

Annexure B1: Historical Background

Source: B O'Donoghue 2022 (as edited and amended)

1. LANDSCAPE CONTEXT

The OMP site is located on the eastern bank of the Black River, directly to the east of and above the floodplain, approximately 1.5 km south east of the confluence with the Liesbeek River. Located on elevated ground, it offers majestic views of Devil's Peak to the west. This setting is one of the most distinctive aspects of the OMP site.



Figure 1: Black River floodplain and Devil's Peak, seen from just outside the site boundary fence.

Historically, the Black- Liesbeek- and Diep River systems drained into a large estuarine delta/ lagoon which essentially constituted the old Salt River. The Salt River was influenced by coastal processes, seasonal rainfall and other factors, and did not have a stable mouth. The mouth meandered from the Culemborg shunting yards, across Paarden Island, and as far north as Milnerton, and at times there were even more than one mouth. Paarden Island was essentially a sandbar, and historically a proper island (ACO, 2015). The channels of Liesbeek and Black Rivers themselves were subject to environmental forces such as tide and weather, and were also in some state of flux (Attwell Associates/ ACRON, 2017). As the name implies, the Salt River was subject to salt water intrusion. It is known that the portion of the Liesbeek located immediately to the south of

the confluence up to the ford at Varsche Drift was brackish, but it could not be established to what extent the Black River was similarly affected. Large wetlands were located along the confluence and lower reaches of the tributary rivers – the Raapenburg Bird Sanctuary and Rietvlei have survived as examples.

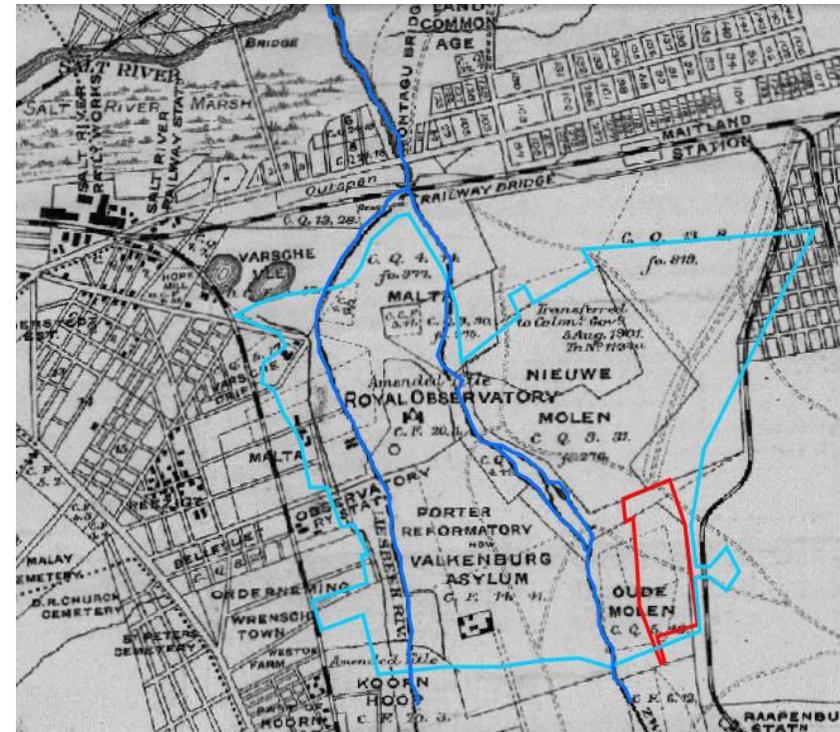


Figure 2: TRLSDF area (light blue) and OMP site (red) indicated on 1901 Map of the Cape Division. The course indicated on the 1901 map is also reflected on the Thibault survey and a 1831 diagram (CCT).

The construction of Maitland Rd (now Voortrekker) in 1830 followed by that of the Wellington railway line in the early 1860s established two bridges adjacent just to the north of the Liesbeek-Black

confluence, and essentially created a hydraulic pinch point between the confluence and the Salt R (Attwell Associates/ ACRON, 2017). Much of the estuary itself was drained in the early 20th century to make way for the Culemborg shunting yards and railway workshops (ACO, 2015). By 1901 the Salt River had been diminished to a narrow, defined channel draining into Table Bay at the foot of what is now Duncan Dock, and some the surrounding wetlands drained. The wetlands still visible on the 1901 map were drained as part of the foreshore land reclamation project. Portions of the Black, Liesbeek and Diep Rivers were canalized in the period from around 1947 to 1961 (Attwell Associates/ ACRON, 2017). The combined rivers now enter into Table Bay at Paarden Eiland.

2. CADASTRAL EVOLUTION

The OMP site is located on a portion of Erf 26439/RE. Erf 26439 ('Lot Black River') was consolidated from 6 properties as Lot Black River in 1950. Erf 26439 essentially constituted the de-facto grounds of Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital. The consolidated property was transferred to the Union Government of South Africa in 1957 (CCT 8256/1957. In between the two portions of the OMP site lies Remainder Erf 26440, Cape Town, which accommodates the Black River corridor and the Black River Parkway / N2 interchange. This erf is described in SG Diagram No. 9807/60.

Land grants of relevance to the OMP site portion date to 1717. The central portion of the OMP site around the old homestead complex was granted to the Burgher Council by the VOC in May 1717 for the purposes of constructing a mill. A square land parcel of 5 Morgen 599 Square Roods was granted on the eastern bank of the Black River 'at a place on the road to Tygerberg' (OCF 2-30). This was to become known as the 'Oude Molen' after 1782 when the 'new' mill was constructed.

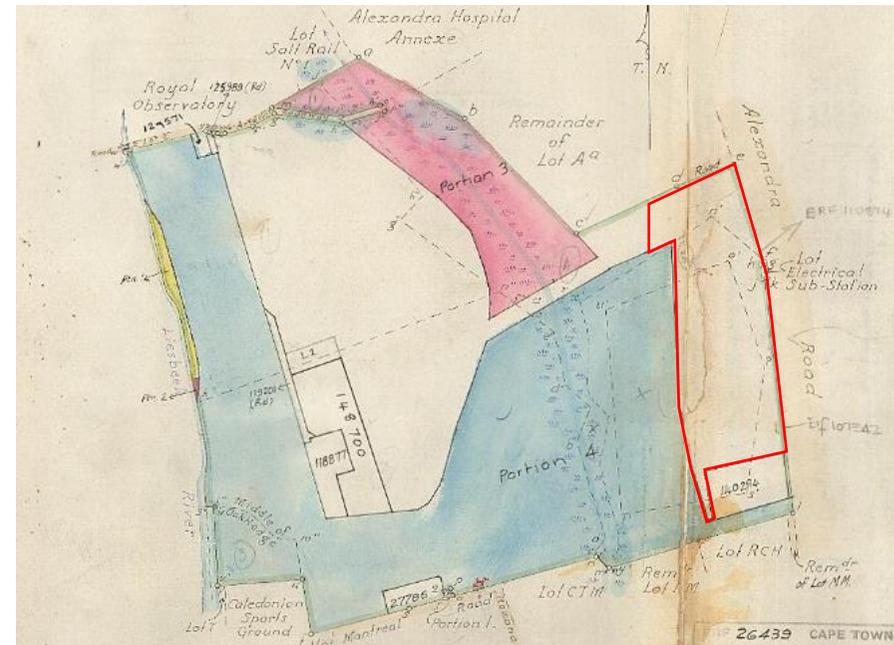


Figure 3: OMP site outlined red on 1950 diagram of Erf 26439 (SG 9415/1950).

Oude Molen was one of a number of public properties sold by the Batavian authorities in 1801. The property was transferred to Juriaan de Vries in September 1802 by Burgher Councillor Cornelis van der Poel (possibly acting in his official capacity, not as first owner). The property was extended to 17 Morgen 269 Square Roods by a freehold grant of adjoining land to de Vries in the same year. The property was sold to Cornelis Mostert (Son) in 1810. The property was extended by another 10 Morgen 182 Square Roods by a quitrent grant to Mostert in March 1831 (CQ 549). The 1831 diagram indicates a perpetual quitrent grant to Cornelis Mostert (Son) in April 1914 [sic: 1814] immediately to the west of the Black R. The relevant original diagram for this grant could not be traced, but this seems to include/ constitute the land eventually transferred as a Crown grant to the CCT in 1957.7



Figure 4: OMP (red) in relation to constituent parent properties, viz. the (likely) 1717 grant to the Burgher Council (dark blue), the 1802 extended de Vries property (green fill), the 1831 grant to Cornelis Mostert Jr (light blue), Crown land subsequently granted to the CCT in 1957, and Erf 26439/RE (yellow fill) (Source: mapped Chief Surveyor-General diagram nr. 160/1831 and 9415/1950 - O'Donoghue).

The 'Oude Molen' estate remained intact as a discrete farming unit until its effective incorporation into Valkenberg Psychiatric Hospital in 1912. It did however witness a number of owners. Cornelis Mostert sold the property to William Hunt in 1834. Hunt's widow, Hannah, sold it to Andries Bam in 1838. The property was sold from Bam's insolvent estate to James Heelas in 1869. It then passed on to John Koller in 1873, a Mr. Coleman in 1874, and Louis Bicard in 1875, before it was acquired by the Cape Government in 1880 to accommodate the

exiled King Cetshwayo kaMpande and his attendees (SAHRA 9-2-018-269, 1997, NMC WC proposed declaration).



Figure 5: SG Diagram 160/1831 indicating cadastral development. Note the E-W thoroughfare between the Dekenah and Mostert properties, and the alignment of the road from the north, terminating at the Windmill (O'Donoghue).

After the king's return to Zululand in January 1883, the property was leased out to first a Mr Phillips and then a Mr Seaward, before being sold to David McKenzie in 1885. The property then became known as McKenzie's Farm. It was bought by the Union Government from McKenzie's deceased estate in 1912 for the purpose of expanding Valkenberg Hospital, specifically to provide separate facilities for non-White patients. The property has remained in public ownership (administrated by a number of successive custodial bodies – e.g., Department of Land Affairs, Department of Transport and Public Works) since. Plans to sell off the land have been around since at least 1968 (SAHRA 9-2-018- 269, 1997, NMC WC proposed declaration).

3. HISTORIC SITE USES

PRE- AND EARLY COLONIAL-ERA PASTORAL USE (pre-1660)

Situated close to fresh water, the area along the Black, Liesbeek and Salt Rivers will inevitably have some historical association within virtually any period within South African prehistory ranging from the Early Stone Age (greater than 1 million years ago) (ACO, 2003). Khoi¹ pastoralists have likely made use of the banks of the Black River for periodic seasonal grazing by around 2000 years ago, initially by sheep and goats, after around 1000 years ago, also cattle. The Khoi had partly displaced and partly absorbed earlier hunter-gatherer groups (San). Stock-owning Khoi groups followed transhumant grazing-led patterns as dictated by season and weather, i.e., did not permanently reside in any area, but periodically returning to favourite places of encampment where a camp of temporary matjieshuise (reed mats on bent pole frames) would be set up while the surrounding grazing was utilized.

Sedentary living and the construction of permanent structures were not a feature of Khoi life. While certain groups were more closely associated with specific areas, encampment or use of such an area does not appear to have been exclusive. The general area has more

recently been identified as the traditional encampment and grazing area of the Goringhaiqua, to some extent also used by the Goringhaicona (see: AFMAS, 2019: 30).

The OMP site itself may however not have attracted pre-colonial settlement due to exposure and lack of shelter from the wind. The area may have been used as a grazing land only (ACO, 2003).

Khoi pastoralism was based on fat-tailed sheep, goats, and cattle (initially obtained from trading with Nguni groups). While small stock herds were typically more numerous, cattle held a far greater significance – materially (dairy, pack animals, hides), but also symbolically. The 'Khoi-khoi' ('men amongst men') epithet specifically denoted cattle ownership. Only small-stock was slaughtered for regular consumption, with cattle only killed for significant occasions, or when the animal had become decrepit (Smith, 2021). The Khoi differentiated between themselves as pastoralists and stockless groups, to which they collectively referred to as 'Sonqua'. The Sonqua not only included the San - by this time already driven into the interior by the Khoi – but also stockless Khoi, such as Autshomato's group of 'Strandlopers'. Stockless Khoi later almost immediately attached themselves to the margins of early the Dutch settlement, serving menial tasks such as fetching firewood in exchange for food (rice, pulses, ship's biscuit), alcohol (typically arrack or brandy) and tobacco (Hattinck, 2016; Sleight, 2004).

The sandstone-derived soils of the Peninsula lack certain trace elements required by cattle found in the granite- and shale-derived soils underlying Renosterveld. Such good cattle-grazing areas were limited to a few pockets in the Peninsula, essentially the City Bowl, areas along the Atlantic Seaboard, at Hout Bay and Noordhoek, the area around Princess Vlei, and the Liesbeek valley area. By 1652, the Peninsula and Cape Flats was used for grazing by both Peninsula Khoi groups (such as the Goringhaiqua) and the Cochoqua based in the

¹ It is acknowledged that the terms 'Khoi' and 'San' are contested. The terms are used in this report for ease of reference, and as the most widely used.

Vredenburg Peninsula area. Peninsula Khoi groups were not confined to the Peninsula in their movements after grazing, but they were crucially reliant on the pockets of grazing with sufficient trace elements in their base strategy (ACO, 2015).

The various groups each largely went their own way, but sometimes also engaged in minor conflicts with one another, typically over stock, grazing or the abduction of women. Loyalty was to the immediate group, and the headman or chief exercised only a relatively weak power of coercion over his followers, and he had few privileges to set him apart from the rest of the group. At the death of a leader, leadership was typically passed on to (the oldest) son, never to daughters (Boonzaaier et al, 1996; Hattingh, 2016). Groups met at different times at ritual or social gatherings – the area around the confluence of the Liesbeek- and Black River is said to have been used as such a gathering place for dancing, religious celebration and matchmaking (AFMAS, 2019).

The Cochoqua visited the Cape during the summer months, mainly because of the relatively moister Cape summers and the good distribution of perennial fresh water sources, compared to the Vredenburg Peninsula. By early-colonial times they were following an anti-clockwork migration from the area around the confluence via the Atlantic Seaboard to Hout Bay, and ending the round on the Cape Flats around late summer. Historic evidence suggest that the Peninsula Khoi groups were dominated by the more powerful Cochoqua, and tended to move away from them during their sojourns at the Peninsula (ACO, 2015).

The extensive wetlands along the historic confluence and perennial fresh water would have made the area suitable for some grazing throughout the year (ACO, 2015; Smith, 2021). This is confirmed by early accounts in van Riebeeck's *Daghregister* (daily register), which regularly mentioned encountering large encampments and great

herds inland of the Varsche Drift (*Daghregister*, Vol 1; see ACO, 2015 for an overview).

As indicated, the OMP site itself was at best only used for temporary encampments, and possibly only for grazing and the utilization of other natural resources. There is no evidence of any artefactual material in the study attributable to the precolonial period. This is at least part linked to extensive landscaping of the site during the colonial era, including exposure to sheet erosion from tilling (ACO, 2003).

Pre-Colonial contact

Table Bay was not the first area in South Africa to be visited by Europeans, but it was the most frequently visited, especially after 1601. During the period 1503-1652, Table Bay was visited by fleets or single ships on around 225 – accounting for around 86% of all visits documented (262) by Raven-Hart².

Pre-colonial European visits to Table Bay fall into two distinct periods, namely a Portuguese period during the early-16th century, and, after a 90-year hiatus, a multi-national period dominated by the Dutch and the English from 1591-1652. The Europeans never visited the Cape for long periods, but their insatiable need for livestock, firewood and timber would transform the Cape Town area well before van Riebeeck arrived in 1652.

Portuguese Period

The first contact between the Khoi and Europeans in the Cape Town area was in the winter of 1503, when a Portuguese party under Antonio de Saldanha landed at Table Bay in search of water and livestock. Only one more visit to Table Bay is known before the famous visit of d'Almeida in 1510 - namely 1506 (Pedro Queresma) – while more frequent landings at Mossel Bay (Sam Bras) were documented.

² This is based on a close reading (taking into account nested accounts) of the anthology of primary accounts in Raven-Hart, 1967.

The Portuguese period was particularly characterized by violent confrontation. Many of the first recorded encounters between the Khoi and the Portuguese were hostile. De Saldanha's party was ambushed at Table Bay in 1503, with de Saldanha wounded in the arm. (Raven-Hart, 1967).

In 1510 Dom Francisco de Almeida (the first Portuguese Viceroy of India and Vice-king of Portugal) and a large number of his crew were killed in a battle in Table Bay now often referred to as the 'Battle of the Goringhaiqua'. This event has become a key rallying point in the Khoi's current revival of cultural identity. No Khoi oral accounts from the period have survived, and no Portuguese eyewitness accounts (if there were any) appear to have survived either. The event is known from the works of later 16th century Portuguese historians such as de Barros, Castanheda, Faria y Sousa and Correa. De Barros, who started his sprawling *Da Asia* (Decades of Asia) in the 1530s, is thought to have drawn on official papers from Lisbon and Goa, and may also have the opportunity to collect other material and take testimonies from survivors, so may perhaps be the best placed account. The various accounts offered by these historians differ in terms of detail, and the chain of events is not entirely clear.

What is clear is that d'Almeida led a punitive raid on a group of Khoi encamped in the Liesbeeck valley area. During this raid the Portuguese took cattle and abducted Khoi children. Pursued by the Khoi, the Portuguese found that their landing boats had drifted. They were trapped on the beach, and picked off by Khoi skirmishers with assegais, throwing sticks and slings, and trampled underfoot and gored by the Khoi's cattle responding to whistled commands. D'Almeida and a large group of men were killed, 'the flower of Portugal' (Faria y Sousa, 1695; Raven-Hart, 1967).

Geographical references in the accounts are not exact. The Department of Arts and Culture has also identified the Two Rivers area as the likely location of the 1510 D'Almeida conflict, and the earliest site of conflict between indigenous groups and colonial invaders

(Attwell & Associates, 2017). Based on what is known about the historic Salt River system and the accounts of cattle driven into the Portuguese ranks, it is almost certain that the battle took place west of the Liesbeeck River. Attwell (2017) has convincingly argued that the battle is more likely to have taken place closer to the mouth of the Camissa / Fresh River in Table Bay, likely the historic Woodstock Beach, rather than the wetlands around the estuary.

Multi-National Period

The multi-national period, dominated by the English and the Dutch, started tentatively in the 1590s, with a fleet under James Lancaster landing at Table Bay in 1591, and again in 1598 (Cornelis de Houtman). The intervening period witnessed the publication of a book which served as a major catalyst in opening up the eastern trade to other European nations, namely Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itenerario*. This work has often been described as 'the key to the East' – the English East India Company was established in 1600, and the VOC in 1602. By the 1620s the Dutch had supplanted the Portuguese as the dominant European power in the Indies, and the French and Danes had joined in the fray. Fleets of all these nations visited the Cape during the first half of the 17th century.

To European mariners of this period, Table Bay was primarily important as a source of water, firewood, and any fresh food which could be obtained. The Salt River estuary and surrounds was very frequently visited, as fish such as harders and steenbras could often be caught, and fresh plants (Cape sorrel, Brassica spp., etc) was always available, even when no livestock could be traded. There are numerous accounts of such visits to the Salt River. The demand for livestock was large, as meat was also salted as supplies for the rest of the journey. Beef was always preferred over mutton due to better curing qualities.

The English / Dutch period is characterized by comparatively fewer bloody incidents, but nevertheless a gradual deterioration of relations between the Khoi and the Europeans, well before van Riebeeck

arrived. The Europeans were now generally armed with fire-arms (muskets) instead of crossbows, and were more confident. The herds of the Peninsula Khoi were already drastically reduced after a number of decades of increasingly reluctant trading, and in some incidents, probably theft. Khoi men were abducted from the Cape on at least two occasions, and the Khoi rightly regarded the Europeans with a general sense of suspicion after the first abduction in 1613. By 1607 crews from visiting ships were already struggling to find any remaining timber in Table Bay (Raven-Hart, 1967).

After the return of 'Corree' (one of two Khoi men abducted by the East India Company (EIC) in 1613 and taken to England to be moulded into interpreters), trade relationships quickly soured. After a decade or so of good trade relations and significant trade in livestock against metals, the Khoi inherently limited demand for metals had largely been satisfied. The ongoing and growing demand of European ships and fleets now visiting Table Bay had already stripped them of most of their disposable livestock, and their herds never got a chance to recover between visits. Instead of coming to Table Bay, stock-holding groups would now shun European ships, and head inland with their livestock to evade the European search parties constantly pestering them.

In January 1619 a fishing party sent by the English ship *Rose* to the Salt River mouth was ambushed, and 8 of the party were killed. As only 4 bodies were retrieved at the time, the English were soon spreading the rumour that the Khoi had eaten them, in the process hardening European attitudes towards the 'heathen and barbarous' Khoi. By the time Ove Gedde's Danish fleet arrived later that year, conditions had deteriorated to such an extent that the Danes saw it necessary to build a small earthen fort at the mouth of the Camissa/ Fresh River and guard their water barrels against sabotage.

One of the few pre-colonial descriptions of specifically the Liesbeek Valley / Salt River estuary and Khoi encampments in the area dates from around this period, that by Augustin de Beaulieu, the

commander of a small French fleet who visited Table Bay in March 1620. Walking along the eastern foot slopes of Table Mountain towards Constantia Neck, he observed that '...a little stream of fresh water [Liesbeek] wanders through the open plain, and enters the sea at the head of the Bay, at a place where there is a great confluence of waters which we call the River [Salt River estuary], though previously we had believed that no fresh water entered here. This stream has its source in the mountains which lie between the point of the Cape and this Bay and form the boundary towards the sea on the West [Peninsula range]."

He also observed 'that this stream formed various swamps extending northwards along the sand-dunes which are the cul-de-sac of this Bay, and where the sea flows out and in according to the tides through the estuary that we call the River' (Thévenot's *Relations de Divers Voyages Curieux*, 1663, in Raven-Hart, 1967: 99).

De Beaulieu did not meet with any Khoi during his excursion, but saw many kraals: 'On the way I met with no savages [sic], but saw many of their enclosures, in which there seemed to have recently been a good number of oxen and sheep, undoubtedly taken away for fear of us' (Thévenot, in Raven-Hart, 1967: 100).

European vessels continued to make use of Table Bay until van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652, but many found they could only bargain on fresh water, a dwindling supply of firewood, some wild vegetables, and fish at the Salt River mouth if they were lucky. After the death of Coree, the English again recruited an agent by abduction. Around 1629 they abducted a man named Autshumato ('Hadah/ Herrij/ Harry'), and took him to the East. He was returned to the Cape in 1632, and installed as agent at the Cape acting for the English, and later also the Dutch. He and a group of followers and some livestock were put on Robben Island at their own request for safety in 1632. Robben Island however never evolved into the living larder the Europeans had hoped for, as they never managed to obtain sufficient surplus livestock from trade to release on the island.

Autshumato's group lived on the island until 1640, acting largely as postmen for visiting European fleets, and at times nearly starving. By the 1640s Autshumato was helping the Dutch obtain livestock. By this decade, gifts of tobacco and alcohol were becoming customary in order to initiate trade, but not yet articles of trade themselves.

By this time the Dutch were also increasingly thinking along the lines of establishing a permanent settlement at Table Bay, to at the very least safeguard the mouth of the Fresh River for shipping, not only against the Khoi-khoi, but also rival nations. The English had already made a half-hearted attempt in 1620, followed by another stillborn one by the French at Saldanha Bay in 1634. It was however growing Anglo-Dutch rivalry – and the Dutch fear of losing St Helena as refreshment station to the English – which precipitated the first serious attempt, that motivated for in Janssen and Proot's 1649 recommendations to the VOC, put into effect by van Riebeeck in 1652.

Janssen commanded the party stationed in Table Bay to guard the wreck of the *Haerlem* in 1647-8. In March 1647 the Dutch were attacked by a group of stockless Khoi, and a number of Dutch were wounded. Earlier, some of the Dutch of another fleet had shot a number of the Khoi-khoi's cattle without compensation, so the attack was not unprovoked.

In response, the Dutch built a small earthen fortress along the coast (Zandenburg), and kept unwelcome arrivals at musket-shot distance for the duration of their stay. The 1649 recommendation to the VOC in which no difficulty with the Khoi was foreseen, should probably be regarded as an assessment of the Khoi ability to mount a successful attack against a fortified position, not on the Khoi's goodwill towards the notion of a European settlement.

³ After absconding with the bulk of their cattle herd in 1653, Autshumato would later be reconciled with the Dutch and act as an interpreter for them during the First VOC-

All evidence from the pre-Colonial period suggests that the Khoi-khoi had been hostile to European intrusion from the start, and that the hostility continued up to the eve of settlement. Nevertheless, the Europeans were also associated with a ready supply of food, alcohol, and later tobacco, and were not altogether shunned by the Khoi, especially the stock-poor and stockless groups.

Van Riebeeck Era

By the time van Riebeeck arrived in 1652, the Peninsula Khoi-khoi consisted of four distinct groups, namely the stockless Goringhaicona (called 'Strandlopers' or beachcombers by the Dutch) under Autshumato, the Gorachoqua under Choro, the Goringhaiqua ('Kaapmans' or Cape Men) under Gogosoa, and an unnamed group under Ankaisoa.

The Peninsula groups ranged beyond the Peninsula, also making use of grazing in the Tygerberg, at Klapmuts and up to the Hottentots Holland.

The Dutch demand for livestock only increased after settlement, as the VOC was trying to build up breeding herds of their own while supplying ships calling at the Cape, not to mention the garrison's need itself. By this time, tobacco and spiritous alcohol had become articles of trade themselves, and were no longer merely the gifts needed to incite trade. Especially the latter was to prove disastrous to a people of generally slight built never exposed to anything stronger than mead before.

The Peninsula Khoi were already no longer keen to trade with the Dutch – they had borne the brunt of the incessant European demand for stock for decades already, and had little surplus they were willing to trade. Van Riebeeck therefore initially had to rely on the stock-rich Cochoqua visiting the Cape, an event which failed to materialize until 1656 due to Autshumato's³ machinations.

Khoi War in 1659. He was twice banished to Robben Island, but eventually managed to escape. He died on the mainland in 1663 (Hatting, 2016).

The first free burger farms were granted in 1657 in the Table Valley and along both sides of the Liesbeek River. The VOC itself had already established agricultural outposts at Rustenburg and de Schuur (Groote Schuur) to the west of the river in 1656. Visiting Commissioner van Goens in 1657 proposed cutting off the Peninsula from the inland area by digging a canal from Table Bay to False Bay, but the idea was shelved by the VOC as unpractical. The Khoi were understandably greatly incensed about being displaced from their ancestral lands. The indignation would simmer until a leader would emerge to unite the disparate Peninsula groups in 1659.

That leader was a man named Doman (Noamoä), attached to Ankaisoa's group. He went to Batavia in 1657-8, and learned sufficient Dutch to work as translator upon his return. In Dutch Indonesia he came deeply under the impression of what Dutch occupation meant for aboriginal peoples. He also got an insider's view of how the Dutch operated. This he would later put to very good use in his struggle against the Dutch.



Figure 6: Map (attributed to Pieter Potter) indicating free burger land grants around 1661. Only the portion of the Black River immediately south of the confluence with the Salt River estuary is illustrated, and the OMP site area consequently appears as a blank on the margin of the map (Source: Dutch National Archives).

After Doman's return to the Cape he used his position to try and sway other groups to his cause of getting rid of the Dutch, nipping the settlement in the bud. In 1659 he succeeded in getting the support of the Goringhaiqua, Gorachouqua and Chief Ankaisoa for his proposal to lead an attack on the Dutch. Doman now had a force of around 800 men at his disposal. Doman's intention was to wage a war of

attrition and make the Cape unsustainable for settlement. He wanted the Europeans to pack up and leave, thereby also intimidating other nations from trying the same experiment (Visser, 2016).

Damon knew that the Dutch matchlocks were prone to misfire in damp weather, that the shooters with their extremely clumsy weapons could be confused by targets refusing to remain still, and that the horses which gave the Dutch such a huge advantage were still in short supply at the Cape. Damon therefore chose to wage a guerrilla war, and in this he was initially very successful. He would choose the ground and place, and strike with an overwhelming superiority in numbers in these spots. He would choose to strike at night or on rainy days, and retreat into hiding or onto uneven terrain before Dutch reinforcements could arrive, never risking head-on confrontations. In their war of attrition, the killing of burghers and the destruction of their crops and property were calculated moves to discourage continued settlement. Van Riebeeck's initial response was to wage a purely defensive war, fearful of alienating the Khoi-khoi from future livestock trade (Sleigh, 2004; Visser, 2016).

From May to June 1659 Doman's tactics worked very well. The Dutch were always caught on the wrong foot, and found it impossible to engage the Khoi-khoi in a conventional manner. The Khoi-khoi breached the boundary on several occasions, taking stock with them and destroying crops. In desperation, the remaining stock was temporarily brought to the safety of the Fort in Table Bay. The First VOC-Khoi War effectively ended in a stalemate. The Khoi-khoi were not equipped for a head-on confrontation with the a now well-defended Dutch line, while the Dutch lacked the forces to pursue the Khoi inland and force a decisive battle. The Khoi groups, now angry with Doman at having swept them up against the Dutch, one after the other came to sue for peace from September 1659 to May 1660. Doman's failure to gain the support of the inland groups at a time when the Dutch were still at their most vulnerable, may have cost him the war (Sleigh, 2004; Visser, 2016).

The Dutch also responded by increasing the garrison at the Cape, constructing additional defensive works (mainly watch houses), and implementing a system of armed riders, their number of horses since increased from 20 to 36 by a recent arrival from Batavia (Visser, 2016). The Dutch defensive line was largely defined by the course of the Liesbeek. Portions not covered by the river, were defended with wooden palisade fencing, stacked dead branches, supplemented by strips of wild almond hedges and brambles. The main intention was to keep the settlement's cattle in (ACO, 2015), but also to keep the Khoi's livestock out of the Dutch's cereal lands and gardens, and to eliminate competition for grazing west of this 'defensive circle'. The defensive line stretched from the old Salt River mouth to present Bishops court (Sleigh, 2004; Visser, 2016).

South of the Salt estuary, the boundary was located across the area between the Liesbeeck and the Black River, and constituted by a pole fence on solid ground, and the watch house Keert de Koe near the Varsche Drift. The first watch house for mounted guards, Ruijterwacht (I) was located further to the south, near Rondebosch Common. Ruijterwacht was irreparably damaged by rain in 1664, and the facility was moved to new location further north, onto higher ground, likely Slangkop, now SAAO site. By this date, Ruijterwacht (II) served more to control illicit free burgher cattle trade with the Khoi, and to prevent hunting and the cutting of thatch without VOC permission. Ruijterwacht II was occupied as a military outpost until 1684 (Sleigh, 2004).

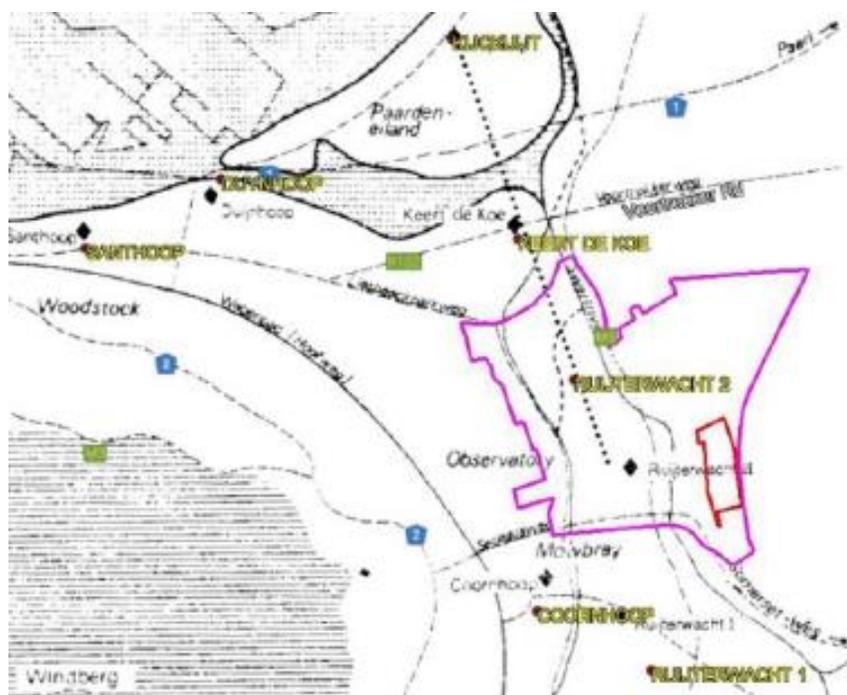


Figure 7: Two Rivers area (pink outline) and OMP (red) sites indicated on an overlay of Sleigh's projection of map M1/3891 in the Cape Archives onto a modern street layout. The map indicates defensive outposts of the first Cape boundary, 1661. The relative locations of the watch houses and pole fence on the Potter map to the sites is now more evident. Labels in yellow indicate more probable locations of watch houses suggested by Hart and Schietekatte/ ACO (Source: Sleigh, 2004; ACO, 2015).

Doman mended relations with the Dutch and came to live with his followers outside the Fort for protection. Here he died in 1664. The Gorachoqua disappeared from the Cape record after 1670. Two groups migrated to the Gariiep Valley between the 1690s and 1730s after spending time in the Sneeuberge, and formed one of the core elements of what would become known as the Korana (Legassic,

2015). Gogosoa, chief of the largest of the Peninsula Khoi group was by this stage old, and effective leadership had passed on to his sons Schacher and Otengoa. It was Schacher who in 1672, claiming to act in behalf of the Peninsula Khoi, sold the area around the Cape as far as Saldanha Bay and the Hottentots Holland range to the VOC (Smith & Pfeiffer, 1993; Visser, 2016).

Apart from the questionability of Schacher's actual claim to negotiate on behalf of all the affected groups, it is further doubtful whether he fully understood the implications of the transaction. The concept of all-exclusive land ownership was not part of the Khoi-khoi's frame of reference. The Peninsula Khoi-khoi rapidly became deracinated, mostly drifting into low-waged employment as farm labour, or onto the margins of settled areas as beggars or menial labourers. While legislation officially forbade the enslavement of Khoi-khoi, in effect they entered into conditions of labour and tenure which was to all purposes tantamount to slavery.

The Cochoqua, blamed for an attack on a Dutch outpost in Saldanha Bay in 1673, were subdued by the Dutch in a series of punitive expeditions in the period 1673-6 (Second VOC-Khoikhoi War) and stripped of their stock. By the 1680s there were no more cattle-rich groups west of the coastal range as far north as the Berg River, and the Dutch started sending expeditions across the Hottentots Holland into the Overberg to trade with the Chainoqua, Hessequa and others. The settlement had now expanded to Stellenbosch, with the Hottentots Holland (Somerset West), the Groot Drakenstein, Paarl and Franschoek to follow before the close of the 17th Century. By 1705 the Khoi-Khoi west of the coastal range had ceased to be a military factor, and the Dutch were in undisputed control of the area henceforth (Sleigh, 2004). Burgers, keen to build up their own herds, soon conducted their own – illegal – trading expeditions, in competition with the VOC, and often more brutal and unaccountable. This process would accelerate as the ranks of burghers increased and the VOC retained its huge demand for cattle. Until the meat pact was contracted out in 1700, the VOC itself

needed beef for curing, while it retained a huge need of draught oxen right up to the end (Sleigh, 2004).

A devastating smallpox epidemic which occurred at the Cape in 1713 affected the Khoi-khoi - who had no immunity to this disease - particularly hard, wiping out a substantial portion of the population at the Cape. Most of the remaining Khoi-khoi now joined the lower ranks of Cape society as menial labour. Small-pox epidemics recurred a number of times during the rest of the 18th Century, running like wildfire through the remaining population (Smith, 1993). By the turn of the 18th Century, very few Khoi-khoi were left at the Cape, and their customs and cultural existence was steadily dying out.

RESURGENCE

Explicit reference to the significance of the Oude Molen site and surrounds to the First Nations group, dates to as early as 1998, when Chief Joseph Little addressed a letter to the then National Monuments Council (NMC)(renamed the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), stating that the Oude Molen and Nieuwe Molen sites constituted 'Goringhaiqua tribal territories', and that the land held deep spiritual significance to the Khoi. He indicated that Mr Derek Hanekom (Department of Land Affairs) had been (unsuccessfully) approached to buy the Oude Molen property for the Khoi. He proposed declaration of the site as a national monument to protect the cultural and heritage asset (SAHRA 9-2-018-269, Chief Joseph Little/ Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council to MNC).

By that date, the NMC had already proposed the declaration of the old farmstead-complex and grounds as place of incarceration of King Cetshwayo. In the event, requests for permission from the land owner to affect the declaration went unreturned, and the proposal was shelved with the coming into effect of the National Heritage Resources Act in 1999 and the disbandment of the NMC (SAHRA 9-2-018-269, various).

In 2014 a group of Khoi activists occupied the old hospital dining hall on OMP. In a press interview, Tania Kleinhans-Cedras, spokeswoman for the Goringhaiqua kraal committee, stated 'It (OMP) is where the land invasion by colonialists happened in 1510'.

By around this time the OMP site had been used for performing various ceremonies and rituals, including slaughtering and dancing, for 10 years or so, with activities concentrated on the open area used by the Oude Molen stables for riding and stabling. Chief Cornelius expressed the need for space for a Khoi kraal somewhere on the OMP site (Attwell & Associates, 2017). As discussed further below, Paramount Chief Aran of the Goringhaicona and members of his following took up residence at OMP around 2 years ago, and a Goringhaicona kraal has also subsequently been established on the OMP site.



Figure 8: Occupation of old hospital dining hall at Oude Molen by a group of Khoi activists, May 2014. A group of around 30 people initially occupied the hall (Source: Sunday Times/ Times Live. Photographer: Esa Alexander).

A number of heritage studies from around 2015 onwards have explicitly referred to the cultural, historical and spiritual significance of the area around the confluence of the Liesbeeck- and Black Rivers to the Khoi (if more focused on the area around the historic confluence and the Liesbeeck Valley).

MILLING (1718 - 1860s)

The first explicit reference to the OMP site dates to 1717, when a portion of the site was granted by the VOC to the Burgher Senate for the purposes of constructing a corn mill. The Oude Molen mill was not the first mill at the Cape (or in the Liesbeeck Valley), but it was the first properly constructed and durably functioning windmill, and one of the largest windmills to be constructed at the Cape. It was an early and prominent landmark into the second half of the 19th Century.

The first mill at the Cape was a horse-drawn mill ('*rosmeulen*') imported from the Netherlands, but which was found to be unworkable due to, amongst others a lack of draught animals. The second mill was water-driven, and an initiative by the free miller Wouter Cornelisz Mostert in August 1659 (*Daghregister*). Work was completed by the VOC, who took over the mill, as indicated on a 1660 plan.²² A larger and more durable water mill, the VOC's Hope Mill, was constructed in 1685 at the top of the Company Gardens (Raven-Heart, 1971). Most of the early mills were water driven, benefiting from the Camissa / Fresh/ Platteklip River system's steep drainage gradient from Table Mountain to Table Bay. A few windmills were also constructed in the City Bowl, but these crude makeshift structures proved incapable of handling the south easter gales experienced in the City Bowl ('fall winds' resulting from orographic forcing by Table Mountain).

By the early 1690s Hope Mill was overworked, and Liesbeeck Valley farmers often had to resort to getting their corn milled in Stellenbosch. After representations by the Burger Council in 1693, land was granted to construct a water mill on the Liesbeeck River for the convenience of free burgers – Molenvliet (demolished, now Mowbray Maternity

Home premises, Mowbray) (Hislop, 2021). A parcel of 5 Morgen and 599 square Roods was granted to the Burger Council in 1717 (OCF 2-30) to construct a second mill for the convenience of Cape farmers and bakers – what would later become known as the 'Oude Molen' (Cairns, 1986).

Skilled builders were imported from the Netherlands for the construction. Clinker bricks were imported from Batavia (Indonesia). The mill was completed early in 1718. OM Mentzel (at the Cape 1732c-1741), almost certainly referred to Oude Molen when he wrote: 'There is a windmill behind the Devil's Mountain which, though outside the town, comes under the control of the burgher councillors. This windmill is leased out by the authorities and all bakers who grind their wheat in it have to pay a definite fee. The mill is of brick, in the characteristic Dutch style; its head, wings and mill-shaft turn according to the direction of the wind" (Mentzel, in NMC HWC Submission, 1997). Elsewhere he mentions that there was only one windmill ('owned by the community') at the Cape (Mentzel, 1944: 16). Mentzel also observed that farmers were often frustrated by the long delays caused by windless spells.

The Oude Molen site was peripheral to the Cape settlement, and would remain so into the early 20th Century. The location was likely chosen both for its relative unattractiveness to farming (sandy soils), its strategic location near the Liesbeeck valley farming area and the gateway to the interior - and offering a more constant wind flow than experienced in the City Bowl. In the lower, less energetic reaches of the river - and unobstructed by topography – a windmill made more practical sense than a watermill. A miller's house was likely located near the mill from the start or soon after, likely on the same location as the existing homestead portion of Block H (possibly with some original fabric preserved). An early companion windmill in the area was Clapperton mill constructed on Raapenburg to the south in 1773. These two mills are (likely) depicted on Schumacher's panorama from the lower slopes of Signal Hill ca. 1778 (Hislop, 2021).



Figure 9: Oude Molen (circled), the new mill (Dekenah/ Alexandra) and Valkenburg farm indicated in local context on a 1786 map of the Cape's defences. (Source: Van de Graaff and Barbier, 'Caart der Situatie van de Kaap de Goede Hoop', Dutch National Archives).



Figure 10: Salt River mouth and mills on portion of Schneider's Panorama of the Cape settlement from the lower slopes of Signal Hill, engraved copy of the 1778c panorama attributed to Johannes Schumacher. The panorama is not accurate in all respects, but the mill in the foreground likely depicts Oude Molen (Source: Harvard University Map Collection).

By 1779, the mill on Oude Molen could no longer keep up with demand. Land for a second burgher windmill was granted to the Burger Council to the north of the existing mill property (now grounds of Alexandra Hospital). The new mill - 'Nieuwe Molen' - was constructed between 1780 and 1782, resulting in the old mill becoming the 'Oude Molen'. Both public mill properties were sold off to private buyers by the Batavian authorities as part of a larger divestment of public/ ex-VOC properties in 1801. The Oude Molen property was sold to Juriaan de Vries in 1802, and the Nieuwe Molen one to Barend van Niekerk, also in 1802 (Dekenah, 2016). The latter property would be sold to Kassien Dekenah of Friesland in 1807, and become more popularly known as 'Dekenah's Mill'. Thus ended the era of the burger mills in the study area. From 1802 milling and farming were likely combined on these properties. A large east-west aligned public thoroughfare was reserved between the de Vries and Dekenah properties. The bridge across the Black River and the northernmost portion of the OMP site are located in this thoroughfare (see CSG diagram 160/1831) .

The earliest detailed depictions of the Oude Molen built footprint appear to date to the Batavian period and Second British Occupation. These include a painting of the complex by Louis Vidal (or Cecilia Ross) c1803, Captain Carmichael Smyth's map of 1806, and Thibault's 1812-3 survey. The same relative location of the mill (to the miller's house and property) is depicted on the 1806 map and 1812-3 survey, namely directly to the west of the miller's house. The mill is also indicated in this location on the 1831 diagram of the quitrent grant to Cornelis Mostert (Son). An overlay of the Thibault survey suggests a location for the mill approximately 20-40 m to the west of the farmstead/ ex-miller's house, likely the area now occupied by the Goringhaicona kraal and possibly also the horses' paddocks. Hart has suggested a distance of 50-80 meters of the mill from the homestead (ACO, 2003).



Figure 11: Painting by Louis Vidal or Cecilia Ross likely depicting Oude Molen mill, farmstead and barn c1803. Note the apparent state of disrepair of the mill (Museum Africa, reproduced in: Hislop, 2021).

Figure 12: (below): Oude Molen indicated on Capt. Carmichael Smyth's 1806 Map of the Salt River. 'De Viers' should read [Juriaan] 'De Vries'. Note the difference in footprint and road alignment compared to Thibault below.



'De Viers' should read [Juriaan] 'De Vries'. Note the difference in footprint and road alignment compared to Thibault below. The 1806 road alignment (between the homestead and the mill) is however also depicted on 1831 Mostert grant diagram (Source: City of Cape Town).

The old mill remained a prominent landmark during the first half of the 19th Century, and was painted by the artist Thomas Bowler more than one occasion. The age of wind power was however dawning to a close. By 1833 a steam mill was already located in the City Bowl (Greig's Almanac). By 1855 there were 6 steam-operated mills in the City Bowl (Suasso de Lima's Directory). It is generally assumed that the Oude Molen mill continued to be operational into the 1860s, and Dekenah's mill into the 1870s. A late glimpse of the windmills of the lower Liesbeeck / Black River is provided by the c1863 Map of the Cape Colony, which still depicts the old mill as one of 4 mills within a 1 km radius. The old mill appears to have been demolished after wind damage (Hislop 2021). A precise date could not be established. The mill is no longer indicated on Major Boyle's 1885 Map of the Southern Suburbs (or subsequent surveys and maps).

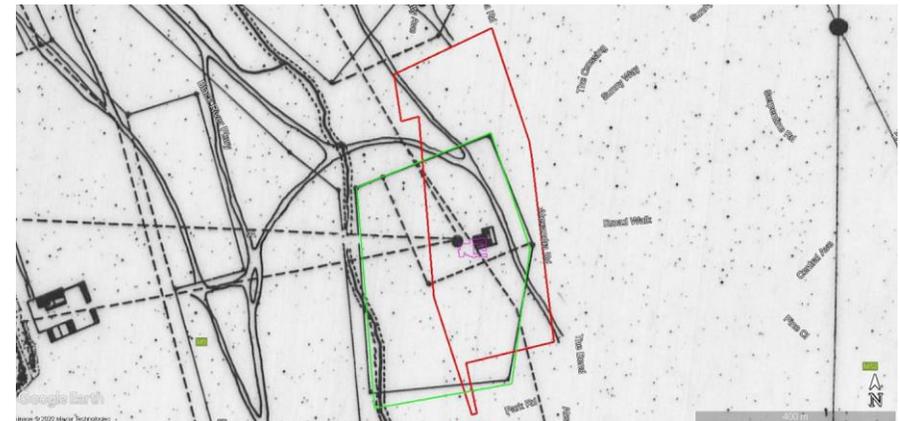


Figure 13: Approximate location of OMP site (red) indicated on 1812-3 Thibault survey; existing actual Block H footprint in pink, and 1802 de Vries extended property in green. The mill appears to have been used as a survey point by Thibault (dotted lines) (Source: City of Cape Town, 1977 compilation and tracing; 1802 property mapped from Chief Surveyor-General diagram nr. 9415/1950).

All that has remained of the mill itself is a granite millstone. No information could be sourced whether it is the original 1718 millstone, or a later replacement. Judging by the Thibault survey, the mill would have been located on what is now the leased Goringhaicona kraal premises. Given the large size of the mill, the foundations would have been deeply set, and are likely to remain as an archaeological signature (ACO, 2003). The old mill is commemorated by the adjacent Millstone deli and coffee shop.



Figure 14: Historic millstone in the courtyard of The Millstone, 2022. The crack in the millstone is said to have occurred after a fire was made in the central hole at some unknown time.

FARMING (1802-1954)

The Oude Molen property was used for commercial farming from 1802-1880, and again from 1883 to 1912, likely at varying scales (but apparently never on a major scale). Not much information could be sourced with regard to the nature and extent of pre-Valkenberg Hospital farming activities, but hay production and dairy farming appears more likely than field cropping activities. Milling likely continued alongside farming until the 1860s. Farming continued on the site after Valkenberg Hospital took over, and continued until 1954.

No farming/ productive gardening activities are associated with the site during the period after 1954 until the late 1990s, when the first modest food gardening project was started on the site by a former Valkenberg patient, Gary Glass.

Use of the banks of the Black River/ OMP study area for grazing likely continued more or less uninterrupted from the pre-colonial period into the colonial period. This is a result of the strategic location of the area (near the historic gateway to the Cape settlement), and the natural year-round availability of some grazing. However, as indicated, the eastern bank of the Black River remained peripheral to the Cape settlement for a considerable time. This appears to be largely linked to the limited agricultural (cropping) potential of the underlying sandy soils – the Pinelands area is indicated as 'Cape Flats' on maps into the early 20th century. Eighteenth century land grants along the lower reaches of the Black River were primarily associated with milling, not agriculture – Oude Molen, Raapenburg and Nieuwe Molen. Some subsistence farming would likely have been associated with the relevant millers' occupation of the two Burgher Council milling properties in the period before 1801 – in other words, limited horticulture, cropping, own dairy cow, poultry. etc may have occurred on the OMP site from c1718.

Commercial farming on the OMP site dates to after its acquisition by Juriaan de Vries in 1802. As indicated elsewhere, the original mill property was enlarged to over 17 morgen (14.5 ha) by a freehold grant to de Vries in the same year, making for a more viable farming operation. The property passed into the ownership of Cornelis Mostert in 1810. The returns filed in the Opgaafrollen suggest that Mostert's enterprise was rather modest. In 1812 it was recorded that he was the owner of 7 horses and 12 oxen, but that no cereals were grown. By 1821 the number of livestock had increased somewhat, and small

quantities of rye (seed) and oats (seed) had been harvested⁴. 60 000 pounds of hay had also been mown on the property (NMC WC Submission, 1997). The property was subsequently extended by a quitrent grant of surrounding land to Mostert, in 1831. The diagram indicates the land granted as 'common arable land' (CSG diagram 160/1831).

Mostert sold the Oude Molen property to William Hunt in 1834, whose widow in turn sold the property to Andries Bam in 1838. After Bam's death in 1869 the property changed hands a number of times before being acquired by the Cape Government in 1880, suggesting the land had become of greater speculative value than productive value after Bam's death. The property was sold to David McKenzie in 1885. The inscription 'McKenzies' farm' on Captain Northcott's 'Military Sketch' of 1889 suggests that McKenzie revived farming use of the property. No cropped areas or gardens are indicated on the property, but the farmstead, outbuildings, and a large kraal along now Alexandra Road are indicated. This suggests a focus on animal husbandry, likely also including fodder production.

Farming activities continued after the property was acquired by the Union Government in 1912, albeit possibly with a short hiatus until the first patients arrived. Relatively extensive farming was carried out on the grounds of Valkenberg on both sides of the Black River. Farming was carried out both as occupational therapy and source of self-sufficiency and raising some income. Valkenberg had large, prize-winning dairy herds (at some time producing around 280 000 litres of milk a year) and a piggery. Guinea pigs were raised for sale to University of Cape Town (UCT) medical school. The farm's breeding pigs and mule team won trophies at the Rosebank Show. Vegetables were produced to provide for all the Hospital's needs throughout the year. Farming was discontinued in 1954, mainly in response to the

⁴ Various early travellers to the Cape noted that oats was primarily considered a fodder crop (well into the 19th century). Rye appears to have been valued more as a source of substitute thatch than as a cereal. In an age of animal-driven transport and thatched roofs fodder and thatch were valued resources.

construction of the national road, N2 (SAHRA 2-K-Kaa-39-1, Valkenberg Hospital, 1990, Annexure: 3).



Figure 15: Approximate location of OMP (red outline), indicated on Captain Northcott's 1889 Military Sketch of the area between Newlands and the Salt River mouth; actual extent of McKenzie's farm outlined in light blue. Note the extensive wetlands along the Black River and what is visible as a passage to the River on early aerial imagery (Source: City of Cape Town).

Based on 1937 (?) aerial photography, ACO/ Hart (2003) and Hislop (2021) concluded that farming activities included the ploughing of fields on the Black River floodplain west of the OMP site. Comparison of 1934, 1935 and 1945 aerial imagery however seems to suggest that the linear striations may represent evidence of hay mowing activities, rather than ploughing. The relevant surveys suggest that hay production (in conjunction with a dairy) constituted the primary farming activity on Valkenberg East (until 1954). A plan dating to the early 1930s only covering a portion of the site, indicates a dairy, cattle

byre and water tank (dairy) located to the south of the old farmstead.

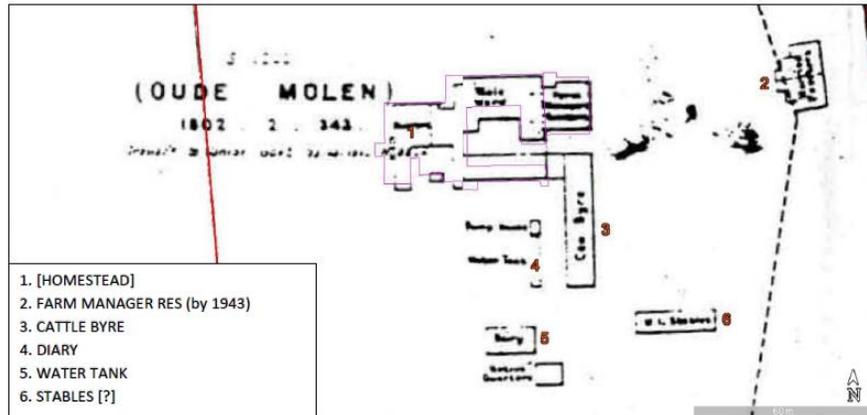


Figure 16: Central portion of OMP site (red outline) and existing footprints of historic homestead and extensions (pink), indicated on a plan of untraced provenance, 1930-3424. The structures to the south of the homestead appear to have been used exclusively for farming purposes. Unfortunately, only a few of the inscriptions are legible (see box) (Source: SAHRA file 9-21-018-269, 1997 WC NMC recommendation motivation report to have Oude Molen site declared a national monument).

The first aerial survey to cover the entire site, 1934, indicates farming activities occupying most of the southern half of the OMP site, and extending onto the Black River floodplain. A wide, linear passage flanked by lanes of trees on either side connected the OMP site to the Black River.



Figure 17: Southern portion of OMP (red outline) and existing built footprint (pink) indicated on 1934 aerial survey. Note the large passage within an avenue leading to the Black River, and connecting the adjoining paddocks. Note what may have been a pump house at the river (white speck) (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 100/34_005_09513).

The crisp quality of the 1945 survey allows a more precise scrutiny of on-site farming activities. The extent of the dairy farming operations is visible from the herds, and stacks of cut hay are visible in a number of paddocks. Gardening activities were concentrated along the old homestead, including on the premises of the farm manager (now Robin Trust administration offices).



Figure 18: Southern portion of OMP (red outline) and existing built footprint (pink) indicated on 1945 aerial survey. The extent and nature of farming activities is now more evident. Farming activities were clearly focused on animal husbandry (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 203A/45_008_00742).



Figure 19: Detail of central portion of OMP (red outline) indicated on 1945 aerial survey. Horticultural activities appear to have been modest in scale, and limited to this portion of the site during the Valkenberg Hospital farming period (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 203A/45_008_00742).



Figure 20: Detail of southern portion of OMP (red outline) indicated on the 1945 aerial survey. Note the herds of dairy cows near the old homestead and the paddock adjacent to Alexandra Rd, and the bales of hay (squares) in the field between the two large parallel wind breaks (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 203A/45_008_00742).

While at least one source has indicated that farming activities were continued into the 1970s (SVA, 2020), comparative aerial photography from 1958 onwards supports the date provided by Valkenberg Hospital, viz. 1954 (SAHRA 2-K-Kaa- 39-1, Valkenberg Hospital, 1990, Annexure: 3). By 1958, the passage to the Black River was no longer in existence, and no signs of cattle or hay mowing were visible any longer (Figure 57). The period 1957-c1977 witnessed the transformation of the old farming portion of the site into additional hospital capacity. By the 1988 aerial survey not even small food gardens were in evidence any longer. Farming/ gardening-related activities would only start resurfacing on the site around the mid-1990s.



Figure 21: Southern portion of OMP (red outline) and existing built footprint (pink) indicated on 1958 aerial survey. Note the evident decline of farming activities the gradual disappearance of the passage to the Black River, and the large new H-shaped block (Block S) which had been constructed between the 1953 and 1958 surveys (Source: City of Cape Town).

PLACE OF POLITICAL EXILE (1881-1883)

King Cetshwayo ka-Mpande, the last independent king of the Zulu nation, spent most his time in exile from Zululand at Oude Molen. He resided at Oude Molen from early 1881 to early 1883, interrupted only by a brief absence during his visit to England in 1882. He petitioned the British Government for restoration of his kingdom from Oude Molen, and also received a number of visitors while at Oude Molen. He was not the first royal dignitary to be banished to the Cape, but arguably one of the most famous.

According to Sleight (2004: 142) the TRUP site was already used for accommodating political exiles in 1708, when the last group of VOC exiles from Indonesia, a group of 'royal dignitaries' ('*hofgroten*') from Macassar, was housed at the old Ruyterwacht II watch house/ stables (more or less on the site of the South African Astronomical Observatory (SAAO)). These exiles were left to fend for themselves.

Kolbe and Valentijn both left accounts of visits to them. No further details could be sourced regarding the further fate of this group.

King Cetshwayo ka-Mpande (1826-1884) was the oldest son of King Mpande and half-nephew of King Shaka. He effectively ruled Zululand from 1857, but only formally ascended the throne in 1872. By this time tensions with the old Transvaal Republic and British settlers in Natal was increasing due to conflicting territorial aspirations. King Cetshwayo's favouring of a strong Zulu military force and refusal to back down, lead the British Government to come to regard him as a threat to stability in the broader Southern African region (an 'incitement to rebellion'), and an obstacle to the envisaged federation of British territories.

The British invaded Zululand in early 1879 (Anglo-Zulu War), and was initially dealt a massive defeat at the Battle of Isandlwana. The defeat of a modern European army at the hands of 'uncivilized' Zulus caused a massive sensation in Europe. The British recovered, and won the war later in the year. King Cetshwayo was captured by the British on 28 August 1879, soon after the final Battle at Ulundi. While he was taken as prisoner of war, the British authorities were of the opinion that his continued detention was essential for imperial policy. After the British held a victory parade in Ulundi on 31 August 1879, the king was taken to Port Durnford, and sent to the Cape as military prisoner aboard the *HMS Natal*. He arrived in Cape Town on 15 September 1879. To his amusement, he was cheered by crowds of curious Capetonians (Mountain, 2013).



Figure 22: and Figure 23: King Cetshwayo kaMphande prior to his exile 1879 (left), and sitting on the deck of the HMS Natal, underway to his exile in Cape Town, 13 September 1879 (Source: Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 2501214, 2501004).

The king was initially kept as a military prisoner in the Castle, pending legislation to allow his civilian detention by the Cape Government (Figure 60). The king petitioned - amongst others - Queen Victoria to be returned to his kingdom. The only immediate concession was the British Colonial Office exerting growing pressure on the Cape Government to find a civilian location for the king where he may enjoy more freedom of movement (Lobban, 2021). Oude Molen was acquired by the Cape Government in 1880. A handwritten note on the title deed indicates that the property was bought specifically to house the king (NHC WC submission, 1997).

The Oude Molen property was adjacent to Uitvlugt farm, another property which had been acquired by the Cape Government to house an exiled royal from Kwa-Zulu Natal, King Langalibalele of the ama-Hlubi. He was convicted of treason, murder and rebellion by the British in 1874, and sentenced to life long exile on Robben Island. The amaHlubi kingdom was abolished. Pressure from the Colonial Office to treat the king in a more conciliatory way resulted in the acquisition of Uitvlugt for the purpose of his incarceration. He was moved from

Robben Island to Uitvlugt in mid-1875, and was to remain on Uitvlugt until he was allowed to return home in 1887.

In February 1881 King Cetshwayo was transferred to civil custody (prisoner of the Cape Government) and moved to Oude Molen. The proximity to Langalibalele on Uitvlugt was likely not entirely welcomed by Cetshwayo, who regarded Langalibalele as a mere 'insurgent', while he himself was a 'king' (Leband, 2014). It is however not unlikely that the two exiles may have visited one another during their period of overlapping incarceration. Like King Langalibalele, King Cetshwayo enjoyed strong support from Bishop John Colenso, the Archbishop of Natal (1853-83). In November 1880 Bishop Colenso suggested to the king's petitioning the crown to be allowed to present his case in England. A number of letters were written by Bishop Colenso on behalf of King Cetshwayo at Oude Molen, including a formal request to present his case in March 1881. A groundswell of British sympathy started to develop for this defeated but worthy rival, and his request was granted. King Cetshwayo left Cape Town aboard the steamer *Arab*, arriving at Portsmouth on 5 August 1882. He was accompanied by three senior chiefs and two attendants and two British interpreters (Mountain, 2013).

King Cetshwayo was received as somewhat of a celebrity. During his stay, he insisted on dressing in full European fashion, and being accorded every dignity befitting a head of state. His quiet dignity and straightforward candour made a very favourable impression on the British public. He was not the savage uncivilized warrior the press had made him out to be during the war. Crowds gathered to cheer him. The press was also sympathetic, referring to him as the 'unfortunate King of the Zulu nation' as a 'brave and honourable Native African Prince who was maligned and unfairly treated' (Leband, 2014: 285). He and his retinue were lodged in a house in Kensington, and given tours of Woolwich Arsenal and the London Docks (Figure 61).

He had a brief but cordial audience with Queen Victoria at her summer residence at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight on 14

August 1882 (Leband, 2014). He was graciously received by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House, where he presented them with sticks of *umzimbithi* wood in remembrance of a visit Princes Albert and George had made to him at Oude Molen (Mountain 2013). Representations to the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, had a less favourable outcome. The Government agreed to the restoration of the king, but under unfavourable terms. Zululand was to be divided into three parts, with only one part remaining under king Cetshwayo's control. The king would also have to accept a permanent British Resident in Zululand. King Cetshwayo very reluctantly agreed (Lobban, 2021).

King Cetshwayo arrived back in Cape Town on 24 September 1882. He was returned to Oude Molen to await finalization of arrangements for his restoration. He was however no longer to be treated as a prisoner, and most restrictions were lifted (Lobban, 2021). By this stage Zululand had become divided, with a significant faction not wanting King Cetshwayo back as their king. The Natal Government was not too keen to have him back either. In the event, King Cetshwayo only returned to Zululand in January 1883. He returned to a much-weakened, strife-torn and impoverished Zululand. After a decisive loss to a rival claimant to the throne later in the year, he placed himself under protection of the Resident at Eshowe. He died at Eshowe in February 1884, possibly poisoned by his enemies (Mountain, 2013).

Not much detail could be sourced pertaining to King Cetshwayo's periods of residence at Oude Molen. He was twice visited by KW Murray, special correspondent to the Cape Times. On his first visit Murray noted that 'the boundaries of the farm are defined by boards, which warn strangers from encroaching upon the grounds of the State prisoners, and the farm, although less than five miles from town, is admirably situated against encroachment'. He found the king 'sitting outside of the house on a small mound in the nook of the farm wall, and it seemed as if he had selected it out of memory of his kraals in Zululand. He was seated on a chair with a blanket folded around him, and he wore it with some dignity'. In 1882 an engraving of the

king and visitors in front of the Oude Molen homestead appeared on the cover of *The Graphic* (Figure 62) (NMC WC Submission, 1997: 22). It is also speculated that the king presented visitors to Oude Mole with copies of a commemorative medal of the Zulu War, depicting the king in profile on the obverse.

Oude Molen was proposed for declaration as a national monument commemorating the confinement of King Cetshwayo by the NMC Western Cape Regional Committee in 1997 (SAHRA 9-2-018-269, NMC WC, 1997). Statues of King Cetshwayo and King Langalibalele were unveiled at the Castle in 2018. The DTPW received communication from the Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Member of Parliament and Traditional Prime Minister to the Zulu Monarch and Nation regarding their interest in the OMP process especially due to their ties to the Old Homestead Complex.

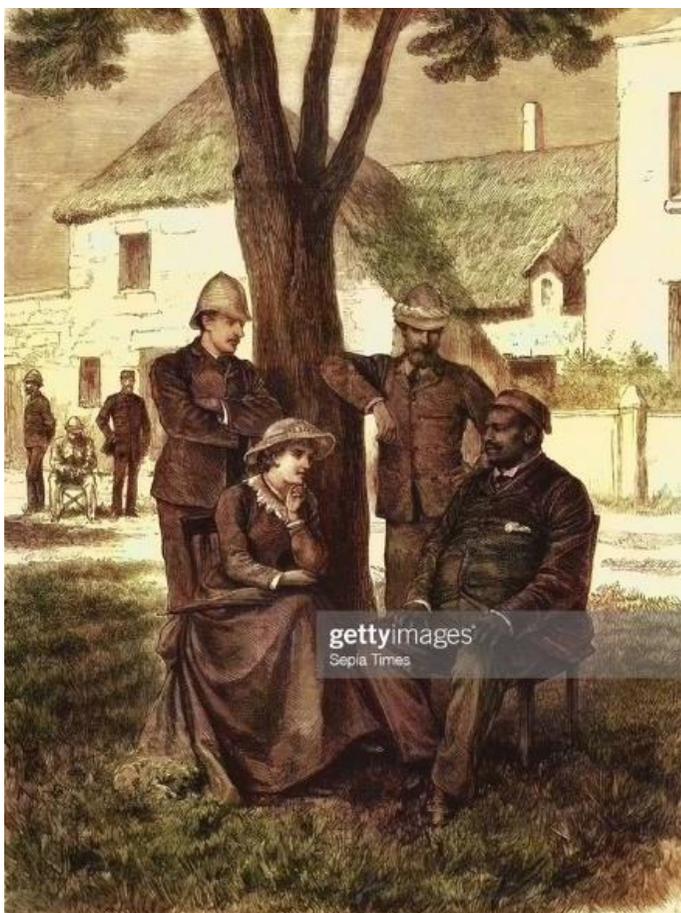


Figure 24: King Cetshwayo pictured in front of the homestead on Oude Molen on the cover of *The Graphic*, 1882 (Source: Getty Images). The reporter Murray visited King Cetshwayo again in 1883, at 'the central hall of his residence at Oude Molen' where he found the king 'seated in a large arm-chair in the centre of the hall; in front of him was placed a chair for his visitor, and in the far corner were two of his followers, who were placed at a respectful distance from their king. In the middle of the hall was a portrait of Queen Victoria' (NMC WC Submission, 1997: 22).

PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL (1912-1999)

The OMP site used to accommodate the first psychiatric hospital specifically built for non-White patients in the Western Cape. It was preceded by the mixed-race Robben Island asylum (1846) and Valkenberg (1891) catering only to White patients. The OMP site (later Valkenberg East) was used by Valkenberg Hospital to accommodate patients from 1913-5 to 1999. Valkenberg East was mainly, but not exclusively, used for accommodating non-White patients.

The development of Valkenberg East across the Black River from White Valkenberg West replicated use of the river as 'cordon sanitaire' for the confinement of native political exiles (1875-1887), and the establishment of the contact (plague) camp and Ndabeni Location 1901-3, and links up with the theme of liminality of the first VOC-era boundary c1660.

The first structure to contain the mentally ill at the Cape was a primitive structure adjacent to van Riebeeck's Fort. A larger facility was provided in 1674. Limited provision for the mentally ill was made in both VOC-era hospitals. Insufficient capacity was a recurring theme, and the Slave Lodge was used for a time to accommodate overflow (Gillis, 2012). Limited provision was again made when the Old Somerset Hospital was constructed (1818), and again capacity remained an issue. The first designated asylum was opened on Robben Island in 1846, and provided 100 beds, approximately 70 more than at Somerset Hospital. The patients from Somerset Hospital were transferred to the island facility, which until 1875 was to remain the only asylum in the Cape Colony (and South Africa). The Colony's most dangerous insane were sent to Robben Island (Deacon, 2003). The Robben Island facility was shared with the chronically ill and lepers. Conditions were harsh, and treatment largely consisted of a regimen of medicines – many with significant side effects (Kruger, 2012). Meaningful psychiatric diagnosis was non-existent (Gillis, 2014). Containment of the patients away from society was the paramount objective.

Attitudes towards the treatment of mental illness worldwide witnessed a shift towards a more humanistic approach during the course of the second half of the 19th Century. New thinking encouraged the construction of purpose-built sanatoriums in park-like surroundings. During the 1860s and 1870s, the proportion of White paying patients on Robben Island rose fivefold as the asylum underwent reforms along humanitarian 'moral management' lines (Deacon, 2003). The British and American models to be emulated in South Africa were characterized by extended wings and courtyards. It was believed that the park-like setting would aid the recovery.

Valkenberg was the first asylum on the Western Cape mainland. The Valkenberg land had originally been acquired by the Cape Government in 1880 to establish a reformatory for boys from a bequest (Porter). In 1883 the government bought a property in Tokai for the purpose of establishing an asylum. Opposition from private land owners lead to the swapping of uses between the Valkenberg and Tokai properties. The Porter Reformatory, located at the Valkenberg manor house from 1881, was moved to Tokai in 1889. The reformatory on Valkenberg were converted to accommodate 40 male and 25 female patients. The first group of patients was transferred from Robben Island in early 1891 (SAHRA 2-K-Kaa-39-1, Medical Superintendent Valkenberg Hospital to NMC, 1990). The first block was completed in 1894, and the entire hospital in 1899. Additional female wards were added in 1911 (Atwell and Associates, 2016).

In 1912 the Union Government acquired McKenzie's farm, i.e., the historic Oude Molen property. The property was specifically acquired to accommodate Black and Coloured patients, on separate grounds and in separate buildings. Separation was reinforced by the physical barrier posed by the Black River and the single bridge linking the two sites, and in keeping with the trend already set by the confinement of King Langalibalele and King Cetshwayo, and the establishment of the Uitvlugt contact camp and Ndabeni Location 1901-3. The barrier

of the Black River was further reinforced by the construction of the M5 roadway sometime between 1958 and 1962.

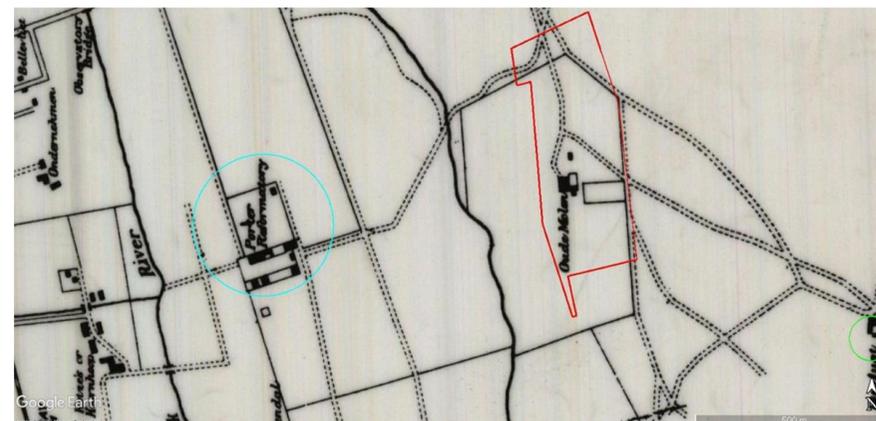


Figure 25: Approximate location of OMP site (red outline) indicated on Major Boyle's 1885 Map of the Southern Suburbs; Porter Reformatory circled in blue, and Uitvlugt farmstead in green. The peripheral location, reinforced by the barriers of the rivers, made the area attractive to the authorities for exclusionary/ containment purposes (Source: City of Cape Town).

The new facility was initially named the Oude Molen Mental Hospital (e.g., 1930 1: 7 455 Cape & Environs map). It is simply recorded as 'Native Mental Hospital' on the 1934-1951 1: 25 000 Cape Peninsula map series editions. By 1940 the OMP was already also referred to as the Valkenberg Mental Hospital (Coloured Section) and in 1973 it was renamed to 'Valkenberg – Pinelands side'. (SVA, 2020). It could not be established when the referents 'Valkenberg West' and 'Valkenberg East' (Oude Molen) came into use.

The first patients on the OMP site appear to have been moved from Robben Island asylum around 1913-5 (sources vary). The old farmhouse complex had been extended to accommodate a male ward by the time the photographer Arthur Elliott visited Oude Molen

in 1914 (Hislop, 2021). With the exception of the old farmstead complex and the late-Victorian house adjacent to its east (Block W), all the existing main buildings on the OMP site were constructed for the psychiatric hospital. Development occurred in three main phases, namely 1917-1920, 1957-1966 (by), and 1973-77. The initial construction phase falls within the same general time period as the construction of Komani Hospital for Blacks in Queenstown in 1922. Provisions for care, diet, treatment and equipment was worse at these facilities than for their White counterparts (SVA, 2020). As was discussed, most of the southern portion of the OMP site and along the Black River floodplain was used for farming purposes, intended as occupational therapy, to provide in the hospital's own needs, and generate some income. Farming and gardening labour were considered especially suitable to non-White patients at Valkenberg. The farming operation was stopped in 1954.



Figure 26: Valkenberg East Hospital on the OMP site at its greatest extent, around 1977. Construction dates of main buildings on OMP site: 18th Century core and later extensions (dark red fill), 1900c (red), 1917-1920 (dark orange), 1920-30 (light orange), 1957-1966 (dark yellow), 1973-77 (light yellow). The large C-shaped old hospital building was constructed 1917-20, and demolished sometime after 1988 (light blue). Pre-fabricated buildings constructed 1973-77 and

demolished during the 1990s in dark blue fill. Apart from the farmstead complex, all existing main buildings on the site date to the Valkenberg Hospital period (Source: Google Earth 2022-07).

The first construction phase witnessed the construction of the F-shaped blocks (C, D, E, G), a hospital building (demolished), a dining hall and kitchen complex (E), nurse's quarters (A), and four dwellings, two of which have survived, namely the old superintendent's house (now referred to as the 'Yellow House'), and what was by 1943 (and likely earlier) the farm manager's house (now Robin Trust administrative building). Two additional dwellings appear to have been located adjacent to the north of the superintendent's house, but were soon demolished. By 1930 the existing structure housing the old boiler had also been constructed (SVA/ O'Donoghue, 2020).



Figure 27: OMP site indicated on 1930 1:7445 Cape Town & Environs series. Note the large C-shaped hospital building at the site's southern boundary (demolished after 1988), the mortuary on the Valkenberg Ward 20 premises, and the dipping tanks to the NW of the old nurses' home, now Lighthouse Lodge backpackers. The dipping tanks were likely used for the dairy cows on OMP (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, Sheet 5).

Into the 1950s, patients were strictly segregated by gender. Female patients were accommodated in the two northernmost F-shaped blocks (C, D), and male ones in the two opposite the OMP site entrance (F, G). As indicated, the extension at the old farmhouse complex was also used as a male ward. The later demolished hospital also accommodated Black military patients, and for a time c1943-1965, also White female patients (SVA, 2020). The superintendent's house was later occupied by the medical officer, and after 1965 as general staff housing. The nurses' quarters were used as a clinic from around 1965-1975, where after it reverted to use as nurses' accommodation (O'Donoghue/ SVA, 2020).

The F-shaped blocks represent an example of early 20th Century asylum design, in particular the adherence to the pavilion institutional form and the principles of symmetry, order, separation of male and female wards, and its location within a parkland setting. The pavilion model of hospital architecture was based on French design of the 1840s (high ceilings, good ventilation, airy and light spaces for the caring of the sick) and popularized by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War in the 1850s). This pavilion model is also apparent at Valkenberg West. The design of the F shaped Wards demonstrates the moral management rather than prison like custody for mental care. The attempt was to create ideal social environments characterized by symmetry, beauty and a quiet pastoral setting. The F wards were architecturally designed and constructed as independent buildings with vegetated courtyards, open verandahs. The crescent layout of the F Ward buildings contributes to the sense of the grouping and the ability to sit comfortably in the landscape setting (O'Donoghue/ SVA, 2020). Designs and facilities were however somewhat pared down and more modest than at Valkenberg West (Attwell& Associates, 2016).

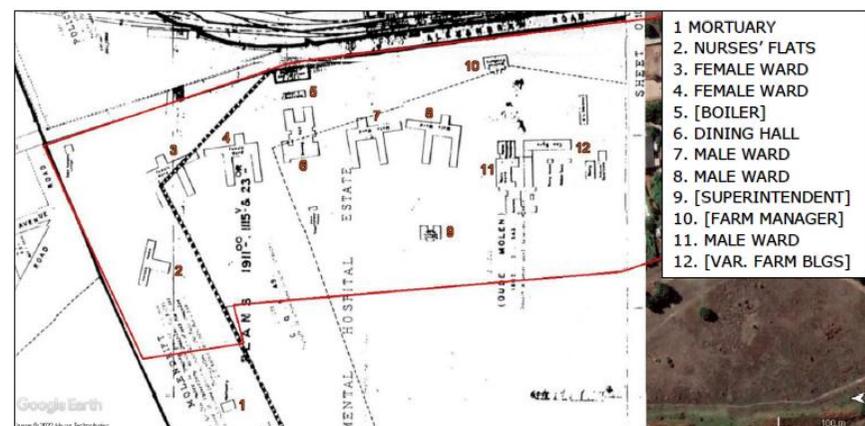


Figure 28: Built footprint on OMP site (red outline) indicated on a plan of untraced provenance, 1930-3425. Unfortunately, only a few of the inscriptions are legible (see box) (Source: SAHRA file 9-21-018-269, 1997 WC NMC).

The next development phase witnessed the construction the two H shaped wards, first the one in the southern part of the OMP site, Block S (Waldorf school, portion) in 1957, followed by the fire-damaged building in the NE corner of the property (Block B) sometime between the 1958 and 1966 aerial surveys. The H-shaped shaped wards continued use of the pavilion style model in mental health care, but were designed as single storey buildings. Progression from the design of the F-shaped is the addition of open-sided pavilions in the courtyards as a means to provide shade for patients, as shade was found essential for patients on heavy medication. The buildings consisted of dormitory wards, day rooms, offices and bathrooms. The Block B building was opened as a communal ward for female Coloured patients, but had become a mixed ward for chronic cases by 1973. From 1965 into the 1970s fences enclosing wards at Valkenberg East were gradually removed. The maximum-security facility (Ward 20) was constructed in 1976 (SVA, 2020).

Eleven new pre-fabricated buildings were constructed on the site portion occupied by the old farm between the 1973 and 1977 aerial surveys. Of these, only the three structures occupied by Robin Trust (Block T), and that by OM Workshop (U) have remained. By 1982 all psychiatric facilities on Valkenberg East but one appears to have been used for accommodating Coloured patients. The exception was a section of Valkenberg' section dealing with problem teenagers for which there was not yet a counterpart on Valkenberg West (SAHRA 2-K-Kaa-39-1, Medical Superintendent Valkenberg Hospital to NMC, 1990).

Stikland Psychiatric Hospital was opened in 1963 in Bellville. Plans to close down Valkenberg proved unrealistic, and were abandoned. During the construction of Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital in Mitchell's Plain in the early 1980s, it was again envisaged that a portion of Valkenberg could be moved to Mitchell's Plain – specifically, it was envisaged that Valkenberg East would be transferred to the new hospital in the new Coloured-only township. The name Oude Molen was considered for Lentegeur in order to create a sense of continuity (SAHRA 2-K-Kaa-39-1, Medical Superintendent Valkenberg Hospital to NMC, 1990). That was never affected.



Figure 29: OMP site (purple outline) indicated on 1951 field revised edition of the Cape Peninsula map series. The referent 'Native Mental Hospital' already appears on the 1934 edition (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 1:25 000, Sheet 1, 1963 reprint).

By 1991 the first psychiatric institutions in South Africa were becoming racially integrated, and by 1994, completely so (Gillis, 2014). A period of rationalization during the 1990s saw Valkenberg closing down wards on the OMP site, and relocating facilities to Valkenberg West. Wards were closed down progressively. Block B (the H-shaped fire damaged block in the NE site portion) was the last to close down, around 1999 (McComb, pers. comm.). Ward 20 is the only unit of Valkenberg to have remained east of the Black River. Ward 20 forms part of the forensic unit. It is a maximum security facility, and also used for observation in legal proceedings.

MIXED USE: OUDE MOLEN VILLAGE (1997-date)

The origin of Oude Molen Village effectively dates to around 1997-8, mainly in response to the site's abandonment by Valkenberg Hospital and the site's perceived potential to accommodate a holistically-minded community of resident small entrepreneurs with an emphasis on socio-economic development, spiritual values, inclusivity, creative/ visionary land use, and environmental sustainability. The first leases were signed in 1998. Much work had to be put into rehabilitating the grounds and vandalized buildings. The site initially attracted many uncommitted idealists, and squatting and rent refusal remained intermittently problematic for a number of years.

Various redevelopment plans since 2003 have galvanized the formation of a strong and engaged tenant's association. The 'Eco-Village' concept/ ethos/ conceptual model was developed in partnership with the Lynedoch Sustainability Institute, and the derived principles currently informs conditions of lease. A natural 'sifting process' over the past 2 decades or so has resulted in the weeding out of incompatible land uses, anti-social behaviour, squatting and

non-committed idealists. A core group of committed tenants have remained on the site, currently making for a relatively coherent community, many sharing similar world views.

Closure of each successive hospital ward witnessed vandalism and stripping of the building for materials. Some of the buildings were also occupied. This included Block G (River Lodge Backpackers), which was occupied by Chief Joseph Little and a group of around 30 destitute children around 1993. Chief Little ran a live-in programme (Learn to Earn to Own) (Allies, pers. comm.). Another early occupant was Robin Trust, which moved into the pre-fabricated building currently still used for Alzheimer's patients (Block T) in 1994 (Viljoen, pes. Comm.). Other early known occupants were Gary Glass and Howard Krut. Glass, a former Valkenberg patient started the first new gardening activity on the site, the predecessor of the existing OMP Food Garden. Krut started what is now Oude Molen stables and a cart-horse rehabilitation programme, both sometime around 1994 (Allies, pers. comm.).

By 1995 the old homestead was occupied by vagrants, and there were serious concerns relating to potential vandalism, damage and fire risk. Two parties, the Pinelands Rotary Club and His Word Ministries each approached Valkenberg Hospital/ Department of Land Affairs to take over the Valkenberg East site. Both proposals envisaged conservation of the old homestead and management of the grounds. Neither came to fruition – the latter continued into 1998, but floundered on the use of public space for exclusive religious use and the proposed development of a large parking area. By mid-1995, Valkenberg East was negotiating short-term leases, mainly in order to protect the site. The old homestead was leased out to the Friends of Valkenberg, and inhabited by a resident caretaker. Site access management was poor, and vandalism and stripping continued. By 1996 the NMC Western Cape was contemplating proposing the entire Oude Molen site as a national monument, for the conservation of both the old homestead and the grounds. Declaration was also

proposed by civics organisations such as the Valkenberg Confluence Alliance (SAHRA 9-2-018-269, various correspondence).

By the 1997 aerial survey, most of the pre-fabricated buildings constructed during the 1970s had been demolished, and only slabs remained. Unwanted material (e.g., insulation material) was discarded in place, and later added to by the processing of material stripped from other buildings. It took considerable time and effort to clean up the terrain in subsequent years (Dan Nesor, pers. comm.). Permanent structures were stripped of plumbing infrastructure, electrical wiring, fixtures and fittings, and even floorboards.

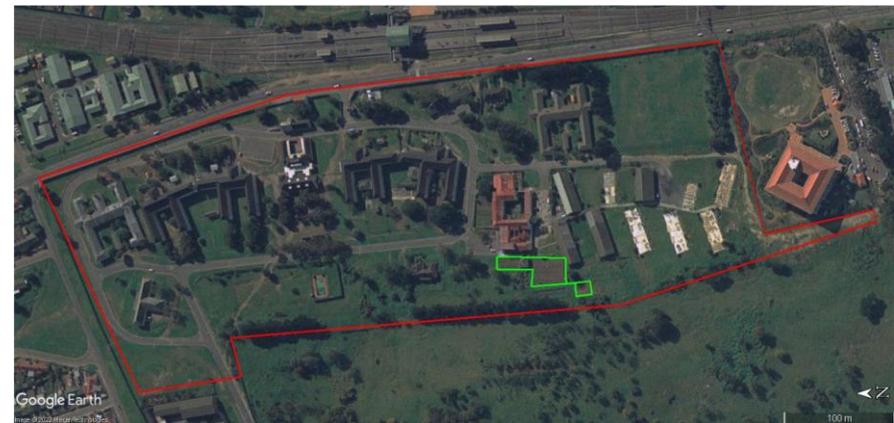


Figure 30: OMP site indicated on 1997 (September) aerial survey. The area outlined in green appears to be the original location of the OMP gardening project started by Gary Glass around 1994-6. While the footprint of the demolished C-shaped building which occupied the SE corner of the site from around 1917 until after 1988 is no longer visible, six of the 11 pre-fabricated buildings constructed during the 1970s have visibly been reduced to cement slabs (Source: Chief Directorate National Geo-Spatial Information, 994/96_005_00012).

In that year (1997) a small group of like-minded 'social entrepreneurs' approached the WCG with a proposal to lease the site for

establishing a micro-enterprise village strongly emphasizing principles of sustainability, environmental and heritage custodianship, employment creation, and youth development. The vision also endorsed public accessibility, the creation of a safe space for other communities, and tourism development on the site (OMP TA, 2014). Learn to Earn to Own was no longer located on the premises. Squatting was not a significant problem, but vandalism and stripping continued unabatedly, in part due to lacks site access control.



Figure 31 and Figure 32: Floors broken out in one of the F-shaped buildings, late-1990s/ early 2000s (left), and cleaning up the pool area, around 2001 (Source: Oude Molen Eco Village, 2013c).

A lease was entered into in 1998. Hudson McComb functioned as the first site manager (on behalf of WCG) from 1998- 2002. Tenants would have to spend considerable time, effort and money to make the spaces habitable/ functional. The grounds were neglected, and significant amounts had to be spent to affect the most necessary repairs to roofs and gutters. By the end of 1998 leases had been signed with 70 tenants. Some rentals were initially waived to encourage the new tenants to invest in returning the buildings to habitability, with variable success. A tenants committee was established from the start (Mc Comb, pers. comm.).

Proposals to sell and or develop the OMP site resurfaced around 2003, and were to recur in coming years. The ongoing threat of development (or sale of the property) has likely been the greatest

single cause in forging the current sense of community identity. In 2003 the development of a private office park was proposed, but did not materialize. Professor Mark Swilling of the Lynedoch Sustainability Institute was appointed by DTPW in 2005 to develop a Strategic Framework for Oude Molen to take forward the planning of 'a living and learning example of a sustainably designed, mixed-use (residential, commercial, agricultural, educational, conservation) settlement with a socially integrated (richer, poorer, multi-cultural, and child-centred) community, setting the benchmark for other developments of 'integrated sustainable human settlements' in South Africa' (Sustainability Institute, quoted in Ernsten, 2019). The Framework identified certain Eco-Village principles, the endorsement of which subsequently became part of the conditions of previous leases, prior to the current lease agreement.

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Goodall, Ms. Jeanne (2022-07-25). The Play Shed.
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McKeown, Mr Mark (2022-07-29). Cuckoo's Nest Laser Cutting & Engraving.
Neser, Mr. Dan (2022-07-25; 2022-07-28). Chairman: Oude Molen Tenants Association; Steel Art Studio.
Neser, Ms. Margot (2022-07-26). Back of Beyond Deli & Restaurant.
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South African National Government
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<https://gis.elsenburg.com/mobile/camis/main/>
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Cape Town topographic map, elevation, relief (topographic-
map.com) [https://en-za.topographicmap.
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