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**A sortie into the archaeology of the
Moravian mission station,**

Genadendal

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research into missions and mission encounters has the potential to contribute towards a better understanding of Khoekhoe material culture and society in the early historical period. The ways in which these communities interacted with missionaries as part of the process of redefining their position in colonial society in the Cape has not yet been considered.

The primary aim of this research was to find evidence of the Khoekhoen who lived in the vicinity of Bavianskloof (renamed Genadendal in 1806) during the 18th and early 19th century, in order to trace the process of culture change that this community experienced. While culture change, particularly in the context of interaction between European cultures and indigenous cultures, has most often been discussed in terms of one-way acculturation of indigenous people, culture change is also the result of active strategic choices that are made by indigenous groups in order to reinvent themselves in a changing social and economic environment. It is this principle that underpins the examination of the following archaeological and documentary evidence.

1.2. Methodology

A survey of the published literature on the Khoekhoen living within the colonial boundaries of the colony until the 18th and early 19th century provided the background to this research. Deeds of transfer of farms surrounding Genadendal were also checked for any references to Khoekhoe settlements.

Published literature dealing with the Khoekhoen and the demise of the traditional herding society during the 18th century falls into two categories: historical and archaeological.

projects have tried, unsuccessfully, to trace archaeological evidence of Khoekhoen, based on descriptions given in the historical record (Hart 1984, Robertshaw 1979). Even in the case of Oudepost 1, on the Langebaan Lagoon near Saldanha, where historical records document the sustained interaction between Khoekhoen and DEIC soldiers and post-holders, the context of the indigenous artefacts within the site remains inconclusive (Schrine & Deacon 1989, Wilson *et al* 1990, Yates & Smith 1993a, Yates & Smith 1993b).

Although there have been no DEIC period Khoekhoen sites excavated to date, traces of contact between indigenous groups and European traders and/or colonists are present in surprisingly many archaeological sites in the South and Western Cape. Using the criteria formulated by Smith *et al* (1991:71), these sites have all been identified as hunter, rather than herder sites. This evidence, (although admittedly meagre) has rarely been recorded as a focus for publication as it often fell outside the then current research paradigms. Given the quantities of metal and glass beads that were exchanged during these historical transactions only a fraction of the evidence has turned up in excavated sites. Miller *et al* (1998) investigated metal objects found in archaeological sites in the South Western Cape in particular. Nineteen objects in total were identified, coming from 11 sites¹, two of which had additional associated European artefacts. An interesting point at this stage is to

¹ Kleinplaas (Gifberg, Clanwilliam district), Pepper Tree Hill (Verlorenvlei), Voëlvllei (Voëlvllei Dam), Elands Bay Cave (Elands Bay), Waditsoupan, Drie Sussters Main (Posberg Reserve), TR4 (Pakhuis, Clanwilliam district), Eland Cave (Pakhuis, Clanwilliam district), Andriesgrond (Clanwilliam), Langberg Rock shelter, Tortoise Cave (Elands Bay).

Western Overberg, based on Prins' synopsis of the historical records (Figure 1). No additional information relevant to this study, however, could be gained through further study of the farms in the vicinity of the mission station.

A test excavation in a small rock shelter about 200m from the Genadendal historical core was one focus of the archaeological investigation. The surface of the shelter contained a mixture of European refined earthenware, stone tools and indigenous pottery. A second test excavation in the Church Square based on the estimated location of George Schmidt's house provided a comparative indication of the types of European manufactured artefacts that may potentially have been brought into the village by the missionaries.

1.3. Terminology

1.3.1. The DEIC at the Cape

The DEIC was established in 1602 with the primary aim of furthering Dutch trading interests in the East. The refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope was not established with the intention of developing it as a colony of the Netherlands, but for providing fresh supplies to DEIC ships en route to the East. Once the settlement was established the DEIC strictly administered and controlled trade between the colonists at the Cape and passing ships, but it failed to maintain effective control over its employees, freeburgher farmers and the indigenous populations. Freeburghers were DEIC employees who were released from their service contracts in order to establish farms that could supply the refreshment station with fresh produce (Worden 1998:61, 161). From 1716, a new group of colonial farmers started emerging, that of trek or migrant stock farmer. By 1770, two thirds of the freeburgher farmers were migrant stock farmers who subsisted

through stock farming alone, therefore coming in direct competition with the Khoekhoen (Guelke 1982:63).

1.3.2. Land usage at the Cape

Land, and different perceptions of land ownership, is a central issue in understanding the impact that colonial expansion had on local indigenous groups during the historical period; the alienation from land and resources was possibly the greatest single cause of the disintegration of traditional Khoekhoe society.

Khoekhoe groups maintained communal access to water and grazing. Owing to the relatively low nutrient value of the natural veld in the winter rainfall region of the South Western Cape, the Khoekhoen moved around in the landscape looking for fresh grazing for their herds. Land was used on a seasonal basis and seemed to the Dutch to be unoccupied and free for the taking (Smith 1990:12) (Figure 2).

For the colonists, three formal types of colonial land tenure were in use at the Cape: freehold (*eigendoms platts*), loan farm (*leeningsplatts*) and loan freehold or quitrent (*erfpacht*). Freehold farms were granted to freeburghers free of charge and varied in size from 40 to 100 morgen (a morgen being about 600 square Cape feet). Ironically, great emphasis was placed on the free and easy access to communal grazing land – ‘communal’ only to the freeburghers, as indigenous people were excluded in these arrangements. The loan farm had its roots in the lease of grazing ground, already practised since 1703. Grazing land could be leased for a period of three months, after which the licence could

be renewed. From 1714 farmers were given permission to grow crops on so-called leased land and a yearly fee was charged for new loan farm permits.

In reality there was little difference between the administration of the freehold and the loan farms, with the main exception being that while any crops and buildings situated on a loan farm could be bequeathed, the land itself belonged to the DEIC. Some loan farms stayed in the same family for generations. In such cases the family could appeal to have the loan farm converted to freehold (Guelke 1982). Quitrent or *erfpacht* referred to land leased for a period of 15 years at a fixed tariff. Farms granted as loan farms or in quitrent were essentially not owned by the farmer (although with time these farms could become the *de facto* property of the lessee). The implication of this is that little permanent structural development would take initially place on these types of farms. Despite the fact that the land was leased rather than granted, it still had the consequence of alienating the indigenous people from the natural resources.

Within the confines of colonial boundaries it was virtually impossible for Khoekhoen to own land and the only means that they could gain access to land and grazing was through working for the freeburghers (Ross 1994:97,99). The establishment of missions therefore afforded the Khoekhoen with an alternative means of access. In the case of Genadendal the land was not actually owned by the Khoekhoen themselves, but held in trust by the Moravian missionaries. Furthermore, even though the mission was active from 1792, the land was only officially granted to the Moravian Church in 1857.

At the beginning of the 19th century people of Khoisan descent are described in a range of terms including ‘Hottentot’, ‘Bastard Hottentot’, ‘Bosjeman’, ‘Bastard Bosjeman’, ‘Bastard’ and ‘Baster’. The terms ‘Bastard’ and ‘Baster’ refer to someone of mixed origin with one parent of Khoisan descent and the other (usually the father) of slave or European descent. By 1823, people of Khoisan descent were referred to simply as ‘Hottentots’, ‘Bushmen’ or ‘Bastards’ (Cliff 1995:32, Smith 1993:15-18). Although the terms ‘Hottentot’ and ‘Bushman’ were used throughout the 18th and 19th centuries to refer to indigenous people, these terms have become loaded with negative connotations.

The Khoekhoen had traditional captains and chiefs and the use of the term ‘Captain’ when referring to Khoekhoen and Bushmen implies that the individual referred to maintained a certain degree of co-operation and alliance with the colonial government. Captains recognised by the Cape authorities usually received a staff made of wood and brass (Barnard 1992:160, Kolb 1968:86).

1.4. Content

There are two parallel themes in this research. The first theme is contact and culture change and its expression in the archaeological record of the South Western Cape. The second theme is that of missions and missionaries and the influence they had on and role that they played *vis-à-vis* Khoisan communities during the 18th century.

In the following chapter the theme of contact and culture change in the context of the South Western Cape is explored through the example of a selection of archaeological sites (Figure 3). Prior to the establishment of the DEIC refreshment station at the Cape of

Good Hope in 1652, indigenous people had contact with European ships and sailors who stopped at the Cape to take on fresh water and provisions. Beads and metal were exchanged for livestock, meat and plant foods. Vast numbers of beads and other trade goods entered the material world of the Khoekhoen as a result of this trade (Raven-Hart 1967). This trade, however, is only hinted at in the archaeological record, with very small amounts of trade goods being found in archaeological sites in the South Western Cape. Furthermore, trade goods are almost exclusively found in hunter sites, despite the observation that Khoekhoen groups were involved in trade with ships and later with the DEIC refreshment station at the Cape.

Three historical texts are explored in Chapter Three with the aim of gaining insight into the types of material culture that were being used by Khoekhoen living at the mission and the types of material culture that were brought into the mission context by the missionaries themselves. These texts create an expectation of what could potentially be found archaeologically and what meaning may be attached to it, as well as giving insights into the interaction between the Khoekhoen and the missionaries and the neighbouring farms and kraals.

Chapter Four situates Genadendal in its historic environment and social context before going on to describe the results of the excavations. Test excavations were executed in two locations in the village; one in a small rock shelter about 200 m from the historical core and the other in the estimated location of the missionary George Schmidt's house. Neither of the test excavations proved to be very fruitful. The paucity of archaeological material (excluding the architecture) that could be attributed to the 18th century

Chapter 2: Culture contact and change

The establishment of the refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 had far reaching effects on the social organisation of indigenous populations living at the Cape. In order to understand these effects on the Khoekhoen in particular, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the *status quo* prior to 1652. Although the focus of this chapter is on the culture change that followed the establishment of the refreshment station, it must be remembered that the arrival of pastoralism in the South Western Cape, too, had had far reaching effects on the original hunter-gatherer societies that occupied the region. This chapter will also look at cultural change in terms of strategies employed by both colonised and coloniser, as well as individuals within traditional Khoekhoe society who found themselves in a social environment that left them dispossessed and alienated from their natural resources.

2.1. The social landscape at the Cape, pre 1652

At the time that the refreshment station was established at the southern tip of Africa, two economically distinct indigenous groups are documented at the Cape, the one following a herding way of life (Khoekhoen) and the other hunting and gathering (Soaqua or Bushmen). Very little is known about the social organisation of the Cape Khoekhoen and the little that is known is based on Dutch records (Barnard 1992:160, 161).

Livestock, in particular cattle, played an important role in Khoekhoe society, being the main criterion through which wealth was measured. In a society where land could not be divided amongst individuals, livestock was the most valued form of private property (Elphick 1977:57, 59). The ownership of livestock was the main characteristic distinguishing herders from hunters, however some groups of hunters did own small numbers of livestock (Elphick 1977:25-26) and the hunting of wild game for meat and the gathering of plant food by women were still important economic activities in Khoekhoe society (Elphick 1977:31).

Even though there was this overlap, prehistoric herders and hunters have been distinguished archaeologically by different 'cultural packages'. Hunter sites have been associated with assemblages with a higher percentage of formal stone tools, little or no domestic faunal remains, a high percentage of small antelope remains, smaller average ostrich eggshell bead size and little or no pottery. Herder sites, however, are characterised by a low percentage of formal stone tools, a high percentage of domestic faunal remains, larger average ostrich eggshell bead size and quantities of pottery (Smith *et al* 1991:71). Although both domestic stock and pottery are associated with herder archaeology, Sadr (1998:125) suggests that true herder sites are only those sites in which faunal remains of domesticates form 50% or more of the total faunal assemblage. Domestic stock in LSA sites does not necessarily indicate habitual herding activity, but also the opportunistic use of domestic animals obtained either through barter or theft. The presence of domestic stock in hunter sites confirms observation in the historical records that some groups of hunters did occasionally keep small numbers of domestic stock (Elphick 1977:25-26).

historical documents. Peter Robertshaw (1979), who focused on the later prehistory and the origins of pastoralism in the Western Cape, acknowledges that large herds of domestic cattle and sheep are recorded in 17th century historical documents, but could not find traces of these herding activities in the archaeological record. In 1984, Tim Hart undertook a systematic survey of the Berg River/Porterville area, with the aim of tracing the herding activities described in the historical records. This survey also demonstrated the frustrating archaeological invisibility of the historical Khoekhoen.

The prime reason suggested for this invisibility seems to lie in the fact that these people were highly mobile, and this classic pastoralist settlement strategy, with a few exceptions, did not leave sufficient archaeological traces. Furthermore, an already tenuous archaeological record has been masked because the geographical areas favoured by pastoralists are now, for the most part, under intensive cultivation.

The issue of archaeological visibility and identity is also complicated further because the distinction between hunter and herder assemblages suggested by Smith *et al* (1991) for pre-colonial times may possibly not be equally valid in the historical period. Research in Namaqualand, Northern Cape, by Lita Webley (1997) aimed to investigate the archaeological signature of the Little Namaqua (a Khoekhoe group living in the Northern Cape during the historical period) and compare these assemblages with other Later Stone Age pastoral settlements. Webley found that archaeological sites dating to the last 1000 years could not be clearly distinguished as pastoralist or hunter-gatherer sites. Recent work at Bloeddrif, along the Orange River (Smith *et al* forthcoming), however, seems to support the assertion of Smith *et al* (1991) that there is a clear distinction between hunter-

Inherent in the archaeological interpretation of material culture is the strong link between artefact and culture (Upton 1996:1, Howson 1990:80), by which a group or package of artefacts or traits is often equated with a cultural group. Particularly in prehistory, culture is presented as relatively static and conservative (Ewen 1996:42); for example, the criteria put forward by Smith *et al* (1991) for distinguishing prehistoric hunters and herders in the archaeological record and their attempts to extend this scheme of identification into the historical period (Smith *et al forthcoming*).

During the historical period when contact between indigenous groups and colonising Europeans took place, rapid culture change was clearly the result. The rate of culture change in the archaeological record, however, is often also 'measured' by the rate at which European artefacts found their way into traditional material culture. Henrietta Moore (1985:85) refers to these European artefacts as "indices of social change". They include square houses, western clothing and manufactured European goods, which are all easily recognisable features that have come to represent evidence of social change.

Acculturation of indigenous people by Europeans, and the associated material indices, has largely been conceptualised as social change in which the European culture has largely dominated and overwhelmed the traditional (e.g. Foster 1960:6-7). Acculturation tries to explain the process of change through identifying certain processes that non-European cultures undergo once they come into contact with European cultures. Culture contact and the borrowing of European objects and symbols and the emulation of European values has quite simply been seen as the transferral and emulation of a European cultural package of function, values and meanings (Moore 1985:86). Initially European objects

artefacts may reflect indices of social change, that change can be equally driven by internal interests, power brokering and cliques, and European material culture can be warped and moulded to the needs of these contexts

2.3. European settlement and the demise of indigenous society

The general demise of Khoekhoe society has been chronicled in the DEIC journals and published editions of traveller's explorations of the Cape of Good Hope. Much of what is known about the Khoekhoen has been gleaned from accounts written from the colonial perspective.

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape to establish the DEIC refreshment station in 1652, he was met by the Gorinhaikona. This group, although identified by the DEIC as 'Hottentots', had no cattle and subsisted on gathered seafood and trade with passing ships. Their spokesperson, Autshumato, spoke English and acted as a 'broker' between, first, the English passing the Cape en route to the East and, later, the Dutch and the Khoekhoen living in the interior (Figure 2). Boonzaier *et al* (1996:68) suggests that this group, also known as 'Strandlopers', followed a way of life with the purpose of enriching themselves through trade. During the early years of the refreshment station, van Riebeeck and subsequent governors made much use of interpreters in their dealings with the Khoekhoen. That people existed within Khoekhoe society who already spoke either English or Dutch is perhaps testament to the degree of interaction that had been taking place at the southern tip of the continent by the time that the refreshment station was established. Furthermore, in light of the theoretical statement above, abilities to speak

who were not working for European farmers on at least a seasonal basis (Schapera & Farrington 1933:273).

2.4. 'Artefacts of trade'

There is ample historical evidence for Portuguese as well as English and Dutch ships bartering with the local Khoekhoen for fresh meat prior to the establishment of the refreshment station at the Cape in 1652 (Raven-Hart 1967). Indigenous stock was readily exchanged for iron, copper, beads and 'trinkets'. In 1608, Cornelius Maletief obtained 173 sheep, 34 cows and five calves in exchange for one old iron hoop off a pickling vat for each cow, an iron hoop a span long with a ring at the end for each sheep and an assortment of copper wire, rings and armbands, blue beads and cloth (Schoeman 1999:184). A decade later, trade was still strong, with Khoekhoen bringing stock and food items to trade with passing ships. Schoeman (1999:184) also mentions cattle, sheep, tortoises, ostrich eggs, sweet roots and other foodstuffs being traded for beads, knives, armbands, mirrors, copper and iron wire. The desire for metal appears to have been a strong driving force behind the Khoekhoen's willingness to trade. Until 1609 almost all the stock bartered from the Khoekhoen were exchanged for iron. After 1610, copper and later brass were increasingly sought after by the Khoekhoen as bartering currency (Elphick 1977:76). In 1619, for example, a Danish ship was relieved of its water barrels by a group of Khoekhoen and the barrels were broken and the iron hoops stolen. In 1638 a ship on its return voyage to Europe unsuccessfully tried to trade with the Cape Khoekhoen. The trade failed because the sailors had no copper wire (Schoeman 1999:184).

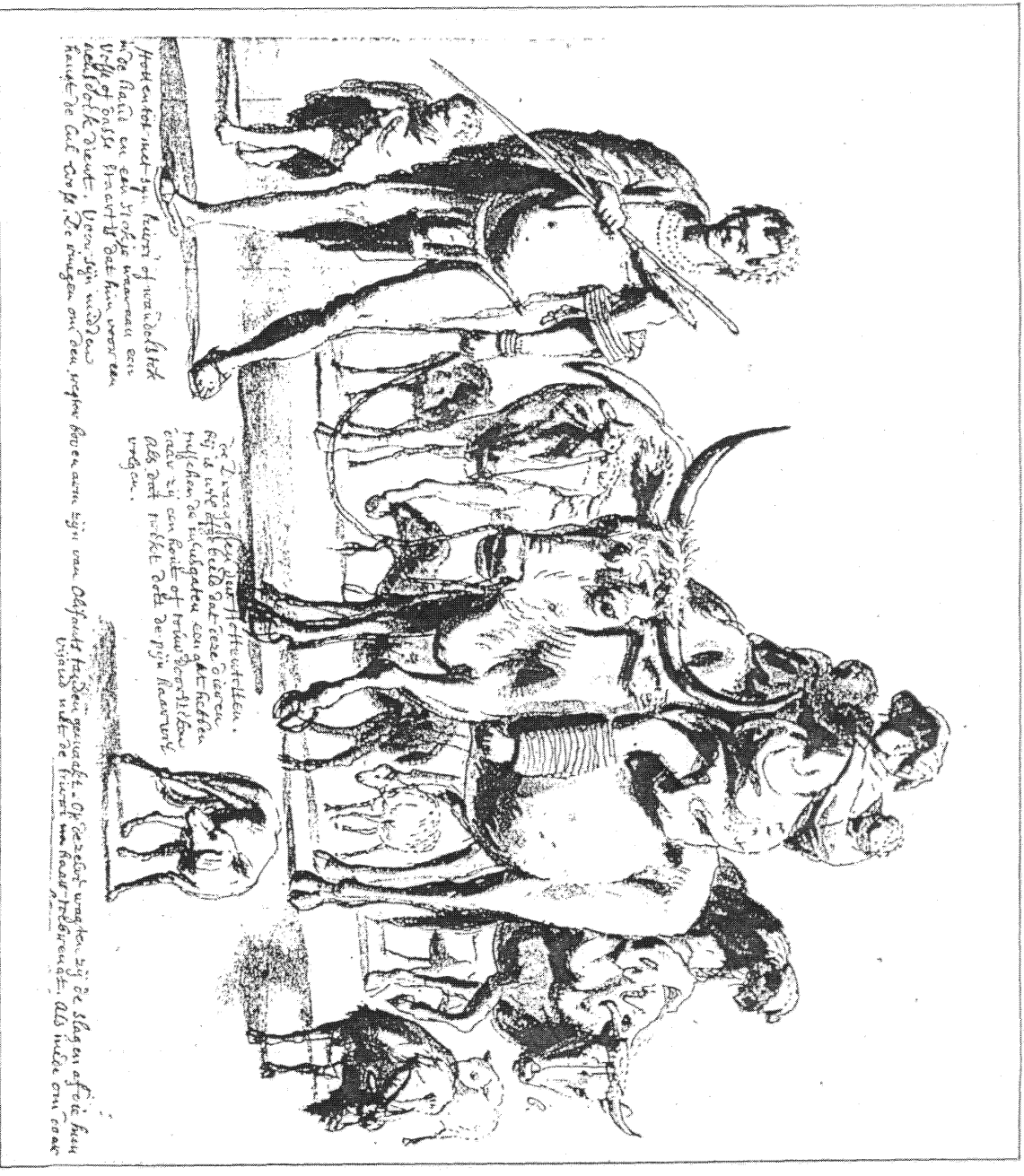


Figure 4: Differential use of arm and leg decorations among Khoekhoe men and women (Smith & Pfeiffer 1993:53).

travellers documented the heated conflict between hunters and herders and once colonial stock farmers penetrated the region, this violence was extended to them as well (Anderson 1991:109-110).

While the basic lithic tradition in the Andriesgrond shelter remains unchanged throughout the sequence, Anderson (1991:103-105) identified certain changes in the non-lithic artefacts that he has interpreted as possible evidence of increased social strain associated with the penetration of herders and possibly European trek farmers into the region. Anderson has observed a decrease in decorated ostrich eggshell and an increase in decorated pottery as one moves from the period pre-dating 1700AD to the period post dating 1700AD. Furthermore, 88.4% of the ostrich eggshell beads were found in the layers post dating 1700AD. This has been interpreted as evidence for an increase in reciprocal gift giving ceremonies, which are effective in strengthening social obligation.

An increase in the reuse of MSA flakes from 23.1%, in pre 1700AD layers, to 42% in post 1700AD layers has also been observed. Anderson (1991:106) has interpreted this increase in the reuse of MSA flakes as an indication that herding activities, either by Khoekhoen or colonial farmers, restricted the mobility of hunter-gatherers within the geographic region. This restricted geographic mobility is also supported by botanical remains, which seem to indicate longer periods of occupation at the site. The visible smudging of earlier painted images in the rock art panels further supports the picture of a society undergoing stress. Images painted in earlier times were sought out and touched in the hope that some of their 'potency' could be 'rubbed off' and used (Anderson 1991:96,107).

have been circulated through several individual communities being carefully curated before ending up in the archaeological deposit at Andriesgrond shelter.

2.5.2 Voëlvllei

The site of Voëlvllei, close to the present day Voëlvllei Dam at Songquasdrift near Paarl, has a stone tool assemblage that throughout the deposit can consistently be described as hunter-gatherer. The uppermost layer contained one Venetian bead, a lump of lead, a possible iron nail, a brass loop and large ostrich eggshell beads falling well within the size range usually associated with herder sites (Smith *et al* 1991:83-84). Smith *et al* (1991:89) have argued that the presence of large ostrich eggshell beads in hunter sites and a relatively low number of small ostrich eggshell beads in herder sites can be interpreted as evidence of a “one-way exchange” between herders and hunters. Although Smith *et al* (1991:89) interpret the European objects in the deposit as indicative of actual contact with Dutch travellers and freeburghers who had been passing through and settling in the region from the end of the 17th century, it is equally possible that these European objects were being exchanged through interaction between Khoekhoen and the Bushmen. This interpretation would account for the extremely small number of European goods that consistently turn up in hunter sites.

When Simon van der Stel passed through the Berg River Valley on the way to Namaqualand in 1685, he remarked that each tribe of Khoekhoen had a group of Songqua associated with them. The Songqua ‘work’ for the Khoekhoen, scouting for and bringing news of other tribes entering the pasturelands. While the Bushmen had no qualms about stealing stock from other Khoekhoe groups, they would not steal from the group to which

After the First British Occupation in 1795, colonial attitudes towards solving the Bushmen resistance on the frontier changed. The British 'pacification' approach focused on negotiated peace (Moir & Sampson 1993:35), and Bushmen were attracted to the farms through gifts of food, tobacco and beads in an attempt to encourage them to work for, and become reliant on farmers for a living, in contrast to raiding stock (Sampson 1995:30-32). Within a generation, the resistance of the *Sun ʔi* Bushmen was broken and Bushmen worked on farms, either on a semi-permanent, or temporary basis.

The strong link between land, independence and effective resistance to colonial expansion by indigenous groups is again illustrated in the Seacow River Valley. While the strategic choices made by the *Sun ʔi* Bushmen in the Seacow River Valley are implied rather than directly stated, it is clear that as long as there was land and game available, individual groups could exist independently from stock farmers, resisting and temporarily repelling European expansion into the valley. After 1809, most of the water holes in the Upper Seacow River Valley were controlled by European farmers, an occurrence which coincided with the British policy of pacification (Moir & Sampson 1993:35). By the mid 19th century most Bushmen were working on the farms as herders and servants and foraging activities decreased (Moir & Sampson 1993:35).

The sequence of events which quelled the *Sun ʔi* Bushmen and made them reliant on European farms, is reflected in the archaeological record. Deposits predating c1840, contain few European artefacts, other than fragments of lead grape shot and a few beads (Voigt *et al* 1995:37). This low density of artefacts correlates with the period of violent

2.5.4 Oudepost 1

Oudepost 1 was a stone walled fort erected in 1669 near Saldanha Bay on the Langebaan lagoon in response to a perceived French threat to occupy Saldanha Bay. The outpost housed a garrison of between four and ten men (Schrire 1988:218). Their duties included the defence of the bay, which provided important anchorage for ships during the winter months when Table Bay offered little protection from strong northwesterly winds. The garrison was also charged with guarding the DEIC herds and trading for livestock with local Khoekhoen (the Cochoqua) who frequented the area as part of their seasonal round (Smith 1992).

Historical documents record the interaction between Khoekhoen and the soldiers stationed at the outpost. Relations with the Khoekhoen were not always friendly and the outpost was abandoned from 1673 until 1686, after a massacre of the garrison (Schrire 1988:223, Schrire *et al* 1993:21). This massacre coincided with the outbreak of the Second Khoi/Dutch War (1673-1677), which was sparked by an attack by the Cochoqua on a Dutch hunting party in the interior. The Dutch in retaliation launched a number of cattle raids against the Cochoqua, thinly veiled as punitive expeditions, seizing 800 head of cattle and 900 head of sheep on their first offensive (Elphick 1977). The Cochoqua, who grazed their herds in an area which stretched from the Oliphants River in the north to the banks of the Berg River just north of Table Bay, were the main trading partners of the Dutch from 1660 until the outbreak of the second Khoi/Dutch war (Bredenkamp 1981:14). By 1673, at the time of the massacre of the garrison at Oudepost 1, the Dutch had traded

2.6 Summary

This review indicates that the establishment of the refreshment station at the Cape in many ways signalled the end of an independent traditional way of life for the Khoisan of the South and Western Cape. In the light of the overwhelming domination of European culture it is tempting to view subsequent indigenous culture change as acculturation, with traditional societies being brutally dominated and absorbed.

The dearth of historical Khoekhoe sites in the South and Western Cape, and the low number of studies specifically mounted to research culture contact and change, underpins both the difficulty in doing this, and the need for more work. The observation that the majority of 'contact' material has turned up in sites ascribed to hunter-gatherers is another complicating factor.

On the basis of this review, I would suggest that during the 18th century in the South Western Cape, a generalised hierarchy of exchange existed between European farmers and officials, Khoekhoen and hunter-gatherers. The majority of the trade activities of the Dutch at the Cape, was focused on the Khoekhoen, with their large herds of cattle and sheep. In contrast, the Dutch had little interest in 'constructive engagement' with hunter-gatherers whom they largely viewed as vermin and whom they were actively 'exterminating' by means of organised commandoes that were instituted from before 1715 (Marks 1972:70-71). Certain communities of hunter-gatherers, however, were involved in client relations with groups of Khoekhoen, either on a permanent or temporary basis, as described by van der Stel in 1685 (Waterhouse 1932:122). European material could have been circulated through trade from the Dutch to the Khoekhoen, who

Chapter 3: Documentary evidence of 18th century Bavianskloof

As mentioned in Chapter 2, most of what is known about the Khoekhoen in the period after 1652 has been gleaned from historical records made by Europeans. In cases where the people under study are either “extinct or heavily acculturated”, historical documents form the ethnographic analogy upon which archaeologists largely depend when trying to interpret material remains (Galloway 1992:178). These historical documents need to be critically evaluated. They were usually written by people who had little if any understanding of the indigenous people they were describing and often they were writing for a particular audience back in Europe, who had particular expectations (Smith 1993:8).

3.1. The texts

In the following section, three texts dating to the 18th century are investigated and assessed. This is a first step towards testing Humphrey’s suggestion and are examined particularly with regards to their value in indicating the potential of present-day Genadendal as a site that could provide adequate archaeological evidence of a Khoekhoen presence and culture change at the 18th century mission station. Of interest in these texts would be information indicating what types of material culture one could expect to find, and specifically, what material was used by the missionaries, in contrast to types of indigenous and/or European artefacts used by the mission Khoekhoen. The three texts to be discussed are the diary of George Schmidt (1737-1744), the diaries of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel (1792 –1794) and the journal of Lady Anne Barnard (1798). The first two texts consisted of letters and journals, written by the Moravian missionaries and

3.2. The Moravian Church

The Moravian Church was founded in 1722 by a group of Protestant fugitives from Bohemia/Moravia who fled from persecution by the dominant Roman Catholic Church. They found sanctuary on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony. Together with this group of religious refugees, the Count established a religious village at Herrnhut, which became the core of a group known as the Moravian Brotherhood. Five years later the community was formally recognised as the “Renewed Moravian Church” (Kruger 1966:13; Schoeman 1997:130). In their persecution by the Roman Catholic Church, the Moravian church found support amongst other Protestant denominations. This support proved to be rather unstable, however, and the Moravian Church fell into disfavour with the Protestant Churches in 1738, when it was increasingly perceived as a sect (Schoeman 1997:136-137). From the start a strong emphasis was placed on missionary work, with missionaries being sent not only to Central Europe, but also to St Thomas Island in the West Indies, Greenland (1733), Surinam, South America (1735), North America (1735) and South Africa (1737) (Schoeman 1997:130).

3.2.1. *Aan de Sergeants Rivier, 1737 – 1744*

George Schmidt was in his late twenties when he arrived at the Cape in 1737 with the purpose of christianising the Khoekhoen. The decision to christianise the Khoekhoen through mission work was probably rooted in the fact that the mainstream local Dutch Reformed Churches had little or no interest in the spiritual well-being of the indigenous people at the Cape. Elizabeth Elbourne (1995:69) notes various examples where slave and Khoisan servants were actively and on occasion, aggressively, excluded from familial

converts, it became known that Schmidt had been ordained and was qualified to preach to the colonists.

Furthermore, slanderous rumours were also circulating at the Cape regarding Schmidt's immoral behaviour with the Khoekhoe women living at the mission. Although this rumour has not been confirmed, it was not unusual for colonists to co-habit with and even marry slave or indigenous women, especially in the interior where there were even fewer women colonists than at the Cape (Shell 1994:289-293).

3.2.2. **Baviaanskloof, 1792 (–1806) onwards**

By the end of the 18th century the general feeling towards the Moravian Church had mellowed and in some countries it was even favourable. A chance meeting between a member of the Moravian Church (en route from India to Europe) and a local *predikant* at the Cape set things in motion to re-establish the Moravian mission amongst the Khoekhoen that had been started by Schmidt nearly fifty years earlier (Kruger 1966:47-48).

In 1792 three men, 47-year old Dutch tailor Hendrick Marsveld, 42-year old German shoemaker Daniel Schwinn and 30-year old German knife-maker Christian Kithnel, were sent from the Moravian centre at Herrnhut to the Cape (Kruger 1966:49). Khoekhoen living in a kraal not far from the mission showed the three missionaries where Schmidt's house had been (some of the walls were still standing). At another kraal, they were told that Schmidt had planted an almond, apricot and pear tree. Although the three missionaries were also told that one could see the ruins of the houses of the "Hottentots"

While at the mission, some men still worked on a seasonal basis on the neighbouring farms. The DEIC outpost at Soetemelksvlei also employed some of the men as wagon drivers and cattle-herds when stock needed to be taken to Cape Town (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:83). Women also worked on the farms periodically, doing washing and helping during harvest season (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:83). The Khoekhoen living at Schmidt's mission kept herds of cattle and sheep and keeping the stock, as well as wild game, out of Schmidt's vegetable gardens proved to be difficult. One day Schmidt, in frustration, shot a calf grazing in his garden (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:81, 85).

From the diary it is not clear what material goods Schmidt brought with him from Europe or Cape Town. He arrived in Cape Town with a single chest, which almost certainly contained his Bible and possibly a few ABC readers. He mentions in his diary that he had bought more readers in Cape Town for the price of 3 *stuiwers* each (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:155). Schmidt also notes that he had laid out a garden and chopped wood, presumably he then had at least one spade and an axe. As an apprenticed butcher, Schmidt did the odd butchering job for neighbouring farmers and he may have brought his butchering tools with him from Europe, although he does not specify details in the diary. At the death of Corporal Kampen at Soetemelksvlei in 1740 (Kruger 1966:27), Schmidt bought the Corporal's wooden bed with its bedding and a saddle, indicating that Schmidt either owned a horse or had the use of a horse belonging to one of his converts. At an earlier date he had two buckets and a small vat sent from the outpost (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:109, 127).

While Schmidt's text does not provide much detail regarding the day-to-day material life at the mission, one is left with a sense that Schmidt did not bring many European-manufactured goods with him and that there were not many of these objects available in the Overberg at the time. This impoverished material base, coupled with the Khoekhoe material world which, as indicated in Lady Anne Barnard's diary below, consisted of basic, 'natural' artefacts, discourages any expectation that much material culture dating to this early mission period entered or survived in the archaeological record.

3.4. Diary of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel (1792-1794)

In November 1792 Hendrick Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn and Christian Kühnel went to the Overberg to re-establish the Moravian mission started by George Schmidt in 1737. They met with a group of Khoekhoen, not far from the present site of Genadendal, who took them to the site of Schmidt's house. A few walls were still standing. Khoekhoen from another kraal told them of the fruit trees that Schmidt had planted and mentioned the ruins of the houses of some of Khoekhoen who had lived with Schmidt (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:57). At Snyderskraal, the three missionaries met Vehettege Tikkuie, who had been Schmidt's cook and housekeeper. Vehettege Tikkuie was baptised by Schmidt and was known as Magdalena. She had kept a copy of the New Testament wrapped in leather (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:59, 68). Vehettege Tikkuie explained that in years past many Khoekhoen lived in the region and that there was plenty of meat and milk and that people were not as poor as they were 'now'. After Schmidt had left, the converts had returned to working at the farms and many had died (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:68).

noted how a woman wearing European clothing always walked in front of her contemporaries clothed in traditional dress (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:77). They also mention the value that women placed on strings of “beads and pearls”. At baptism, candidates were expected to take off their beads (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:117), possibly symbolising the rejection of the old ways in favour of their new christian lives. The use of the two words ‘bead’ and ‘pearl’ possibly indicates that a mixture of ostrich eggshell and glass beads were used in the necklaces.

Men and women alike carried a steenbok skin sack on their backs that contained their tobacco, flint and pipes. Both men and women smoked and this social ritual consisted of sitting in a circle and passing around the lighted pipe. Small children were tied onto their mothers’ backs by means of a leather strap (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:68).

During the first two years of the re-establishment of the mission station the Khoekhoen living there continued, in part, to practice their traditional cultural rituals. Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel witnessed at least two traditional burials, where the grave was covered with a cairn of stones. They also mentioned that these graves remained visible for a long time and that there were several graves next to each other, behind the missionaries dwelling (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:76). The dwelling referred to in this instance is the T-shaped building behind the church, which is currently used as a tea-room. No cairn burials remain visible in the vicinity.

³ One ell is the equivalent of 1.14 m.

Over a thousand Khoekhoen flocked to the mission station towards the end of the 18th century. This sheer number of people suggests that a stronger archaeological imprint could be expected for this period. Although the diaries do not suggest that the Khoekhoe material culture had changed much since 1744, if anything it may have been more impoverished than before.

3.5. Journal of Lady Anne Barnard (1798)

Lady Anne Barnard approached the mission station from the Hot Springs at present day Caledon. She described the landscape surrounding the mission as a patchwork of cattle, garden plots, grazing lands and huts. Her party was greeted by Schwinn, Marsveld and Kuhnel and taken to their house (Lewin Robinson 1994:328-329).

Lady Anne described the reed mats covering the floors and a portion of the walls of the church building. The mats were covered with clay. The missionaries told her that they had taught the ‘Hottentot’ women how to weave these mats (Lewin Robinson 1994:330). Considering that the traditional *matjieshuis* is constructed by covering a framework with woven mats or cured skins, it is unlikely that the women were taught how to make them. This contradiction has two possible sources; first, Lady Anne Barnard simply misunderstood the missionaries or second, the missionaries made a false claim to emphasise their ‘enlightened’ introduction and impact on the Khoekhoen in their traditional ‘heathen’ state.

That evening, at supper, Lady Anne and her entourage provided most of the meal, with the exception of fresh vegetables grown in the mission gardens. Lady Anne mentions that

size. They also cautioned her to share her gifts equally so as not to let any one feel slighted.

The women at the mission made traditional caps, purses, tobacco pouches and necklaces to sell as curios to visitors, “for which strangers pay a good price for the curiosity of the thing” (Lewin Robinson 1994:334). Lady Anne’s ‘young companion’ bought a necklace, purse, apron, cap, girdle, and bracelets and sheep skins for 12 Rixdollars. This was considered to be quite expensive, as was the plain hernhutter knife, which was for sale for 1 Rixdollar. The women making these traditional garments admitted that the objects were expensive and that it was as a result of the beads being “so dear” (Lewin Robinson 1994:334).

This anecdote about the beads and the curios made by Khoekhoen at Genadendal requires further consideration. It is not certain from the journal whether these traditional items were being made exclusively for resale to visitors or being used by the people themselves. The fact that the beads were considered expensive could indicate that it was becoming difficult for them to get hold of suitable beads. If the beads were of ostrich eggshell, they could be seen to be expensive owing to a scarcity of the raw material, or perhaps there were fewer people making these beads? It is possible that the women could be using European beads on the traditional garments, as trade beads were amongst the items brought from Cape Town for exchange in barter transactions. The missionaries’ diary does not mention the buying of beads (or the making of the curios for that matter). It is possible that the making of these traditional type garments for resale as curios was a later

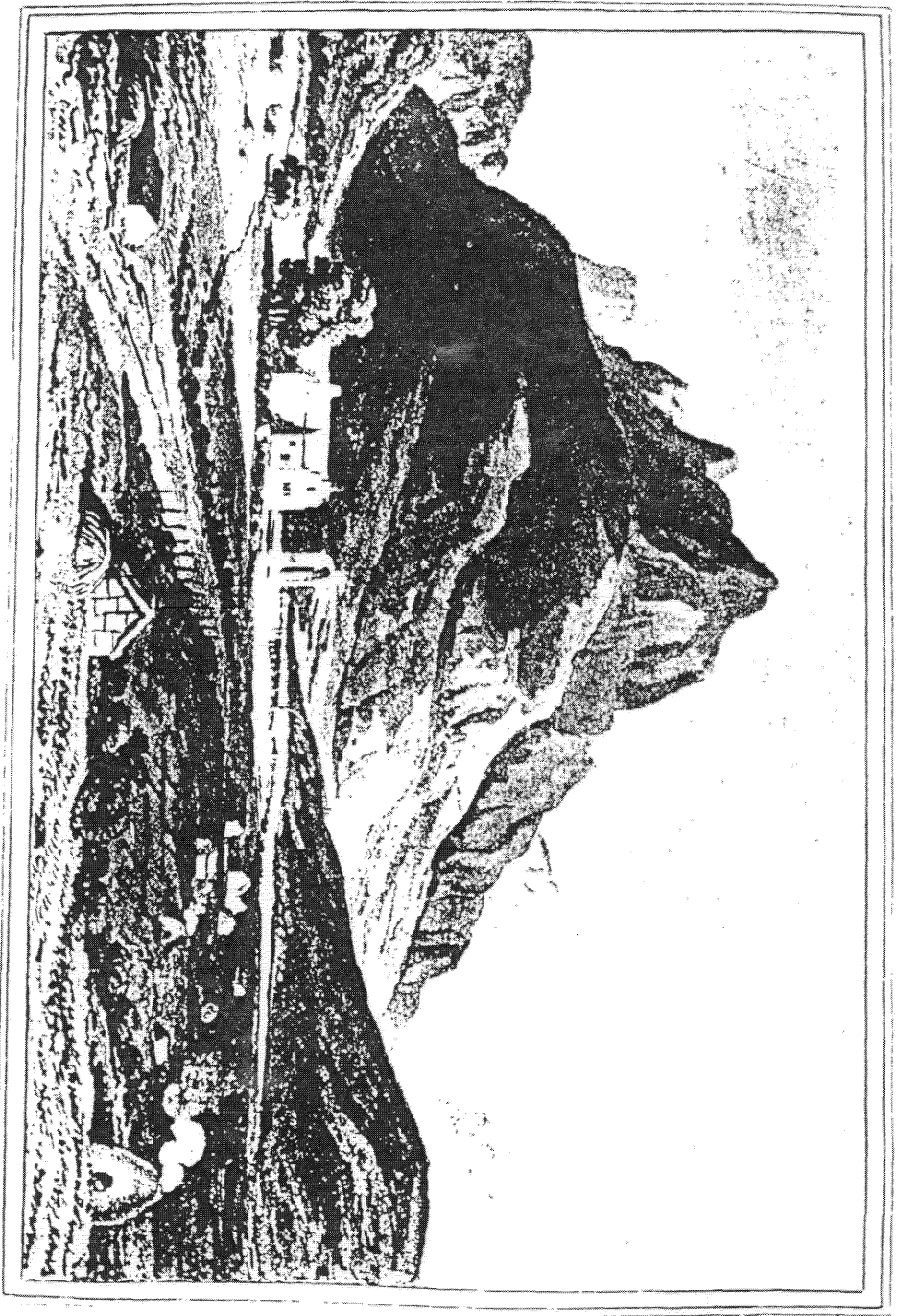


Figure 5: Sketch by Lady Anne Barnard of the historical core of Genadendal, 1798
(Fairbridge 1924).

with no European-style furniture. There was a central hearth, an iron pot, a few calabashes, wooden spoons, calabash ladles and bowls and skins (Lewin Robinson 1994).

In all, this picture probably resembles what one would expect to find in a 'typical' Khoekhoe dwelling.

The journal of Lady Anne Barnard does highlight a few interesting issues. First, while the statement by the missionaries that they taught the converts how to plant and work the ground may be correct, the assertion that they taught them mat weaving which formed part of the traditional activities practices by women in the Khoekhoe society, is doubtful. Also, when one takes into consideration that most Khoekhoen were involved in long-term work on colonial farms by the end of the 18th century, one can also question the degree to which they were ignorant of the skills of sowing and tending gardens. What the missionaries had in fact done was to institutionalise these practices amongst converts living at Bavianskloof, rather than introduce the concept.

A second interesting point concerns the making of beaded artefacts, which were then sold to passing visitors. It is not clear from Lady Anne Barnard to what degree these artefacts were used within the existing society or whether they were made solely for the purpose of resale. This is an issue that might be clarified through archaeological investigation.

Third, the description of the interiors of the huts at Genadendal, both in 1798 by Lady Anne Barnard and confirmed later by Burchell (1853:82) in the early 19th century, indicates that there was a low density of material items in possession of mission Khoekhoen. These may have been equivalent to 'traditional' material culture densities

buttons and tokens reflect status as a result of successful and sustained trade with the Dutch. The diaries provide a narrative of the change in material culture experienced by the Khoekhoen, one that illustrates most clearly the changing meaning associated with material culture. For example, traditionally beads were a symbol of wealth as well as social and sexual status (Forbes 1975:185-189). After the establishment of the mission and the conversion to christianity, beads became a symbol of heathenism. Converted Khoekhoen put aside their beads once they were baptised.

Throughout the latter half of the 18th century the mission Khoekhoen had access to guns. Although the use of guns is superficially a technological rather than a cultural change, the ownership of guns is a reaffirmation of the Khoekhoen status as 'free' within colonial society. Slaves were not allowed to own guns for fear that these weapons could be used in a uprising against their owners. While farmers could control the access that their indentured Khoekhoe servants had to guns, they had no such control over the Khoekhoen living at Bavianskloof. Overberg farmers even petitioned the Governor to forbid mission Khoekhoen to carry guns, but the petition was denied (Kruger 1966:75).

Relations between the mission Khoekhoen and the neighbouring farmers were strained and violence against the mission, particularly during the 18th century, was a constant threat (Kruger 1966:68-69, 74). At the root of the animosity towards the mission lay the dependence of Overberg farmers on Khoekhoe labour and the missionaries' interference with this exploitation. Land was also a deciding issue in the relations between the farmers and the mission. The land set aside for the Moravian mission in the Overberg was less than half the size of an average farm granted to colonists and yet in 1799 it

Chapter 4: A sortie into the archaeology of the Moravian mission station, Genadendal

4.1. Environmental background

Genadendal is situated at the southern foot of the Riviersonderend Mountains, of the Western Overberg. The Riviersonderend mountains form part of the Cape Fold Belt and contain three geological series; Table Mountain, Bokkeveld and Witteberg. Older Malmesbury shales with granite intrusions can be found between Greyton and Riviersonderend and younger Karoo sediments are found at Greyton (Le Roux 1984:9). The Table Mountain series consists mainly of sandstone, while the Bokkeveld and Witteberg consist of alternating bands of sandstone and shale (Figure 6). The erosion of shale produces soil that has a relatively high nutrient value (Mountain1968: 62-65).

The Western Overberg falls within the range of the Cape fynbos biome. Le Roux (1984) identifies four types of vegetation currently present in the Riviersonderend mountain catchment area: mountain fynbos, Knysna-type forest in the kloofs between Greyton and Riviersonderend, Karroid broken veld on the northern side of the mountain range and coastal Renosterveld. Renosterveld is characterised by the renosterbos (*Elytropappus rhinocerotis*), which is prone to fire and differs from typical fynbos in that it lacks both restioid and proteoid elements. Renosterveld also occurs on soils that are more fertile than that required by typical fynbos (Cowling *et al* 1997:594). The relatively high nutrient value of the soil in the Western Overberg makes it a region that is suitable for grazing as well as cultivation.

The human impact on the Western Overberg biome was moderate until the settlement of colonial farmers in the area from the mid 18th century onwards. While the advent of pastoralism in the Western Cape around 2000 BP had a considerable impact on the indigenous hunter-gatherers, there is little evidence to suggest that the Khoekhoe herds had a detrimental effect on the natural environment (Hoffman 1997:513). The seasonal mobility of the Khoekhoe herds would have allowed the natural vegetation to recuperate. Smith (1984) supports the migration hypothesis of the Khoekhoen living in the western Cape by looking at the nutrient levels of the soils. The South Western Cape is a winter rainfall region with an underlying granite and sandveld geology. During the winter months these soils provide grazing with adequate nutrient levels, but during the summer months these levels are insufficient and the maintenance of healthy herds would demand a seasonal migratory pattern (Smith 1984:141). More research would be needed to determine whether the Overberg Khoekhoen too followed a migratory cycle between the inland and the coast, as is suggested by Smith (1984). Kasteelberg B, for instance, was occupied during late winter/early spring (Smith *et al* 1991:89). Historically there is a link between Khoekhoen descendants living at Genadendal and the coast. Schmidt also describes how Africo, Wilhelm and Kybbodo went to the coast to fetch seawater with which to make salt (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:105).

Eighteenth century travel descriptions of the vegetation of the Western Overberg suggest that this area was covered by coastal fynbos and forest. By the mid 19th century, however, grasslands (Renosterveld) dominated. It has been suggested that the Renosterveld in the Western Overberg is the result of overgrazing (Rademeyer-de Kock 1993). Rademeyer-de Kock (1993) lists eland, hartebeest, mountain quagga, hare,

The DEIC officials at the Cape manipulated, to a large degree, the traditional competition between Khoekhoe groups in order to “divide and conquer”. While groups were competing separately for access to the Dutch trade goods, they were unlikely to stand together and resist the expansion of the Dutch influence into the interior. The deterioration of the relationship between the Overberg Khoekhoen and the settlement at the Cape was characterised by the fact that the Khoekhoen had to some degree outlived their usefulness as suppliers of meat and stock. By the early 18th century meat contractors, such as Henning Hussing and Jacob van der Heyden, were meeting much of the refreshment station’s demand for fresh meat (Sleight 1987:552).

Although extensive trading expeditions into the Overberg took place from the 1660s, it was only at the beginning of the 18th century that loan farms were officially granted in this region. The difficulty experienced by the freeburghers in the agricultural field caused many of them to turn to stock farming as an alternative means of living (Guelke 1982). The refreshment station had a constant demand for meat, and bringing livestock into Cape Town from the interior had none of the problems associated with transporting fresh produce to market.

The DEIC effected little control over the movement of the stock farmers into the interior. During the 18th century private trade with the Khoekhoen was still prohibited by proclamation, but in reality there was little means of monitoring or even controlling the actions of the freeburghers outside the Cape. The first loan farm was granted in the Overberg to Ferdinand Appel in 1708 (Prins 1979:25). This farm was situated not far from the hot water springs at Caledon. These hot water springs were first noted in the

The municipality of Genadendal is presently made up of four villages: Bereaville, Voorstekraal, Genadendal and Bosmanskloof (also referred to historically as Boschmanskloof or Boesmanskloof). It is clear that at least two of these villages (Voorstekraal and Bosmanskloof) have their roots in historical settlements that were contemporary to the re-establishment of the mission at Genadendal in 1792. The villages Voorstekraal, Bereaville and Bosmanskloof were not surveyed, although we did investigate the kloof at Bosmanskloof.

The survey diagram of Genadendal accompanying the 1857 grant shows the location of “Koeksons hutten” and Voorstekraal (Figure 7). “Koeksons hutten” was situated between Genadendal and the farm Weltevreden (presently the town of Greyton). Prins (1979:12) indicates that Stoffel Cooksen was living in that area from 1793. His brother Koekoe and his son Moses were still living there in 1803. Cooksen was an appointed ‘Hottentot Captain’ and at his death a squabble broke out regarding who should succeed him (Prins 1979:17). There were apparently three captains living in the area of Genadendal; Stoffel Cooksen (Boschmanskloof), Christlieb Booda and Paulus Haas (Genadendal). Petrus Mauritz initially took over from Stoffel Cooksen, but he was unpopular with the missionaries and with their intervention the Colonial Office appointed Leopold Koopman as captain (Kruger 1966:106). At this point, Mauritz identified himself as a Hessequa and tried rallying the other Hessequa at the mission to claim a captain other than Leopold Koopman, who was a ‘Koopmans Hottentot’ (a break-away group of the Chainouqua) (Kruger 1966:106).

Both Prins (1983:270) and Kruger (1966:55) refer to a “Bastard Hottentot” family living nearby at what is still known as Voorstekraal. Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel met this family, descended from a Khoekhoe woman and a colonist, and described them as “decent”, i.e. they wore European clothing (Bredenkamp *et al* 1992:66).

Within the time limit of this research, it was not possible to explore the social and historical connection of these four villages, but it certainly invites further notice.

4.3.1. Shelter excavation

Three shelters were found within the research area (Figure 8). One shelter is high up in the kloof northwards beyond the mission core. There were MSA flakes scattered over the surface (GPS reading 34.02° S, 19.56° E). A second shelter (GPS reading 34.07° S, 19.59° E) is located across the Riviersonderind River to the southeast of the mission station. There were a few flakes and a hammerstone scattered on the surface. The shelter is very small and was a porcupine lair at the time of the survey. A third shelter, found 200 m from the historical core of Genadendal, seemed to have the best excavation potential. Stone tools and pieces of indigenous pottery were visible on the surface and talus, as were more recent fragments of bottle and window glass. The shelter faces NW and is situated at 34.03° S, 19.56° E. The shelter is not deep and provides little protection from the elements and, consequently, preservation of bone and ostrich eggshell was poor.

The primary purpose of sampling the deposit was to test whether any 18th century contact material was present. During June 1998, two square meters (D5, D6) were excavated to a depth of 0.3 m. All finds were retrieved through a 3mm sieve (the ground was too wet to

use a 1.5 mm sieve). During March 1999 another 1.5 square meters (B11, C11) were excavated along the southeastern edge of the shelter. C11 measured 1m x 0.5m (Figure 9). The second excavation was done in order to assess the full sequence represented by the deposit.

It soon became apparent that the deposit was disturbed and a shallow hollow, dug through Layer 3 (BCS/DCS), extended across both D5 and D6. Another pit straddled B11 and C11, starting in Layer 2 extending downward through Layers 3 to 6, to a depth of 0.46 m. Layer 8 (S3) in D5 was excavated from the northeastern quad only. Layers 4 to 6 (H, HII, HIII) were excavated in C11 only (Figure 10).

On the basis of the presence or absence of ceramics (indigenous pottery and refined industrial ware), glass, backed formal tools and a shift from silecrete to quartz as the dominant raw material, the layers excavated from C and B11 have been separated into two basic units: Unit 1 comprising Layers 1 and 2 (Surface and BS), excluding the pit; and Unit 2, comprising Layers 3 to 6 (G, H, HII, HIII). Using the artefact distribution, it is also possible to extrapolate the units across to D5 and D6. Based on the comparison of the content of layers of D5/D6 and C11, it was clear that all layers excavated from D5 and D6 corresponded to Unit 1 of C11. However, for the purpose of comparing this site with other sites, only the material from C11 has been used.

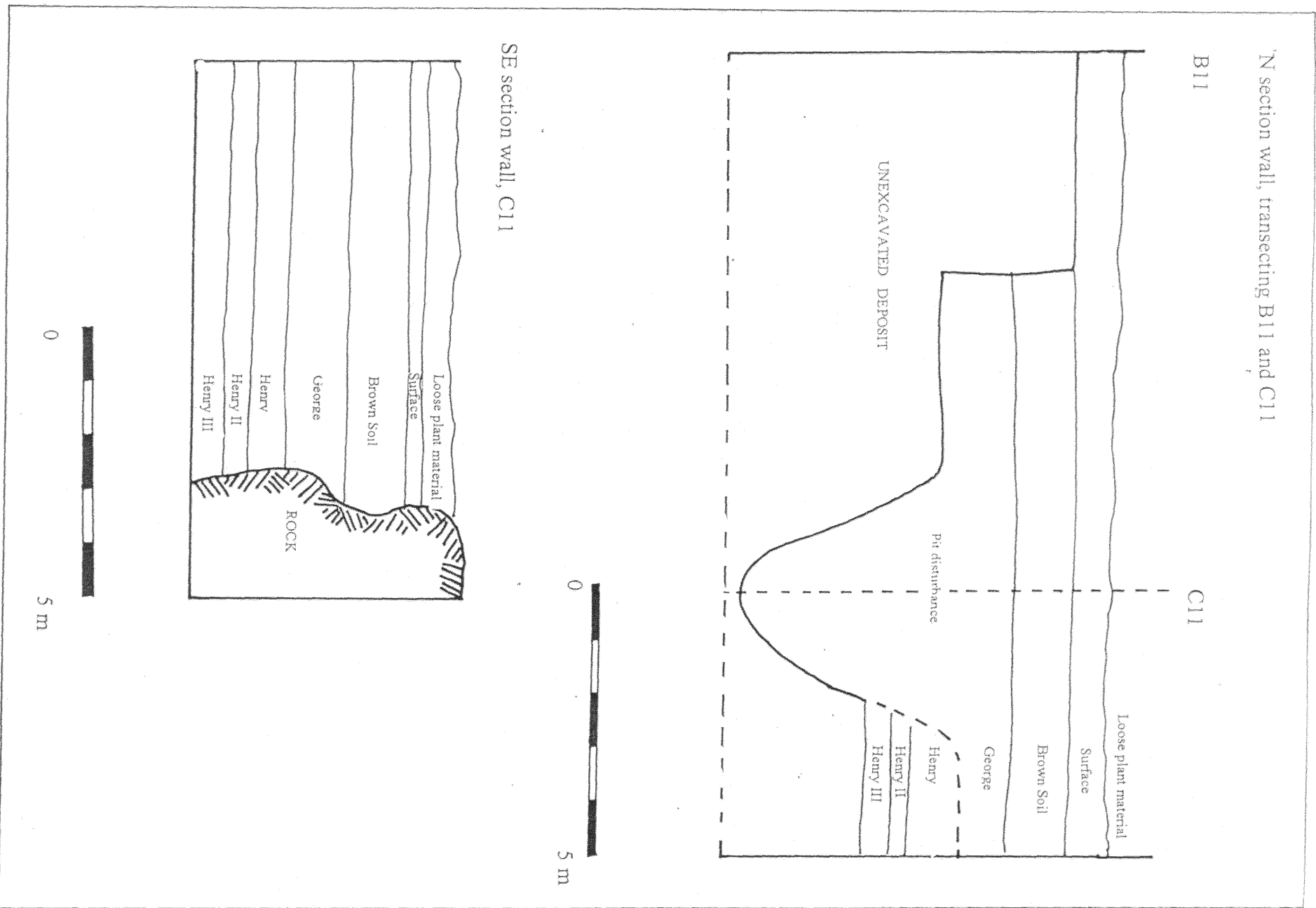


Figure 10: Genadendal shelter: stratigraphy.

using the clay from anthills. Indigenous pottery was found in Layers 1-6 in D5 and in Layers 1, 2 and pit area in B11 and C11.

From the European manufactured ceramic sample it was possible to identify two chamber pots (one with a moulded-and-gilt edge), a splatter/sponge decorated bowl, and two “Continental China” cups. The “Continental China” cups are examples of modern vitreous china. The rest of the shards were too small to identify vessel type.

Although the indigenous and European pottery occurs in the same layers, the disturbed nature of the deposit cautions against assuming that they are contemporary. The context of the indigenous pottery is also obscured by the poor preservation of organic materials that may have been contemporaneous. The presence of European refined industrial wares and modern “Continental China” suggests that the shelter was used sporadically during the latter half of the 19th century and later.

(ii) Glass

There were few diagnostic features in the glass assemblage. Fragmented lips and bases suggest that the majority of the glass came from bottles (probably alcohol bottles). A partial label ‘Lupini’ was found in Layer 1 (Surface), C11. The partial lip of a clear glass medicinal-type bottle was found in Layer 1 (Surface), D5. An embossed fragment of the body of possibly another medicinal-type bottle was found in the pit in B11. Flat glass (window glass) was also common throughout the top 0.2 m of the deposit. In D5 and D6, 98% of the glass is found in the top 6 layers and is particularly concentrated in Layer 1

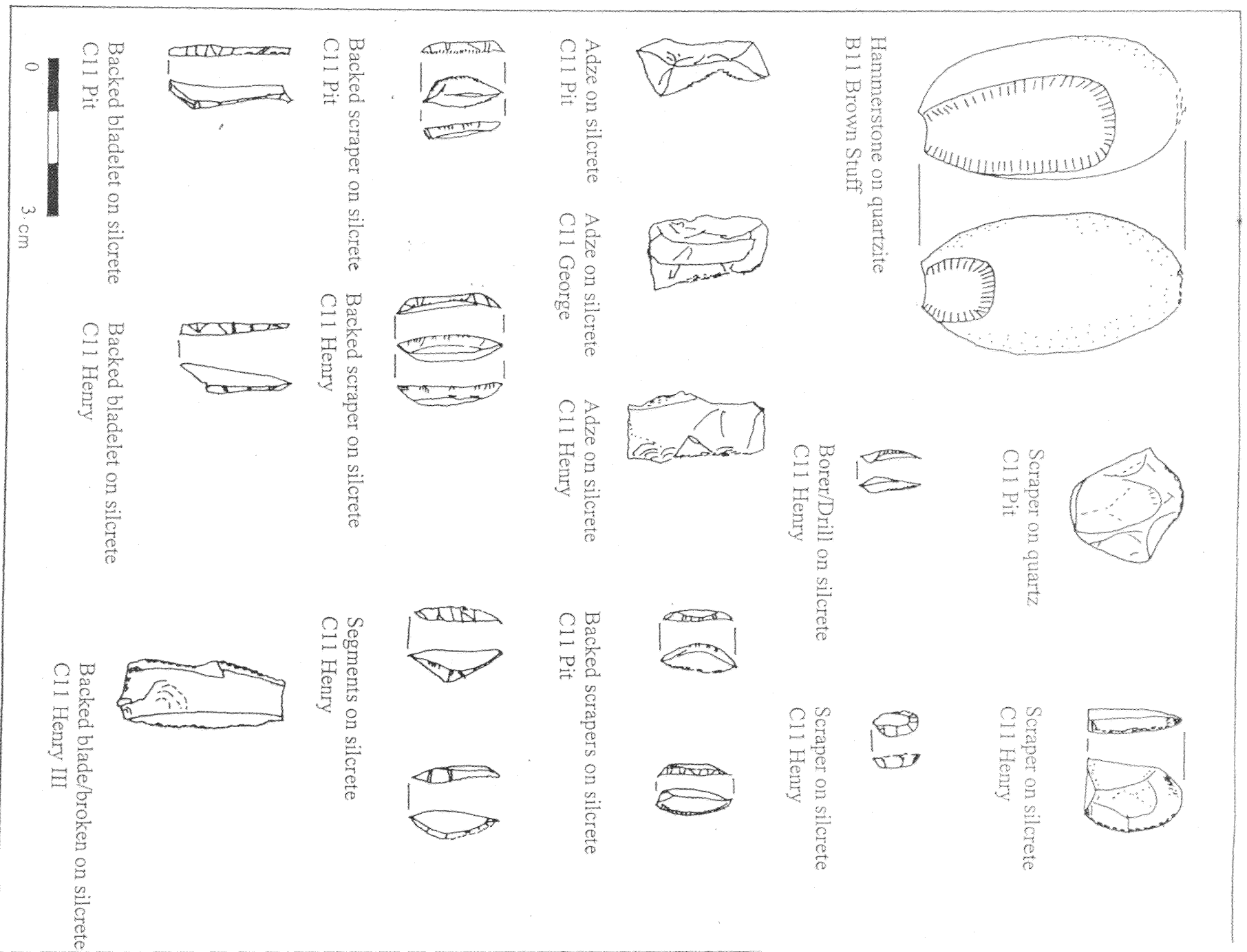


Figure 11: Genadendal shelter: a representative selection of stone tools.

Table 2b. Distribution of stone tools from squares B11 and C11

B11 and C11								TOTAL
UNIT	Unit 1			Unit 2				
Layer (Number)	1	2		3	4	5	6	
Layer (Physical description)	Surface	BS	Pit	G	H	HII	HIII	
Debitage*	47	273	626	450	461	162	241	2260
Ochre	7	16	40	30**	40	3	1	137
Cores		3	3	4	3		1	14
Hammerstone/Grindstone		1						1
Manuports			5	3	2			10
Convex scraper	1		4	2			1	8
Side scraper				1	2		1	4
End scraper			1					1
Backed scraper			8		12	2	2	24
Backed segment	1	1	2	2		6	5	17
Backed blade/point			4	7			1	12
MBP		1	4	2	3	2	1	13
Drill/bore					1			1
Adze		2	5	4	1		3	15
MRP		3	3	11	1	1	1	20
Total formal	2	7	31	29	20	11	15	115
TOTAL	56	300	705	516	526	176	258	2537

* Incl chips, chunks, unretouched flakes and blades

**Incl ochre crayon

H, HII, HIII only excavated from C11

Table 3a: Percentages of raw material distribution throughout D5 and D6

D5 and D6

			Q crystal	Quartz	Quartzite	Silcrete	CCS	Other	Glass
Unit 1	1	Surface	1.7	65.1	14.5	18.7			29
	2	YCS		69.9	7.2	20.3	2.7		12
	3	BCS/DCS		60.0	20.0	16.7	3.4		15
		Hollow	2.5	65.4	12.2	14.7	5.4		28
	4	RB/DS	2.8	60.0	10.6	26.7			3
	5	ES	11.0	62.1	8.0	15.9	0.6	2.4	11
	6	S	8.1	62.7	12.9	15.6	0.2	0.7	2
	7	S2	2.4	70.9	7.6	17.8		1.4	
8	S3	2.4	61.9	11.9	21.4	2.4			

B, being the herder type site, and Witklip, being a pre-1652 hunter site, as well as a selection of sites in the South-western Cape with evidence of contact (Table 5).

Table 5. Comparison of results from Genadendal shelter with a selection of sites in the South Western Cape.

*Andriesgrond Upper (Unit 1 and Unit 2A), Lower (Unit 2B)

Based on (Anderson 1991), Schrire (1992:62) and Smith *et al* (1991))

	% Quartz	% Quartzite	% Silcrete	% Formal	Average date	Affiliation
Kasteelberg B	51.5	30.3		0.2	Date?	Herder type-site
Witklip – pre-pottery	57.9		28.2	4.7	3000 BP	Hunter
Witklip – post-pottery	65.6		26.6	5.2	1400-350 BP	
Voëlvllei - pre-pottery	64.5		11.3	1.8	1920 +/- 50 BP	Hunter
Voëlvllei - pottery	72.6		5.4	1.8	Colonial period	Hunter
Oudepost 1	24.5		46.5	4.1	1669 – 1732 AD	Disputed
Andriesgrond* – Lower	40		50.2	4.4	430 +/- 50 BP	Hunter
Andriesgrond - Upper	44.7		40.6	7.9	Post 1700	Hunter
Genadendal C11 – Unit 2	26.5	16.4	56.1	5.3		
Genadendal C11 – Unit 1	43.4	26.2	27.95	6.2		

The stone assemblage from the Genadendal shelter sample has a high percentage of formal stone tools, suggesting that the people who laid down the bulk of the deposit were probably following a hunter-gatherer existence. This contrasts with the herder site of Kasteelberg B in which the formal component of the assemblage comprises only 0.2% (Table 5). The upper 0.2-0.3 m of deposit in the shelter was disturbed and contained fragments of modern vitreous china as well as European refined industrial wares that dates from the mid 19th century and indigenous pottery. Although these artefacts were found in the same layers, they were almost certainly not deposited at the same time.

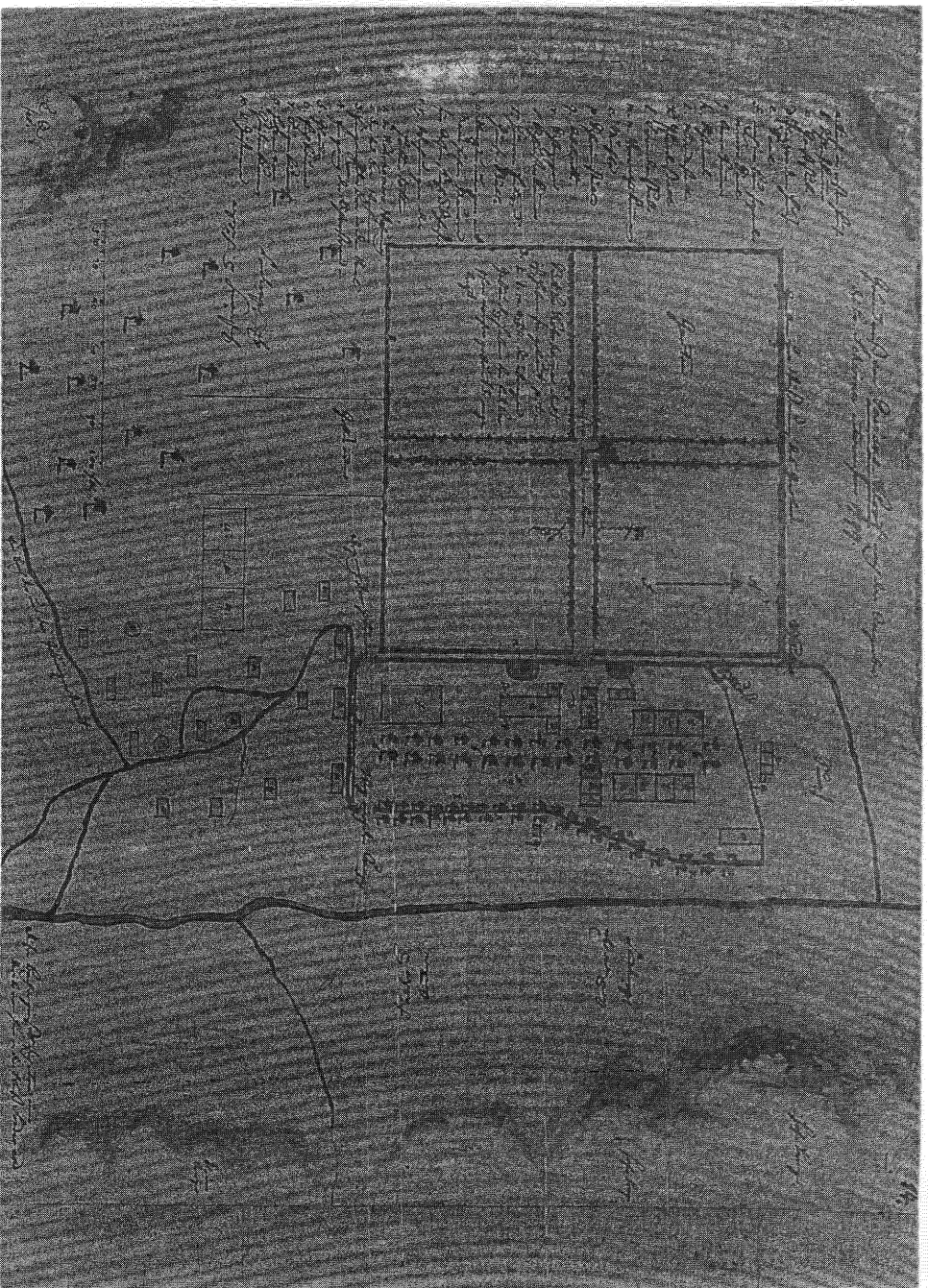


Figure 12: Genadendal c1799, sketched by Daniel Schwinn (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14).

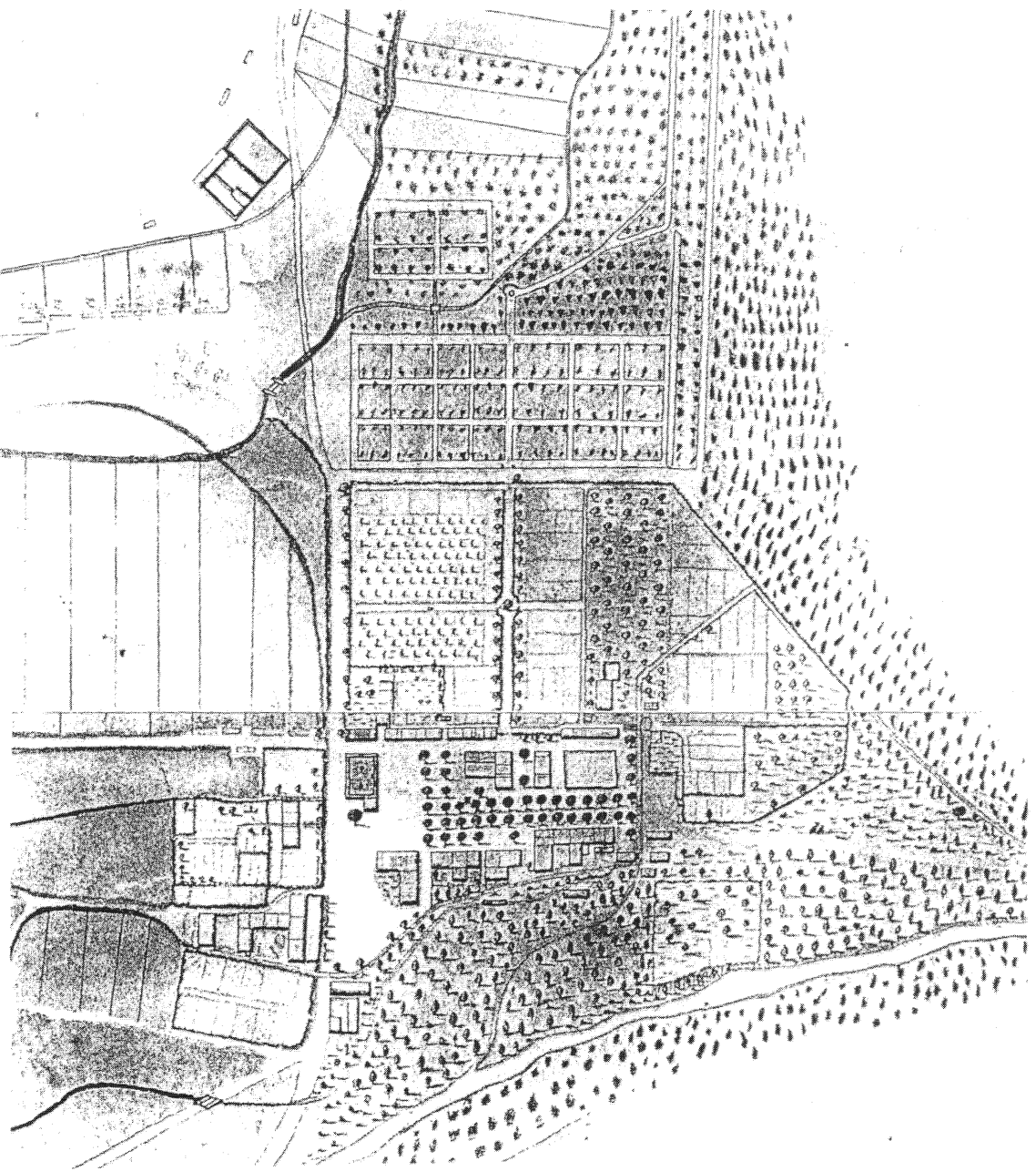


Figure 14: Genadendal c1901, drawn by Rev L.R. Schmidt (Genadendal Mission Museum).

Using the historical maps, three potential sites within the historical core were identified for exploratory excavation: 1) Kühnel house, 2) cottage opposite the pottery and 3) the “documented location” of Schmidt’s cottage. The first two sites both post date 1799, but are documented on the 1816 survey. Schmidt’s house predates the 1799 plan and appears on none of the three historical maps. Its location has been based on the descriptions given by Schwinn Marsveld and Kühnel (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:57). Kühnel house and the cottage opposite the pottery were investigated as part of the Genadendal Archaeology Project. Unfortunately, between the period that the initiative was set up and the start of the programme, the cottage opposite the pottery was partially bulldozed and lay under a huge pile of rubble. The Genadendal Archaeology Project is discussed further in Appendix 1.

4.4.1. Schmidt’s House – excavation

In 1792, Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel noted in their diary that they were shown the ruins of the house that Schmidt had built in Genadendal in 1737 (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:57). They mentioned also that they built their house 15 feet to the south of the ruin and reused the stone building material. The description in Schmidt’s diary seemed to suggest that the house was relatively sturdy and it had a stone paved lean-to (*afvlak*). Schmidt erected a latrine as well as a kraal and shed for the grain harvest (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981).

The tea-room/restaurant in the church square is the building that originally served as the home of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel. The northeastern corner of the building was



Figure 15. Location detail of test trench at Schmidt's house in the historical core.

(Figure 16). The cobbled path may have surrounded the old church yard and the house of the missionaries Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel.

As far as the irrigation course is concerned, the Rev Lottering, who lives in the house to the west of the Garden of Remembrance, mentioned that a portion of wooden or bamboo pipe was removed from the area in front of the parsonage where his new flower beds were dug. Dr Balie corroborated the story and confirmed that the wooden pipe was part of the irrigation canal that had been diverted underground. Dr Balie intimated that it was possible that among the museum's collection of photographs that there may be a few taken at the location of the tea-room/restaurant. We suggested that it would be a good project for the museum to embark on with the learners from the Emil Weder High School, who could investigate the puzzle of the cobbling and the missing irrigation canal.

4.4.2. Schmidt's house assemblage

(i) Ceramics

Although the sample of ceramics found in this excavation is very small, it does confirm the stratigraphic integrity of the three different layers evident in the site. In the surface layer, three shards of European refined industrial ware was found, one has hand painted decoration in 'harsh colours', the other a grey transfer printed decoration and the last shard was undecorated with a semi-vitreous body. The harsh colours evident in the shard with the hand painted decoration are characteristic of the second quarter 19th century and later. Single coloured transfer printed wares, such as the shard with the grey transfer print, were produced from 1820 onwards (Klose & Malan 2000:19).

The majority of the shards found in the Brown Soil layer are European refined industrial wares. The development and production of refined earthenwares started in Staffordshire, England, in the mid 18th century. These ceramics were exported worldwide, but only became popular at the Cape after the First British Occupation in 1795. One shard of pearlware and one shard of cream-coloured ware was found in Brown Soil Layer. Cream coloured ware was produced from the 1760s up until the 19th century. It can be identified by means of a yellow to yellow-greenish tint in the glaze. The majority of cream coloured wares found on sites in Cape Town were undecorated plates, bowls and dishes and have been found on sites dating from the end of the 18th century to the first half of the nineteenth century. Pearlware, a subsequent development of the basic white bodied refined earthenware, has a slight bluish tinge in the glaze. After 1840 this characteristic tinge fades to a point where it is no longer distinguishable from generic white-bodied wares (Klose & Malan 2000:17). Blue-and-white transfer print (including 'Willow pattern') was produced from the 1780s onwards, while single colour transfer printed wares were produced from the 1820s onwards.

The bulk of the ceramics found in the Brown Soil Layer are transfer print decorated. Three shards of Industrial slipware were also excavated from this layer. Industrial slipwares were produced throughout the 18th and 19th century. One shard with a splatter/sponge decoration was also retrieved. Sponged ware was produced during the 19th and 20th century (Klose & Malan 2000:19).

Table 6: Ceramics from the excavation of Schmidt's house

	Surface			Brown Soil			Black soil		
	Shard count	MNV	%	Shard count	MNV	%	Shard count	MNV	%
PORCELAIN									
Far East: Chinese Export blue				2	2		1	1	
Underglaze Brown glaze							1	1	
TOTAL					2	7.4		2	33.4
EUROPEAN									
Lilac sprig				2	1				
TOTAL					1	3.7			
STONEWARE									
BRITISH									
Brown salt-glaze: domestic				1	1		1	1	
Commercial									
TOTAL					1	3.7		1	16.6
EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL									
REFINED WHITE-BODIED: CREAM COLOURED									
Undecorated/undiagnostic				1					
REFINED WHITE-BODIED: PEARLWARE									
Undecorated/undiagnostic				1					
REFINED WHITE-BODIED: WHITE WARE									
Painted (underglaze) "harsh colours				4	3		2	1	
Printed blue: Willow				8	6		1	1	
Printed blue: Other				2	2				
Printed single colour:									
Grey				5	3		1	1	
Mauve				3	2				
Green				1	1				
Industrial slipwares				1	1				
Industrial slipware: Glaze banded				1	1				
Splatter/sponge				1	1				
Line/Band + line				1	1				
Undecorated – all bodies				21			2		
- non-vitreous				5			4		
- semi-vitreous				1	1		1		
Other									
Undiagnostic							1		
REFINED COLOURED-BODIED WARES									
"Tea pot" ware				1	1				
TOTAL		3	100		23	85.2		3	50
TOTAL		3	100		27	100		6	100

(vi) Other

Two peach pits were found in the surface cleanings and the Brown Soil Layer. A small fragment of a slate writing board was uncovered from G-2, as well as pieces of what may have been slate paving from G3. A clay tobacco pipe stem was also found in Brown Soil, G-2.

4.5. Discussion

The archaeological investigation at Genadendal is complicated by the fact that, unlike many archaeological sites, the village is still occupied and etiquette and practicality largely dictated the spaces that were available for testing. In some cases, access to vacant plots within the historical core could not be obtained because the owners no longer lived at Genadendal and could not be tracked down (Gwasira 1996:5).

Two aspects of the excavation in the historical core stand out. First, the ceramics were manufactured almost exclusively during the mid and later 19th century. With the exception of the architecture of the historical core, no evidence of the 18th century mission was found. The mid 19th century date suggested by the ceramics from the historical core contrasts to what is known of the development of the village based on the records of the late 18th century missionaries as well as the journals of travellers who passed through. There thus exists a tension between the textual historical record and the artefactual archaeological record, since what is written about and recorded in the historical record is not necessarily reflected or supported in the archaeological record.

This tension is a characteristic of historical archaeology that underpins the differences

Another possible explanation for the lack of 18th century material culture may lie with the nature of supply of commodities to the frontier regions. While DEIC outposts, such as Oudepost 1 on the Langebaan lagoon, Soetemelksvlei and the outpost at the warm baths at present-day Caledon, were regularly provisioned by the wagonload from Cape Town, frontier stock farmers and their servants had to provide for themselves and did not enjoy support from the authorities at the Cape. Similarly, the Moravian missions were also on the edge of colonial society and could not rely on support from Cape Town.

It was only from the 1830s, coinciding with the boom in the merino wool trade, that mercantile interests were actively promoted in the Overberg (van Ryneveld 1983:39). A similar trend is mirrored in the Seacow River Valley, where the sudden appearance of European refined industrial wares in the archaeological record, post 1850, coincided with the establishment of village stores in the nearby towns of Richmond and Middleburg (Moir & Sampson 1993:35, 41).

A material culture frontier pattern for the Overberg thus emerges in which mobile stock farmers occupied grazing farms on a semi permanent basis. Due to their physical distance from the markets in Cape Town, as well as their often meagre economic resources, there stock farmers lived simply and basically, using items and utensils that were either hand-made from wood and leather or of metal. These materials were far more durable and suitable to frontier life than ceramics, but less likely to survive in the archaeological record. In many ways the life style of these frontier farmers had far more in common with that of the Khoekhoen than with their compatriots in Cape Town and its immediate surroundings. This suggestion of a frontier pattern is further supported by a random

In light of the theoretical points outlined above, such a scenario emphasises that the colonised potentially influenced the way the colonisers adapted to and lived within the frontier contexts. In the period prior to the 1830s there may have been more common cause in the material culture at the frontier than is indicated in the written evidence.

in a few cases Khoekhoen were converted and baptised. Krotsoa, the daughter of a Cochoqua chief who served Jan van Riebeeck as a translator and negotiator, was baptised in 1659 (Worden 1998:89).

Baptism was potentially the means through which 'christian' or European society could be entered. This rite not only symbolised entry into the christian church and society, but it also had implications regarding an individual's right to inherit property, the right to marry and the right to bear witness in court (Shell 1994:332). During the Dutch period, therefore, very few Khoekhoen converts were baptised and only slave children with a European father were eligible for baptism and ultimately manumission. Baptism, and the acceptance of the christian doctrine, therefore had much value regarding social and legal status (Ross 1994:80). In the light of the important social significance that 'being christian' had on the rights of Khoekhoen and slaves in Dutch colonial society, it is not surprising that so little emphasis was placed on christianising them. It was in the best interest of the Company to maintain the existing balance between christian and heathen, a *status quo* which justified the active dispossession and repression of people of indigenous and slave descent. The 'heathen status' of the Khoekhoen in effect meant that they could claim no legal or social rights, could not own or inherit land, and were at the mercy of the Europeans who often treated them no better than slaves (Keegan 1996:33). The lack of action on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape regarding the conversion of the indigenous populations allowed other christian denominations to fill this vocational vacuum.

In 1799 the London Missionary Society (LMS) sent Johannes van der Kemp, John Edmond, Johannes Kicherer and William Edwards to the Cape. The LMS had great dreams of converting the 'wild' peoples of the world (Elbourne 1991:76). On their arrival at the Cape, the LMS missionaries were approached by two Bushmen 'captains' from the Orange River region, with a request that a mission be established amongst their people (Elbourne & Ross 1997:34).

Johannes Kicherer and William Edwards left for the northern frontier, accompanied by 50 men, six wagons loaded with provisions, 60 oxen and nearly 200 sheep. The missionaries also brought along a stock of tobacco, handkerchiefs, dried fruit and various gifts by which they could encourage converts to the mission (Kicherer 1804:5). The Sak River mission was established one day's travel to the north of the Sak River at a spot that was watered by two fresh springs and had a stretch of land suitable for cultivation. The settlement was named Blydevooruitsig (Penn 1995a:418).

The Sak River mission was not successful, owing mainly to the lack of interest amongst the Bushmen and the harshness of the environment. Despite the fact that it was at the request of the Bushmen 'captains' that the mission was established there, the missionaries had a much better response amongst a group of neighbouring Khoekhoen who lived further long the Orange River at Rietfontein. Five months after the establishment of a mission at Rietfontein, 400 people of Khoekhoe descent were living there, along with an estimated 5 000 to 6 000 head of livestock (Penn 1995a:437). The Sak River mission was finally abandoned in 1806 (Penn 1995b:90).

5.3. Mission archaeology and the mission experience

In her article titled “Mission archaeology”, Elizabeth Graham (1998) provides a synopsis of the archaeology of mission sites in Spanish-occupied North America and Meso-America. Although the experiences of the Spanish missionaries in the Americas can be paralleled by the experiences of the missionaries who came to the Cape during the 18th century, the contexts within which those mission contacts took place were very different.

A point to be emphasised in the comparison of the North American-Mesoamerican and the South Western Cape mission experiences concerns the timing of the mission effort and the history of contact between indigenous people and European agents. In the case of the North American-Mesoamerican territories, Spanish missions were in many ways the vanguard of contact and cultural change. In the South Western Cape, however, the mission effort followed almost a century after the refreshment station at the Cape was established. Missionaries at the Cape during the 18th century were therefore coming into contact with indigenous communities who were already dispossessed, with a low status in the colonial hierarchy. In other words, while cultural transformation in the North American-Mesoamerican scenario took place at the missions themselves (Graham 1998:29), in the South Western Cape cultural transformation was already in progress prior to the establishment of the missions.

Another fundamental contrast between the Spanish American missions and the 18th century missions at the Cape, which has far reaching implications for archaeology of the missions, is that of Catholicism and its implied state support, as opposed to the marginal support the Protestant missions enjoyed at the Cape. Whereas the Catholic Church, as

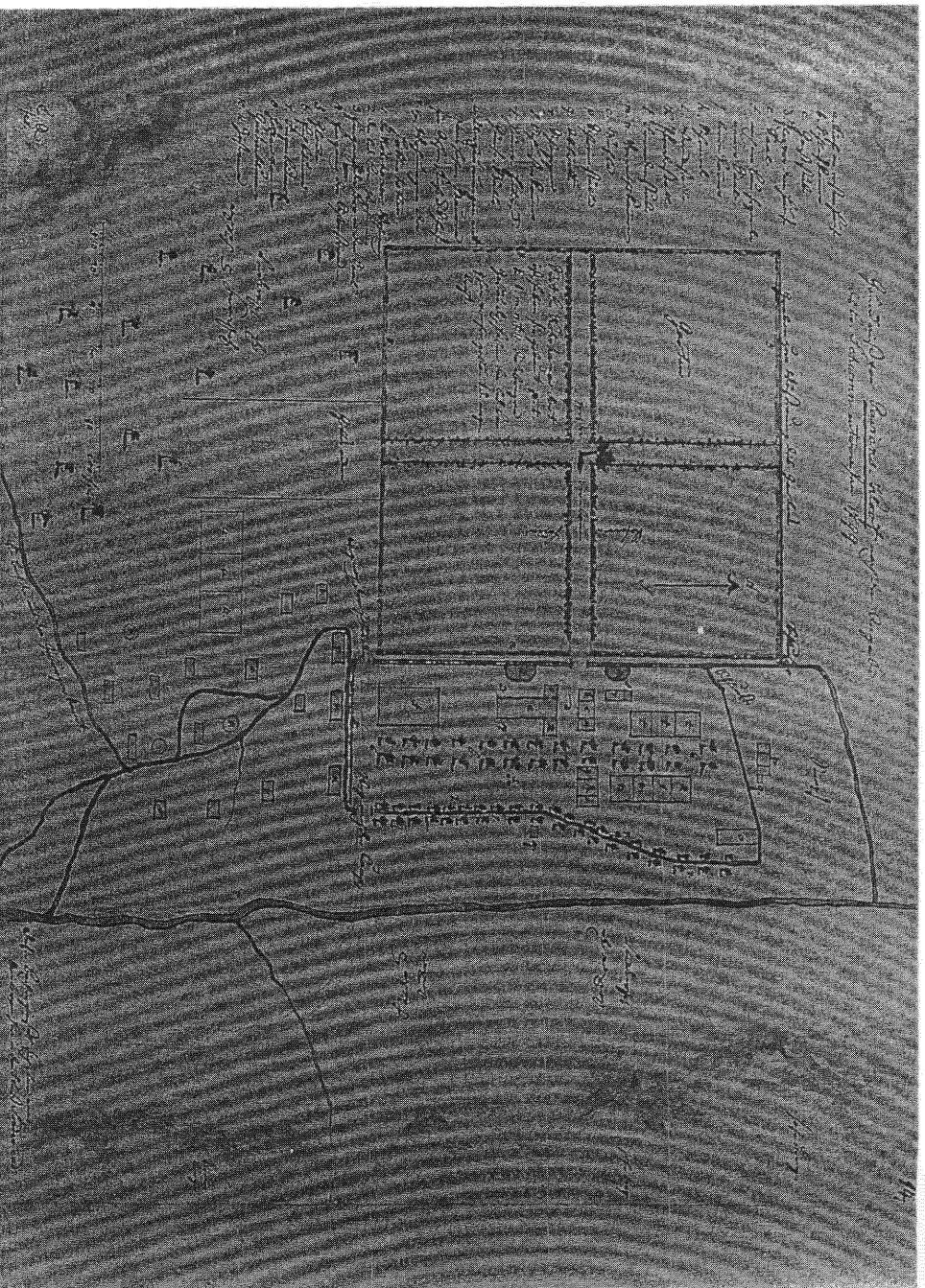
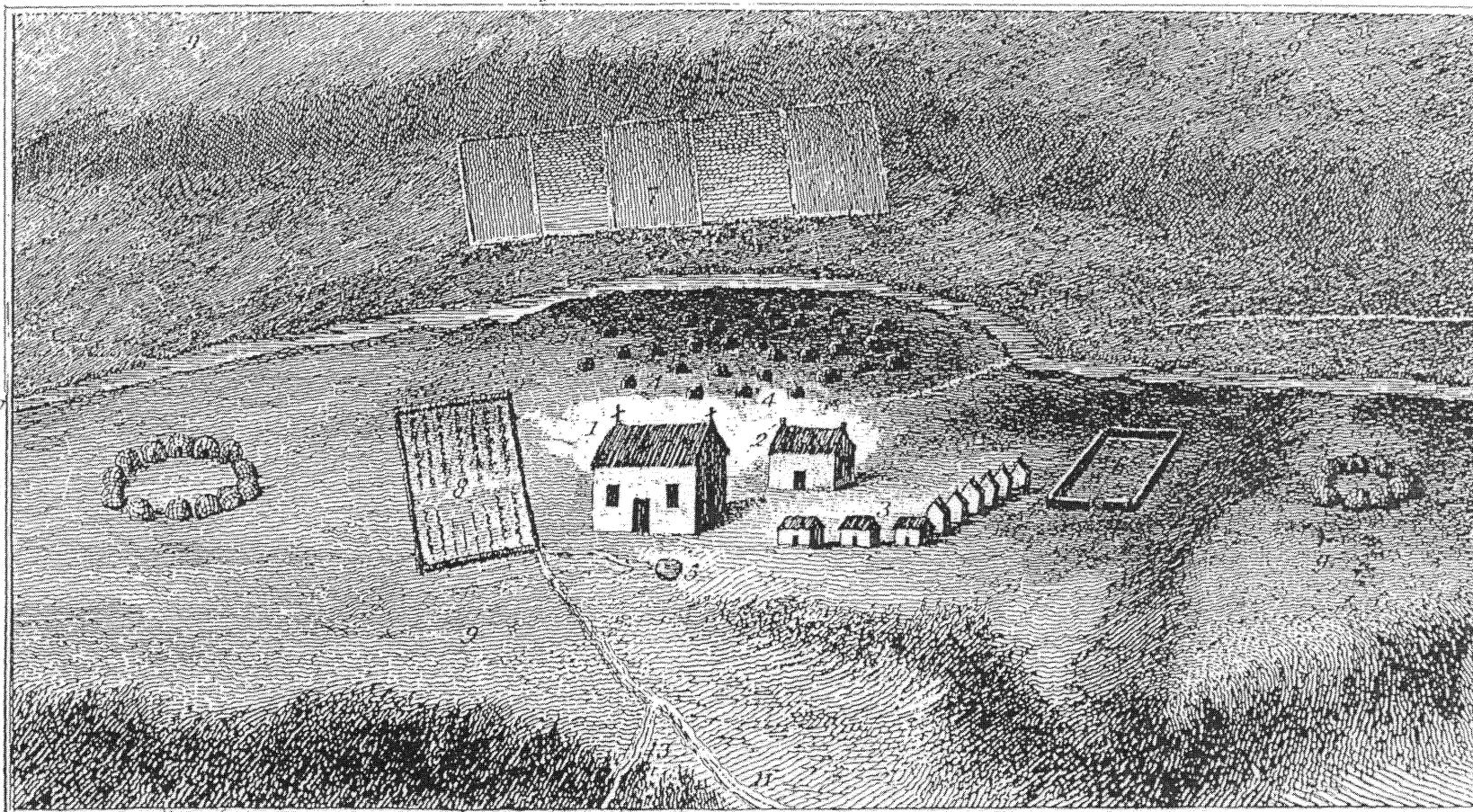


Figure 17: Layout of Genadendal c 1799 (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14).

RESIDENCE of the REV^d M^r KICHERER on the LAK RIVER.



- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Chapel. | 5. The Fountain. | 9. The Hill. |
| 2. Mr. Kicherer's House. | 6. The Cattle Yard. | 10. The Lak River. |
| 3. Houses of the Baptized Hottentots. | 7. Mr. Kicherer's Corn Fields. | 11. Road to Cape Town. |
| 4. Kraals of the unbaptized Hottentots. | 8. Mr. Kicherer's Garden. | 12. Road to Orange River. |
| | | 13. Road to Roge - veld. |

London. Published by T. Williams Stationers Court Jan^y 21st 1804.

Figure 18. Sketch of the Sak River Mission c 1800 (Kicherer 1804).

interpreter, first at the outpost and later at the mission to strengthen his political position within his group. The rectangular house would have set him apart from his people in the eyes of the Dutch, with whom he had contact. His role as interpreter at the outpost also would have given him access to trade goods and eventually guns and ammunition, which would have strengthened his position as a good 'provider' or leader. The fact that his house was open to all his people and that they had free access to it (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981:45) confirms that he was in a position of leadership. Seen in this context, the adoption and emulation of European styles and practices forms part of the strategic choices made by indigenous societies in order to maintain or redefine social balances in a society that is in a state of change. The choice of joining mission stations and converting to christianity formed part of these strategies for many Khoekhoen.

Laurence (1995:22-26) has argued that certain parallels existed between traditional Khoekhoen belief systems and the christian doctrine. Elbourne (1995:66) also recognises the use of mission christianity by Khoekhoe individuals who wish to "reconstruct a broken world". She furthermore suggests that christianity was seen as a particular revelation of a god-figure they already believed in and whom many thought could and would intervene in their everyday lives (Elbourne 1995:72). It is possible that Khoekhoen were turning to missions and christianity with its associated rituals as a means of obtaining traditional religious goals: the 'exchange of rituals ... show(ing) the beginnings of a process that created new meanings for old symbols, rituals and myths which have lost their power and influence (Laurence 1995:26). Missions not only played a role in the ritual reinvention of the Khoekhoen religious life, but also had elemental social and economic benefits.

farmers at least on a temporary basis. Vagrancy laws were issued as early as 1775 to control the movements of Khoekhoe descendants. These laws stated that Khoekhoen living within towns or farming districts had to report to the local authorities to register their state of employ and place of abode (CA, M142(a): Laws respecting Hottentots and Bastards at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-c1823). Khoekhoen suspected of vagrancy were arrested and placed in the employ of farmers at the discretion of the local authorities. During the early 19th century Bethelsdorp consistently had a higher resident population of women and children (Elbourne 1995:83), as did Genadendal (Kruger 1966).

Another complaint lodged by farmers neighbouring the Bethelsdorp and Sak River missions, was that the missions were harbouring rebels and criminals and that Khoisan should not be allowed access to, or ownership of weapons. The violence which characterised not only the closing of the frontier, but also the day-to-day interaction between farmers and their Khoisan servants, perhaps justified the fear farmers felt towards their erstwhile servants who, under the protection of the missionaries, could no longer be controlled, exploited and suppressed.

The mission settlements also provided the opportunity for Khoekhoe individuals to legitimise their position in colonial society. As mentioned earlier, the identification of christian vs. heathen had a great influence on an individual's rights, both socially and legally. Many of the individuals of Khoekhoe descent who became prominent in mission society were outstanding and sometimes notorious figures in colonial history. For instance, the Bethelsdorp missionaries were accused of harbouring rebels and criminals when David Shuurman joined the mission. Cupido Kakkerlak and Hendrick Boezak of

wives brought out from Europe who were members of the Moravian church (Kruger 1966).

Amongst the LMS missionaries it seemed that only Johannes van der Kemp sparked much controversy with his open and enthusiastic adoption of the indigenous way of life, and had been described as “going native” (Keegan 1996:37). Van der Kemp differed from the average missionary in that he came from an aristocratic background and was very learned (Elbourne 1991:106). The majority of the missionaries sent out by the LMS came from modest backgrounds and for these men the Church provided the opportunity to better themselves socially (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992:185).

The dynamics involved in the mission experience are not always perceptibly translatable into the archaeological record. The paucity of 18th century material found at Genadendal needs to be understood in terms of the Overberg as a frontier region. The Moravian missionaries through necessity tapped into the material culture of the Khoekhoen, a community which already had lost much of its independence and wealth and which was living on the edge of DEIC cattle outposts and freeburgher farms trying to balance decreasing political and social independence with increasing economic dependence.

5.4. Mission studies: future directions - expanding knowledge of the Khoekhoen in the historical period

Nigel Penn (1995a:viii) rightly points out that the 18th century is the critical period during which the fate of the Khoisan was determined. During this period it became increasingly difficult for Khoekhoen to maintain their independent pastoral life as more and more

Various questions have been raised during the course of this dissertation and it is clear that the key to answering them lies in comparative research. An obvious avenue of investigation would be the comparison of cultural landscapes not only of different mission stations (for example Moravian vs LMS), but also different communities of Khoisan/slave origin (for example Tesselarsdal in the Overberg, Moedverloor and Elandsvllei in the Bokkeveld) as a means to test Graham's suggestion of landscape or architecture reflecting changing cultural imagination (1998:29). Through comparative studies the ways in which changing political aspirations and ideology are reflected in the visible landscape can be explored, both from a missionary as well as an indigenous perspective. Another factor that needs to be considered in the investigation in the form of early mission contact is the variability in indigenous worldviews. For instance, the success of the Bethelsdorp mission among Khoekhoe women may reflect just as much the proximity to Nguni worldviews, where women, as socially marginal within their own societies, are the natural conduits for ritual and spiritual innovation.

For most of the late 18th and 19th century the missions were considered by Cape authorities and farmers as little more than reservoirs of cheap labour (Dedering 1997:87). But from the indigenous perspective, the missions offered strategic opportunities that were definitely not available on the farms. While documentary research has laid out the circumstances under which Khoekhoe labour worked on the farms, in contrast to the circumstances at the missions, the question is whether these differences can be traced archaeologically through spatial arrangements with settlements. At the same time the material culture of stock farmers as opposed to freehold farmers in the Overberg needs to

Appendix I : Genadendal Archaeology Project

During the last two decades there has been an increased academic interest in the role played by the indigenous inhabitants in the history of the colonial settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. In popular historical works, however, the Khoekhoen and the San still only warrant a cursory mention. This apparent lack of historical representation, especially in the case of the Khoekhoen, may be attributed to the fact that today there are relatively few people claiming Khoekhoen descent and those who do mostly live in marginalized areas or have little political power. This situation is changing fast and, since 1995 with the United Nations' declaration of the International Decade of Indigenous People, there has been heightened awareness of issues of identity and cultural heritage amongst minority groups worldwide. For some indigenous groups, archaeology has become the platform from which their identity can be legitimised and reclaimed (Petersen 1997:38, Bank 1997:1).

Though indigenous people, past and present, have been the focus of academic research at South African institutions, academics have seldom taken the opportunity to offer much in return to these communities. The Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference held in Cape Town in July 1997 was characterised by the overwhelming representation of delegates from Khoisan communities as far afield as Namibia. This conference, hosted by the University of the Western Cape and chaired by Professor Henry Bredekamp, himself a Khoekhoen descendant born and raised in Genadendal, aimed at breaking down the intellectual barriers between academics and indigenous people. The conference encouraged communities to take a more pro-active stand in the ownership of the past, as

Khoisan heritage, that heritage forms an important component of South African history and should be acknowledged as such.

There is a worldwide trend, especially in historical archaeology, to include members of the community, or descendants of the community under study, in the process of historical research, so including living communities in the interpretation and creation of the past. In the light of the above it was felt quite strongly that an education component be included during the course of our work in Genadendal.

1.1. Public archaeology in South Africa

At the first World Archaeology Congress held in Southampton, England, in 1986, specific focus was placed on the role of archaeology within both formal and informal education (Ucko 1990:ix). The last decade has shown a marked increase in the importance of not only sharing archaeological finds and knowledge with the public, but also in involving local communities in the process of research and 'knowledge production' (Bank 1997). After the election of the first democratic government in South Africa in 1994, the need became apparent for a new education system that addressed the problem of historic representation (content) in school syllabi. The new education system also needed to include teaching methods that would better equip learners to deal with their needs within the community as well as in the future workplace (Pretorius 1998).

In 1998 Curriculum 2005 was implemented, based on teaching outcomes rather than a package of memorised narrative. Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) is a process of learning where learners are taught outcomes or skills, which they are expected to be able

time that European settlement at the Cape took place and that they were technologically and culturally so undeveloped that it was the christian obligation of white people to “look after” them (Gawe & Meli 1990:102-103). The archaeological record showed that Iron Age farmers were present in the South African landscape as early as AD 350 (as opposed to circa AD 1600) (Gawe & Meli 1990:100). The obscuring of archaeological evidence supporting early mining and metal working activities by local Iron Age communities, further served to support the official version of the history of South Africa. Official history was used to legitimise Apartheid practises such as separate development (including education), segregated land ownership, the implementation of homelands and forced removals (Esterhuysen *in press*). The inclusion of prehistory in the South African History syllabus, in 1995, tried to correct the imbalance of historical representation, but the Department of Education failed to provide teachers with suitable resource materials and textbooks still provided little useful information regarding South African archaeology (Esterhuysen & Smith 1997).

The South African Education system has a history of separate education for the different ethnic groups. This legacy lingers on in the vast differences between schools not only nationally, but also provincially. Although not specified in the curriculum guidelines until 1995, history teachers in the more liberal schools have included archaeologically based content in their lessons or participated in various outreach programmes.

The fourth World Archaeology Congress (WAC 4) took place in Cape Town in January 1999. Public archaeology and the social obligation that academics have towards the

off the pedestal of academic benignly sharing knowledge and resources and include educators and learners in the process of historical interpretation and in the development of archaeological resources destined for use in the classroom.

In her paper delivered at WAC 4, Cape Town, 1999, "Doing archaeology in public: essential knowledge for archaeologists and educators", Kathryn Smardz gave various guidelines for archaeologists embarking on education outreach programmes. Firstly it is important that one has a clear idea of what is to be taught and achieved by the outreach programme and that this is reflected in structured lesson plans. She recommends that on average three new ideas per session be conveyed to the learners, who need to be kept busy throughout the programme. It is also important that the learners can relate to the introductory activities and from there they can be introduced to new concepts and material.

The educator needs to play an active role in the programme, participating with and supervising the learners. Cooperation between archaeologists and educators are crucial, as the experience and expertise of both are needed for the programme to succeed (Jeppson 2000, Smardz 1999). Pre- and post-programme materials need to be prepared for the educator (Smardz 1999).

It is important that the archaeologists participating in the programme avoid using archaeological jargon and concentrate on using language which is suitable to the age of the learners participating in the programme. Archaeologists also need to be aware of

A meeting with Rev Wessels (representing the Mission Museum Management Committee), Dr Balie (Museum Director), Mr Samuel Baatjies (Museum Education Officer), Mrs Madga Hans (Emile Weder History teacher), Mr Johan Dunning (Emil Weder Geography teacher), Dr Antonia Malan and myself took place in March 1999 to discuss the details of the proposal. A follow-up meeting took place in July 1999 with the two teachers from Emil Weder, Mr Samuel Baatjies and Mr Connell Balie, a Language teacher from Swartberg Secondary School, Caledon. At this meeting a date was set for the program, the sites selected and the pre-program preparation finalised.

1.2.1. Aims of the project

Our intention was to act as a catalyst to inspire and promote the use of local resources in a programme that would allow us to share knowledge of the archaeology of South Africa in general and Genadendal in particular. The programme could potentially also act as an ongoing research engine, whereby the learners would be learning the skills of research and interpretation and at the same time be contributing to a wealth of information that would be made available through the Genadendal Mission Museum. The museum would then be further fulfilling its role as a resource and education centre to schools not only from Genadendal, but also the greater Caledon area.

The primary aim of this educational venture was to introduce learners to the sources used by both archaeologists and historians in the process of researching the past. It is important that learners and educators realise that the picture we have of the past is no more than an interpretation based on the evidence at hand. Archaeologists study the things that people who lived in the past left behind, looking at everything from food

schools that participated. The information gained by the research will be available to every one interested. Different aspects of the history of the Genadendal/Caledon area provide material for ongoing research and exhibition and thus form the basis of the database and research centre. The educators from Emile Weder and Caledon Secondary indicated that they would be interested in developing the results of this programme into classroom resources. It is only during follow-up workshops of this kind that the full impact of programme will be determined as well as its sustainability realised.

1.2.2. The site and preliminary preparation

During the meeting of February 1999, three potential sites were identified close to the museum. The educators and the education officer of the museum were encouraged to identify the sites that they felt would best suit their educational needs and requirements.

1) The Mission Museum was keen to have an excavation behind Kihnel House, which used to serve as a lodging house to visitors to Genadendal. An irrigation canal runs by this dwelling and ceramic shards could be seen under the sludge. It was decided to use this site for a hands-on excavation experience for the learners.

2) A small cottage on the other side of the museum, opposite the pottery, was also identified as a potential site. Unfortunately the remains of this dwelling were partially demolished between February and July 1999, and it is now used as a rubbish dump. The remaining cottages in this row are still occupied and the opportunity exists to use this site as a focus for oral history research.

Myrtle Claassen	Alfred Oliver
Angelo Cloete	Jacqueline Oliver
Latanya Davids	Jenny Olwer
Roger Fisher	Azaria Pauls
Samatha Fisher	Jason Philander
Wyzel Gillian	Tamara de Rhode
Spencer Graaff	Eveline Sam
Angelique Hartnick	Jeronomo Seconna
Warren Hoofd	Jerome Smit
Riva Jacobs	Albert Snyders
Marion Jagers	Maddine-München Solomons
Eugene Jochems	Cindy Stevens
Henry Jules	Lucretia Thorne
Michelle Klaasen	Ronel van den Berg
Craig Mars	Bernard Windvogel
Lee-Anne Nel	Petrus Windvogel

Connell Balie (Language) and Rania Wessels (History) from Swartberg Secondary School, Caledon with a group of 10 learners, also took part in the project.

Educators	Learners
Connell Balie	Cheryldine Appel
Theo Pieters	Ruiwayda Bredenkamp
Rania Wessels	Janine Henn

groups were introduced. On the first day the learners were introduced to historical documents and how to unravel these interpretations or representations of reality. They explored this concept by using the viewpoint of Genadendal drawn by Lady Anne Barnard in 1799.

During the next two days, learners had the opportunity to excavate at Kühnel house and making measured drawings of the excavated site and surrounds. The Berg Street cottage was surveyed and learners were shown how to make standardised measured drawings.

On the fourth day we 'walked through history'. A small exhibition on indigenous healing plants in the museum and a replica of a Khoekhoe village (4 matjieshuis) outside the historical core reflect the indigenous history of the area. As a group we walked up to the small shelter 200 m outside the historical core. Learners looking out of the shelter, over the river and the mountains were asked to think about what sort of activities they would have participated in is they were herders or hunter gatherers living in this valley 300 years ago. The walk meandered past the replica Khoekhoe village and past the historical core to the alleged site of Schmidt's house near the Garden of Remembrance. A group of learners extended the walk to include one of the more 'traditional' streetscapes of Genadendal.

On the fifth day loose ends were tied up and the learners prepared their exhibitions and activities for the Open day.

The resource pack given to the educators also included a selection of excerpts from travellers who had visited Genadendal during the 18th and 19th centuries. These published descriptions of Genadendal show not only the development of the village through time, but also illustrates the different attitudes of colonial visitors. Learners also need to show that they can distinguish fact from prejudice.

1.2.6.3. Mathematical literacy and mathematics

- Critically analyse how mathematical relationships are used in social, political and economic situations
- Measure with competence and confidence in a variety of contexts
- Use data from various contexts to make informed judgments
- Describe and represent experiences with shapes, space, time and motion using all available senses
- Use various logical processes to formulate test and justify conjectures

A wide range of skills can be demonstrated by the exercise of excavation. The site needed to be surveyed and a grid laid out using the Pythagoras theorem. Each learner had the opportunity to excavate, sieve and sort finds. At the end of each session the finds were investigated and discussed as a group. Learners discussed their findings and were challenged to motivate their answers. Tins, Black Label beer cans and bottles, glass sunflower oil bottles, plastic netting, and assortment of metal wire and nails, one pipe stem and a few European refined earthenware shards were found. The shapes of the beer

Learners needed to calculate whether the cottages indicated on the 1816 map were indeed in the vicinity of the Berg Street cottage as well as predicting their location. Using shovel test, learners confirmed their calculations by finding the remains of the wall foundations and some ceramics.

The precise dimensions of the cottage were measured and plotted on graph paper. Learners demonstrated that they were able to take accurate measurements and record a 3-dimensional reality as 2-dimensional floor plans and structure elevations. In these activities learners demonstrated their ability to understand and use a variety of mathematical and geographical skills.

1.2.6.4. Human and social sciences

- Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society changed and developed
- Demonstrate a critical understanding of patterns of social development
- Make sound judgements about development, utilisation and management of resources
- Critically understand the role of technology in social development
- Demonstrate an understanding of inter-relationships between society and the natural environment

1.2.6.5. Life orientation

- Use skills and display attitudes and values that improve relationships in family, groups and community

While the historical core has been renovated to it's 'Golden Age' glory, the village itself has modern houses next to typical Genadendal cottages. In the face of development and new housing schemes much of the original character of the village is being lost, a trend, which could adversely affect the village in terms of potential income through tourism. Learners were asked to discuss the issue of conservation of the cottages as opposed to their demolition and the building of new modern houses, considering also ways in which the character of the streetscape could be maintained while still improving the way of life by modernising the cottages. The main motivation behind the conservation of the architectural integrity of the village would be the potential revenue gained from tourism. Learners listed what they considered to be the needs of tourists and ways in which these needs could be met and how new jobs could be created. Local inhabitants could act as guides, telling visitors about the village.

1.2.7. Open Day

General information pamphlets and invitations to the open day held on the Saturday morning were posted in the local café and in the small supermarket in the neighbouring village of Greyton. Special guests at the open day were the representative of the Mission Museum Management Committee and a representative from RESUNACT, who provided the funding for the programme. Participating learners were asked to invite their friends and families. Two visitors from Greyton as well as a tourist visiting the Mission Museum came to the open day exhibit.

At the open day a series of photographs (taken by Emma Sealy) chronicling the day-by-day activities of the programme were on display. The photographs were taken with a

The Genadendal archaeology programme has been posted on the “Archaeology Africa” website and can be found at <http://www.archafrica.uct.ac.za/genadendal/> (Sealy pers comm.).

1.3. Evaluation of the Genadendal archaeology project

The Genadendal archaeology project succeeded in meeting the aims outlined in the proposal. Educators and learners were introduced to the field of archaeology and the different techniques used by particularly historical archaeologists to research the past. They learned to identify archaeological material and that cultural conservation issues also have to include and allow for the opinion and emotions of the community. Many learners who took part in the programme were in the school hostel and rarely spent time outside the school grounds. One learner mentioned that she often felt removed from the village and that she particularly enjoyed getting to know the village and some of the people in it.

Although only two schools took part in this programme it was a step towards promoting a greater interaction and sharing of knowledge and resources between educators from different institutions. The Mission Museum has a full time education officer liaising with tourists and schools visiting the museum. It does seem, however, as if the relationship between the Mission Museum and the local schools have not been developed to the full benefit of both parties.

Forty learners from Emil Weder High and Swartberg Secondary took part in the programme as well as four educators. Learners demonstrated that they were able to follow the correct excavation techniques and demonstrated an ability to analyse the

can show other people about what they did. The information sheets that we produced were in the form of posters and these had a limited audience.

Learners and educators were asked to evaluate the programme by answering three simple questions; what activities they liked, what activities they didn't like and what activities would they like to repeat because they learnt the most from it. At the end of the evaluation form, they were given the option of filling in their name, school, hometown and their plans for the next five years.

The evaluation forms from Swartberg Secondary School have not yet been received, nor that of the educators of Emil Weder High School. 32 evaluation forms were received from the learners of Emil Weder High School.

75 % of the learners liked the excavation and 62.5% of the group wanted to repeat the excavation. Four learners wanted to become archaeologists in the future and one girl wanted to excavate in her hometown, Boschmanskloof.

56% of the learners enjoyed finding the viewpoint from which Lady Anne Barnard drew the sketch of the historical core. Only 12.5% wanted to repeat the exercise.

The architectural survey was a difficult exercise and the evaluation forms indicated that some of the learners had difficulty in executing this task. 31% of the learners liked the architectural survey and 43% felt that they learnt a lot and wanted to repeat the exercise.

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- CAL1.1 SGB62/1857 Survey diagram attached to the grant of Genadendal to the Moravian Mission in 1857.