have prevented one William Paterson and others from using Cogmans Kloof was not a new problem. The path following the river bed through the kloof was hazardous, costing lives and money in lost goods. It was only in the 1850s that the precarious track was slightly improved. Vulnerable to floods, petitions in the 1860s eventually led to the construction of a proper road. Between the approval for the building of the road and the actual commencement of construction several people lost their lives in the periodic floods for which the Kloof is still notorious. March 1867 and July 1868 saw two such floods. The usual construction method of using convict labour was not available, so construction began in 1871 using 'distressed' (Burman 1963:79) or unemployed labourers. The Hodges Bridge (Figure 5.9) was opened in 1872, though the rest of the road was not complete at the time.

Thomas Bain took over in 1873 when construction of the road ran into difficulties. He is responsible for the rock tunnel through Kalkoenkranz, which juts out in the middle of the pass (Storrar 1984) and upon which the Fort was later built. The tunnel was initially 16 metres long with a five-metre high arched roof. Though it has been modified for use by modern traffic, it still stands as a marvel of nineteenth-century engineering. Though dynamite was available (Ross 2002), the high costs and limited availability of this technique meant that gunpowder was the main agent for blasting through what Bain called the hardest rock he had ever worked with (Burman 1963). The vertical aspect of the tilted rock also made blasting more difficult. The explosions lost their force in the zones of weakness between the vertical bedding plains (Figure 5.10) of the Table Mountain Sandstone. The old road was completed in 1877 and officially opened on February 28 by Hodges, the Robertson Magistrate. His sister, Miss Hodges, christened the tunnel Bain's Tunnel by breaking a bottle of champagne against it.

Thomas Bain and the convict labour system will be addressed more fully in the next chapter on Swartberg Pass, but it should be noted that Bain was a very busy man in the 1870s (Storrar 1984). It was in this decade that he constructed Tradouw Pass, Garcia's Pass, Cogmans Kloof, the road between George and Knysna, the Verlaten Road and Pakhuis Pass. He also repaired Seweweeks Poort and Meirings Poort after flooding damaged both passes. Throughout all of this he still had time to discover four new types of stapelia plants: *Stapelia erectiflora*, *Caralluma linearis*, *Trachocaulon flavum* and *Stapelia parvipuncta*, various fossils and also to record rock art. Thomas



Photo: C Rust

Figure 5.9 Hodges Bridge at the southern entrance to Cogmans Kloof



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.10 Vertical bedding planes in the Kalkoenkrantz tunnel



Source: Montagu (2004)

Figure 5.11 The Old Toll House in Cogmans Kloof

Bain's little book of rock art is discussed in Chapter 6, which presents the narrative of his life.

The historic Cogmans Kloof road has one unusual feature. It only crosses the river once, following higher ground on the opposite bank to the modern road. Thomas Bain was rightly proud

when he wrote: “The Cogmans Kloof pass has been very substantially made. The walls are massive and well built and the road is protected by good drains and culverts. The gradients are so easy that the pass will not be subject to much damage by heavy rains and will consequently cost little in repairs” (cited in Burman 1963:81).

The Toll House (Figure 5.11) was the home of the person appointed to collect the tolls of Cogmans Kloof. The toll system was developed under the principle that road users should pay for the cost of maintenance of the roads (Goetze 1994). The tolls also helped to raise money to finance the building and maintenance of new roads. Many of the Cape mountain pass projects made their applications for funding based on the security of future toll fees to be collected when the road was finally open to the public. Burman (1963) tells a somewhat macabre story relating to the Toll House, where the toll was operated by the Pasquale family. One of the sons, while searching for wild honey fell into a deep cleft in the kloof. Unable to rescue his son, the father was forced to shoot him to spare his suffering.

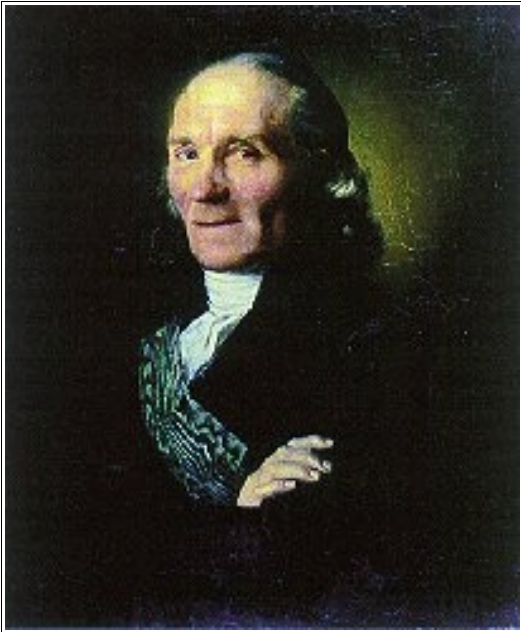
In 1931 Cogmans Kloof was one of the first country roads to be tarred (Ross 2002). The historic road was superseded by a realigned modern road in 1953. This new road crossed the river no less than three times, so that when in 1981 the Kloof flooded again, the new road was washed away. For a couple of months while repairs were under way, the old road, unaffected by the floods and over one hundred years old, was once again in use. The Kloof flooded again in 2003 (Die Burger 2003a; 2003b), but this time the old road was not available as an alternative route. Neglect has allowed the retaining walls to crumble making the road unsafe to use. The modern road is presently being repaired.

5.1.5 Theme: Heroes and happenings

Two important personalities left their mark on the history of Cogmans Kloof. Both Thunberg (Figure 5.12) and Paterson (Figure 5.13) were scientist-explorers whose exploits are highlighted here.

Hero: Carl Peter Thunberg

Cogmans Kloof was mentioned in passing by traveller Carl Peter Thunberg in the summer of 1772/3 (Thunberg 1986). A Swede, Thunberg had attended Uppsala University under the direction of Carolus Linneaus, botanist of world repute responsible for the plant classification system still used today. Thunberg studied natural philosophy and medicine, graduating as a Doctor of Physics in 1767. He was offered a chance to collect and study the plants of Japan and en route to the Far East islands stopped off at the Cape. Time in the Dutch Cape colony would allow Thunberg to learn Dutch and pass himself off as a native Dutch gentleman. This was essential to his work in Japan, as



Source: Thunberg (2007)

Figure 5.12 Carl Peter Thunberg



Source: ADB (2007)

Figure 5.13 William Paterson

the Japanese Empire was only open to protestant Dutch merchants. Thunberg would go on to Japan and earn the sobriquet 'Japanese Linnaeus'.

In the Cape Thunberg became the first trained scientist to travel privately any appreciable distance from the main settlements. Previous journeys, like those of Ensign Beutler had been commissioned by the Dutch East India Company. Thunberg made three journeys into the hinterland during which he identified many plants, becoming 'the father of South African botany'. It was during his first journey that he travelled near 'Kogmans Kloof', mentioning in his text that the south-easterly wind brought rain to the area (Forbes 1965).

Hero: William Paterson

The Cape Colony was an attractive stopover for early explorers, interested in the new flora, fauna and cultures to be found at the southern tip of Africa. One such explorer made mention of Cogmans Kloof in his papers (Paterson 1790). William Paterson had difficulty with Dutch place names: on his second journey into the hinterland of the country, in May of 1778, he wrote of the intention to cross the 'Lange berg' west of Swellendam via the Groena Kloaf [sic]. This was probably an incorrect name, a notion supported by another Paterson manuscript which mentions "Cockmanskloof" as the route (Forbes 1965). The journey through Cogmans Kloof, by whatever name, was prevented by flooding rivers. This was not the first or last time floods would play a role in Cogmans Kloof's story.

Paterson's book, *A narrative of four journeys into the country of the Hottentots and Caffraria* was first published in 1789 (Paterson 1790). His work was particularly noted for his extraordinary

spelling of people and place names, for example Cockmanskloof and Buffalya Agte Rivier (Buffeljagts River). As most names were foreign to him, he can be forgiven some errors. A contributing factor to the weird spelling was that the correction of place names, especially from distant places was basically ignored in the eighteenth century. His general spelling and grammar were equally poor and Forbes (1965) suggests that this reflected a lack of sufficient formal education. Despite these possible limitations, Paterson went on to become Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales in 1794.

This narrative of Cogmans Kloof has attempted to illustrate the vast length of time it has taken to produce the landscape into which humans moved and through which they still journey today. It has been a story of seabeds and sand, of mountains being whittled down to nothing only to be built up again. But Cogmans Kloof is also a story of human interaction with nature and other cultures. Tourism can be seen as furthering this story by the interaction of visitors with nature and the locals.

5.2 TOURISM IN COGMANS KLOOF

The imposing geology, the historic nineteenth century road, Toll House and bridge and the South African War British Fort of 1899 are salient features that can be seen while driving through the Kloof. Cogmans Kloof lies between the towns of Montagu to the north, and Ashton to the south. The road follows the kloof carved out by the Kingna River (pronounced Kay-na), a Khoisan word meaning 'a place where both game and bulbs are scarce' (Burman 1981). The ravine sides show the massive folded and tilted strata of the Cape Fold Mountains in an awesome landscape display.

Travelling from Ashton, the road bypasses the old Hodges Bridge. Around a bend on the road, a small white-washed building appears on the eastern side of the river, the old Toll House, which is still inhabited. The historic road can also be seen on the eastern bank of the river. The historical and modern roads merge at the tunnel. The stone and cement fort perches above the tunnel on Kalkoenkranz. Depending on the light, the Fort merges with the surrounding landscape, as can be seen in Figure 5.14. Strategically this is what is required by military fortifications. For a tourist attraction, this high degree of camouflage means that the roadside appeal of the Fort is low. From a heritage asset perspective such camouflage is good, since it means that fewer people will visit an uncontrolled site.

This “gateway to the Little Karoo” (Montagu 2004) leads to a picnic spot on the eastern side of the road just beyond the tunnel. Here two plaques are cemented to the rock wall. One plaque is from the National Monuments Council (now the South African Heritage Resource Agency or SAHRA) and informs the visitor about the building of the pass by Thomas Bain. It reads:



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.14 The Historic Road and tunnel with the British Fort barely visible above

'KOGMANS KLOOF PASS

This pass was built in 1875-1877 by Thomas Charles John Bain (1830-1893), son of the pioneer road builder Andrew Geddes Bain. Thomas Bain built many roads and twenty-two passes in the Cape Colony'

The second, more recent, plaque was placed there by the Geological Society of South Africa (GSSA). The text gives a synopsis of the geological history of Cogmans Kloof. A GSSA pamphlet (GSSA s.d.) on the geology of Cogmans Kloof is also available from local accommodation facilities (e.g. Montagu Hotel, Montagu Rose B&B) as well as GSSA, either via their offices or the Internet.

Thus far Cogmans Kloof has merely been the scenic start to travels in the Little Karoo and has not actively been promoted as an attraction in itself (Montagu 2004; Route 62 2007). As an attraction Cogmans Kloof has plenty of potential. The scenic ambience created by the soaring sandstone cliffs encloses the Kloof in its own world. Should the heritage items and their story be interpreted and presented correctly, the story of Cogmans Kloof could attract a far wider audience.

Cogmans Kloof can be linked in a 'passes meander' with other passes in the Little Karoo which share heritage items and stories. For example a number of passes have British forts or associations with the South African War. Attaquas Kloof, Robinson Pass and Cloete's Pass are examples in the Langeberg farther east. An example of another tour, encompassing all the passes

Thomas Bain had a hand in, would encompass much of the Western Cape, let alone the Little Karoo. These place associations are what drive route tourism. As yet this heritage angle has not been exploited by Little Karoo tourism. The profile of Route 62 is growing, particularly overseas (Lubbe 2004, pers com). The lack of tourism data directly from the Little Karoo makes it difficult to assess to what extent Cogmans Kloof can generate new income for the region. The local communities will no doubt be delighted if Cogmans Kloof can raise the profile of Ashton and Montagu. However that may still be a long way off.

As with many of the river passes of the Little Karoo, Cogmans Kloof is subject to periodic flooding. The disastrous floods of January 1981 and March 2003 have necessitated extensive road building and repairs. This does not unfortunately lead to the locally expected major upgrades and new tourist infrastructure similar to that built in Meirings Poort (Lubbe 2004, pers com). Though a recent scoping report (Costandius 2008) indicates that plans for the ungrading and rehabilitation of Cogmans Kloof include tourism facilities like a cycle track and better facilities along the route. However, from an authenticity point of view such plans may jeopardise the natural charm, as the somewhat ornate Meirings Poort's thatched rondavels and concrete paving (Figure 5.15) demonstrate.



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.15 Rondavel information centre at Meirings Poort

The modern road is the only man-made item in the Kloof that detracts from the experience of Cogmans Kloof. Unlike Tradouw Pass, little design energy seems to have gone into blending the modern road of Meirings Poort into the natural landscape, or of making the road an attraction in its own right. Redevelopment without consultation with the relevant stakeholders can be detrimental to the sustainability of a resource. In most cases the sense of place is lost. A far better example of the marriage between old and new is Tradouw Pass (Figure 5.16). Here engineers have successfully

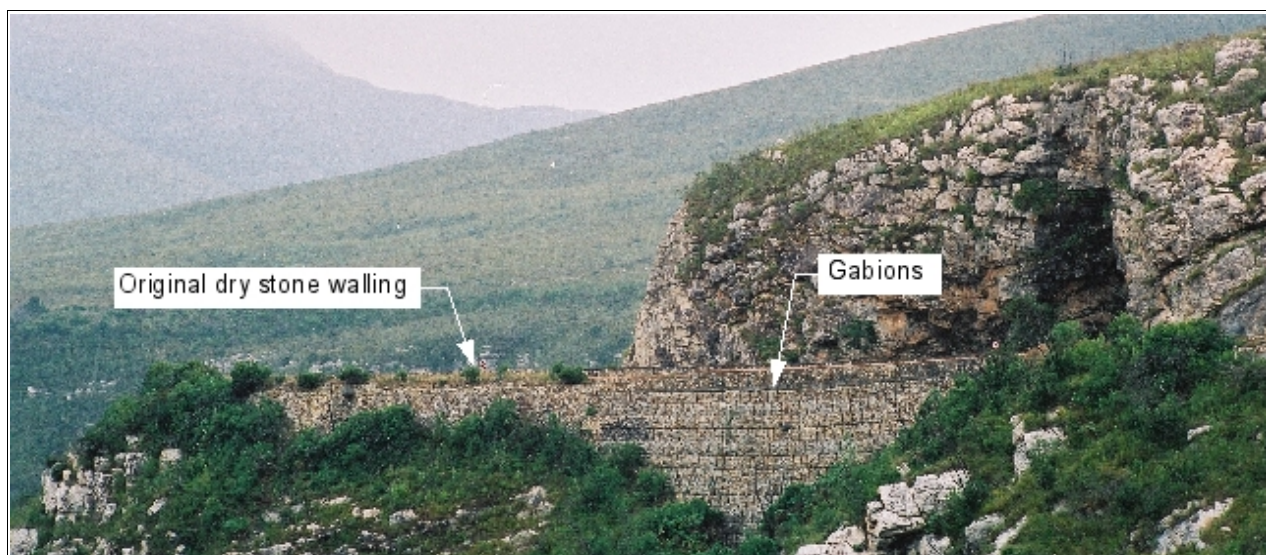


Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.16 Dry stone walling and gabions in Tradouw Pass

incorporated the old dry stone retaining walls with neutral looking gabions. Gabions are 2m x 1m x 1m wire mesh cubes filled with stones. They blend seamlessly with the dry stone walling and are aesthetically more appealing than concrete slabs.

Like the Cango Caves, the significance of the heritage items plays an important role in drawing people to Cogmans Kloof. Central to the future of Cogmans Kloof as a tourist attraction is the integration of its disparate heritage items into one holistic story.

5.3 COGMANS KLOOF AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

This section addresses both the means by which sustainability is ensured (management) and the status and vulnerabilities inherent to the two salient heritage items in the Kloof: the historical road and fort.

5.3.1 Heritage management in Cogmans Kloof

Cogmans Kloof is undiscovered country as far as heritage and tourism development and consequently the management thereof are concerned. Several elements and agencies of risk are addressed here. The heritage items are present, and as the thematic narrative has shown, Cogmans Kloof can link the modern traveller to the past and heritage in myriad ways. The present redevelopment of the road winding its way through Cogmans Kloof has the potential to impact on the heritage of the Kloof in good and adverse ways, though it is unclear if the Department of Road Works has consulted either SAHRA or HWC. Observations of Cogmans Kloof during several field surveys indicate areas of concern. Whilst the geology of the pass might escape human impact, the more fragile items like the nineteenth century dry stone wall road support wall, the Hodges Bridge and the British fort are all vulnerable places.

Cogmans Kloof is generally at risk to natural agents of weathering. In particular water in the form of flooding has impacted on the Kloof. Human agents can easily affect the man-made heritage items at any time, even by unsophisticated means. Most of the heritage items have some irreparable damage, chiefly due to neglect. The potential for higher visitation to impact on these sites is present. If Cogmans Kloof is properly developed, these impacts will be limited, though a medium level of visitation is recommended. Trampling of the vegetation may detract from the experiential authenticity currently enjoyed at the site.

There is a glaring absence of heritage management associated with Cogmans Kloof. No guidance is offered to the various sites, yet access is easily obtainable. As far as could be ascertained, no archaeological impact assessments have been undertaken or heritage agencies contacted. No conservation management plans are in place. No monitoring measures are visibly in place at any of the sites. Yet the potential for stakeholder involvement is huge. The items representing the heritage narrative of Cogmans Kloof can form an important vehicle for both tourism and heritage development in the Little Karoo region.

In order to assess the extent of heritage management infrastructure within Cogmans Kloof the Minimum Standards for archaeological site museums and rock art sites open to the public (SAHRA 2002a) have been used to assess the readiness of Cogmans Kloofs' various heritage items for public consumption. In terms of site access, all the items, except for the Toll House, are easily accessible and they are open at all times without any signposting. The parking or picnic spot is neither well maintained nor tarred, though it adjoins the tarred road. There is considerable danger to pedestrians trying to cross to the river or British Fort from the parking spot as the rock tunnel forms a blind corner for drivers approaching from the Ashton side of the Kloof. The frequency with which the litter bin at the parking spot is emptied is unknown. No toilets, refreshment facilities or telephones are located within the Kloof.

Distinct pathways leading to any of the heritage items are absent, as are signs marking the path and introductory notice boards. The information boards confirming that the heritage items are protected by law are also non-existent. Apart from the two plaques at the parking spots, no further information is offered beyond the road marker stating 'British Fort 1899'. The absence of an interpretation centre or sheltered spot means that no visitors' book, leaflets about visitor behaviour or more information about the heritage items is available within Cogmans Kloof. This deficiency of on-site information is exacerbated by the lack of guides, local or specialist.

The Cogmans Kloof is listed as a provisional heritage site, and at present there are no heritage management plans for it (Biesenbach 2008, pers com). There is no money, and little interest outside of the Montagu Museum, for managing the heritage resources of the Kloof. Any conservation

efforts on the part of the Museum are voluntary and necessarily limited by lack of funds and staff. Such efforts include the clean-up of the picnic area. Most efforts are spent in limiting unsightly or additional degradations to the Kloof. Biesenbach (2008, pers com) also mentioned that several upgrading and rehabilitation plans have been developed, none of which so far have been implemented. The overall picture of Cogmans Kloof is a glaring absence of any heritage management infrastructure. An instrument like the Heritage Assessment Sensitivity Gauge (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005) can aid in the sympathetic development and management of heritage resources in Cogmans Kloof. The specific issues relating to the Historic Road and British Fort are discussed below.

5.3.2 Archaeological sites

There are nine recorded archaeological sites in Cogmans Kloof (ADRC 12154-12162). Located on the map in Figure 5.17, these sites range from the ESA (ADRC 12155) to the LSA



Source: Google Earth (2008)

Figure 5.17 Location of archaeological sites in Cogmans Kloof

(ADRC 12158). This later site also features rock art in which four human figures depicted. The remaining sites are all from the MSA as evidenced by stone flakes, blades, cores and chips. The LSA site is particularly vulnerable to human impact as it is located near the Keurkloof picnic area, though at present this picnic site is closed to the public (Biesenbach 2008, pers com). All the sites are vulnerable to road upgrade developments.

5.3.3 The historic road

The largest part of the Historic Road, specifically the dry stone walling, pictured in Figure 5.18, has been sacrificed for the modern alignment of the R62. Very little remains of the Historic Road is the stretch from the turn-off to the Toll House to the Tunnel. Access to the Historic Road is a matter of dodging traffic and climbing over a road-side barrier and hence the Historic Road is accessible to anyone. The greatest threat, at this stage, is neglect that has already led to the collapse in places of the dry stone retaining walls.

The capstones which protected the walls have either been removed or fallen off leaving those walls still standing vulnerable to disintegration (Figure 5.19). Graffiti and engravings (Figure 5.20) occur along the rock walls to the side of the historic road. Cementing the stones in place destroys the friction and cohesion principle of dry stone walls (Garner 1992), leading to rapid collapse of the underlying stones. During the flood of 1981 the Historic Road was used as a secondary route between Montagu and Ashton. The neglect and collapse of the dry stone walls has meant that this alternative route is no longer available when the modern road is flooded, as in March 2003.

5.3.4 The British Fort

There is a road sign indicating 'British Fort 1899' at the entrance to the Tunnel. There is no visitor control or monitoring of the Fort. Access is relatively easy, a matter of crossing the road from the picnic spot, finding the trampled vegetation and crudely cemented flat rocks that lead the way up Kalkoenkranz to the fort. No further access restrictions or information about the British Fort and its heritage value is available on site. Inside the Fort evidence of human impact is clearly visible. Evidence of graffiti engraved into fresh cement (Figure 5.21), charcoal (Figure 5.22) from fires and broken bottles was gathered during a field survey in March 2003.

Cogmans Kloof is a good example of a free-to-view attraction of geological formations and other heritage items. As yet no tourist infrastructure is in place. Meanwhile its cultural resources are exploited with little or no regard for their conservation. Heritage management intervention in the development of the Kloof is imperative.



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.18 Collapsing dry stone walling in Cogmans Kloof



Photo: C Rust

Figure 5.19 Close-up of dry stone wall fill, with and without cap stone, in Cogmans Kloof



Photo: C Rust

Figure 5.20 Graffiti engraving in rock wall near the tunnel in Cogmans Kloof



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.21 Engraved graffiti inside the British Fort in Cogmans Kloof



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 5.22 Fire remnants inside the British Fort in Cogmans Kloof

5.4 CONCLUSION

Cogmans Kloof is at present more of an incidental tourism attraction than a fully fledged tourism product. It has the potential to become an excellent draw card for the Little Karoo. The heritage items associated with the Kloof, if interpreted and presented more imaginatively, offer a unique glimpse into a regional past. Cogmans Kloof is ideally situated to become more than the gateway to the Little Karoo. Its placement in Route 62 emphasises the idea that the experience of a place is about the journey and not merely the destination.

The thematic narrative has shown a way in which the heritage associated with Cogmans Kloof can be presented. The various aspects of Cogmans Kloof's legacy can be approached in a holistic manner by using a single theme group as a 'golden thread' stitching together the narrative. For Cogmans Kloof the *Development of the Environment* and the role geological and topographical processes have played is central to the subsequent human use of the pass. Cogmans Kloof has stood watch over the evanescent footsteps of Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Age people, the raids of Khoekhoen herders and the sweat and toil of road builders and soldiers.

However, Cogmans Kloof is not ready to host visitors. Most of the heritage items which can attract visitors are vulnerable to impact. Visitor infrastructure, beyond the minimal parking spot and garbage bin, are absent. Information about the Kloof is limited to two plaques. There are no pathways, guides or any form of visible site protection or management. It can only be hoped that if and when Cogmans Kloof is developed as a tourist attraction the correct stakeholders will be consulted.

From a practical point of view, physical interpretation needs to be present on site. The best place for this would be the picnic spot, as minimal infrastructure is already present. The narrative given in the chapter could be presented on information boards at the picnic spot, or pamphlets could be made available. A necessary step in conserving the vulnerable heritage resources of Cogmans Kloof is monitoring by knowledgeable individuals. These people could perhaps report to a local authority. In an effort to create job opportunities and monitor access, guides can be trained.

Thus far the narratives of the Cango Caves and Cogmans Kloof have demonstrated how several theme groups can combine to tell a single story. The next chapter explores Swartberg Pass using a single theme group – *Developing South Africa*.

CHAPTER 6: SWARTBERG PASS HERITAGE TOURSIM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

The narrative of the spectacular Swartberg Pass, of which the almost mysterious northern entry shown in Figure 6.1 sets the scene, is a good illustration of the role a particular theme group can play in exploring the heritage of a place. In the case of Swartberg Pass, that theme group is



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.1 The northern entrance to Swartberg Pass

Developing South Africa. The chapter commences with the introduction and justification of the particular thematic framework selected, which is then pursued in detail in the heritage narrative. An overview of tourism opportunities and activities on the pass and down its tributary to the famous Gamkaskloof follows. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the sustainability of conducting tourism, now and in future, on this landmark heritage feature.

6.1 THEMATIC NARRATIVE OF SWARTBERG PASS

This section departs from the normal structure somewhat. While it provides the normal historical setting to the pass and its regional significance leading to the thematic heritage framework that was selected for casting its narrative, it also includes a virtual descriptive ‘journey’ over the pass. The discussion then turns to the distinct industrial development themes explored in this chapter and concludes with a sketch of its illustrious builder as heritage hero.

6.1.1 The selected thematic heritage framework for Swartberg Pass

The completion of the Pass in 1888 not only linked the communities of Oudtshoorn and Prince Albert, but connected the agriculturally rich Little Karoo to the hungry markets of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand. However, passes are about more than connecting communities and markets. An entire world is created around the construction of such pathways, a world populated by people with their own stories to tell. In the case of Swartberg Pass and many other passes in the Little Karoo and former Cape Colony, those narratives revolve around Thomas Bain and the convicts used to build the passes. Thomas Bain is a relatively well known figure, though often confused with the artist Thomas Baines, as Swartberg Nature Reserve does on their website (CapeNature 2005). In contrast, the convicts' story is often hidden or passed over. The thematic assessment of the Swartberg Pass intends to highlight the narrative of the convicts, to allow a glimpse into the lives of these men who contributed (albeit involuntarily) to the development of the South African economy. Swartberg Pass traverses both the Swartberg mountain range and the Swartberg Nature Reserve, and links Oudtshoorn to Prince Albert. Declared a National Monument in 1988 (Marincowitz 1989), Swartberg Pass is first and foremost a sensory experience. The natural beauty of the rock formations is extraordinarily moving. The pristine environment, unchanged through millennia, provides the backdrop for the few man-made heritage items.

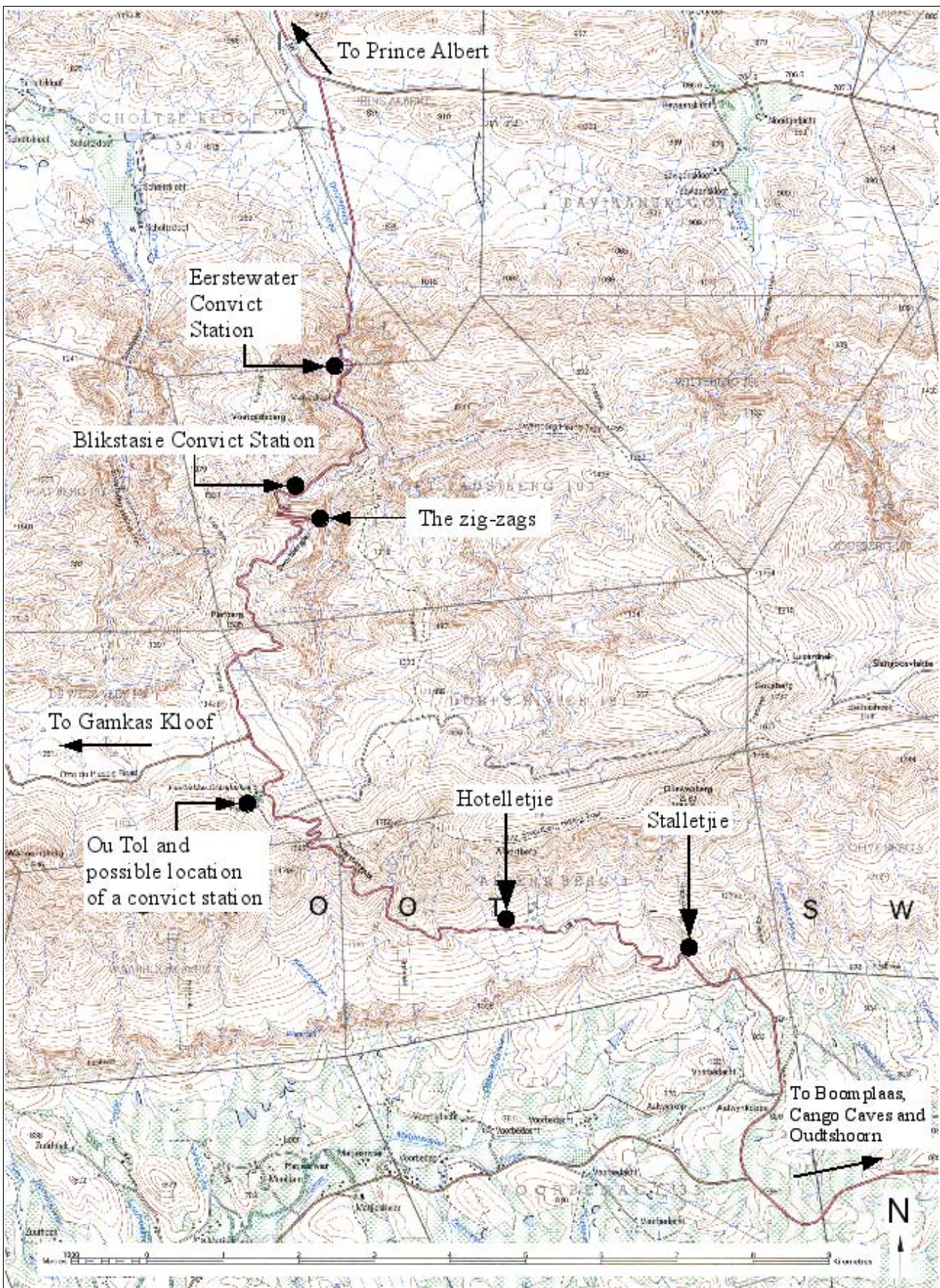
Table 6.1 below lists the theme and sub-themes associated with the theme group *Developing South Africa* selected to present the Swartberg Pass heritage. The thematic narrative revolves

Table 6.1 Swartberg Pass – Thematic Framework

Theme Group	Theme	Sub-themes
Developing South Africa	2. Development of Industry and Technology	d. Transport and Communication
		e. Manufacturing and Construction
	3. Exploration and mapping	

around the building of the Pass by convict labour. Within the theme development of industry and technology and construction, the sub-themes of transport and communication and manufacturing and construction are examined. The second theme investigates the role of Thomas Bain as heritage hero, not as pass builder extraordinaire, but as an explorer and map maker. Besides the landscape and geology, six heritage items have been used to evaluate Swartberg Pass: Eerstewater Convict Station, Blikstasie Convict Station, the Ou Tol, the ruins of the Hotelletjie (*little hotel*) and Stalletjie (*little stable*), and the dry stone walls – all located on Figure 6.2. Though not on the Pass itself, rock art and prehistoric archaeological sites are present on Swartberg Nature Reserve (CapeNature 2005). These items, along with those identified for this study, constitute the tangible elements for the historic significance of Swartberg Pass. The inclusion of Gamkaskloof increases the historic

significance of the Reserve.



Source: Chief Directorate of Survey and Mapping

Figure 6.2 The location of heritage resources on Swartberg Pass

6.1.2 A journey over Swartberg Pass

The geology of the Swartberg has shaped the pass, and features that necessitated its building in the first place provides the overpowering impression thereof. Great feats of engineering were needed in order to master the physical nature of the Swartberg mountain range. Swartberg Pass stands as a monument to the human quest to overcome natural obstacles, yet remain in harmony with nature. Since the basic geology of the Little Karoo has been discussed in Chapter 5 it will not be repeated here in any detail. It suffices to note that the Swartberg Range mostly represents the Table Mountain sandstone member of the Cape Supergroup deposition (Theron 1983). The prominently displayed tilted (Figure 6.3) and folded (Figure 6.4) strata, fault lines and other



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos
Figure 6.3 Tilted strata on Swartberg Pass

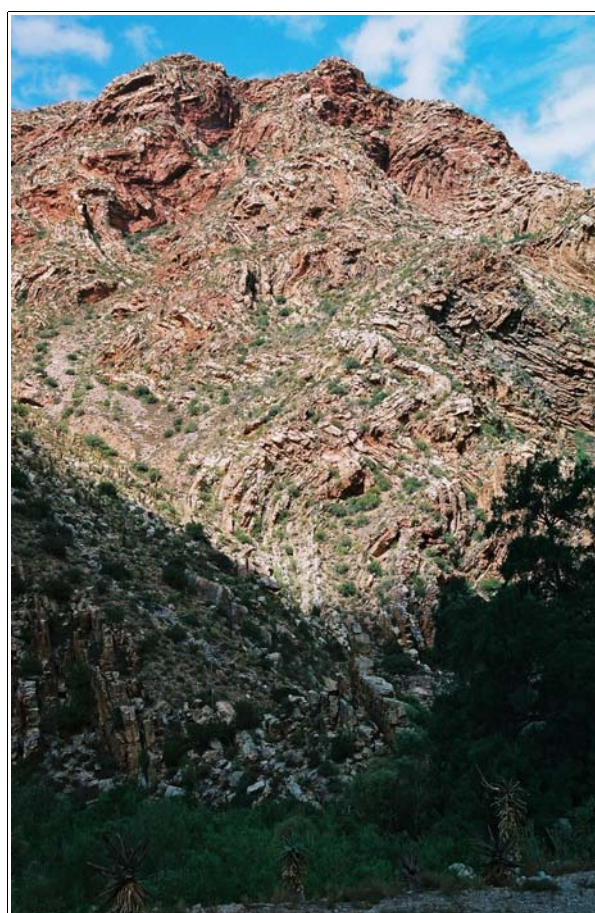


Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos
Figure 6.4 Folded strata on Swartberg Pass

contortions evident in the rock formations of the Pass are associated with the Cape Orogeny (Söhnge & Hällich 1983; Visser 1998) which started in the Early Permian and lasted into the Middle Triassic (278 Ma – 215 Ma). These towering rock formations are some of the best examples of their kind in the Cape Fold Belt.

The place itself is breathtaking. Journeying on the gravel road from the Prince Albert side, the traveller approaches what seems to be another river pass (see Figure 6.1) through the Swartberg,

much like Meirings Poort or Seweweeks Poort. The soaring cliffs, with their up-tilted and folded rock strata contorted by unimaginable forces into recurving waves, seem to hover overhead. A shallow river crossing marks Eerstewater, and to the right on a slight rise are the remnants of the first convict station. Rounding a bend, the road begins its upward climb. Ahead, with no sign post from the northern side is Blikstasie Convict Station. A quarry by the road-side provides a convenient parking place on the narrow road. The Blikstasie ruins stand on a rise above the road. A short scramble and the dry stone walls of the station appear through the thick vegetation. A glance up over the shoulder reveals the infamous zig-zag bends of the Swartberg Pass. These zig-zags are supported by dry stone retaining walls. In fact the dry stone wall technique is found throughout the pass, both in buildings and as retaining walls for the road. Up and over to Teeberg, and a stunning view unfolds north to the Great Karoo, as can be seen in Figure 6.5. Southwards, the less harsh



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.5 A view northward to the Great Karoo from Teeberg on Swartberg Pass

Little Karoo emerges. The journey takes the visitor past the turn-off to Gamkaskloof (also known as Die Hel). The Ou Tol, now merely a foundation footprint marks the area in which the largest convict station, Uitkyk, once stood. The summit of the Swartberg Pass is reached at 1585m above sea level and the Congo Valley now lies spread beneath. The signposts on the southern slope name the ruins of 'Hotelletjie' and 'Die Stalletjie'. The journey is one of contrasts. Beginning in the arid

Great Karoo the pass crosses the Swartberg Range to end in the incongruously fertile Cango Valley, a gateway to the semi-arid Little Karoo.

6.1.3 Theme: Development of industry and technology

This theme is divided into two sub-themes: transport and communication and manufacturing and construction. The focus of the first sub-theme is the role of Swartberg Pass in the development of transport and communication in the late nineteenth century Cape Colony. The second sub-theme examines the construction of Swartberg Pass, particularly the building techniques like dry stone retaining walls. Construction is about more than materials and technology, it is also about the people who do the construction and this sub-theme of convict labour is covered extensively under its own heading.

6.1.3.1 Sub-theme – Transport and communication

Modern economies are established on trade and commerce which in turn rely on effective and reliable communication of information and transportation of goods (Ross 2002). These were not the conditions prevalent in the Cape Colony in 1843 as expressed in a report on the condition of roads and passes in the Cape (Goetze 1994) that Governor John Montagu had commissioned. The few extant roads and passes were either in states of disrepair or merely rough tracks over mountain peaks. Very few passes were truly designed and engineered. Whilst more and more new settlers arrived in the eastern Cape Colony, communication and trade routes lagged far behind the demands of the growing population. Farming communities separated by a few kilometres as the crow flies had impassable mountains between them, necessitating days of travel, traversing hazardous terrain. In order to encourage trade and commerce, reliable means of communication and transportation had to be initiated.

Montagu found an able partner in the form of Charles Cornwallis Michell. Michell had been appointed Surveyor-General, Civil Engineer and Superintendent of Works in 1828 (Storrar 1984). He planned to open up the Cape Colony by building more passes through the mountain barriers. This plan became a reality when Montagu arrived as governor in 1843. With these two men leading the way, the Cape economy was set to develop. Montagu Pass over the Outeniquas to the south, completed in 1847 and named after John Montagu, was the first of these new, engineered passes (Ross 2002).

Any pass or road in the Cape Colony was usually initiated by a series of petitions and complaints from local residents. Swartberg Pass was no exception to this pattern. Despite the presence of Seweweeks Poort to the west and Meirings Poort to the east, residents of Prince Albert to the north and Oudtshoorn to the south felt the need for their own pass. They had good reason for

the petitions. Both Seweweeks and Meirings Poort were subject to regular flooding as the road followed the river bed. This meant that communications and trade between the north and south could easily be cut off, sometimes for months at a time (Ross 2002). Having reaped the benefits of these links, a more reliable path over the Swartberg was sought. Petitions were sent to the government in 1878 and again in 1879. Adding incentive to the building of Swartberg Pass was the recently opened northerly diamond fields in Kimberley and later the gold fields of the Witwatersrand (Goetze 1994). The later half of the nineteenth century was a boom time for Little Karoo agriculture, from ostrich feathers to farm produce. The market in Kimberley was lucrative, and with a railway from Oudtshoorn north out of the question, the Swartberg Pass was essential for getting goods to market.

Thomas Bain investigated the feasibility of the proposed pass in 1878. After his usual meticulous surveying, Bain suggested four lines from which the optimal location of the route would be chosen (Ross 2002). The pass would reduce the distance between Prince Albert and Oudtshoorn by 54km as well as providing an all-weather (except for snow) road. The maximum gradient would be 1:8 compared to the 1:6 of Montagu Pass. The 1879 cost estimate for the 24km pass was £10 418 by convict labour and £24 942 by free workers. Free labour needed to be paid for, while convict labour was not, and therefore much cheaper. Also, since pass building constituted public work funded by the state, government would opt for productively using labour it had to accommodate at the cost of incarceration anyway.

By July of 1879, the Prince Albert Divisional Council had in their enthusiasm made a wagon road to the foot of the proposed pass, then called Rainier's Pass after the magistrate of Prince Albert and chairman of the Divisional Council (Marincowitz 1989). By December, they had established a bridle path to the limits of the Prince Albert jurisdiction (Ross 2002). Parliament and red tape delayed final approval of the planned pass until July 1880. The project was put out to tender and Jan Tassie's lowest bid of £18 120 with an 18-month construction period won. Tassie began work in October 1881 with 101 'free' workers (Marincowitz 1989) from Delagoa Bay (now Maputo, Mozambique). They soon began deserting, and Tassie had difficulty recruiting replacements locally. Tassie completed 5.5km and received £4 098 before being declared insolvent in early 1883. A long delay ensued before construction began again in November 1883.

This time Thomas Bain was in charge, having completed the Tsitsikama road (Storrar 1984), and with the aid of 200-240 convicts, construction from the Prince Albert side had reached the summit by the end of 1884 (Ross 2002). Here Uitkyk Station (see Figure 6.2 for its location) was built to house 200 convicts (Burman 1963; 1981). A small community grew at the summit. A shop, butchery and school were established (Marincowitz 1989) to support the personnel working on the

project.

Disaster struck in May 1885, when heavy floods destroyed sections of the new road and part of the convict station at the northern entrance to the pass ('Eerstewater' Convict Station). Bain went back and elevated the road above flood levels. March 1886 saw the pass open for light traffic and from September, carts were allowed across on a daily basis with wagons on Fridays. A regular post-coach service came into operation. The Swartberg Pass was officially opened on 10 January 1888. The Toll House was proclaimed on 5 May 1888, with John F. Mackey appointed as toll official (Marincowitz 1989). The Toll House was most likely set up at Uitkyk Station with a fee of four pennies per wheel and one penny per animal. The toll was sold in April 1891. The Victoria Hotel opened shortly thereafter on the pass, perhaps utilizing Uitkyk Station/Toll House (Burman 1981). Marincowitz (1989) relates many amusing anecdotes about the Swartberg Pass as well as describing all the signposts and significant places on the pass.

Swartberg Pass was not the last road construction to occur on the Swartberg. In 1962, the people of Gamkaskloof at last received their own transport and communication route to the outside world. Gamkaskloof is a fertile valley running on an east-west axis, about 20km long and 600m wide. This valley has been home to people of the Little Karoo for thousands of years. Bushmen left rock paintings in shelters, evidence of their occupation of Gamkaskloof. They left another legacy: the name gamka means lion in Khoisan (Marincowitz 1993). The Bushmen were not the last inhabitants of the valley, or the most famous. Petrus Swanepoel settled in the valley in 1830, though the first farm to be officially surveyed was only registered in 1841. More families moved in over time and Gamkaskloof's population grew to about 120 people by 1940.

The people of Gamkaskloof were by no means completely isolated prior to 1962. There were alternative paths in and out of the valley. The Gamka River has eroded a gorge through the Swartberg, and it was through these points of contact that the people of Gamkaskloof met the outside world. The northern exit led to Prince Albert, the southern exit to Calitzdorp. A footpath known as 'die leer' or the ladder (Marincowitz 1993), denoting the steepness of the path, led up the western cliffs over the mountain to Seweweeks Poort, Laingsburg and Ladismith. These points of contact were important. Though the community was self-sufficient and grew most of their own food, some manufactured goods needed to be obtained from outside. In turn, the excess produce from their farms was taken to market in Prince Albert. Every few months the donkey train was loaded with wheat, rye, fruit and vegetables and the farmers trekked the ten kilometres up the north gorge of the Gamka River to meet a merchant from Prince Albert.

Gamkaskloof captured the imagination of the country as a perceived backwater called 'Die Hel', with its isolated white farming community. The idea of people living in the hidden valley far

from the trappings and conveniences of modern twentieth century living is perceived as either a dream or a nightmare. This isolation changed with the building of the Otto du Plessis road in 1962 and marked the beginning of the end for the Gamkaskloof community (Ross 2002). Gradually as the children matured, they left for further education, got good jobs and never returned to the valley. The adult inhabitants got older and moved away, closer to medical facilities (Marincowitz 1993). Today CapeNature owns most of the property and has restored many of the old houses as self-catering cottages.

Swartberg Pass itself has changed little since 1888. The surface is still gravel and likely to remain so (Burman 1981; Ross 2002). The dry stone walls still stand, though some have been damaged by road maintenance machinery. The Swartberg Pass was declared a National Monument in its centennial year, 1988.

6.1.3.2 Manufacturing and construction – a heritage of technique

Contemplating the ravines, narrow river passages between soaring rock walls, or towering mountain sides, puts the challenges even modern engineers face when constructing a pass in perspective. Explosives, earth-moving machines and other tools of the modern age make constructing passes much easier. Thomas Bain and the other engineers and road builders of the nineteenth century had no such aids at their disposal. Instead they built walls without mortar and used gunpowder for blasting or fire and water to crack solid rock beds.

Dry stone walling (Figure 6.6) is a characteristic of Thomas Bain's construction. Dry stone

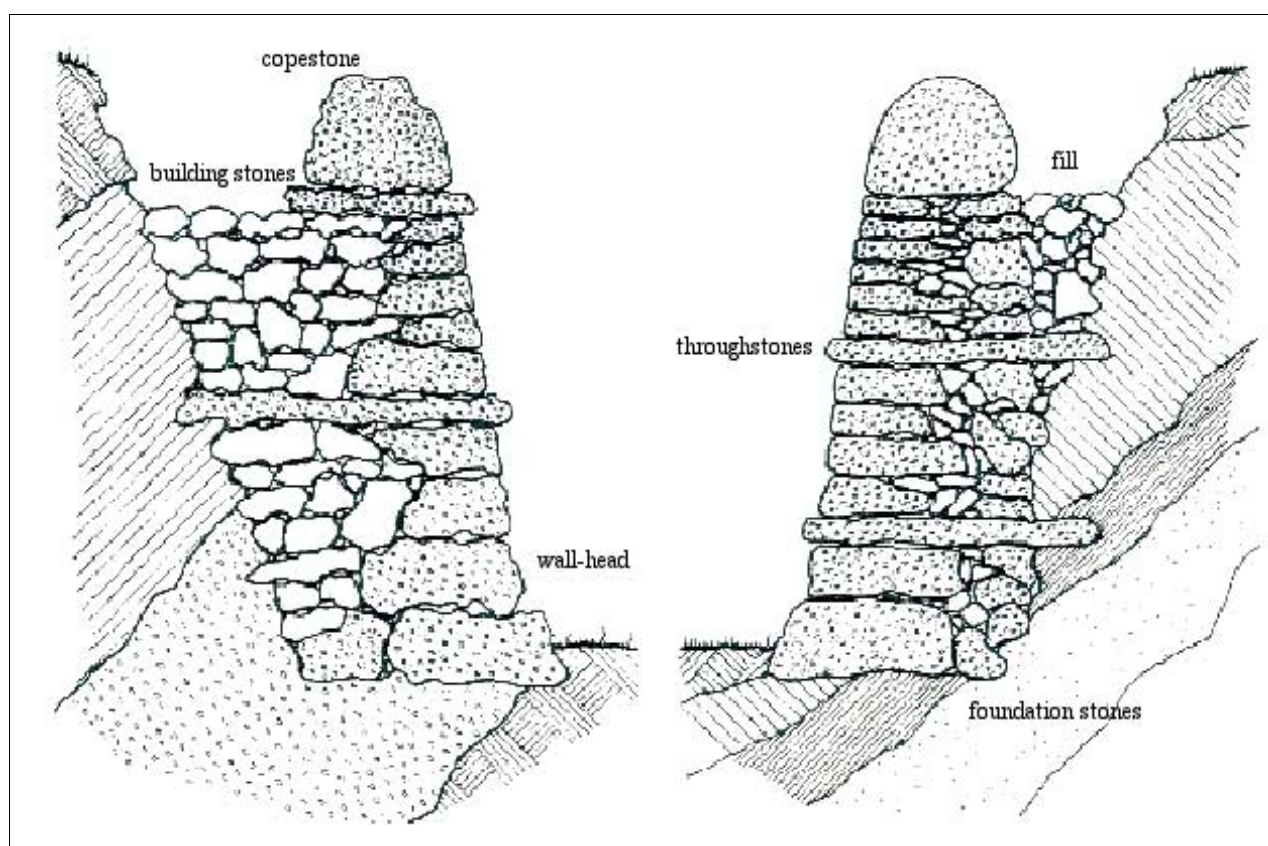


Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.6 Close-up of dry stone wall at nearby Rooiberg Pass

retaining walls achieve dramatic visual impact on Swartberg Pass. In one place along the southern slope they run continuously for 2.4 km (Goetze 1994). The dry stone walls range in height from 50cm to 13m. They have withstood the natural elements and human impact for well over a century. This is because of the friction and cohesion principle which underlies dry stone wall construction (Garner 1992). The more pressure brought to bear on the structure, the more compacted and secure the walls become. The dry element of these walls alludes to the fact that no mortar is used to bind the stones together. Instead the individual stones are bound by friction to form a cohesive structure.

Dry stone walls come in many shapes and sizes, with the same general principles guiding their construction. Dry stone walls have several constructional elements shown in Figure 6.7. At the



Source: Adapted from DSWA (1996)

Figure 6.7 Diagrammatic illustration of a typical dry stone retaining wall

bottom are the foundation stones, which in the case of retaining walls must be at least $\frac{2}{3}$ the width of the final structure (DSWA 1996). Building stones are introduced and fitted to each other. Throughstones are the glue that holds the wall together. These stones stretch through, across the wall at regular intervals. Copestones or capstones are placed at the top of the wall. They have two functions, apart from their decorative effect (Garner 1992). They add weight to the wall, stabilizing the lighter stones in the upper half of the wall, and they act as throughstones. Throughout the wall smaller stones and chips are used to 'fill' gaps. The secret to dry stone walling is dressing or chiselling individual stones so that they fit together like pieces of a puzzle. On Swartberg Pass stone

was quarried on site to provide rock for the dry stone walls (Goetze 1994; Marincowitz 1989). Axes, gabs, scabbers, puncheons and chisels were hand tools used to dress the stones.

Other possible construction techniques used on Swartberg Pass and similar sites were *gunpowder and dynamite*, and *fire and water* in combination. Gunpowder and dynamite were on hand for heavy blasting, but as stated in the narrative of Cogmans Kloof, dynamite was expensive and gunpowder not always effective. Using gunpowder was a long and arduous task. Hand drills were used to drill 1m deep holes into rocks (Figure 6.8). The drill would be knocked in by hammer,

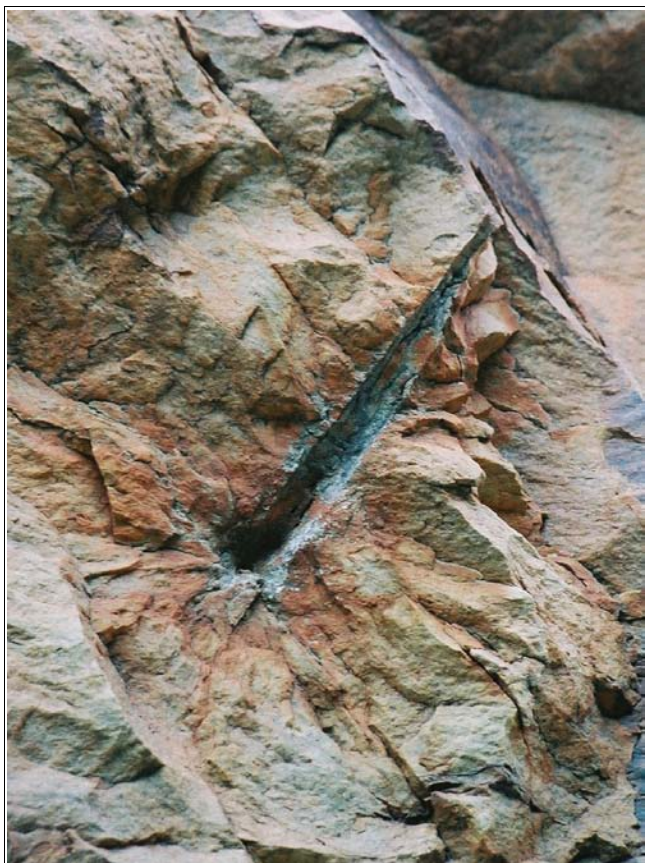


Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.8 Historical drill furrow and gunpowder blast point, Meirings Poort

then rotated by hand, and the whole process repeated until the appropriate depth had been reached.

Small rocks of 1-2m were usually shattered with one blast. However, larger rocks needed repeated blasts, with the rock strata indicating where charges were to be placed to be most effective. Once these holes were drilled, 15-20cm of the hole was filled with blasting powder, and softly tapped (tamped) into place with a rod. (One spark and you needed a new volunteer.) The powder needed to be well compacted and all air had to be excluded. With a fuse inserted into the powder, clay would be tamped around the fuse. Once the clay filled 30 cm of the hole it could be compacted more firmly. The exclusion of air ensured that the explosion was confined to the heart of the rock, creating a blast point as seen in Figure 6.8.

The fire and water method is also a viable, and cheap, option for removing rock (Vos 2004, pers com). Once wood and bushes have been cleared from the site to prevent the accidental spread of fire, a fire is built on the rocks to heat and expand them. Water is used to quench the flames once the rocks are hot from the fire causing rapid contraction. The result is explosive. The rapid change in temperature cracks the rocks making it easier to break them up with crowbars. Sometimes wooden wedges are driven into cracks in rocks and water is poured on the wedges, making them swell powerfully enough to widen the cracks.

6.1.3.3 Manufacturing and construction – a heritage of labour

The people exercising the various construction techniques on Swartberg and other passes were convicts. The use of convict labour for public works in the nineteenth century was common practice. Formal rules and regulations regarding the treatment of convicts were only instituted in 1847 (Goetze 1994). The convicts of Swartberg Pass formed part of this system. In the nineteenth century, under British administration, people who broke the law became convicts until their sentence was completed. Offences ranged from petty theft to rape and murder. No colour bar was in place and people of all nationalities, colours and religions were treated and labelled the same (Steytler & Nieuwmeyer 2003). The use of convict labour for public works, particularly for the construction and maintenance of roads in the Cape Colony had been in place since 1824. It was only with the appointment of John Montagu as Secretary to the Government and chairman of the Central Road Board that a system for convict labour was formulated. This system or code was developed to ensure the effective, controlled and regulated utilization of convicts. In the early 1840's most convicts laboured in and around villages and towns (Goetze 1994).

Reviewing the system, Montagu suggested (Steytler & Nieuwmeyer 2003) that gangs of 80 to 100 convicts should be used for road construction, particularly opening mountain passes. Such gangs should be stationed away from towns. Montagu also proposed a code for the proper management and discipline of convicts. The Montagu rules and regulations established the responsibilities of convict superintendents and officers. Compulsory and regular visits by magistrates and a medical officer were mandated. The rules set out the hours of labour, the type and severity of punishment, the scale of rations and the items of clothing to be worn by the convicts. The mind and spirit of the convict was to be nurtured. To this end evening and Sunday schools were instituted for the education and religious improvement and reformation of convicts. In short, every last detail of a convict's life was regulated.

The regulations extended to detailing the constitution of gangs (Goetze 1994), to use the historical term. There were three classes of convict gangs. The first class was called the penal gang or 'chain gang'. The chain gang consisted of the hardened criminals, or those with sentences of more

than five years. The probation gang was for those convicts with sentences of less than five years and of good character. The good-conduct gang (or 'coffee gang') was obviously the preferred gang to belong to. A convict could move from one class to another as his sentence lessened or through good conduct. With each step away from the chain gang a convict gained more freedom and privileges. Once in the probation class, letters could be sent and received and friends and family could visit at stipulated times. The coffee gang was seen as a transition phase from convict to free person and to test if reformation of character had truly occurred. This rather progressive process was driven by incentives for good behaviour. The better the behaviour the more rewards available to the convict.

Over-crowded prisons were a severe problem in the Cape Colony at the time. A report on the investigations of some of the gaols and convict stations in the Cape Colony (CGH 1888) revealed that the Kimberley gaol, designed to hold 145 inmates was housing 820 in 1887 when the inspectors paid a visit. The three-tier class system was not applied under these conditions. Over-crowding meant that hardened criminals slept cheek-by-jowl with good conduct prisoners. The situation was not much different at the various convict stations on Swartberg Pass (Goetze 1994).

Whilst Thomas Bain was the designer and engineer on Swartberg Pass, it was the convicts that did the back breaking work. They were the ones that dressed and laid the stones for the retaining walls. This is usually the extent to which convicts are mentioned in articles and books (Marincowitz 1989; Ross 2002; Storrar 1984). An exception to this is the thesis by Goetze (1994), who refers to the historical documentation dealing with the life and times of the convicts on Swartberg Pass. This is the limit to his study, as unfortunately he does not give any insight into the people behind the numbers. While it may be difficult to account for every individual convict, the basic story of each can be extrapolated from historical sources and archaeological inference. Most of the convicts were racially designated 'Hottentot' (Steytler & Nieuwmeyer 2003), that is to say of Khoisan descent. They had come to the convict stations of Swartberg Pass via other construction projects or from the gaols of Knysna and George. Their crimes ranged from theft to murder. These basic facts unfortunately do not answer the question of who they were.

The Khoisan convicts' narrative is one that this research has endeavoured to trace from the Middle and Later Stone Age, through the arrival of domesticated animals and European settlers. The descendants of freed slaves had made common cause with the Khoisan, if for no other reason than that they were non-whites in a society already marginalising them. The Khoisan had gone from being trading partners to being aggressive rebels to becoming the subject of Christian conversion and also law breakers (Boonzaier et al 2000). Such were some of the men building Swartberg Pass. Their wives were left at home, raising families and tending to whatever property they owned. A poignant reminder of this is Daleen Matthee's (1984) *Fiela se Kind*, where Fiela had kept the home

fires burning while waiting for her husband to return, only for him to come home a broken man after working on Prince Alfred's Pass.

At the height of construction in 1887, some 447 convicts were working on the Swartberg Pass. They were housed in three or four stations (the literature is unclear as to how many stations were operational at any one time). Eerstewater at the northern end of the Pass, Blikstasie (Figure 6.9) near the zig-zags, Uitkyk Station where the Toll House was eventually erected, and the Congo



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.9 Blikstasie Convict Station as seen from the zig-zags on Swartberg Pass

Convict Station (location unknown). They were guarded by a Superintendent of Convicts, two Head Overseers, ten Sub-Overseers, two Chief Constables, two Assistant Chief Constables, and an Acting Chief Constable. The convicts were allotted a minimum of two-and-a-half feet of space each within a station. This must have made life intolerable at night. Spitting and smoking in the station only exacerbated the situation (Goetze 1994).

The day-to-day existence of convicts on Swartberg Pass was one of hard labour, even if the convict belonged to a coffee gang. Two meals a day, breakfast and supper, were served at the convict stations. Stopping for lunch, it was deemed, would take too much time away from the job (Goetze 1994). Rations consisted of 6oz (170g) mealie meal in the form of porridge for breakfast and $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs (340g) of bread which the convicts took with them for lunch (CGH 1888). The evening meal consisted of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs (570g) meat (weighed raw), boiled in the soup, $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs (340g) bread, 1 quart (1.14 litres) soup to which was added 6oz (170g) vegetables, 2oz (57g) beans or rice and $\frac{1}{2}$ oz (14g)

of salt.

The relatively good rations did not balance the effects of unrelieved cold and damp. As a result many convicts were treated for bronchial infections. On his arrival in December 1886, Dr William Ward had found a daily average of 60 out of 420 convicts (15%) sick. He reduced this to two out of 380 by January 1888 (CGH 1888) in part by weeding out the 'malingerers' who pretended to be sick. Conditions were far worse in winter. Cold, damp and snow characterise the winter months of the Swartberg. The visiting magistrates noted on 19 June 1884 that nine men were lying on ordinary platforms in the convict hospital, five had their beds on the ground while one man was lying on the ground without planks. The floor was saturated with water. The conditions of June 1884 had been caused by heavy rain and snow from 16-18, 22-23 and 27-29 June. Snow piled up to 1½ feet (45cm). The situation inside the hospital was made worse by the 60 men inhabiting the building tramping in and out. As a result of this enquiry no more convicts were sent to Swartberg Pass until conditions improved. This was done by providing extra woollen blankets and continually burning fires in the stations to combat the dampness.

The meagre space within the stations also aided the rapid spread of syphilis (CGH 1888). Syphilis was a major concern on the Swartberg Pass and in the Prince Albert and Beaufort West gaols. The arrival of new convicts with the disease in 1883 had spread it to at least nine other inmates. The new convicts had arrived with good health certificates despite some of the men having advanced cases of this venereal disease. Two convicts from Oudtshoorn gaol died two months after arriving at Swartberg. Limited space also meant that while Swartberg Pass had three convict classes the different gangs could not be housed separately.

Punishments ranged from lowered rations to solitary confinement, lashing with a cat-o'-nine-tails and wearing chains, usually weighing 5lbs (2.27kg) for a period of time. One convict, Gert Houtenbek, had worn chains for nine years. He had been sentenced in Beaufort West in 1878 to hard labour for life and placed in 10lb (4.5kg) chains. Houtenbek arrived at the Cango Cave Convict Station in 1879 where his chains were replaced with chains of 7lbs (3.2kg). Here the story related by Andrew Odea (head-overseer) to the Government Committee investigation of Convicts and Gaols (CGH 1888) becomes confusing. Houtenbek's chains were removed on 17 August 1883 so that he could be marched from the Knysna Convict Station (how he got there is not stated) to Prince Albert. Once he arrived at the main convict station on Swartberg Pass on 28 August 1883, the chains were put back on. There the chains remained until December 1887, when the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, McNaughton, made an inspection. During the inspection McNaughton asked the convicts if they had any complaints. Houtenbek duly made his complaint of being in chains for nine years and his chains were struck. Odea commented to the

committee that the object of putting men in chains is to ensure safe custody. Houtenbek posed an escape risk and “was a desperate man, and once threatened to take my life” (Odea, CGH 1888:346). Gert Houtenbek behaved well after his chains were struck, apparently in a hope of mitigating his sentence.

Swartberg Pass was built by the famous (Thomas Bain) and the infamous (the convicts). Perhaps if the visitor was to stop at Blikstasie and read the story there and listen closely, the distant ring of hammer on rock, the curses and complaints of convicts and the commands of the overseers would still be heard echoing off the towering rocks.

6.1.4 Theme: Exploration and mapping – hero Thomas Bain

Thomas Charles John Bain, seen below in Figure 6.10, is the hero in this chapter. A nineteenth-



Source: Bain (2007)

Figure 6.10 Thomas Bain

century Renaissance Man, with wide-ranging interests and an abiding love for the countryside he worked in, he is best known as a pass builder. This theme examines Thomas Bain as an explorer and map maker, both abilities essential in the construction process. Building passes in the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century required a mixture of skill and perseverance. Thomas Bain came by his skill honestly, having served his apprenticeship under his father Andrew Geddes Bain. Andrew Bain, after whom Bain's Kloof Pass is named, is considered the father of South African geology. This is in acknowledgement of his years of surveying and engineering in the formative years of Montagu's road building initiatives. Andrew Bain, a Scotsman by birth, was something of a jack-of-all-trades. He had tried his hand as a saddler, trader, explorer and soldier before settling on road engineering. His son, Thomas, inherited this interest in many diverse subjects (Storror 1984).

Thomas Bain made perhaps the biggest single contribution in the nineteenth century to the

opening up of the Cape Colony (Storrar 1984). He built 23 passes, three major roads and many minor roads in a career spanning 46 years. In those 46 years he was given one month's leave, married Johanna Hermina de Smit, daughter of Willem de Smit, Secretary to the Central Roads Board, and had thirteen children, all but one surviving to adulthood. The large family was possible as Johanna and the growing family moved with Bain from project to project.

Thomas Bain was not only an inspired engineer and family man. His interests extended to botany, geology, archaeology, and gold and water prospecting. He was a prolific writer on subjects from how to find water to the different types of timber to be found in the indigenous forests of Knysna. Bain contributed to the fossil collections of the British Museum and the South African Museum (now a part of IZIKO Museums of Cape Town). His various hobbies took him from one undiscovered place to another. One of them was a cave on the Robberg peninsula, Plettenberg Bay (Lister 1960). Here he dug out of the debris on the floor a skeleton of a tiny child, some arrow heads and bone needles. Was this cave perhaps Nelson Bay Cave, of twentieth century archaeological fame (Deacon & Deacon 1999)?

On his surveys of passes, Bain found rock art which he faithfully recorded in his 'little sketch book'. The Pakhuis, Baviaanskloof, Robinson, Tradouw, Garcia's, Schoeman's Poort, Roodesand, Meirings Poort and Prince Alfred's Pass were all the subjects of sketches of rock art in this little book. Bain would trace, imprint and colour the outlines of the rock paintings. Sheets of tracing paper were interspersed with the heavier pages of cartridge paper (Storrar 1984:57). The outlines of the rock painting were traced delicately onto the tracing paper. The outlines were then impressed from the tracing paper onto the cartridge paper. Letters such as 'B' and 'R' appear to denote colour. The researcher made efforts to track down Bain's little rock art book, but to no avail. References in Storrar (1984) led to the National Library in Cape Town, who had no record of the book. A small book with tracings was found at the Izko Museum. A recent notion in the book indicates that the real Thomas Bain rock art book remains with his family.

As diverting as these hobbies were, the central focus of Thomas Bain's life was his passes. To this end he had begun his apprenticeship under his father's strict guidance in April of 1848 at the age of 17. Working as his father's personal assistant on Michell's Pass and as Superintendent of Convicts at Breede River Station in Bain's Kloof, Thomas gained much insight into the challenges of pass construction. He sat the Civil Engineering exam in 1854 and passed top of the five student who took the test. Only one other student passed. With qualification and job in hand, Thomas's next step was to ask Johanna de Smit to marry him in 1855. With her to support him, his long and distinguished career lay ahead. By 1854 Bain had become a road magistrate, to which he later added Justice of the Peace. In 1873 he was transferred to the Railway Department for 18 months, before

returning to his roads. In 1877 he was appointed Associate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, London. His last position was that of Irrigation and Geological Surveyor, which he undertook from 1888 to his death in 1893.

Perhaps not a true explorer in the traditional sense of the word, Thomas Bain followed new pathways. He did so in order to find the best route for new roads and passes. His surveys took him on solitary horseback journeys into the mountains of the Western Cape. These surveys and the construction of the subsequent passes meant that Bain was often absent from his family for long periods of time. The distances he needed to travel, as his jurisdiction was the Cape Colony from Cape Town to Humansdorp, was considerable. Indeed, his travel allowance became somewhat controversial as he used four horses instead of the regulation two.

The most useful tool for Bain during surveys was an open vernier theodolite (Goetze 1994), which measured angles and distances. Once in a while, magnetic compass readings were taken of important landmarks. In this manner Bain produced strip surveys of a proposed route. Returning to camp, detailed working drawings were made by the light of oil-lamps (Storrar 1984). These maps constitute a remarkable legacy, not only of the industry of Thomas Bain, but of each pass he surveyed. They are more than survey maps, they are works of art using a monochrome watercolour technique which presents the Swartberg Pass route in three dimensions by hachures as can be seen in Figure 6.11. In comparison to the 1:50 000 map in Figure 6.2, Bain's survey is remarkably accurate given the limitations he worked under in the nineteenth century and attests to the extraordinary skills of visualising three-dimensionality he possessed at the time. His accuracy without the use of aerial photographs and satellite images was remarkable.

6.2 TOURISM ON SWARTBERG PASS

The primary appeal of Swartberg Pass is the scenic ambience described above. The outstanding quality of the Pass and surrounding nature reserve provide a unique setting. The Swartberg Pass provides ample opportunity for sight-seeing and picnicking. In a Getaway (2001) survey of 'the 10 most scenic mountain passes' in the Cape, Swartberg Pass came second to Du Toit's Kloof Pass. The attraction lies in the 'retaining walls and culverts you see...' and the 'eagle's view of tiny patterned fields and over the summit on the northern side, massive mountain gorges and tiny hairpin bends'. Swartberg Pass rates number one of Wegbreek's (2004:28) top six destinations in the Little Karoo as part of the poorts, passes and kloofs attractions.

The Swartberg Nature Reserve, the creation of which implies the recognition that this area is special, formally acknowledges the importance of appreciating natural wonders. The nature reserve is managed by CapeNature and lies between the Little and Great Karoo. In the west it is bordered



Figure 6.11 Thomas Bain's Zwartberg Pass

Source: Cape Archives M3/533

by the Gamka River and in the east by the Uniondale/Willowmore road. The reserve consists of 121 000ha of mostly state-owned land. The main aims of the Swartberg Nature Reserve are to conserve fynbos and provide water (Prince Albert Tourism 2004). The nature reserve also provides the basis of the tourist facilities and activities associated with Swartberg Pass. The nature reserve lies ~40km from Oudtshoorn, ~5km from De Rust and ~5km from Prince Albert. Two hiking routes are offered. The Swartberg Hiking Trail covers between 9 and 14 kilometres a day over a maximum of five days or 60km, though shorter alternatives are available. Basic overnight huts provide shelter along the way. The Grootkloof trail is a 6km walk in Gamkaskloof with 26 interpreted stops providing information on the natural and cultural heritage of the hidden valley. Back on top of the mountain a 4x4 route of 74km, similar to the Swartberg Hiking Route is available for the adventurous driver.

Gamkaskloof is the jewel in the Swartberg Nature Reserve's crown as far as tourism is concerned. The valley offers accommodation in the form of seven restored historic homes, a bush camp and camping sites for ten tents. Each house is named after former occupants and some date to the early 1800's. They are self-catering, though CapeNature provides cutlery, cooking utensils and bedding. Hiking, fishing, swimming and mountain biking opportunities abound.

The proximity of Swartberg Pass to Oudtshoorn links the pass to all the activities and events of that town and the Cango Caves, as discussed in Chapter 4. Thus the market profile of Swartberg Pass is enhanced by association with such festivals as the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees, Route 62 and the attraction of ostrich show farms, not to mention the Cango Caves themselves. Despite these links to the larger world, the potential for new income to the Swartberg Nature Reserve appears to be limited. In part this is due to the established nature of the nature reserve. The areas that can be developed for income-generating tourism have been developed. Perhaps it is a good thing that visitor numbers should not increase, in order to maintain a sustainable resource base.

The challenge for CapeNature is to develop the resource of Swartberg Pass in line with the current tourism development policy of CapeNature whilst retaining the authenticity of the Pass. CapeNature, in terms of the Western Cape Nature Conservation Board Act 15 of 1998, has the responsibility to promote and ensure nature conservation; to render services and provide facilities for research and training; and to generate income. This last point, generating income, is an essential component of the future success of CapeNature and the nature reserves they manage in the Western Cape. Government (national and provincial) is allocating fewer and fewer funds for conservation (CapeNature 2005). This means that CapeNature needs to generate its own income. Commercialisation, in the form of tourism and tourism partnerships, is their primary response.

The generation of income must not place the sustainability of the natural resource base at risk. All development of facilities and commercial opportunities will support CapeNature's primary role

of conservation. They have identified three broad areas for commercialisation (CapeNature 2005):

1. The provision of tourism and visitor facilities and activities;
2. The utilisation of natural resources (fauna and flora) e.g. gathering wild flowers, seed collection, firewood collection etc.;
3. The use of conservation areas for filming and photographic purposes.

Specifically, CapeNature wishes to identify the opportunities for new or unutilised eco- and adventure tourism experiences. They make no mention of cultural heritage tourism, whether it be prehistoric rock art or historic ruins. The opportunity to combine cultural and natural heritage on nature reserves is there for the taking. CapeNature, unlike SAHRA, has people on the ground that can serve as guides and monitors of both natural and cultural heritage items. In the case of Swartberg Nature Reserve, where expanding tourism facilities in Gamkaskloof may push that area past the point of sustainability, it may be necessary to develop tourism in other areas of the nature reserve that are easily accessible to the public, like Swartberg Pass, which has great tourism potential. At this time however, the situation is one of neglect and limited exposure. Facilities are limited to a few out of the way ablution blocks, picnic spots and commemorative plaques stating the significance of the Pass.

6.3 SWARTBERG PASS AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

This section addresses the heritage management structure responsible for the sustainable preservation and utilisation of the Swartberg Pass. The status and vulnerabilities inherent to four prominent heritage items on the Pass are finally considered in more detail.

6.3.1 Heritage management on Swartberg Pass

Swartberg Pass was declared a National Monument in 1988, though the current re-evaluations discussed in Chapter 2 mean that currently the Pass is a Provincial Monument. This still implies that all the heritage items on the Pass form part of the national estate and are therefore under legal protection in terms of the NHRA (1999). Whether all heritage items are protected in reality is unclear. The Pass is in the Swartberg Nature Reserve, though it is uncertain whether any management plans are in place for the conservation of heritage items.

The town of Prince Albert has a group of concerned design and construction professionals who initiated a crisis meeting with Provincial and District Road Engineers in September 2000 (Prince Albert Tourism 2004). The meeting was called to discuss the difficulties of maintaining the Pass after three years of heavy rains. As a result of the meeting stakeholders walked the Pass to identify specific problem areas. A folio of photographs and drawings was handed to the engineers.

The Swartberg Pass subsequently underwent specialist maintenance, receiving a 'facelift'.

In general, the heritage items on Swartberg Pass are vulnerable to fire, especially those overgrown with vegetation. The lower regions are susceptible to flooding while the top of the pass regularly has a covering of snow in the winter months. The temperature which ranges from below freezing in the winter to above 40°C in the summer (CapeNature 2005), means that building materials contract and expand, putting stress on the physical fabric of some of the heritage constructions. This is an unavoidable effect.

Human impact on the heritage items is usually caused by ignorance. As the items are unprotected, they can easily be damaged by human visitors, at any time, even by unsophisticated means. A certain level of irreversible damage has resulted from such actions. All the sites are open to the public at all times, unless the pass is closed, usually owing to bad weather. It is doubtful whether visitor numbers will increase, and if they do, numbers should be limited in the Swartberg Nature Reserve to mitigate trampling of vegetation as well as the destruction of heritage resources.

Interpretation and guidance are essential characteristics of a well managed heritage attraction. With the exception of Gamkaskloof, interpretation and guidance are absent from the Swartberg Pass. The CapeNature Ouplaas Information Centre is located in Gamkaskloof, where a booklet about the valley is available. The Grootkloof day hike has 26 interpreted stops. The other heritage items, located on the Pass itself, have only sign posts naming the place (e.g. Blikstasie 'Tronk'). Apart from the name boards no further information about the heritage items are provided on site. The visitor may not realise that these sites are of cultural significance and that they are protected by law. As an information centre is not present on Swartberg Pass, no visitors book is available, nor are any pamphlets or leaflets on visitor behaviour or site information available on the Pass. A small book on the Swartberg Pass by Marincowitz (1989) is available at the CP Nel Museum in Oudtshoorn and at the Francie Pienaar Museum in Prince Albert. Compounding the lack of information and interpretive material, no guides, specialist or local, are to be found.

There is no tourism infrastructure on the pass. There are no officially demarcated parking areas near the heritage resources. The narrowness of the road makes it difficult to park safely and explore the heritage sites or take in some of the magnificent views, although there is safe parking at some of the picnic spots, like Teeberg. The pathways to the heritage items are not distinct, and so trampled vegetation leads the way, tending to take the most direct route to the site. These paths do not follow the natural contours, so some erosion takes place. The direct routes tend to enter the sites at any point, sometimes at the points of greatest potential impact.

It has been assumed that at least the fauna and flora and Gamkaskloof have conservation management plans implemented by the nature reserve. It is not known if the heritage items relevant

to this study have management plans or are monitored in any way. There are no recognisable protective measures in evidence at any of the sites. The general impression is that the buildings are being allowed to fall apart and are being reclaimed by nature. If no conservation management plan has been drawn up for these sites, future stakeholder consultation will be essential to ensure the better protection, management and presentation of these valuable heritage resources.

The following discussion evaluates some of the heritage resources in more detail, placing them in context and evaluating them in terms of vulnerability.

6.3.2 The Ou Tol, Hotelletjie and Stalletjie

The Ou Tol is currently used as an overnight hut for hikers and 4x4 enthusiasts. Of Uitkyk Convict Station and its surrounds no remains are visible, though photographs from the time of construction of the pass (Marincowitz 1989) show a substantial settlement. There is some confusion over the Ou Tol building. The building currently called the Ou Tol (the overnight hut) is clearly too recent a construction. The dry stone walls in the foreground of the photograph in Figure 6.12 seem a better candidate for the original building. This last idea is validated by Goetze (1994:150) with photographs of the toll house ruins and a plaque showing a sketch of the original Ou Tol. This seems to be the extent of information about the Ou Tol on Swartberg Pass. One recommendation is to mark the location of the plaque more clearly as it was not found during a 2003 field survey, even after a careful search.

The Hotelletjie (Figure 6.13) was originally erected shortly after the opening of the pass. The Victoria Hotel offered overnight accommodation to travellers (Marincowitz 1989). The Stalletjie (Figure 6.14), further down the southern slope from the Hotelletjie, stabled and watered the horses used to draw the mail coach. Fresh horses were harnessed for the journeys north and south. The ruins on the southern slope of the Pass have evidence of graffiti and writing in wet cement. Vegetation has largely taken over the sites. The walls are gradually collapsing, as indicated in the plan diagrams in Figures 6.15 and 6.16. Window and door openings are generally more at risk of collapse. One way of presenting these ruins is to provide more information about them. Clearing the vegetation away, making them more visible to the passer-by is a step that can only be taken if regular monitoring of the sites is undertaken. Making the sites more accessible without monitoring may allow greater opportunity for vandalism. Until regular monitoring is in place an 'out of sight, out of mind' policy is suggested.



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.12 The ruins of the Ou Tol on Swartberg Pass, with overnight accommodation for hikers in the background



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.13 Hotelletjie on Swartberg Pass

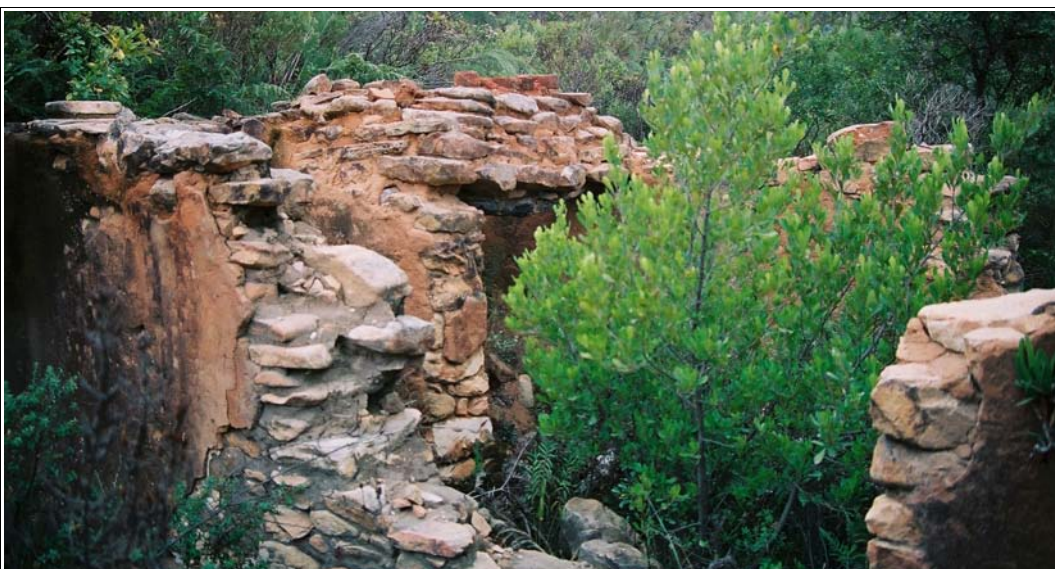
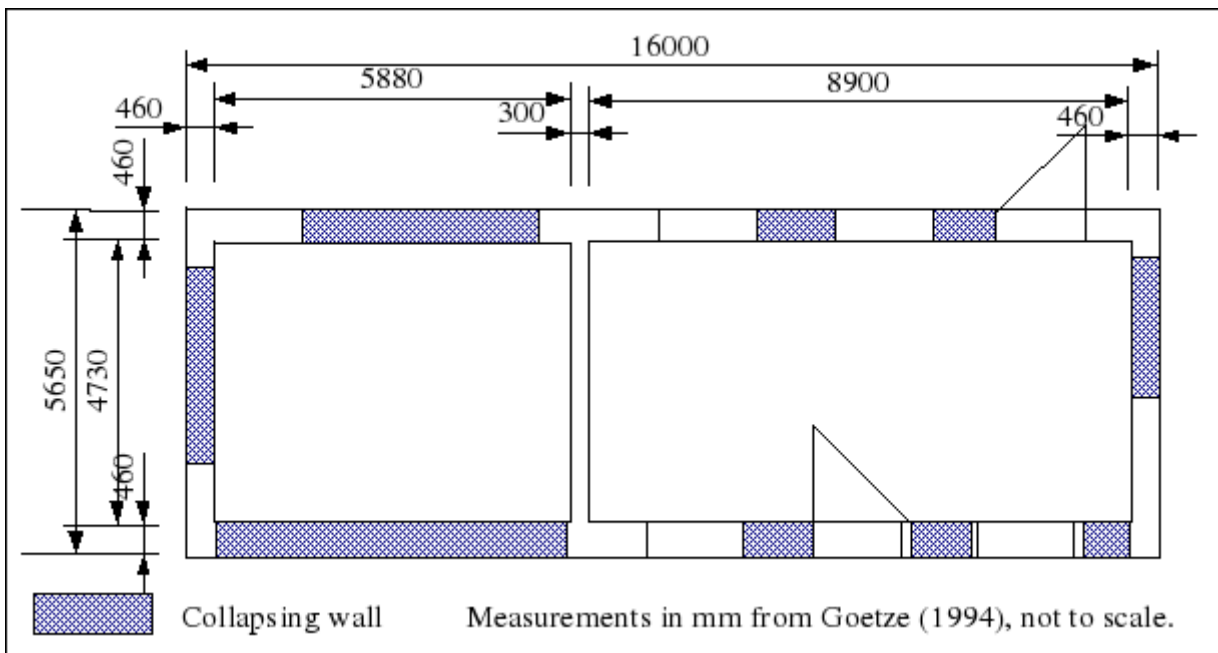


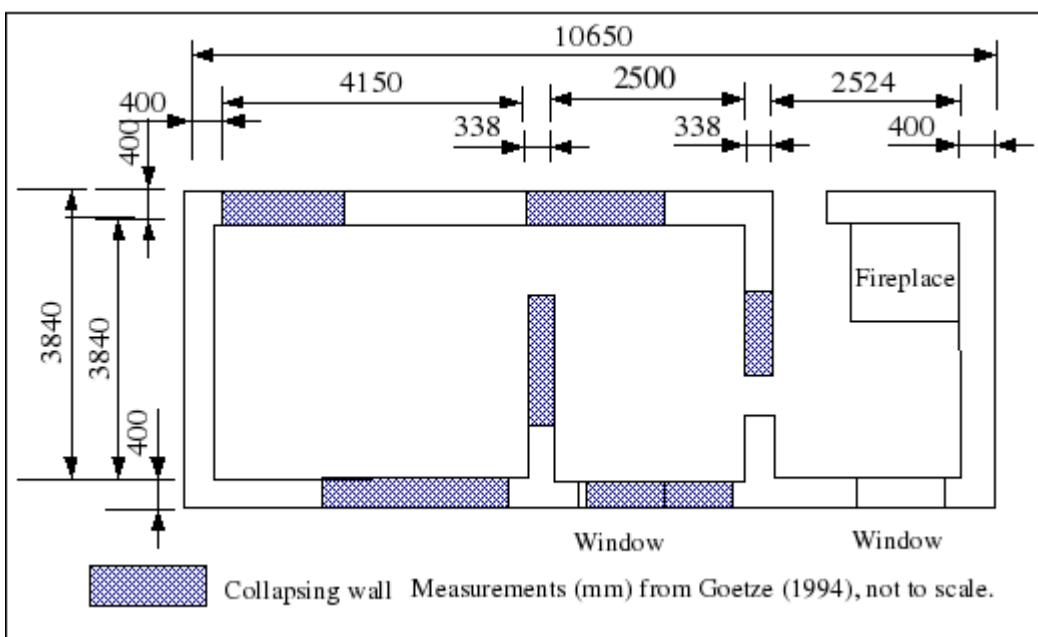
Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.14 Stalletjie on Swartberg Pass



Source: After Goetze (1994)

Figure 6.15 Sketch plan of Hotelletjie on Swartberg Pass



Source: After Goetze (1994)

Figure 6.16 Sketch plan of Stalletjie on Swartberg Pass

6.3.3 Eerstewater Convict Station

Eerstewater Convict Station (Figure 6.17) lies on a rise just before Eersterwater drift upon entering the Pass from Prince Albert. No name for the station has been identified in the literature so 'Eerstewater' has been chosen, after Goetze (1994), to avoid confusion with other convict stations. Observations were made during a field survey in March 2003. The Convict Station consists of several small buildings and one long retaining wall. None of the items remain intact. Walls are collapsing and tyre tracks are evident over some foundations. Marincowitz (1989) relates that



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 6.17 A ruin at Eerstewater Convict Station, Swartberg Pass

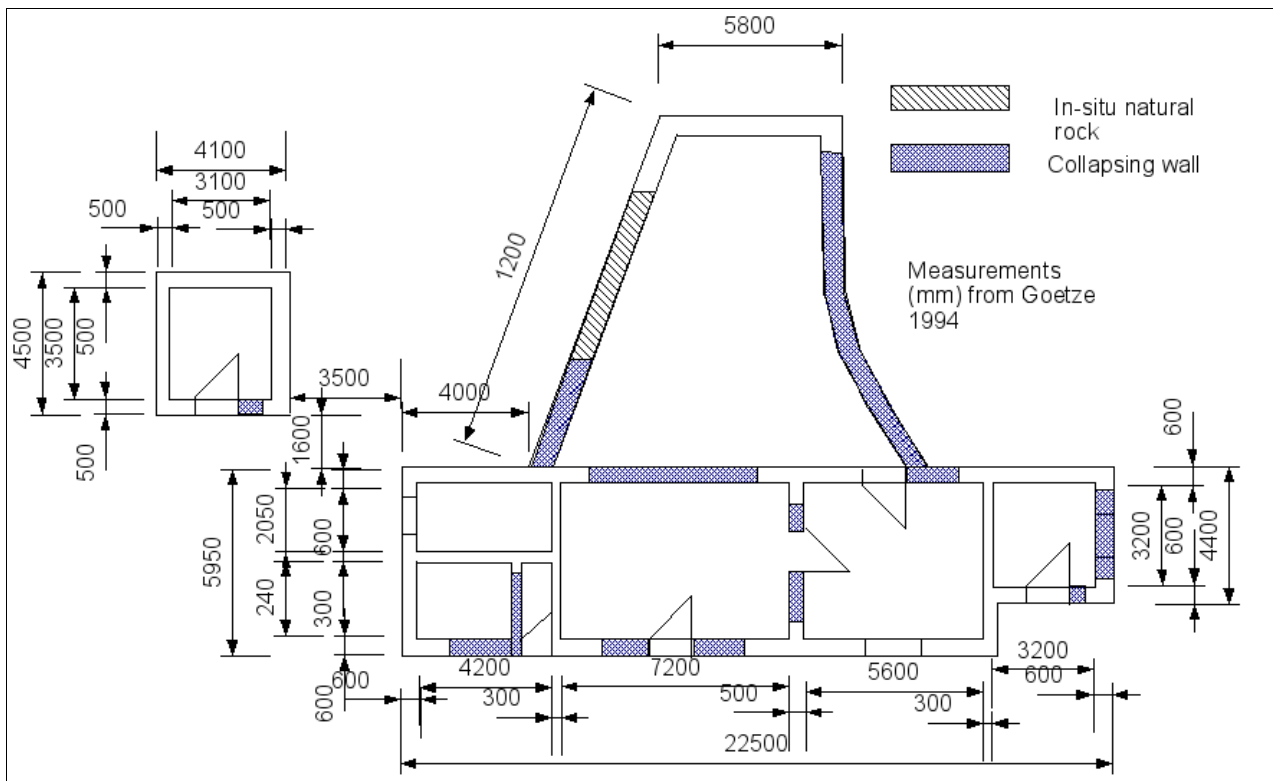
Eerstewater Convict Station became known as the 'Dansbaan' (the dance floor) where young people came to dance under the stars. It is still a popular local picnic spot.

On-site information, even as limited as a name board, is important. Eerstewater has no signage demarcating it as a significance site. If travellers to Swartberg Pass arrive without some form of guide to the place, will they know that they are stopping at Eerstewater Convict Station? How will they know that they are walking in the footsteps of Thomas Bain and hundreds of convicts without some sort of information?

6.3.4 Blikstasie Convict Station

Blikstasie Convict Station does have a name board, even if it can only be seen as one descends from the zig-zags. It appears to be the most intact of the ruins on Swartberg Pass. Photographs from the March 2003 field trip reveal a site overgrown with vegetation, making it difficult for an accurate assessment of the building's integrity. One small room appeared to have no access point. Other rooms still had clay plaster clinging to the walls and cemented floor. It was interesting to note the incorporation of natural rock features into the design of the station (see plan of Blikstasie, Figure 6.18). Collapsing walls are particularly evident in and around windows and doorways, which are vulnerable points, lacking cohesion for dry stone walling.

Blikstasie is the ideal place to set up some form of interpretation of the lives of the convicts who laboured to build the pass. The quarry next to the ruins is something of an eyesore, but can be



Source: After Goetze (1994)

Figure 6.18 Sketch plan of Blikstasie Convict Station, Swartberg Pass, indicating collapsed walls

taken advantage of by clearing the space and turning it into a parking area. Information boards can be placed down here, strategically removed from the site itself. A proper pathway can then lead up to Blikstasie. Once the vegetation is cleared away, more interpretive material can be placed at the site itself. Imagine standing there, having read about the conditions these men laboured under, seeing the cramped conditions for yourself. Perhaps faintly hearing the hammer of pick axe on rock, the chatter of voices, the curses at the bland food echoing down through time. Suddenly the existence of the convicts would spring to life.

6.3.5 Dry stone walling

Dry stone walling is a dominant feature on Swartberg Pass. Not only are the retaining walls of the road built on such foundations, but most of the buildings use this technique as well. Dry stone walling is a traditional building technique that is still used in rural South Africa. However, it is not yet popularly recognised as a heritage feature or as culturally significant. Most of the Cape Colony's passes are characterised by dry stone walling. This technique is far less offensive to the eye than modern concrete slabs. And, as has been demonstrated by the thematic narrative, these walls stand as testimony to the toil of thousands of convicts in the nineteenth century. Today these walls are threatened by re-development and neglect through ignorance. The biggest danger to them are the road graders knocking over the capstones and thus destroying the integrity of the wall. Overseas there are organisations and institutions, like the Dry Stone Walling Association of Great Britain,

which care for and continue the legacy of dry stone walling (DSWA 1996).

A more local example of the dry stone wall conservation issue can be found at a project that sought to conserve the dry stone walls of Great Zimbabwe (Ndoro 1995). Two areas of this World Heritage Site were identified as under threat of collapse – the Terrace Platform Wall in 1986 and the Buttress Entrance in 1989. Both of these areas were monitored to detect areas where significant progressive movement and therefore structural instability was occurring. Monitoring provides information as a basis for management and control of structural stability. Data is collected that can assist in the formulation of maintenance strategies and whether interventions are needed or not. In 1989, together with the University of Loughborough, the University of Zimbabwe set out to rehabilitate the dry stone walls of Great Zimbabwe. The walls were initially dismantled, taking care to colour code each stone and record its position. A stone yard was used to practice various dry pack techniques so that the site of Great Zimbabwe was not compromised during the learning phase. It became obvious that the walls could not be reconstructed exactly as they had been. This would lead to the same problems of progressive movement and structural instability. Instead, the conservation team decided to be as faithful as possible to the original, without compromising either the society's concept of historical and technological achievement or safety issues. The key concept when conserving dry stone walls is to remain as faithful as possible to the original construction methods in order to retain the site's authenticity.

Dry stone wall building is still a living skill, particularly in rural areas. People with this skill can be approached to help in conserving and monitoring dry stone walls like those found in Swartberg Pass. From a tourist attraction perspective, dry stone walling techniques can be demonstrated and people could even try their hand at building a wall.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The narrative of Swartberg Pass details the lives and accomplishments of diverse people. The design and construction are a tribute to the energies and vision of the great engineer, Thomas Bain. The dry stone wall tells the hidden story of the convicts who built the pass. Swartberg Pass also encompasses the larger historical quest to open the Cape Colony up for economic growth.

Swartberg Pass is strongly linked to Swartberg Nature Reserve but is not yet fully utilized by that institution because they are predominantly focused on natural heritage. The Pass offers a variety of opportunities to the visitor, not limited to beautiful scenery. As the thematic narrative has shown there is more to Swartberg Pass than meets the eye. Its intangible legacy, representing the culmination of Thomas Bain's career and the work of hundreds of convicts is tangibly expressed in the dry stone wall of the Pass.

These dry stone walls, whether holding up the road or forming buildings, are the most vulnerable heritage item on Swartberg Pass. The lack of infrastructure providing information about their significance only exacerbates the situation.

CHAPTER 7: SEWEEEEKS POORT HERITAGE TOURISM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the heritage of Seweweeks Poort, arguably the most spectacular and dramatic passage through the Swartberg range, as Figure 7.1 testifies, and the closely



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 7.1 Seweweeks Poort

interwoven surrounding traditional communities of Amalienstein and Zoar. The communities of Amalienstein and Zoar have a strong affiliation with Seweweeks Poort. Indeed, it forms an integral part of their heritage. In this research the author prefers the name Seweweeks Poort, as opposed to Seven Weeks Poort, after considering various other alternatives in books (e.g. Seweweekspoort (Ross 2002)), and on the Internet (e.g. 7 weekspoort (Garden Route 2004)). The personal communications quoted in this chapter are drawn from interviews conducted in collaboration with C Rust during a March 2004 survey of Amalienstein and Zoar. The subject selection and survey methodology relating to these interviews has been discussed in Chapter 1.

The chapter commences with the introduction and justification of the particular thematic framework selected, which is then pursued in detail in the tangible resources and the narrative unveiling intangible heritage in the form of local stories. An overview of tourism opportunities and activities in the poort and its surroundings is provided. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the vulnerability of heritage resources in the poort and the potential to ensure sustainability of conducting tourism around this remarkable heritage feature.

7.1 THEMATIC NARRATIVE OF SEWEEEEKS POORT

This section introduces the thematic heritage framework that was selected for formatting the narrative of Seweweeks Poort and surroundings. It orientates the reader to the pass and its regional significance as heritage resource through a virtual descriptive ‘journey’ to and through the poort – here offered as part of the thematic narrative. The discussion finally fleshes out the locally so significant manifestations of the theme group: way of life.

7.1.1 Selected thematic heritage framework for Seweweeks Poort

The heritage of Seweweeks Poort and its communities of Amalienstein and Zoar offer a diverse range of narratives. The history of Seweweeks Poort is briefly addressed within the theme group *Developing South Africa*. The theme group *Way of life* has been chosen to tell the story of the people, and their interaction with the pass, living in the shadow of the Swartberg. Only two themes relating to the local way of life, as can be seen in Table 7.1, have been chosen to give expression to

Table 7.1 Seweweeks Poort – Thematic Framework

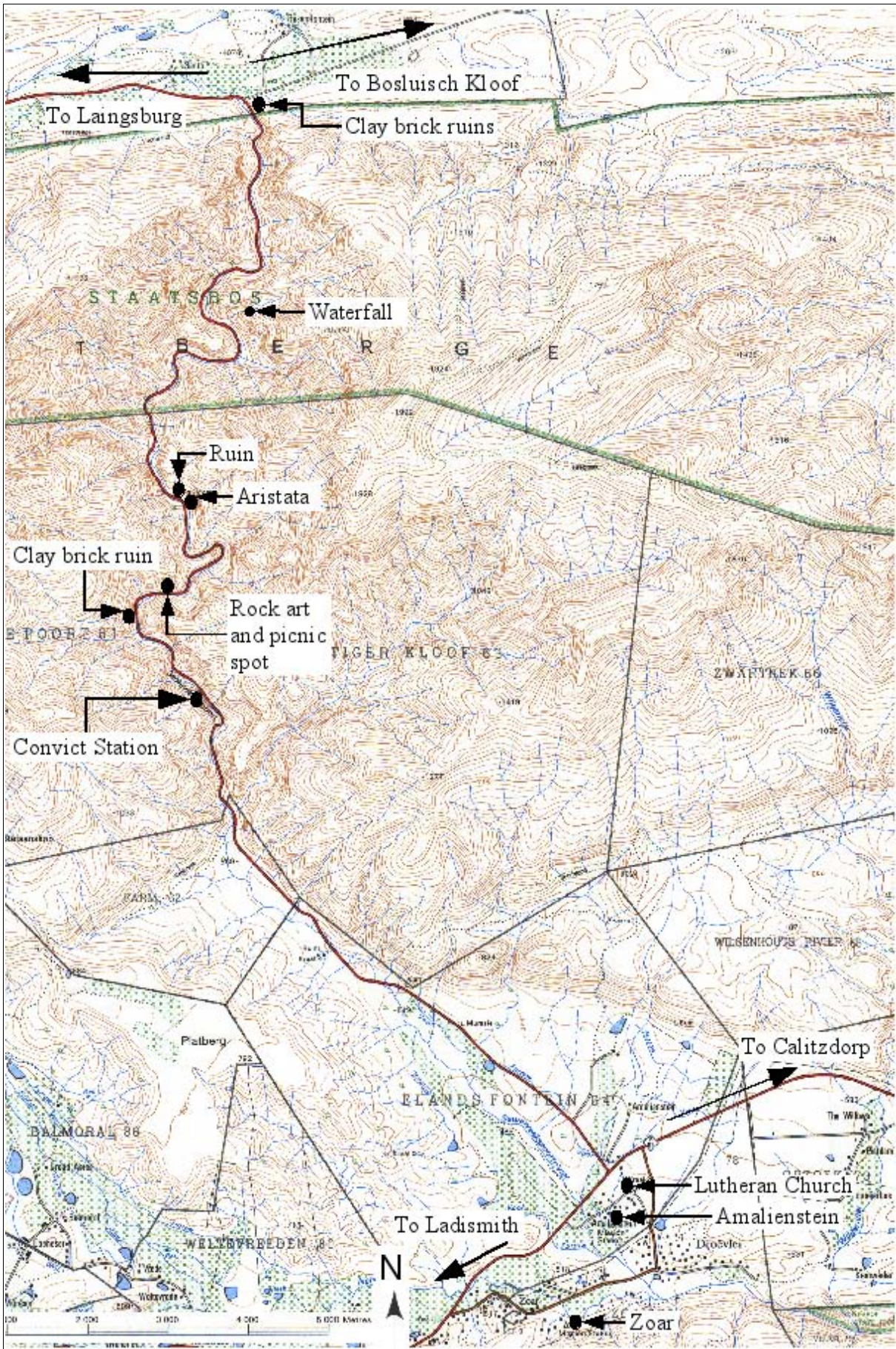
Theme Group	Theme	Sub-theme
Developing South Africa	2. Development of industry and technology	d. Transport and communication
Way of Life	1. Tradition, custom, belief, values	
	4. Arts and Sciences	c. Fine arts, philosophy, literature, entertainment

this heritage: Traditions and customs and Arts and sciences. The theme Traditions and customs presents those of the people of Amalienstein and Zoar and how these activities are associated with Seweweeks Poort.

The thematic study also explores the theme *Arts and Sciences* by presenting the literary work of the local poet, Hendrik Januarie, whose professed inspiration is rooted in Seweweeks Poort. Stories and local folklore form the basis of any gathering in Amalienstein and Zoar. These stories are central to their identity and form the oral history of the local people. Some of their stories are related here. The thematic narrative illustrates how Amalienstein and Zoar are associated with this often hidden heritage.

7.1.2 A journey through Seweweeks Poort and its history

Figure 7.2 shows the location of Seweweeks Poort and the towns of Zoar and Amalienstein, as well as the heritage resources discussed in the text below. Zoar and Amalienstein lie on Route 62 between Ladismith and Calitzdorp. Seweweeks Poort is directly north of these towns. Approaching from Ladismith along Route 62, the road passes the turn-off to the Hoeko Valley, birthplace of C.J. Langenhoven, the South African writer (Storrar 1984). The road winds on and Zoar speeds by on



Source: Chief Directorate of Survey and Mapping

Figure 7.2 Location of heritage resources in Seweweeks Poort

either side of the road. The impression created by the topography, a small hill, is that Zoar and Amalienstein are two separate communities. Behind the hill the two settlements have merged, so it is perhaps more accurate to say Amalienstein/Zoar. The turn off from the tarred Route 62 to Amalienstein Mission Station is only a couple of hundred metres down the road onto gravel. Another turn to the right and the Lutheran Church stands, tall and proud, guarding its congregation and its cluster of historic buildings.

The turn-off to Seweweeks Poort is on the left with ruins marking the T-junction. The approach road to Seweweeks Poort is gravel and climbs gently through undulating terrain. Just before the poort proper, Gysmanskloof rock art site is hidden away to the east. Then, all at once the kloof walls rise and one is within the Poort. The road follows the river bed, crossing it about thirty times. Literature (Burman 1981; Ross 2002) refers to this river as the Huis River, though the markers along the road refer to the Seweweeks River. Like most rivers in the Little Karoo, it episodically turns into a raging torrent of water after heavy rain. The multiple river crossings and floods play a key role in the history of Seweweeks Poort.

Shortly after one enters the Poort a picnic spot appears on the west side of the road. About a kilometre further the dry stone walls of the Convict Station peek through the thick vegetation. Other ruins are found at regular intervals along the road, as are more picnic spots, one with easily accessible rock art. The literature is unfortunately silent regarding the origin of most of these ruins, though one might have been the old Toll House. One of the stories Bulpin (1981) relates is that of the ghost of a former Toll-keeper still haunting the Poort, demanding his tribute to pass. There are reportedly (Bulpin 1981) several unnamed and unrecorded graves next to the road, but this research has not been able to verify their existence. Another ruin may be the old inn which stood on a farm named Aristata (Bulpin 1981). This could be the 'Aristata' named on the 1:50 000 map (Figure 7.2). Towards the end of Seweweeks Poort more ruins and a waterfall appear on the east side of the road. The Poort emerges into the Great Karoo with a fork in the road, leading to Laingsburg in the west and formerly (now cut off by the Gamkapoort dam) Prince Albert via Boschluis Kloof pass to the east. Some ruins stand near the latter turn-off.

A journey through Seweweeks Poort is one where the environment shapes the experience. The towering cliffs, rushing water and diverse plant life make the trip awe-inspiring.

7.1.3 Theme: developing Seweweeks Poort

Historic personalities journeyed through Seweweeks Poort, leaving journals, reports and art work as the tangible traces of their movement. Seweweeks Poort, like Swartberg Pass, contributed to the development of the Cape economy.

One nineteenth century traveller was Dr William Atherstone – the geologist credited with the identification of the Hope Diamond in 1867. Atherstone travelled through Seweweeks Poort with Thomas Bain in 1871. Of the Poort he wrote the following (cited in Ross 2002:97-98):

“[Seweweeks Poort is] the most wonderful gorge or mountain pass I have ever beheld. For twelve miles you travel [between] bare walls of vertical rock, in parts 3000 feet high, twisting and twining as the mountain stream winds through the flexures and curves of the mountain chasm, crossing and recrossing, I am told more than thirty times; in parts so narrow there is scarcely any room for the river and road – yet an excellent wagon road has been made through it with comparatively little expense; and, certainly, nowhere in the Colony have I seen so wonderful a pass – a clean zigzag cut through the whole thickness of the rock formation of the range from top to bottom. When once you enter, no appearance of exit is there for two hours and a half; but you are constantly meeting new scenes, over which quartzose cliffs, curved and fractured in every direction – now red vertical sandstone, with flexures and arches jammed together in inexplicable confusion, as if jammed together laterally by prodigious force – at the next turning, gentle ripple-like rock waves (Note: here displayed in Figure 7.3), with blue slate – and high overhead, bright-yellow lichened crags, making the neck ache in an attempt to look up at them, with a small chink of sky overhead; shut up in front and behind, with the white river-bed below, or on one side curved with huge quartz boulders, and fringed with green trees – keurboom and wagenboom, aloes, and succulents nestling in the rock-fissures high above you. How few know of this extraordinary mountain gap!”



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 7.3 Folded Cape Supergroup strata in Seweweeks Poort

Seweweeks Poort had long been used as a route through the Swartberg (Ross 2002), with the journey taking up to six days. It was only after the completion of Meirings Poort in 1859 that surveys were completed and construction began on Seweweeks Poort. The Poort was surveyed by Mr. Woodifield. A convict station constructed under the supervision of Mr. Apsey, head overseer, was the first step in building the pass. Over 300 convicts were expected, but only 108 actually worked under overseer Apsey, who, along with all his other duties undertook to begin construction of the pass. In 1860 A.G. De Smidt (brother-in-law to Thomas Bain (Storrar 1984)), took over. Drill furrows for gunpowder are found on several boulders adjacent to the road, evidence of the hard toil involved in engineering a Poort. Seweweeks Poort was opened for traffic in June 1862 and completed in November that year. Work continued on the Boschuis Kloof road in order to complete the link with Prince Albert (Ross 2002). After major flooding in 1875, Thomas Bain managed to fit road repairs on Seweweeks Poort into his busy schedule.

According to Burman (1969) the first people to notice the difference the new Poort made to regional accessibility were the criminals. Prince Albert and Beaufort West were immediately added to the Supreme Court Circuit so criminals could now be sentenced on their home ground. Despite great expectations, Seweweeks Poort never became an economically successful route. No one tendered for the Toll, and the government was forced to place its own agent in the Poort. The Toll house may account for one of the ruins in the Poort, located in Figure 7.2. De Smidt's final report (Ross 2002), noted that while Seweweeks Poort could withstand severe winters, drought and strong winds, it, like its sister Meirings Poort, would not survive flooding. This proves true to today with the Poort road requiring substantial repairs after the March 2003 floods. It was this vulnerability, of both Meirings Poort and Seweweeks Poort, to flooding that paved the way for Swartberg Pass. Seweweeks Poort seems to be the poor sister to Meirings Poort. Admittedly the development of the feeder areas for the two poorts is different. Meirings Poort now forms part of the N12 between Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West. Seweweeks Poort has remained a gravel road and is a stark reminder of what Meirings Poort once looked like. Meirings Poort now has a tourism information centre and a booklet dedicated to its heritage (Marincowitz 1991). In Meirings Poort every drift and special place has a sign post. Seweweeks Poort, which has a comparable heritage, is sadly lacking in on-site information. The Convict Station, like the other ruins of Seweweeks Poort, is not signposted in any way, making it difficult to spot from the road. Its importance to the heritage of the Poort cannot be underestimated.

7.1.4 Theme group: Way of life

The settlement narrative of Amalienstein and Zoar, centred on Seweweeks Poort, have brought together different cultures and diverse peoples. From the descendants of Khoekhoen,

Bushmen and freed slaves, to preachers, German, English and Dutch. It has made for a melting pot of cultures and a truly unique sense of place reflected in their traditions, customs and stories. This heritage is brought to formally classified print in the next two sections.

7.1.4.1 Theme: Tradition, customs, beliefs and values

The heritage of Amalienstein and Zoar is tightly bound to the two mission stations. The traditions, customs and beliefs revolve around these centres of community life. The establishment of settlements around churches epitomises the narrative history of most towns in the Little Karoo. The narrative usually runs something like this: The farming community of a region is in need of a central service centre and place to meet and worship when the itinerant preacher visits the area. An enterprising farmer donates land for the building of a church. Land around the church is later divided and sold off to provide the local farmers with 'nagmaal' (communion) houses for when they come to town and to accommodate fledgling service business enterprises. Such is the story of Barrydale, Ladismith, Calitzdorp and Oudtshoorn (Burman 1981). In contrast Zoar and Amalienstein were both established purely as mission stations in the early nineteenth century.

Zoar Mission Station was established by the South African Missionary Society (SAMS) in 1771 (Burman 1981) and named after the biblical Zoar. The Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) was approached by the South African Missionary Society in 1833 to run Zoar after the Reverend Petrus Johannes Joubert left Zoar. Reverend Joubert was grandfather to General Piet Joubert of South African War fame. The SAMS had problems replacing him and rather than let the mission fail wanted the Berlin Missionary Society to manage the station. Whilst the BMS found this an attractive opportunity, they felt that it was a possibility that the SAMS would ask for the return of Zoar at some future time. The BMS preferred to invest in their own station – Amalienstein, named after their Germany based benefactress Frau Amalie von Stein. A church, school and houses were built, all of which still function today.

From 1833 the BMS managed Zoar on behalf of the SAMS until the latter reclaimed control in 1856. In 1865 Zoar again changed hands; this time the Dutch Reformed Church took charge, placing the 'father' of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, Rev. Jacobus Pauw at Zoar. The BMS once again adopted Zoar in 1867, though the Rev. Pauw was still nominally in control.

Amalienstein also changed hands. In 1937, with World War II looming, the BMS sold the Amalienstein mission station to Messrs Hofmeyer and Roux (Route 62 2004). The congregation and most of the church council remained ignorant of this transaction until after the fact (Van Weiling 2004, pers com). Only two council members knew what was happening. A huge outcry ensued, after this perceived betrayal of trust, with most of the congregation leaving to join the local Anglican

congregation in Zoar. In 1986 the former House of Representatives bought the Amalienstein Mission complex with the aim of developing it as a community farm for the people of Zoar (Route 62 2004). To this end the Landelike Ondwikkelings Korporasie (LANOK) was approached to develop and manage Amalienstein. The state still owns the Amalienstein farm, though claims for restitution from the government are under way (Januarie 2004, pers com).

Amalienstein and Zoar are unique communities. Neither community suffered forced removals during the Apartheid era. The result is a long, unbroken connection to the land that has given these communities a remarkable sense of place, which extends to Seweweeks Poort. When asked during interviews to 'name a place that you would be proud to introduce to visitors', most people nominated Seweweeks Poort. Most people said that they go to Seweweeks Poort for family outings. In answer to naming their favourite cultural landmarks most respondents mentioned the Lutheran Church or the Cango Caves. When asked to name a place that should be preserved for future generations people gave a myriad answers. The mountains and historical buildings, especially the mission complexes of Amalienstein and Zoar, were listed.

Seweweeks Poort is an essential part of the sense of place felt by the local community. It is where they gather to celebrate and relax. One local tradition involves celebrating the new year in the Poort (Tobias 2004, pers com). This means finding a good spot early on 31 December, otherwise all the good places will be gone.

7.1.4.2 Theme: Arts and sciences

The ability to tell a good story, or 'place evocativeness' (EPA/QPWS 2007) is central to the heritage and tourism potential of Seweweeks Poort and its communities. Heritage in Amalienstein and Zoar is a personal experience expressed through individuals' stories. Everyone interviewed had their own story, their own anecdote which expressed their heritage. The use of stories, the narrative of the past, is central to the concept of the thematic study and framework. The narrative form is important to people in their effort to conserve their past. Heritage in Seweweeks Poort has little to do with historical events and everything to do with personal memories and experiences. Everyone tells of how people lived here. "Dit was harde tye, maar lekker tye"² (Harendine 2004, pers com). Hard times and deprivation were caused by water, either too much or too little but never just enough.

Every place and person has a story. Even the name of Seweweeks Poort is linked to stories. Opinions as to the origin of 'Seweweeks' differ. Seweweeks could relate to the time (seven weeks) it took to get through the pass (not really plausible in reality), or a local missionary with the name

² "They were hard times, but good times".

Zerwick, which became corrupted through time (Burman 1969; Ross 2002). Seweweeks Poort and other natural passages through the Swartberg have inspired generations of people. C.J. Langenhoven is just one, though the pass associated with him is Meirings Poort, specifically 'Herrie se Klip' which is a National Monument (Storrar 1984). Seweweeks Poort has its own poet, Hendrik Januarie. This is his poem, celebrating Seweweeks Poort:

Seweweekspoort

milieu van my kindertyd,
my oë herleef die dekor,
my ore vang die weeklank
van die klanke van die poort.

die Klein-Swartberg,
die Klein Karoo,
Klein Amalienstein,
kleinvannag betrek ek jou
landgoed van die poort.
die nou gruispad,
die smal skoon vliet,
die enge bogte by die druwwe
die hoë kranse
in Seweweekspoort.

die mos in die skeure,
besembos en biesiepol,
varings en proteas;
lieflik en sierlik die wasdom,
dié flora van die poort.

die haas en die das,
klipbok, klipsalmander,
muishond en die bobbejaan,
die luiperd, meerkat, skilpad,
maak gemeenpad in die poort.

Davidse-nek, Amandeldraai,
Grootkraal, Bakoond, Breëdrif,
Rusbos, Reënkranse, Withuis
is elk markante landmerke
op die trajek van die poort.

Tierkloof, Skerpdraai, Skeurklip,
elke naam ontlok nostalgie
elke landmerk bly 'n skat;
al die geure, kleure, klanke
in die dampkring van die poort.

Hendrik Januarie (1989)

Annabel (Juffrou Ana) van Weiling is the local lore keeper and former school teacher. Her story, related below in the local vernacular, of the constable and the zoo is now local legend and reflects the local habit of giving nicknames to everyone.:

“Lank voor die World of Birds daar by Houtbaai het Zoar en Amalienstein hulle eie World of Birds – dit is nou twee been sonder vlerke en dan voordat die dieretuine daar was het ons ons eie dieretuin gehad, met twee bene diere met arms en hande wat kan werk. So gebeur dit toe eendag dat die polisie soek na Hendrik (hulle het hom Kees genoem) wat by Hollanders gewerk het. (Hy is gesoek omdat hy ‘n ongeluk aanskou het). En die polisie kom by sy tante en vra vir haar waar hy is – ons mense het mos altyd vir die polisie geskrik – hulle soek vir Kees. Tante antwoord, Nee, Meneer, maar ek roep gou my man – Aap!, Aap! Het jy nie vir Kees gesien nie.- (die man kom uit – skrik ook groot) Nee, ek het hom nou net hier by die katte om die draai gekry – hy loop daar oor ou Voëltjie se werf na die Dasse toe. (Die polisiemanne sê vir mekaar) Ag nee, Konstabel kom ons ry, want ons is nou in ‘n dieretuin. En die tante antwoord: ‘Nee,

Meneer daar bo in Zoar bly baie konstabels’.

En een ou toe, Haai maar dit is jammer hulle het nie die polisie ‘n bietjie verder affter gestuur dan het hul nou gekry daar langs aan julle is Arend – dit is nou die voëls en die diere deurmekaar – en Aasvoël bly net so agter Arend, nou ‘n endjie affter is Bokkie, dit is nou my man, en nog bietjie affter is Tontonkie, en dan kry julle ‘n Kosmossie, en nog verder af Hanbees, en dan kom jy deur die rivier dan gaan jy oorkant toe, dan kry jy vir Flip Jakkals, en net om die draai is Japie Aasvoël, en so gaan jy verder dan kom jy hier deur Brakkie dan kry jy Akkedissie en vir Kiewiet, (haak vas) Wat is tog nou daardie man se naam? –Jy kry vir Hans Buffel, maar hulle moes eintlik gaan vra het by die laaste huis dan het hulle vir Jan Tokkelos ...gekry.

Maar weet julle daar is nog; 'n Klerekas, Hanbekker en Hansskuinskop, en Ou Voete en Ou Lippe; een van die Klerekas ouens het vir my gesê asseblief skryf tog net neer vir ons nageslagte, want dit is Baadjie, en dit is Broeke en dit is Rooihempde, Ou Sokkie. Vier of vyf mans wat dieselfde name het – so kom die Bode van die Hof eendag by my en hy soek na Hendrik Booysen en ek sê Meneer, wat is sy bynaam? Nee ons het nie sy bynaam nie. Meneer volgende keer vra meneer sy bynaam, want hier is ‘n Hendrik Booysen en hy is Hentie-Koudkry, en dan is daar nog ‘n Hendrik Booysen en hy is Hentie-Attie en dan is daar nog ‘n Hendrik Booysen en hy is Hentie-Paddabeentjies.”

(Van Weiling 2004, pers com. – full translation in Appendix D1)

All the nicknames within the community lend a continuity of place. Nicknames link the community, with very few people escaping the sharp humour behind the name.

The ‘Tant Carolina B&B’, in Amalienstein, has a link to a local personality with her own special story. The facility is named after Carolina Briest, daughter of a German couple who arrived in Amalienstein in 1867 (Van Weiling 2004, pers com). August Briest built, amongst other things, the watermills whose ruins stand at the turn-off to Seweweeks Poort. Carolina was born at Amalienstein in 1870, and remained behind when her father left after her mother's death. Carolina married a local coloured man, David Mitchell, kin to Hendrik Januarie and Annabel van Weiling. Although David Mitchell died young he and Carolina had ten children whose descendants are now scattered across the country. Carolina is described as being a stalwart German, but after the sale of Amalienstein in 1937, Tant Carolina walked the distance with the rest of the community to the Anglican community in Zoar. Ouma Leentjie felt that she belonged to the community - “...*die dag toe ek getrou het hier het ek aan julle behoort, so ek stap saam met julle Zoar toe*”³. She passed

3 “...the day that I married here, I belonged to you, therefore I will go with you to Zoar”.

away in 1947 at the age of 77. Annabel van Weiling says Carolina was everyone's Ouma Leentjie, she had advice for every ailment.

Konrad Harendine is the local smith (Figure 7.4), tamer of wild donkeys and 77 years old at



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 7.4 Konrad Harendine (Oom Konnie) demonstrating the bellows

the time of the interview. Oom Konnie is a spontaneous story teller. Behind his house with the yellow door, lies his forge, hidden away under what looked like years of accumulated scrap. This scrap turned out to have hidden value as a working bellows and forge were fired up to demonstrate the workings of a smithy. He also showed old farm implements and how they were used in threshing wheat. Oom Konnie, his small stature belying his large spirit, gave the appearance of there being no hardship in poverty. He recounts:

Ek het op die spoorweg gewerk – as die mense so mooi praat dan praat die hart. [works his bellows while he talks]. ‘Dit is jammer julle het so laat gekom’ – ‘Alles hier gemaak – toe ek getrou het het hier kom bly – eers bokke aangekoop en toe besef die bok is te min – ek moet iets anders aanskaf – toe het hierdie goed aangekoop. Van die gereedskap self gemaak – ek het dit reggekry. Ons het baie goedjies gehad – Ja, maar nou raak ons ouer.

Die eerste dag wat ek ‘n kar maak daar agter die wal toe sê my Ma – Konrad, wat maak jy daar? Mamma ek sal dit regkry – Oupa moet vir my ‘n paar wielietjies gee asseblief – Oupa moet daar vir my ‘n donkie ook gee. Daar staan vir jou ‘n donkie in die

vlak en van nou af is dit jou donkie, hoor! En die ou [sy oupa] se; Haai Konrad het jy regtig vir jou ‘n kar gemaak? Ek het mos gekyk wat Oupa doen. [Grandfather says] Haai my kind ons gat nou hout haal. [Donkeys harnessed] – [Grandfather says] Maar ouboet jy is darem ‘n maklike kind! Jy is dierbaar. Ek saai boontjies, ek saai, ek saai – ek was dierbaar. Ek het met liefde gelewe – ek het goed gelewe. [He dances] Ek is bly – waardeer die lang lewe. Ek het mos baie boontjies gesaai daar onder in droë vlei – nou sê hulle [to him] Bone-man, maar toe verander hulle dit na Bone-bak toe, maar ek is tevrede. Ek het baie gesaai, mielies, hawer, bone – toe ek die bone daar uittrap toe noem hulle vir my bone-bak. [he shows how the pith is separated from the chaffe; the ruined floor is still present]. Ek het groot geboer, soos ek nie vandag hier lyk nie, hulle het gemeen ek sal dit nie regkry nie – die dag toe ek uit my ouers se huis stap toe sê hulle vir my – jy tel nie lekker op nie, en ek sê vir hulle – Mamma Pappa ek sien hoe gooi hulle en ek het lekker gegooi (Harendine 2004, pers com. – full translation in Appendix D2).

These stories are priceless pieces of oral heritage. The sad fact is that if no one sets out to record these stories (or at least listen to them?) they may disappear for ever. The collection of local folklore and stories from members of local communities could assist the research of archaeologists, historians, tourism specialists and others with an interest in heritage. However, this process is not a one-way street. By showing interest in their stories, we show that the outside world finds the local heritage of Amalienstein and Zoar to be important. The connection made with Hendrik Januarie was rewarded when he presented the researchers with the poem *Reünie* (presented below), commemorating the morning spent with him. If heritage is about personal experience then this study has increased our personal heritage ten-fold. The next section describes the current extent of tourism in Seweweeks Poort and the surrounding area.

7.2 TOURISM IN SEWEWEEKS POORT

Seweweeks Poort, together with Amalienstein, Zoar and surroundings host great potential for tourism development. As will be discussed below, this potential has not yet been realised.

7.2.1 Seweweeks Poort

The gravel road of Seweweeks Poort cuts through the Swartberg mountain range. The mountains therefore form the backdrop for any experience in the area. There was some degradation of the Poort, detracting from the ambience and setting, when the Poort was evaluated during a field survey in July 2003 and March 2004. The Poort was noisy with busy earth moving equipment and a

Reünie

Hulle het van ver
af gekom
om die takke
en die stam
aan mekaar
toe gom.

Die kronieke
van die oudstes
was in brokkies
meegedeel om die
versplinterde
families tot
sy eenheid
te herstel.

Op die ou werwe
waar die bouvalle lê
was die skerwe
van ou grawe
en ploegskare
met weemoed
opgetel.

Die plek
waar die klippe
in 'n kring
nog onverstoord lê
waarop die wabande
verhit en gesmee
was, was omring
met jongelinge
en oues van dae.

Daar was vroe gevra
oor die enkele akkerboom
en die digbegroeide tuin
en oor die spoor
van die ou watervoor.

Maar die vertellings
kon die kinders
van die kindskinders
nie gom nie, want
die wortels lê verdoesel
in vergete kontinente,
vervreemd van die spruite
van die verbasterde
toentertydse slawe.

Hendrik Januarie 2004

quarry had been made near the southern entrance in the effort to repair the road after the 2003 flooding.

Generally the attractions marketed in the area are Seweweeks Poort itself, when the road is open, which offers beautiful scenery and good picnic spots. There is a short walk to the Tierkloof Dam. An annual 78km cycling race, the 7 Weekspoort Mountain Bike Challenge takes place in October (Garden Route 2004). The race begins in front of the Lutheran Church in Zoar? and then winds through the Poort, turns back and finishes at the Ladismith High School sports grounds. The facilities within the Poort are limited to a few picnic spots with braai areas.

7.2.2 Tourism in the surrounding area

As the Route 62 literally bisects Amalienstein and Zoar it was interesting to note that their inhabitants perceive a somewhat tentative, even dubious link to Route 62. According to some outside observers, the Route 62 marketing initiative has been advantageous to all the small towns along its path (Bothma 2004, pers com; Lubbe 2004, pers com). However, interviews with people from Amalienstein and Zoar did not encounter this positive perception in these two settlements (Hardien 2004, pers com; Januarie 2004, pers com). Tourism development on the whole is met with a great deal of scepticism within Amalienstein and Zoar. So far tourism has done little or nothing for

these communities: *“Hier is nog geen persoon wat kan sê dat hy baat gevind het by toerisme nie. Afgesien daarvan dat daar een of twee persone is wat onder ‘n sekere departement is of vir semi-staat werk, wat betrokke is, is daar nog nie een individu wat kan sê dat hy het daardeur gebaat nie.”*

⁴ (January 2004, pers com). Part of the problem for Amalienstein and Zoar is that large tour company buses are not allowed to travel on gravel roads due to insurance issues. As long as the roads of Amalienstein, Zoar and Seweweeks Poort remain untarred, this lack of accessibility is likely to stifle tourism development. However, this brings the issue of authenticity of experience to the fore. For example: will the sensory experience of Seweweeks Poort be the same if the Poort is tarred? Part of the experience is the smell of dust, the sound of wheels on gravel, the undisturbed nature of the Poort, unchanged since its construction.

Another factor limiting tourist accessibility is language. The facilitating factor of the interviews was the common language of Afrikaans. In contrast, language may be a barrier to foreign and non-Afrikaans speakers. A great deal of sentiment and meaning is lost in translation. However, the language aspect may fit in well with the annual Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK) which promotes Afrikaans. Some sort of tie-in with the festival must be sought. The ladies club of Amalienstein and Zoar had a stall at the KKNK until 2002, after which unfortunately, costs had risen and the community became unable to afford the expense involved in transportation or hiring a stall. Visitors to the festival have reportedly asked why the tripe stall (the community speciality) is absent (Van Weiling 2004, pers com).

Efforts towards tourism development in Amalienstein and Zoar have been undertaken by LANOK (2004), although not all of the projects have been successful or even started as yet. An action plan submitted by LANOK to the provincial Department of Economic Affairs Agriculture and Tourism details the following proposed activities/facilities: Visitors' Information Centre; Restaurant/farm stall; Guest house; Caravan park; Donkey cart rides project; Mission Route; Hiking Trails; Home industry hives; Adult education and employment; 4x4 mountain route.

LANOK has restored an old building on the Amalienstein mission complex to serve as the community development centre which it shares with the Aristata home industry shop. More directly related to tourism development, LANOK facilitated and managed the restoration of the Lutheran Church at a cost of almost R300 000 (Hofmeyer 1995) in 1996. Tant Carolina's B&B was built by LANOK and is proving a commercial success. Some of the proposed activities and facilities are up and running, with various degrees of success. Various skills and talents are on offer and are being

⁴ “Here, not one person can say that they have benefited from tourism. Apart from one or two individuals that work for certain departments or work in semi-state posts, not one individual can say that they have benefited from tourism.” (January 2004, pers com)

developed through workshops. These skills involve the preparation of traditional foods (e.g. tripe, preserves, dried fruits), crafts (embroidery, woodwork), musical talents (school plays) and storytellers. Local produce and crafts are sold at the Aristata home industry shop shown in Figure 7.5. The pride displayed in their accomplishments was apparent during the March 2004 survey. The



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.5 Local produce displayed in Aristata shop beneath a picture of 'onse meisie' Charlize Theron and local resident Katrina Januarie in foreground

survey took place shortly after South African actress Charlize Theron won the Oscar for best actress. As the photograph shows, the locals took pride in her accomplishments, referring to her as “*onse meisie*”⁵.

Funding for tourism development is a delicate issue. The community feels that they are falling through the gaps. Under the old (pre-1994) regime they were not white enough, now (post-1994) they are not black enough (January 2004, pers com).

Another factor in tourism development is the enthusiasm and initiatives of '*inkommers*' (new-comers/intruders) to this region (Hardien 2004, pers com). There is a tension between the '*inkommers*' and local elderly people, who are happy with the status quo. The '*inkommers*' are generally instigators of development initiatives. They see things with new eyes and wish to share this with the outside world and are frustrated by the lack of enthusiasm of the '*niksdoeners*' (do-nothings). The people of Amalienstein and Zoar do want tourism development. Just because they have not yet done anything, does not mean that they will not contribute in the future. Development

5 “our girl”

cannot be imposed from the outside. This tight-knit community is still divided into the '*inkommers*' and the '*niks-doeners*'. If initiatives have any hope of succeeding then any project must be run by the community (Januarie 2004, pers com). That does not mean that outside guidance and advice is not sought, it must just not be forced. Future tourism development must benefit the community rather than individuals, as it has claimed to have done up to the present. Most of the people interviewed agreed that any tourism initiative directed towards Amalienstein and Zoar must be community-driven. If outsiders try to manage tourism they will fail to engage the local communities.

The interviews were seen by the Seweweeks community as an opportunity to voice their hopes, dreams and concerns about the conservation of their skills and heritage. They believe that by being incorporated into tourism initiatives the skills and heritage of these communities can be conserved. So far most tourism initiatives like Route 62 have passed by the communities of Amalienstein and Zoar.

7.3 SEWEEKS POORT AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM – THE PEOPLE AND THE POORT

This section on sustainable tourism addresses the heritage ownership and management structure ultimately responsible for the sustainable preservation and utilisation of heritage around Seweweeks Poort. The status and vulnerabilities inherent to prominent heritage items, especially the unique rock art, but also the missionary buildings and related ruins in this area are finally considered in more detail.

7.3.1 Heritage ownership and management around Seweweeks Poort

The main concern with heritage management here relates to ownership, access control and lack of coherent management structures. The heritage items of the Seweweeks thematic study firstly include the geology, rock art, convict station and various ruins located within Seweweeks Poort and secondly items in the villages of Amalienstein and Zoar: the Lutheran Church, the Zoar Anglican Church and various historic buildings associated with the mission farms. Of these two categories the heritage items located within Seweweeks Poort are by far the most vulnerable because of easy site access. These sites, particularly the man-made items are open to the public at all times and are subject to fire and water damage, particularly flooding.

There are no well maintained, demarcated parking spots along the Seweweeks Poort route. Vehicles can be parked on the shoulder at will. The infrastructure of Seweweeks Poort is basic at best. Pathways, further information and local guides are absent. Infrastructure is limited to braai areas, picnic spots and litter bins. The latter do not seem to be emptied on a regular basis. No

ablution facilities are available. Other infrastructure, such as an information centre, needs to be carefully considered. Authenticity is at risk when infrastructure does not conform to the sense of place inherent in Seweweeks Poort.

A prime complicating factor in the monitoring of Seweweeks Poort arises in the ownership and management of the area. Some of the land is owned by the Amalienstein Trust and the rest is part of the Swartberg Nature Reserve (Barry 2004, pers com). The local communities have possessive feelings about the Poort, and see it as part of their heritage. The management of Seweweeks Poort as a water catchment area and to preserve fynbos is undertaken by CapeNature. Unfortunately CapeNature has no permanent presence in Seweweeks Poort to prevent the illegal collection of firewood or monitor the condition of heritage sites.

One way in which to solve the problems of vandalism and the inappropriate use of places is through education and community ownership. Vinton (2001) has shown that the use of management plans based on public outcome, education and interpretation have significantly reduced vandalism, looting and illegal excavations at heritage places. Central to these plans are innovative programs and activities that lead to renewed community pride in local heritage items and an increased stewardship in protecting them.

7.3.2 Rock art in the vicinity of Seweweeks Poort

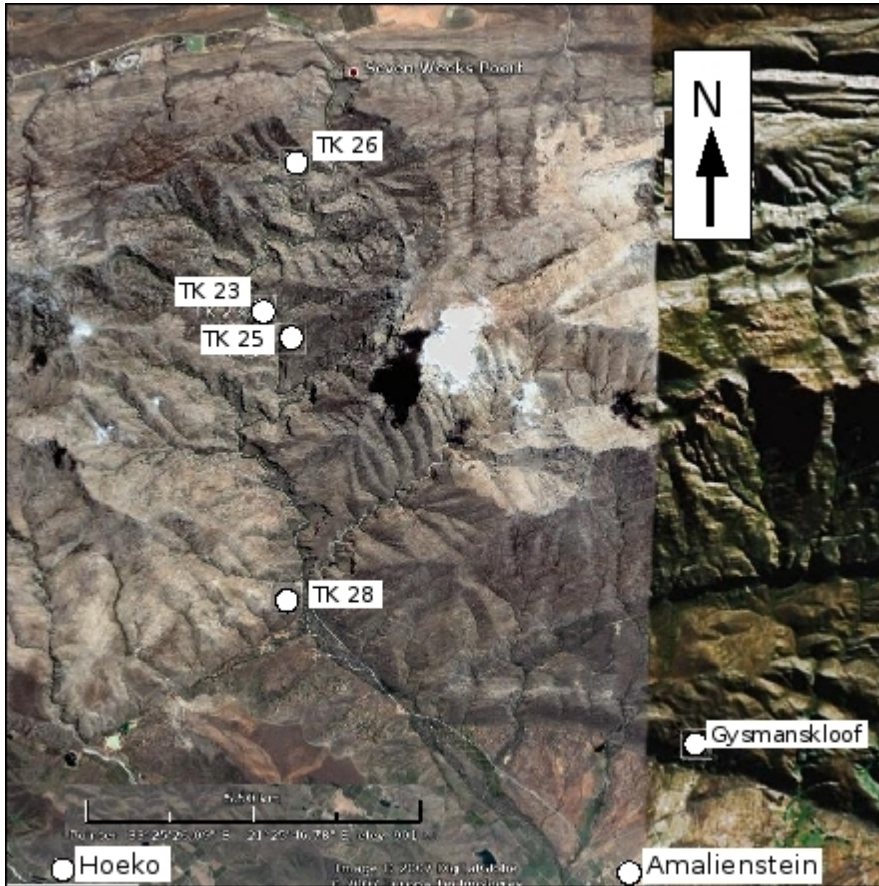
Utilising the site numbering scheme designed by Rust (2001), at least five recorded rock art sites (Gysmanskloof; TK 23; TK 25; TK 26 and TK 28) are shown in Figure 7.6, within and around Seweweeks Poort (Rust 2001; 2005). The satellite image used here demonstrates the inhospitable nature of the Poort's environment and some of the dilemma of 'opening' the rock art sites to visitation, while at the same time offering good protection through inaccessibility should that be the management directive. Three of these sites or groupings are explored in closer detail here.

7.3.2.1 Towerkop rock art sites

The Towerkop or TK sites (TK 23; TK 25; TK26; and TK 28) generally have fewer than 20 painted images. All the images are in danger of disappearing, owing to natural factors like seepage, lichen growth or the impact of vegetation. At the time of recording, Rust (2001) noted no evidence of graffiti or other human impact at these sites. Images range from humans, generally with hook heads, animals like elephants (Figure 7.7) and antelope, and positive hand prints. TK 23 has evidence of artefacts like ostrich egg shell and silcrete flakes, whilst TK 25, TK 26 and TK 28 also have traces of red ochre and pottery. Rust (2007, pers com) recommends that these sites remain closed to the public because of their image quality and vulnerability to even inadvertent damage by human action.

7.3.2.2 Gysmanskloof rock art site

This site has more than 25 large images and a total of 217 dots (some with wings, representing bees) (Rust 2005). The exquisite larger images include male figures, as shown in Figure 7.8, and a hippopotamus. One example of the type of images is one with 17, possibly more,



Source: C Rust 2007, pers com; Google Earth 2007

Figure 7.6 Location of recorded Seweweeks Poort rock art sites



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.7 Painting of an elephant at TK 23



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.8 Male figure at Gysmanskloof rock art site

human figures in various postures (ranging in length from 90mm to 200mm, some as small as

25mm in length). All the figures are painted in red and ‘move’ or face left. This frieze covers an area of 2 meters across the length of the rock face. On the left are two of the tallest male figures in the frieze (200mm in length), walking, carrying equipment, and bags; the one in front, a quiver, and the one behind a white bag. They have their right arms held outward. The figure in front carries a white stick, with a white line ‘flowing’ from his right elbow. The white of the faces show inside the ‘hook’ of both heads. Both these figures have their legs coming out of an irregularity in the rock face. The figure behind has two white ‘ear-like’ projections from its head. Below this figure, following the back line of the right leg, is a large white circular shape covered with 18 or more, tiny red painted dots. In front of these two figures and above the heads of these two figures are tiny red painted dots, some 5mm in length, others smaller. These red dots are parallel in rows, and some have two white ‘wings’ suggesting the images of bees. In many of these the white may have disappeared. Interesting and deeper interpretations of the meaning of these images as indicators of ancestral beliefs and thought have been offered (Rust 2007, pers com).

The Gysmanskloof site is located closest to Amalienstein and Zoar and presents a few challenges in terms of management when compared to the other recorded sites. The site seems to be in relatively good condition, though the paint itself is fading, with little in the way of natural impacts. However, in an effort to encourage visitors someone has painted red arrows on rock to guide interested parties to the site (Rust 2007, pers com). Rust has recommended that the arrows be removed and a trained local guide be employed instead. Unguided visitation has led to damage by graffiti and smoke. The site is also very dusty and unrestricted visitation will lead to further degradation.

7.3.2.3 Unrecorded rock art site in Seweweeks Poort

One unrecorded rock art site that is particularly vulnerable owing to its location near a picnic spot is of special interest. In defiance of the minimum standards of archaeological site museums and rock art sites open to the public (SAHRA 2002b), this rock art site does not comply with any of these standards. As with all the heritage resources in Seweweeks Poort, this rock art site is open at all times, without any signposting. Vehicles can be parked well within the prohibited limit of 100m of the site, and in fact within a few metres of the images. Parking is not demarcated by a barrier. There are no psychological or physical barriers preventing visitors from touching or despoiling the art. There is no board walk to prevent dust. All of these factors combined result in a graffiti laden image. The picnic spot is also a place of litter pollution. Contributing to these conditions is the fact that the picnic spots are regularly used but seldom cleaned, as Figures 7.9 demonstrates.



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.9 Littering at a picnic spot near a rock art site in Seweweeks Poort

An obvious course of action at this picnic site is to evaluate the condition of the rock art to see if it can be restored and cleaned. If this is the case then further measures can be put in place to protect it. The presence of a board walk or psychological barrier and information boards might go a long way in deterring more damage. Regular monitoring and cleaning of the area is also recommended.

7.3.3 The Convict Station in Seweweeks Poort

The convict station of Seweweeks Poort, photographed in Figure 7.10, is in much the same condition as that found on Swartberg Pass. Like Eerstewater Convict Station, the Seweweeks Poort convict station is not signposted. It remains one of many dry stone wall ruins, un-named and un-remarked in the Poort. Access to the convict station is easy – park on the shoulder of the road and scramble up onto the ruins. Vegetation has overgrown much of the ruin, so it is difficult to get a sense of the lay-out of the station.

7.3.4 Other ruins in Seweweeks Poort

The floods that affected Cogmans Kloof in March 2003 also occurred at Seweweeks Poort. In March 2004 road repairs were still under way. Minimal repairs like storm drains under river crossings have been put in place although the gravel road has been resurfaced. The existence of some of the ruins in Seweweeks Poort are under threat from further flooding. One clay brick and stone ruin is perched on the edge of a gully. A photograph (Figure 7.11) taken in July 2003 reveals that a copious amount of water had made its way down the ravine, perilously close to the ruin,

undermining its structural integrity. At the same ruin evidence of fires set against the walls is evident (Figure 7.12), whilst broken bottles and other litter abound (Figure 7.13).

A discordant note is struck between the feelings people demonstrate about the significance of Seweweeks Poort (as reported in various personal interviews) and the lack of care seen in the Poort. Site vulnerability has shown graffiti, littering and fire in inappropriate places. One way in which to solve the problems of vandalism and inappropriate use of places is through education and instilling a sense of community ownership of a place. Vinton (2001) has shown that the use of management plans based on public outcome, education and interpretation have significantly reduced vandalism, looting and illegal excavations at heritage places. Central to these management plans are innovative programs and activities that lead to renewed community pride in local heritage items and an increased sense of stewardship in protection of those items.

In the case of Seweweeks Poort, a compromise needs to be made between CapeNature and the local community regarding the management of the Poort, so that problems like pollution and the illegal collection of fire wood can be stopped. At the moment there is a sense of dispossession. Yet Seweweeks Poort forms an integral part of the heritage of Amalienstein and Zoar, and tourism development in the area would have to take this into account. The stories of Seweweeks Poort, Amalienstein and Zoar can be presented in various ways. Perhaps the most accessible manner is in the form of pamphlets or small guide books about the area. Unlike Meirings Poort (Marincowitz 1991), Swartberg Pass (Marincowitz 1989) and Montagu Pass (Marincowitz 1992), Seweweeks Poort does not have a guide book naming the drifts and turns of the Poort and relating its history. This format is ideal for the tourist to take on the journey through the Poort. Other methods of relating the heritage and lore of the area might include 'story times' at the church or Aristata shop.

7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced Seweweeks Poort, its surrounding villages, notably Amalienstein and Zoar, and the resident traditional community as heritage tourism resource. A descriptive tour through the area was conducted by means of the framework theme group 'way of life' and the storied themes relating to local lore, beliefs and history. Salient heritage resources, especially rock art, have been explored and grave concerns about the lack of management of these resources have been expressed. The tangible and intangible heritage elements of Seweweeks Poort, Amalienstein and Zoar form a complex combination of issues. Whilst the narrative, presented above, is simple, the issues revolving around community ownership are far more challenging.



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.10 Ruins of the Convict Station in Seweweeks Poort



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 7.11 Clay brick ruin in Seweweeks Poort showing flood erosion damage



Photo: L van Pletzen-Vos

Figure 7.12 Evidence of picnic fires at the clay brick ruin in Seweweeks Poort



Photo: C Rust

Figure 7.13 Littering at the clay brick ruin in Seweweeks Poort

This chapter has shown that heritage need not lie in the past. It can also be a living thing. Stories, lore and poems are passed from one generation to the next by community elders. These stories and the connection the people of Amalienstein and Zoar have with their environment make this area a unique attraction.

Seweweeks Poort and its towns have had limited success with tourism development. However, they possess a range of significant attractions that need to be leveraged correctly for their potential to be realised. Correctly means sustainably. The local community needs to be uplifted without compromising their traditions, customs, values and norms. The resources, tangible and intangible, need to be safeguarded. Conveying the message of heritage may be one of the greatest challenges facing any development. This heritage message must be communicated not only to visitors but to the local community as well.

CHAPTER 8: THE CLOSING NARRATIVE

The tale of this research has now come full circle and revisits its constituent parts from the beginning, starting from the aim, objectives and general methodology. The thematic approach to heritage interpretation and management, the unique contribution made, is then highlighted. A summary of results from the thematic studies of the four heritage attractions analysed, namely Cogmans Kloof, the Cango Caves, Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort is then made. A general discussion of heritage tourism and site vulnerability associated with the case studies follows. Lastly, recommendations for tourism development and heritage management and future research are made.

8.1 THE RESEARCH – LOOKING BACK

The central problem identified for this research was ignorance regarding the significance and vulnerability of heritage resources used as heritage tourist attractions and consequently the potential loss of these resources. The ignorance of tourists in their quest for an authentic experience and the ignorance of the tourism sector as a whole in appreciating the fragile nature of their resource base add to the problem.

The aim of the research was two-fold: To contribute to mitigating the impact of visitors on heritage resources, and to improve the relationship between heritage tourism and heritage management; Secondly, by developing a mechanism or framework by which to educate visitors and other stakeholders, like tourism operators, as to the significance of the heritage resources they were engaging with – mitigation, in effect, through knowledge facilitated by thematic interpretation and presentation. These aims were achieved through five objectives:

Objective 1: Isolate and define from literature the concepts relevant to the proper heritage tourism experience. This objective was reached in Chapter 2 where the concept of sustainability in cultural tourism as parent to heritage tourism was explored. Considering heritage tourism itself, working definitions of heritage and heritage tourism were presented. Four essential principles: authenticity in the heritage tourism experience; interactive involvement and learning through interpretation, themes and stories; building partnerships, and management to ensure resource protection and conservation were thoroughly defined and operationalised.

The next three objectives were also realised in part in Chapter 2, but more so in the constructions presented in Chapter 3.

Objective 2: Outline the guidelines for proper heritage resource management under tourism exposure; Largely addressed in Chapter 2, the conflict between exploitation and conservation of heritage resources were isolated. Specifically, the determination of heritage significance for management calibration was emphasised and some challenges for its application in South Africa

highlighted.

Objective 3: Explore international options for successful approaches to heritage interpretation and presentation; This objective was reached in Chapter 3, where the concept of heritage interpretation and a thematic approach for its presentation was advocated and structured.

Objective 4: From international models glean a workable model for application in South Africa; An in-depth survey of available presentation models from the USA, Canada and Australia in Chapter 3 enabled the research to design a classificatory model for South African heritage. Based on the concept of a thematic framework utilising theme groups, themes and sub-themes as a conceptually based yet practically applicable presentation ‘mould’ for use in South Africa was designed and proposed for national adoption.

Objective 5: Apply the constructed model to three typical historical passes and a prominent natural attraction as heritage resources in the Little Karoo. This singular-sounding objective drove the product generation from Chapter 4 through Chapter 7, where each selected resource was extensively analysed in a substantive body of research.

The study methodology followed the basic formula for the exploration of a new topic of research, as set out by Babbie & Mouton (2003) and explained in Chapter 1. A review of pertinent literature was followed by a field survey of the research problem. An analysis of case studies followed. The field surveys observed the physical state of the heritage resources, which were presented with the thematic stories within each case study.

The thematic framework developed by this study was partly based on extant frameworks described in the literature. The case studies were used to test the ability of the thematic framework to identify, organise and present tangible and intangible aspects of heritage resources in the relevant chapters as indicated above.

8.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The discussion that follows summarises and highlights points and issues raised during discussions in the empirical chapters. The format basically summarises the thematic narrative of the Little Karoo as explored via the four case studies. Heritage tourism in and near these places is then discussed. Lastly the general transitivity of the various heritage resources, identified in the thematic studies, is evaluated.

8.2.1 Thematic narrative case studies

The South African Heritage Tourism Thematic Framework (SAHTTF) is, in part, based on and inspired by, frameworks from the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa, the latter

in draft form at present. There are three tiers within the framework: theme groups, themes and sub-themes. The framework is intended to be flexible and the three tiers can be mixed and matched in whatever way best serves the story of the heritage resource in question. This approach is demonstrated in the four applications developed here. The five theme groups are: *Development of the environment*; *Peopling our land*; *Way of life*; *Governing South Africa*, and *Developing South Africa*. The whole story of South Africa can be organised and presented using this framework, but the focus of the story here was the heritage of the Little Karoo.

The major contribution of this study lies in the use of themes and a thematic framework to present the heritage stories of the Little Karoo. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, themes and thematic frameworks have been used by both the tourism industry and the heritage sector for presentation and for management. The focus in this thesis was on presentation, but as an interpretation tool, themes can easily be applied by both and bridge the gap between tourism consumption and management conservation.

The case studies have illustrated the use of a thematic narrative structured around a thematic framework to tell the story of the Little Karoo. This flexible approach allows for the organisation and presentation of heritage information that is attractive and engaging to the audience. Ultimately the purpose of the study was to tell the story of the Little Karoo passes – in their role as symbolic pathways to the past.

The story began with the geological foundations of the Little Karoo, in the limestone of the Cango Caves. Keeping to a strict geological time frame, the geological story of the Little Karoo was expanded on in the narrative of Cogmans Kloof. Returning to the Cango Caves, via Montagu Cave and Boomplaas Caves, the story of our early human ancestors unfolded. The tale encompassed evidence from *Homo ergaster* and *Homo sapiens*, covering the Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Ages. Along the way, the contribution of more modern individuals to our understanding, like Goodwin, was acknowledged. The narrative touched on the early contact period between Khoekhoen herders and Dutch settlers. The pass builders, engineers and convicts were celebrated through the story of Swartberg Pass. Lastly, the connection people have with a place was demonstrated, through stories and poems, in the attachment the people of Amalienstein and Zoar have for Seweweeks Poort.

8.2.1.1 The thematic study of the Cango Caves

The thematic study of the Cango Caves tells both the geological story of the Caves and introduces the people of the Little Karoo. The narrative uses the theme groups of *Peopling our land* and *Development of the environment* to organise the heritage of the Caves. Three themes expand the

story: *evolution of our human ancestors and their relatives; movement migration and arrival; and interaction between different people*. Where appropriate, sub-themes have been used to highlight the importance of aspects of the tale. For example the sub-theme *Hunters, herders and farmers* has been used to introduce the San, Khoekhoen and Dutch farmers that populated the valley. The thematic study has shown that there is more to the Congo Caves than beautiful dripstone formations. It is also a place with strong associations to people.

8.2.1.2 The thematic study of Cogmans Kloof

Cogmans Kloof's thematic narrative has also used the theme group *Development of the environment* as a starting point. Here, the larger story of the geological record of the Little Karoo unfolds like pages in a book. The other theme groups (*Peopling the land; Governing South Africa and Developing South Africa*) build on this narrative to show how the environment can shape the history of a place. The constraints placed on the settlement of the area by the environment are discussed in the theme group *Peopling the land*. The strategic importance of the landscape is emphasised by the placement of the British Fort, dating to the South African War and explored by the theme group *Governing South Africa*. Lastly the physical nature of the Poort had to be tamed for the continued economic development of the region, examined under the theme group *Developing South Africa*.

8.2.1.3 The thematic study of Swartberg Pass

The thematic narrative of Swartberg Pass uses the strength of a single theme group (*Developing South Africa*) to weave the tale of the building of the pass. The story encompasses both the technical aspect of the building as well as the actual people who built the pass. The narrative highlights the role convicts played in opening the interior for economic growth. Thomas Bain, as hero, builder, explorer and map maker is celebrated in this chapter.

8.2.1.4 The thematic study of Seweweeks Poort

Seweweeks Poort presented a thematic challenge. The lack of available literature on the pass made presenting and interpreting this place particularly difficult. The approach taken by the thematic study was to blend history with oral heritage to present a picture of a people living in close association with a heritage place. The theme group *Way of life* captures the way in which heritage can be a living thing, embraced by different generations. The stories, lore and poems of the people of Amalienstein and Zoar are reminders that people are the strongest legacy of a place. The tangible resources identified in the other case studies are now our only link to the people who lived, laughed and died in those places. The living links at Seweweeks Poort makes it a truly special heritage place.

8.2.2 Heritage tourism in the Little Karoo

Quite obviously the Cango Caves stands head and shoulders above the other case studies as regards tourism attraction and facilities – simply for its fame as a South African icon attraction. However, the other places analysed here have a great deal to offer in marketability and cultural values. Nor are they merely copies of each other – not a case of 'seen one, seen them all'. In terms of the principles of heritage tourism, as discussed in Chapter 2, each heritage place offers a unique and authentic experience, during which the visitor can learn about South Africa's and specifically the Little Karoo's past. These places are generally in close proximity to destinations that offer other complementary heritage experiences. Building partnerships between these places is essential to the further sustainable development of heritage tourism in the Little Karoo. Beyond that, these places have had relatively little exposure to tourists and the associated detrimental impact on heritage items. This is an ideal opportunity to implement conservation management strategies before major, irreversible damage occurs

The Cango Caves has the advantage over the other case studies as it already commands a high tourism profile. This is reflected in its standing as the only heritage place that is vigorously marketed, both domestically and internationally. Although a high degree of modification to the landscape has occurred over the years, the scenic ambience and setting appeal of the Caves is not completely diminished. As already mentioned the Cango Caves are an international icon – well known for their dripstone formations, less known for their rock art and archaeological record. However, the dripstone formations, rock art and archaeological deposit all contribute to the Caves' ability to tell a fascinating story.

The location of the Cango Caves near Oudtshoorn means that links to the various festivals and other tourism initiatives of the area are easily incorporated into a tour plan. Although the region is not yet internationally famous, the Cango Caves are the single biggest draw-card for foreigners to the Little Karoo (as reflected in visitor numbers). The Cango Caves Complex has recently been revamped, with fully upgraded amenities, so it is difficult to judge how a significant amount of new income can be generated in the future.

Cogmans Kloof as the 'gateway' to the Little Karoo on Route 62 has a great deal of potential as a tourism product. Part of the challenge of increasing the appeal of Cogmans Kloof is extending its familiarity outside of the local area and selling its heritage attributes. The construction of the new road has somewhat detracted from the ambience of the Kloof, but does not detract from the setting. There are associations with local folklore and history and a visits to Cogmans Kloof can easily be incorporated into other tourism activities and events. The uncoordinated and undeveloped nature of Cogmans Kloof leads to some ambiguity regarding its ability to generate new income. At

present there is no public or private financial support beyond the upkeep and repair of the public road. Contributing to its ambiguous status, on-site amenities are limited to a few litter bins and commemorative plaques. Cogmans Kloof as a tourism product can be summed up as a heritage site with unrealised potential.

Swartberg Pass has high scenic ambience and setting appeal, displaying outstanding quality and retaining the ambience of the original setting. Swartberg Pass is relatively well-known throughout the country, but does not yet enjoy an international reputation. This may be due to its untarred road surface. Every turn and curve of the Pass has some association with local folklore and tells a tale.

The proximity of Swartberg Pass, the Congo Caves, Oudtshoorn and the Swartberg Nature Reserve mean that both natural and cultural items can easily be linked to tourism activities. Swartberg Pass has great potential for special spiritual needs, as the integrity and intactness of the Pass allows for a high degree of connection to place. If suitable facilities and amenities are made available on Swartberg Pass it may generate modest amounts of income. On this amenity-poor heritage place, the introduction of interpretation and ablution facilities would be aptly beneficial.

The last of the case studies is Seweweeks Poort. Some degradation, detracting from the setting, has occurred due to flooding and road repairs. This locally famous heritage site has strong links to local folklore. Seweweeks Poort's proximity to Route 62 makes it an ideal place for a short and fascinating detour. The local communities of Amalienstein and Zoar have strong spiritual connections with the Poort, though the degraded nature of the easily accessible rock art means that a connection to the spiritual past of the Bushmen is mostly lost.

8.2.3 Sustainable tourism in the Little Karoo

This section presents a general summary of the vulnerability assessments of heritage resources at the case study locations and discussed under headings specifically referring to the sustainability concern. The discussion then highlights the particular concerns surrounding rock art and dry stone walling.

8.2.3.1 Site specific concerns

The Congo Caves represent something of a paradox in terms of on-site heritage vulnerability. The heritage items, particularly the dripstone formations and rock art, are vulnerable to human damage. The implementation of management plans mitigating human impact give the Congo Caves its low vulnerability. These measures are conspicuous by their absence at the other heritage places. Congo Cave 1 has been irreparably damaged with little limitation to visitor numbers. In contrast to this the other caves have been closed to visitors and remain viable 'living' dripstone caves. The local

community has been dealing with the Congo Caves as a tourist destination for over 100 years, so that damage to the social structure of the community has long since taken place. On the other hand, closing the Congo Caves for conservation purposes may penalise local communities owing to income lost to the Oudtshoorn municipality.

Cogmans Kloof, Swartberg Pass and Seweweeks Poort site vulnerabilities are identical. Seweweeks Poort's exposure is slightly higher owing to the intimate involvement or exploitation by the communities of Amalienstein and Zoar. All three heritage places are at risk of natural damage by the natural forces of fire and water.

All the heritage items are unprotected and can easily be damaged by any human activity at any time, even by unsophisticated means. Rock art and dry stone walling are particularly vulnerable. As such a moderate level of limitation on visitors is recommended should minimum standards of sites open to the public be implemented. The demand for tourism development is such that most local communities will welcome the addition of these places as tourist destinations. In terms of management requirements, all of these heritage sites are in serious need of intervention. As far as can be ascertained, no intention of providing guides to these places has been mentioned. No action has been taken regarding site management plans, no conservation management plans have been implemented and no monitoring measures are in place. The potential and need for involving stakeholders like SAHRA, HWC, local communities, local tourism authorities and landowners is huge and possibly the only answer to the long-term survival of these heritage items.

The necessity to assess site vulnerability highlights why the Congo Caves was chosen as one of the case studies, despite not being a pass. The contrast it provides as a highly vulnerable heritage site with management strategies in place when compared to slightly less vulnerable places without management strategies is tangible. The Congo Caves is an example of what can be achieved with the right tools. The other heritage places may not have the same international profile as the Congo Caves, but their cultural significance can raise their market potential, provided that management strategies are implemented. The implementation of classificatory vulnerability assessment techniques that may provide decision-making authorities with more objective tools, such as the HASG instrument proposed by Wurz & Van der Merwe (2005) is recommended for application in similar studies in future.

8.2.3.2 Rock art

Rock art has particular challenges as fascinating yet extremely vulnerable heritage resources. On the one hand it is the most recognisable and attractive legacy of the prehistoric past. On the other it is highly vulnerable to human impact. The Congo Caves and Seweweeks Poort both have

rock art sites, with two very different approaches to rock art presentation to the public. At the Cango Caves, the rock art is deliberately hidden from visitors, only to be presented within the Interpretation Centre. Meanwhile the rock art at Seweweeks Poort is subject to uncontrolled and unmonitored exposure to both natural and human impact. The future for rock art presentation lies somewhere between these two extremes: in the education of visitors through interpretation as to correct behaviour at rock art sites. As with all conservation efforts knowledge is the key to preservation, and a thematic approach can facilitate understanding.

8.2.3.3 Dry stone walling

Dry stone walling is an element common to all three passes explored in the case studies. Whether in the form of roads or buildings – dry stone walling forms an impressive, though vulnerable, resource within the passes of the Little Karoo and Western Cape. Dry stone walling stands as testimony to the endeavours of individuals and engineering excellence in the development of South Africa. Like rock art, the walls are vulnerable to natural erosion (particularly flooding) and human impact (roadworks, vehicles, removal). And like rock art, the answer to their continued survival lies in education through interpretation.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

The phenomenon of heritage, whether approached from a tourism or management perspective, is complex, each side having its own priorities. Yet central to both is the need to interpret the heritage item being presented to the public. All too often neither side understands the other, but interpretation can forge common ground. It is suggested that the thematic framework presented in this study could provide that 'common ground' to both the tourism industry and the heritage sector. While the latter interest already utilises such an approach (in draft format currently), a formalised framework approach could create a lasting common interpretive language, understood by both and accessible to the public, the ultimate consumers of heritage. The use of a thematic approach in interpreting individual items could link similarly themed items along heritage routes, and having a common thematic framework could facilitate such an endeavour.

Too many of the heritage items evaluated during this study stand unprotected and vulnerable to natural and human impact. While SAHRA and HWC are under no legal obligation (Jerardino 2005; Ndlovu 2007) to provide conservation management plans for these items, despite the fact that the sites are easily accessible, the Act compels the heritage authorities to enforce the public and tourism industry to provide management plans. However, the heritage authorities are understaffed and therefore cannot fulfil this function appropriately (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Though not

officially open to the public, easy accessibility means that these heritage items are visited. Some form of management, including interpretation and monitoring, is obviously needed. One way of meeting this challenge may be through the adoption of certain sites, similar to the 'Adopt-A-Hundred' strategy of Route 66. With the cooperation of local stakeholders and advice from SAHRA or HWC, many of these intriguing heritage items can be sustainably managed for future generations.

8.4 EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The broad concepts captured by the theme groups, themes and sub-themes of the SAHTTF have proven effective in identifying, organising, interpreting and presenting heritage in the Little Karoo. As regards future research, the SAHTTF needs to be applied to more case studies and regions. The SAHTTF needs to be evaluated by tourism and heritage professionals and its practical efficacy in managing heritage resources need to be evaluated. A major gap in tourism research broadly has been identified by this research in the Little Karoo. This gap needs to be addressed, as limited information will lead to a concurrent limit to tourism development as a rapidly expanding industry. The dimensions of the sustainability concept in the development of heritage, both natural and cultural, needs to be probed consistently – also in various regional and cultural settings. The ability and propensity of local interests, authorities, communities and entrepreneurs in adopting the suggested framework strategies need to be established. As indicated earlier, existing analytical instruments to measure heritage and environmental vulnerabilities need to be tested and adjusted and new instruments need to be developed to suit the demands of a diversity of heritage items. It is hoped that future research and tourism development will take greater care in the conservation of heritage resources.

Ultimately this study has been about structuring stories. The stories of the past, the hopes of the present. The questions asked now are: what legacy will our present developments leave for future generations? Will the heritage resources identified in this study survive to be appreciated by our children? What stories will be left for our children to hear?

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APPENDIX A: THE PASSES OF THE LITTLE KAROO

#	Name	Also known as	Location	Nearest Town	Mtn Range	Road type	First Used	Engineered
1	Rooihoogte Pass	Eseljagpas; Thompson's Pass; Rooiberg Pass	On R318 NW Montagu	Montagu	Langeberg	Main tarred		1877
2	Burger's Pass	Koo; Koo Mountain Pass; Koodoosberg Pass	On R318 NW Montagu	Montagu	Langeberg	Main tarred		1877
3	Cogmans Kloof	Cochmans Cloof; Coggelsmans Kloof; Coghemans Cloof; Cogmans Poort; Kochmans; Kochemans; Koekemans; Kogmans; Kokmans Kloof	On R62 SW of Montagu	Montagu	Langeberg	Main tarred		1877
4	Oubergpas	Langkloof	Off R62 NE of Montagu	Montagu	Langeberg	Secondary untarred		
5	Tradouw Pass	Southey Pass; Southeyspas; Tradou Pass	On R324 S of Barrydale	Barrydale	Langeberg	Main tarred		1873
6	Op de Tradouw	Poortjieskloof; Wildehondskloof	On R62 W of Barrydale	Barrydale	Langeberg	Main tarred		
7	Poshoogte		On R62 NE of Barrydale	Barrydale	Warmwaterberg	Main tarred		
8	Platteklouf	De Platte Cloof; Platteklouf; Platteklip Pass; Gysmanshoek; Hudson's Pass	N of Heidelberg, 30 miles from Tradouw	Heidelberg	Langeberg	Pioneer		1841,1860
9	Gysmanshoek Pass	Hudson's Pass; traverses Platteklouf	N of Heidelberg	Heidelberg	Langeberg	Pioneer	1777, 1841, 1860	
10	Garcia's Pass	Voetpadsklouf	On R323 n of Riversdale	Riversdale	Langeberg	Main tarred		1877
11	Cloetes Pass	Bergkloof; Cloeteskraal Pass	On R 327 n of Herbertsdale	Herbertsdale	Outeniqua	Main untarred		1850
12	Attaquas Kloof	Lange Clouw; Lange Cloov; Long Kloof; Attaqua Kloof; Attaquass Kloof; Artaquas Kloof	N of Mossel Bay, w of Robinson Pass	George	Outeniqua	Pioneer	1689	
13	Robinson Pass	Brandwaghooigte; Ruiterbos	On R 328 N of Mosselbay	George	Outeniqua	Main tarred	Mid 1700's	1869
14	Outeniqua Pass		On N9 NW of George	George	Outeniqua	National tarred		1951
15	Montagu Pass		Off N9 n of George	George	Outeniqua	Secondary untarred		1848
16	Cradock Pass	Cradock Kloof; Craock's Kloof Pass	N of George, west of Outeniqua Pass	George	Outeniqua	Pioneer		1812
17	Trek-aan-Touw	Krakede-Kau (maidens' ford)	East of George, leading to Duiwelskop	George	Outeniqua	Pioneer		
18	Duiwelskop Pass	Duivels Kop Pass; Devil's Kope Pass; De Duiwels Kop Pass; Devils Head Pass; Nannidouw	NE of George	George	Outeniqua	Pioneer	1772	
19	Perdepoort		Off N9 n of George	George	Outeniqua	Secondary untarred		
20	Eseljagpoort		Off N9 n of George	George	Outeniqua	Secondary untarred		
21	Prince Alfreds Pass		On R339 N of Knysna	Avontuur	Outeniqua	Main untarred		1867
22	Gwarina Heights	Potjiesbergpas	On N9 SW of Uniondale	Uniondale	Outeniqua	National Tarred		1962
23	Uniondale Poort	Uniondale Kloof; Uniondale Road; Avontuur Kloof	On R339 S of Uniondale	Uniondale	Langkloof	Main tarred		1940s
24	Ghwarriepoort	Gwarriepoort; Suurberg se Loop; Buyspoort	On N9 SW of Willowmore	Willowmore	Slypsteenberg	National Tarred		1963
25	Meirings Poort		On N12 N of De Rust	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	National Tarred		1858
26	Potgieterspoort		NW of Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		
27	Wapadsnek		Off R29 SE of Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Main tarred		
28	Schoemanspoort	Schoeman's Poort; Congo Poort	On R 328 N of Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Main tarred		1862
29	Swartberg Pass	Zwartberg Pass; the Great Zwarte Berg Pass	On R328 N of Oudtshoorn	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1888
30	Gamka's Kloof road	Otto du Plessis Road; road to Die Hel	Mountain road off R 328, Swartberg Pass	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1962
31	Elandspas		On Gamkas Kloof Road	Oudtshoorn	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1962
32	Coetzeespoort		Off R62 NE of Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		
33	Buffelskloof Pass		From R328 towards Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Rooiberg	Secondary untarred		1994
34	Rooiberg Pass		Off R62 S of Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Rooiberg	Secondary untarred		1928
35	Caledon Kloof	Welgevonden; Rooielsboskloof; Verkeerde Kloof	Off R62 SW of Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Rooiberg	Pioneer		1807
36	Huis River Pass	Huisrivierpas	On R62 W of Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Swartberg	Main tarred		1896
37	Seweweeks Poort	Seven Weeks Poort	Off R62 W of Calitzdorp	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1862
38	Bosluisch Kloof	Boschluis Kloof	On DR1720 NE of Seweweeks Poort	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1863
39	Noukloof		SW of Ladismith (R52 or ?)	Ladimith/ Calitzdorp	Rooiberg	?		
40	Klein Swartberg Pass		On R323 W of Ladismith	Laingsburg	Swartberg	Secondary untarred		1880
41	Anysberg Pass		Off R323 SW of Laingsburg	Laingsburg	Anysberg	Secondary untarred		

Source: Ross 2002

APPENDIX B: LIST OF DECLARED HERITAGE RESOURCES IN THE LITTLE KAROO

DISTRICT: CALITZDORP

Dutch Reformed Church, Andries Pretorius Street, Calitzdorp
 1 Queen Street, Calitzdorp
 Warmwater, Calitzdorp
 Hermies, 21 Voortrekker Street, Calitzdorp
 Mossienes, Calitzdorp
 CALITZDORP MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL
 CALITZDORP MAGISTERIAL AREA, GENERAL

DISTRICT: LADISMITH

Olyve River, Van Wyksdorp, Ladismith District
 76 Albert Street, Ladismith
 LADISMITH MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL
 Old Dutch Reformed Church, Church Street, Ladismith
 Anglican Church, Ladismith
 Grave in churchyard of Anglican Church, Ladismith
 Van Wyksdorp Military Graves, Van Wyksdorp
 Town Cemetery, Van Wyksdorp, Ladismith
 Amalienstein Mission Complex, Ladismith District
 Lutheran Church Building, Amalienstein, Ladismith District
 Cemetery, Amalienstein Mission Complex, Ladismith District
 Lutheran Church complex, Church Street, Ladismith
 Lutheran Church, Church Street, Ladismith
 Old Lutheran Church Parsonage, Church Street, Ladismith
 Lutheran Church Hall, Church Street, Ladismith
 Lutheran Church Offices, Church Street, Ladismith
 Old Wesleyan Church, Becker Street, Ladismith
 Fossil site, Besemfontein, Ladismith District
 Oakdene, 50 Church Street, Ladismith
 58 Church Street, Ladismith
 19 Queen Street, Ladismith
 Birthplace of C J Langenhoven, Hoeko, Ladismith District
 Seweweekspoort, Ladismith District
 Albert Manor, 44 Albert Street, Ladismith
 Hoffland House, Church Street, Ladismith
 LADISMITH MAGISTERIAL GENERAL
 ZOAR LOCAL AREA
 Military Graves, Van Zylsdam Farm, Ladismith District

DISTRICT: MONTAGU

50 Long Street, Montagu
 33 Long Street, Montagu
 46 Long Street, Montagu
 55 Long Street, Montagu
 MONTAGU MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL
 6 Long Street, Montagu
 British fort, Cogmanskloof, Montagu
 40 Long Street, Montagu
 17 Long Street, Montagu
 42A & 44 Bath Street, Montagu

Dutch Reformed Church Parsonage, 9 Roses Street, Montagu
 Municipal office, 3 Piet Retief Street, Montagu
 20 Bath Street, Montagu
 24 Bath Street, Montagu
 58 Long Street, Montagu
 21 Piet Retief Street, Montagu
 26 Long Street, Montagu
 Dutch Reformed Church, Bath Street, Montagu
 Montagu Museum, Long Street, Montagu
 32 Long Street, Montagu
 35 Long Street, Montagu
 Joubert House, 25 Long Street, Montagu
 Old Library, Bath Street, Montagu
 30 Bath Street, Montagu
 20 Long Street, Montagu
 Mimosa Lodge, 15 Church Street, Montagu
MONTAGU MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT, GENERAL
 Montagu Cave, Farm Derdeheuwel, Montagu District
 Eersteopos, 18 Church Street, Montagu
ASHTON MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL

DISTRICT: OUDTSHOORN

Cango Caves, De Kombuis, Oudtshoorn District
 Arbeidsgenot, 217 Jan van Riebeeck Road, Oudtshoorn
 Rus-in-Urbe (Foster's Folly), Voortrekker Street, Oudtshoorn
 Old Drill Hall, Camp Street, Oudtshoorn
OUDTSHOORN MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL
 Hazenjacht Farmstead, Oudtshoorn District
 C P Nel Museum, Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Memorial, C P Nel Museum, Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Welgeluk Ostrich Palace, Oudtshoorn District
 Greylands Ostrich Palace, Oudtshoorn District
 Herrie's Stone, Meiringspoort, Oudtshoorn District
 Methodist Church Complex, 77 St. Saviour Street, Oudtshoorn
 Magistrate's Residence, 77 Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Hartebeeshuisie, 6 Plein Street, Oudtshoorn
 Montagu House, Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Gottland House, 72 Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Dutch Reformed Church and Parsonage, Le Roux Street, De Rust, Oudtshoorn
 Watermill, Voelgesang, De Rust, Oudtshoorn District
 Dutch Reformed Church, Volmoed, Oudtshoorn District
 Oakdene, 99 Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 146 High Street, Oudtshoorn
 Mimosa Lodge, 85 Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 St. Jude's Church complex, Oudtshoorn
 St. Jude's Church, Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Dutch Reformed Church, cnr High Street & Church Street, Oudtshoorn
 Pinehurst, Oudtshoorn
 Suspension Bridge, Church Street, Oudtshoorn
 Schoeman House, Rietvallei, Oudtshoorn District
 Vredelus homestead, De Rust, Oudtshoorn District
 Mons Ruber Estate Wine tasting room, Rietvlei, Oudtshoorn District
 Municipal Cemetery, Oudtshoorn

Oude Muragie, Oudtshoorn District
 Saffraanrivier, Oudtshoorn District
 Dutch Reformed Church Parsonage, High Street, Oudtshoorn
 Queen's Hotel, Baron van Rheede Street, Oudtshoorn
 Boomplaas Cave, Cango Valley, Oudtshoorn District
 Nooitgedacht Fossil Site, Cango Valley, Oudtshoorn District
 OUDTSHOORN MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT, GENERAL
 DE RUST LOCAL AREA, GENERAL

DISTRICT: UNIONDALE

UNIONDALE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT, GENERAL
 UNIONDALE MUNICIPAL AREA, GENERAL
 HAARLEM, UNIONDALE DISTRICT, GENERAL
 Dutch Reformed Church, Kerk Street, Uniondale
 Old Congregational Church complex, Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 Evangelical Lutheran Church complex, Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 Old Residency, 6 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 Old Dutch Reformed Church, Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 Old water Mills, Haarlem, Uniondale District
 Anglican Cemetery, Uniondale
 Prince Alfred's Pass, Uniondale District
 Old Synagogue, Victoria Street, Uniondale
 Police Station and Magistrate's Court, 51 Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 Standard Bank, 31 Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 All Saints Church, 33 Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 35 Voortrekker Street, Uniondale
 26 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 28 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 14 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 2 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 18 Victoria Street, Uniondale
 Anglo-Boer War Blockhouse, Uniondale
 Watermill, Uniondale
 Anhalt-Schmidt Parsonage, Burg Street, Haarlem

DISTRICT: GEORGE

Montagu Pass, George District
 Old Hotel, Montagu Pass, George District
 Old Tollhouse, Montagu Pass, George District
 Keur River Bridge, Montagu Pass, George District
 Montagu Pass Road, Montagu Pass, George District
 Cradock Pass, George District
 Outeniqua Cableway, Cradock Pass, George District

DISTRICT: PRINCE ALBERT

GAMKASKLOOF, Prince Albert District
 Swartberg Pass, Prince Albert District

DISTRICT: RIVERSDALE

Old Toll House, Garcia Pass, Riversdale District

DISTRICT: SWELLENDAM

Lismore, Swellendam District

APPENDIX C: THEMATIC FRAMEWORKS

APPENDIX C1: NPS THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

- **Peopling Places**

This theme is about human population movement and change through pre-history and historic times. Family formation, different concepts of gender, family and sexual division of labour and how these aspects were expressed are issues explored within the following topics.

1. Family and the life cycle
2. Health, nutrition, and disease
3. Migration from outside and within
4. Community and neighbourhood
5. Ethnic homelands
6. Encounter, conflicts and colonisation

- **Creating Social Institutions and Movements**

Formal and informal structures like schools or voluntary associations are the focus of this theme. These are structures through which people express values and live their lives. The institutions define, sustain or reform the values of communities, regions and the American nation. The emphasis is on why people organise to transform their values and institutions is as important as how they choose to do so. Topics defining this theme are:

1. Clubs and organisations
2. Reform movements
3. Religious institutions
4. Recreational activities

- **Expressing Cultural Values**

This theme is about how people express and communicate their beliefs about themselves and the world they live in.

1. Education and intellectual currents
2. Visual and performing arts
3. Literature
4. Mass media
5. Architecture, landscape architecture and urban design
6. Popular and traditional culture

- **Shaping the Political Landscape**

Tribal, local, state and federal political and governmental institutions and public policy are covered by this theme. Places associated with this theme include battlefields and forts. Topics used to develop this theme are:

1. Parties, protests and movements
2. Government institutions

3. Military institutions and activities
4. Political ideas, cultures and theories

- **Developing the American Economy**

The way people work, from slavery, servitude and non-wage labour is explored in this theme. The diverse ways in which people have sustained themselves by the processes of extraction, agriculture, production, distribution and consumption of goods and services are further defined by the following topics.

1. Extraction and production
2. Distribution and consumption
3. Transportation and communication
4. Workers and work culture
5. Labour organisations and protests
6. Exchange and trade
7. Governmental policies and practices
8. Economic theory

- **Expanding Science and Technology**

Science, modern civilization's way of organizing and conceptualizing knowledge, is explored through the physical sciences, the social sciences and medicine. Topics within this theme include:

1. Experimentation and invention
2. Technological applications
3. Scientific thought and theory
4. Effects on lifestyle and health

- **Transforming the Environment**

This theme explores the human relationship with the environment, and how human action and occupation have changed the natural surroundings. Topics defining this theme are:

1. Manipulating the environment and its resources
2. Adverse consequences and stresses on the environment
3. Protecting and preserving the environment

- **Changing Role of the U.S. In the World Community**

Diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism and imperialism are issues examined in this theme. Regional differences are particularly important in this theme as different imperial powers held sway in several areas in America. The emphasis in this theme lies on the people and institutions that defined and formulated diplomatic policy. Topics within the theme are:

1. International relations
2. Commerce
3. Expansionism and imperialism
4. Immigration and emigration policies

APPENDIX C2: AHC THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

• **Tracing the evolution of the Australian environment**

The environment exists apart from being a construct of human consciousness. A thematic approach recognises the human factor in the natural environment, and how our understanding and appreciation of the environment has changed over time. Themes within this group include:

- Tracing climatic and topographical change
- Tracing the emergence of Australian plants and animals
- Assessing scientifically diverse environments
- Appreciating the natural wonders of Australia

• **Peopling Australia**

This theme group recognises the pre-colonial occupations of Indigenous people, as well as the ongoing history of human occupation from diverse areas.

- Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants
- Adapting to diverse environments
- Coming to Australia as punishment
- Migrating
- Promoting Settlement
- Fighting for Land

• **Developing local, regional and national economies**

Australia, as a continental nation, must overcome great distances. Though this concept of distance is foreign to the Indigenous Australians, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century developments in technology made it possible to link the vast distances separating settlements. The search for valuable resources motivated most of the expeditions by the first European explorers. This is reflected in South Africa's early contact period as well.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Exploring the coastline ➤ Constructing capital city economies ➤ Surveying the continent ➤ Utilising natural resources ➤ Developing primary production ➤ Recruiting labour ➤ Establishing communications ➤ Moving goods and peoples ➤ Farming for commercial profit ➤ Integrating people into the cash economy ➤ Altering the environment ➤ Feeding people ➤ Developing an Australian manufacturing capacity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Developing an Australian engineering and construction industry ➤ Developing economic links outside Australia ➤ Struggling with remoteness, hardship and failure ➤ Inventing devices ➤ Financing Australia ➤ Marketing and retailing ➤ Informing Australians ➤ Entertaining for profit ➤ Lodging people ➤ Catering for tourists ➤ Selling companionship and sexual services ➤ Adorning Australians ➤ Providing health services |
|---|---|

• **Building settlements, towns and cities**

Although many people came to Australia in search of personal gain, they realised the need to co-operate in the building of safe, pleasant urban environments. Australian urbanisation and sub-

urbanisation have special characteristics which set them apart from similar phenomena elsewhere in the world.

- Planning urban settlements
- Supplying urban services (power, transport, fire prevention, roads, water, light and sewerage)
- Developing institutions
- Living with slums, outcasts and homelessness
- Making settlements to serve rural Australia
- Remembering significant phases in the development of settlements, towns and cities

• **Working**

Though most work is undertaken for profit, a great deal of work is informal and unpaid. Working in the home, for example, does not contribute to the national economy, but forms part of the most interesting social history of Australia and people in the workplace.

- Working in harsh conditions
- Organising workers and workplaces
- Caring for workers' dependent children
- Working in offices
- Trying to make crime pay
- Working in the home
- Surviving as Indigenous people in a white-dominated economy
- Working on the land

• **Educating**

Every society educates its young. While European education places a great emphasis on the formal schooling system, education encompasses much more.

- Forming associations, libraries and institutes for self-education
- Establishing schools
- Training people for the workplace
- Building a system of higher education
- Educating people in remote places
- Educating Indigenous people in two cultures

• **Governing**

This group is about self-government as well as being governed. It includes all the business of politics, including movements against acts of government.

- Governing Australia as a province of the British Empire
- Developing institutions of self-government and democracy
- Making City-States
- Federating Australia
- Governing Australia's colonial possessions
- Administrating Australia
- Defending Australia
- Establishing regional and local identity

• **Developing Australia's cultural life**

Australians are more likely to express their sense of identity in terms of a way of life rather

than allegiance to an abstract patriotic ideal. One of the achievements of the is society has been the creation of a rich existence away from the workplace. While some of the activities encompassed on this theme are pursued for profit – horse racing and cinema, for instance – their reason for being is the sheer enjoyment of spectators. While many people could not pursue careers in art, literature, science, entertainment or the church without being paid, those activities do not fit easily into the categories of economy or workplace.

- Organising recreation
- Going to the beach
- Going on holiday
- Eating and drinking
- Forming associations
- Worshipping
- Honouring achievement
- Remembering the fallen
- Communicating significant events
- Pursuing excellence in the arts and sciences
- Making Australian folklore
- Living in and around Australian homes
- Living in the country and rural settlements
- Being homeless

• **Marking the phases of life**

Although much of the experience of growing up and growing old does not readily relate to particular heritage sites, there are places that can illustrate this important theme. Most of the phases of life set out below are universal experiences.

- Bringing babies into the world
- Growing up
- Forming families and partnerships
- Being an adult
- Living outside a family/partnership
- Growing old
- Dying

APPENDIX C3: PARKS CANADA THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

• **Peopling the Land**

Canada has been inhabited by human populations for thousands of years. Over time the First Nations were joined by other people from across the world. This theme celebrates the imprints and expressions of these people. They make special mention of 'Canada's earliest inhabitants'.

- Canada's Earliest Inhabitants
- Migration and Immigration
- Settlement
- People and the Environment

• **Developing Economies**

This theme explores economic strategies, from hunting and gathering to service industries people have found a myriad of ways to sustain themselves,

- Hunting and Gathering
- Extraction and Production
- Trade and Commerce

- Technology and Engineering
- Labour
- Communications and Transportation

- **Governing Canada**

Exploring the different systems of governing people.

- Politics and Political Processes
- Government Institutions
- Security and Law
- Military and Defense
- Canada and the World

- **Building Social and Community Life**

Clubs and social organizations enrich communities and assist those in need.

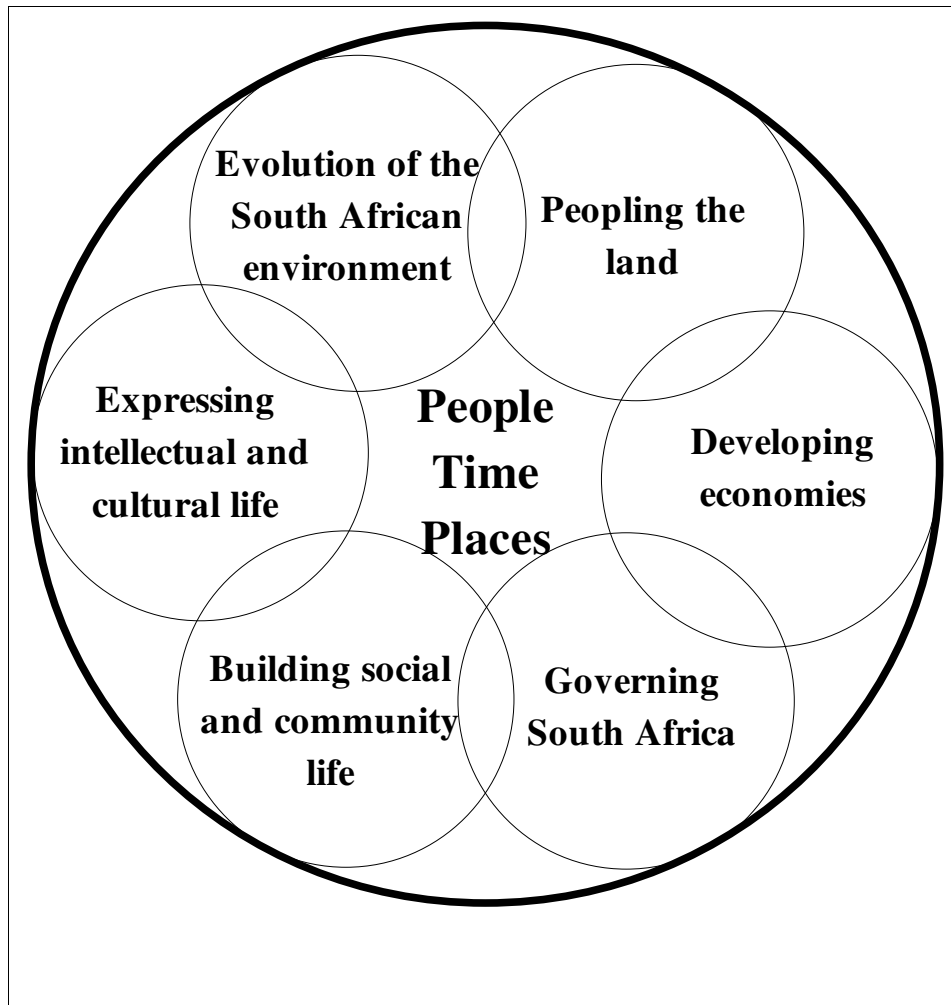
- Community Organizations
- Religious Institutions
- Education and Social Well-Being
- Social Movements

- **Expressing Intellectual and Cultural Life**

Addressing the intellectual and cultural wealth this theme commemorates intellectual pursuits, artistic expression and athletic achievement.

- Learning and the Arts
- Architecture and Design
- Sciences
- Sports and Leisure
- Philosophy and Spirituality

APPENDIX C4: VAN PLETZEN-VOS 2004 FRAMEWORK



APPENDIX C5: HERITAGE TOURISM THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Theme groups	Themes	Sub-themes
Development of the environment	1. Climatic, geological and topographical processes and phenomena	
	2. The evolution of South African plants and animals	
	3. Scientifically diverse or significant environments	
	4. Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa	
Peopling our land	1. Evolution of our early human ancestors and other hominids	
	2. Evolution of modern humans	
	3. Movement, migration and arrival	a. Hunters, herders and farmers
		b. Colonisation
		c. Displacement and resistance of peoples
	4. Settlement patterns	
5. Interaction between different peoples within South Africa		
Way of life	1. Tradition, custom, belief, values	
	2. The life cycle	
	3. Social and cultural life	a. Social movements
		b. Sport and leisure
	4. Arts and sciences	a. Fine arts, philosophy, literature, entertainment
		b. Architecture and design, hard sciences
	5. Emergence of a national identity	
6. Heroes and happenings – South African achievements		
Governing South Africa	1. South Africa and the world	
	2. Defending South Africa	
	3. Systems of governance and resistance	
	4. Institutions and movements	
	5. Administering South Africa	a. Systems of governance
		b. Law
		c. Health
		d. Welfare
e. Social systems and slavery		
f. Labour		
Developing South Africa	1. Living off the land	a. Adaptation to and use of local conditions
		b. Adaptation of local environments
	2. Development of industry and technology	a. Agriculture and fisheries
		b. Technology and medicine
		c. Mining
		d. Transport and communication
		e. Manufacturing and construction
		f. Business and services
	3. Exploration and mapping	

APPENDIX C6: PREVIOUS VERSION OF NATIONAL HERITAGE THEMES

<p align="center">Development of the Natural Environment</p>	<p align="center" style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">The Influence of the Environment on the people, their way of life, tradition and technologies</p>	<p align="center">The People of South Africa</p>
<p>Climatic, geological and topographical change The emergence of South African plants and animals Scientifically diverse or significant environments Appreciating the natural wonders of South Africa Evolution of Man</p>		<p>Advent South Africa's earliest inhabitants Migrating, arrival and settling The displacing of peoples and resisting displacement Interaction between different groups of people with South Africa Settlement patterns</p>
		<p>Way of Life Tradition, custom, belief, values The life cycle Social and labour practices Arts and cultural expression Integration, adaptation and coexistence Emergence of a national identity Heroes and happenings</p>
		<p>Governance and the Political Landscape 1. Interaction with powers outside South Africa 2. Defending South Africa 3. Systems of Governance and resistance 4. Institutions and Movement 5. Administering South Africa a. Systems of Governance b. Law c. Health d. Welfare e. Social Systems</p>
	<p>Developing South Africa 1. Living off the land a. Adaptation to and use of local conditions b. Adaptation of local environments 2. Development of Industry and Technology a. Agriculture b. Technology and Medicine c. Mining d. Transport and Communication e. Construction f. Manufacturing 3. Education, Welfare 4. Exploration and mapping</p>	

APPENDIX C7: THEME GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PASSES OF THE LITTLE KAROO

#	Name	Theme Groups				
		Development of the environment	Peopling our land	Developing South Africa	Governing South Africa	Ways of life
1	Rooihoogte Pass	*		*		
2	Burger's Pass	*		*		
3	Cogmans Kloof	*	*	*	*	*
4	Ou Berg Pass	*				
5	Tradouw Pass	*	*	*		*
6	Op de Tradouw					
7	Poshoogte					
8	Plattekloof	*	*	*		
9	Gysmanshoek Pass	*	*	*		
10	Garcia's Pass	*	*	*		
11	Cloetes Pass	*		*	*	
12	Attaquas Kloof	*	*	*	*	*
13	Robinson Pass	*		*		
14	Outeniqua Pass	*		*		*
15	Montagu Pass	*	*	*		
16	Cradock Kloof	*	*	*		
17	Trek-aan-Touw	*		*		*
18	Duiwelskop Pass	*	*	*		
19	Perdepoort	*		*		
20	Eseljagpoort	*		*		
21	Prince Alfreds Pass	*		*		
22	Gwarina Heights	*		*		
23	Uniondale Poort	*		*		
24	Ghwarriepoort	*		*		
25	Meirings Poort	*	*	*		*
26	Potgieterspoort	*		*		
27	Wapadsnek	*		*		
28	Schoemanspoort	*		*		
29	Swartberg Pass	*	*	*		*
30	Gamka's Kloof road	*		*		
31	Elandspas	*		*		
32	Coetzeespoort	*		*		
33	Buffelskloof Pass	*		*		
34	Rooiberg Pass	*		*		*
35	Caledon Kloof	*	*	*		
36	Huis River Pass	*		*		*
37	Seven Weeks Poort	*	*	*		*
38	Bosluisch Kloof	*		*		
39	Noukloof	*		*		
40	Klein Swartberg Pass	*		*		
41	Anysberg Pass	*		*		

APPENDIX D: TRANSLATIONS

APPENDIX D1: VAN WEILING (2004, PERS COM)

“Long before the World of Birds at Houtbay, Zoar and Amalienstein had their own World of Birds – them being two legged without wings – and before there were zoos, we had our own zoo of two legged animals with arms and hands that can work. So it came about once, that he police were looking for Hendrik (whom they called Kees [Kees: vernacular meaning Baboon]) who was working for the Hollanders. (He was being sought as a witness to an accident). Thus the police reached his aunt and asked where he was (you know, our people are always very wary of the police). But they wanted Kees. His aunt said: 'No, sir, but let me call my husband. 'Monkey! Monkey! Have you seen Kees?' The man came outside, also wide-eyed with fright.' Well, yes, I have just seen him rounding the corner of the Cats- he is walking across the old Birdie's backyard to the Rock Rabbit's place. The police looked at one another. 'Good heavens, constable', the one said, 'lets push off. We've landed in a Zoo'. To which the woman replied:'No, sir, over at Zoar there are many Constables!'.

And then... gosh ! What a pity they did not send the police a little further down, then they would have found Eagle, just next door – see now its birds and beasts mixed-up. And Vulture lives behind Eagle. Just a little lower down is Little Deer, that now being my husband. And even further down is **Tontokie**, and than you get **Kosmossie** and still further down Hans Steer. Then you cross the river to get to Flip Fox, with Japie Vulture just around the corner and a little further you go past Mutt and then Little Lizard and **Kiewiet**... Oh my, what's the man's name gain? You get Hans Buffalo, but you should ask at the last house, then you'd find Jan **Tokkelos**.

But you know there is more: a Wardrobe, Hans Cup and Hans Head-Askew, and Old Feet and Old Lips. One of the Wardrobe's asked me to write these names down so they can be preserved, 'cause you get Jacket and Trousers and Red-shirts and Old Socks: Four or five men bearing the same name, you see... Like one day when the bailiff came asking for a Hendrik Booyesen, not knowing what his nickname is. So I told him, I said: 'Sir, next time come asking for him by his nickname, 'cause there's a Hendrik Booyesen who is Hentie-Gets-Cold, and another who is Hentie-Attie, and yet another called Hentie-Frogs-legs.”

APPENDIX D2: HARENDIEN (2004, PERS COM)

“I worked at the railways – when people speak so nicely then my heart talks [works his billows while he talks]. A pity you came so late... Made everything here... When I got married I came to live here... First bought goats but realised goats give too little... had to get something else... then bought this stuff. Made some of the tools myself – I got it right! We used to won a lot of stuff...

yes... but now we're getting older...

The first day I made a cart there in the ditch my mother said: 'Konrad,' said she, 'what are you doing there?' 'Grandpa must give me a couple of wheels, please... And Grandpa must give me a donkey too.' 'There's a donkey out there in the open. From now on it is yours'. And the old guy [his grandfather] said: ' Hey, Konrad, have you really made yourself a cart?! I watched you working. Hey, child, now we're going to fetch wood!' Donkey was hitched to the cart. Grandpa said: 'Goodness, Ouboet [older brother], you are an easy child. You're a darling.

I started sowing beans... I sowed and sowed... I was a darling , see. I lived in love – I lived a good life. [He dances a few steps]. I'm glad – I appreciate the long life. I have sown lots of beans down in the dry wetland, then they called me Bean Man... But then they changed it to Bean Dish, but I am satisfied. I have sown lots of corn, oats, beans. It was when I stamped out the beans when the started calling me Bean Dish. [He demonstrated how one stamps out beans to get them out of the husks... the stamping floor is still there, though dilapidated]. I might not look it today but I used to farm big time. they thought I would not manage... The day I left my parents home they said to me: 'You don't gather nicely!' But I said to them: 'Mom and Dad, I see how they do it and I have done it well'.”