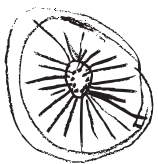


University of Cape Town



Annotations of loss and abundance

An examination of the !kun children's material in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection (1879 – 1881)

Marlene Winberg

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Faculty of the Humanities
University of Cape Town
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This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date:

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Abstract

The Bleek and Lloyd Collection is an archive of interviews and stories, drawings, paintings and photographs of and by !xam and !kun individuals, collected by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd between 1870 and 1881 in Cape Town.

My dissertation focuses on the !kun children's material in the archive, created by Lucy Lloyd and the four !kun boys, !nanni, Tamme, Juma and Da, who lived in her home in Cape Town between 1879 and 1881. Until very recently, their collection of 17 notebooks and more than 570 paintings and drawings had been largely ignored and remained a silent partner to the larger, !xam, part of the collection. Indeed, in a major publication it was declared that nothing was known about the boys and stated that "there is no information on their families of origin, the conditions they had previously lived under, or the reasons why they ended up in custody" (Szalay 2002: 21).

This study places the children centre stage and explores their stories from a number of perspectives. I set out to assess to what extent the

four !kun children laid down an account of their personal and historical experiences, through their texts, paintings and drawings in the Bleek and Lloyd project to record Bushmen languages and literature.

In order to do this, I have investigated the historical and socio-economic conditions in the territory now known as Namibia during the period of their childhoods, as well as the circumstances under which the children were conveyed to Cape Town and eventually joined the Bleek-Lloyd household. I have looked at Lucy Lloyd's personal history and examined the ways in which she shaped the making of the collection in her home. I suggest that a consideration of the loss and trauma experienced by Lloyd may have predisposed her to recognition and engagement of, or at least, accommodation of, the trauma experienced by the !kun boys.

I have reconstructed the conditions of production of the textual and visual material in Lloyd's home in Mowbray. More specifically, the dissertation highlights differences in the recording strategies which Lloyd employed in her work with the !kun children and !xam adults. These differences, manifest in the marked integration of images and text in the case of the !kun boys, are themselves suggestive of Lloyd's sensitivity to the children's trauma and their inability to articulate themselves verbally.

I have made a close reading of several of the more complex images and of the textual material. I have used these materials in conjunction with secondary sources to reconstruct the children's family lives and broader environment in north-east Namibia. My methodology reveals that what appears at first to be the arbitrary phrases and words of Lucy Lloyd's language-learning exercise contain elements of the boys' own personal and historical stories. It became apparent that the fragmented material contained much substance when read against the paintings and drawings. My research of other, germane material included 19th century archival documents that provided further clues and information about the children's backgrounds and how they came to Cape Town and Lucy Lloyd's home. I have presented my reading of the children's losses as embodied in these visual and textual documents, losses made resonant by the abundance of memory and knowledge of home that appears in the archive.

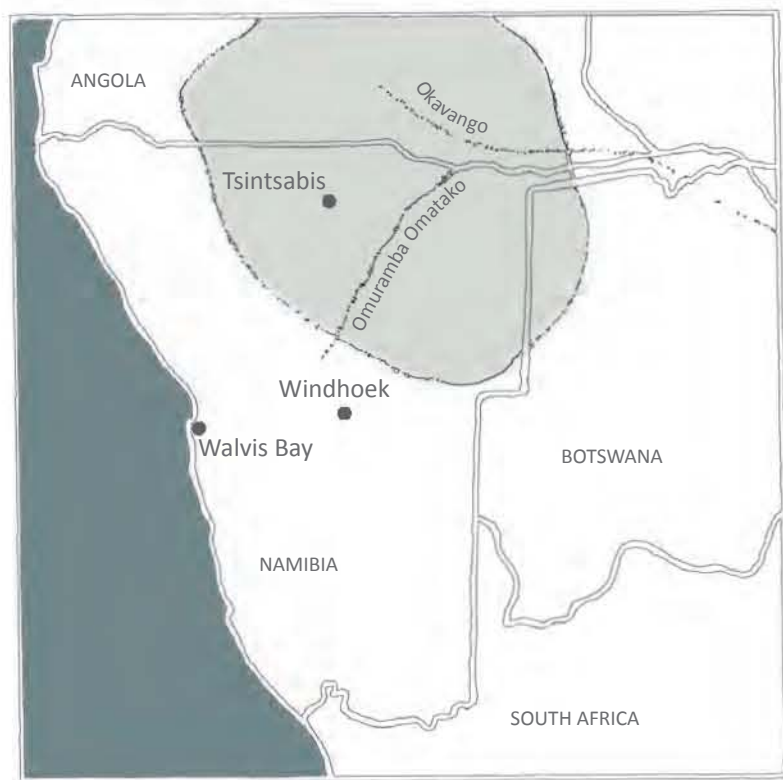


Figure 1: A map showing the traditional distribution of the !kun language in north-east Namibia and southern Angola, north and south of the Okavango River. (König and Heine 2008)

Definitions and Explanation of Terms

I acknowledge the Penduka Conference in Windhoek in 2001, where the representatives of Angolan, Namibian and immigrant South African !xun speakers and their language committees changed the conventional spelling of the language name '!Kun' (also known as '!Kung') to '!Xun'. I have used Lucy Lloyd's spelling of the language name throughout this dissertation for the sake of consistency – !kun, which takes the click as the first letter of the name and therefore does not capitalise the second letter as has become a custom in literature about the archive.

!kun is classified by linguists as part of the northern branch of the Khoisan family of languages in southern Africa. It consists of a wide range of linguistic varieties, with one branch being spoken in southern Angola and northern Namibia and another branch being spoken in north-west and north-east Namibia, the latter being referred to as Ju|'oan (Bieseke 1993).

In their most recent study of the !kun languages in Angola and Namibia, Christa König and Bernd Heine (2008) describe the language as an L-complex, that is, as a cluster of speech forms that are connected by a chain of mutual intelligibility, with speakers at the extreme ends of the chain not understanding one another. They report that no clear-cut language boundary that separates the various !kun varieties has been identified so far, but rather that they consist of a wide range of dialects. The authors suggest that there is no appropriate information on what a !kun dialect is, how it should be separated from other dialects, or on how many dialects there are. Thus far, scholars have identified eleven dialects spoken across the mentioned region, as indicated in the map (Figure 1). Little research has been done on the dialects spoken around the broad area to the north-east of Damaraland, where the !kun children of Lucy Lloyd's archive came from. (I refer to the broad area in northern Namibia

known today as the Tsumeb District, north of Grootfontein and lying to the south of the Okavango River.)

Furthermore, I have used the word Bushmen as in Lloyd's original usage and have tried, as far as possible, to refer to Khoisan speakers by their own group and language name, as is the preferred reference in the communities with whom I have spent time.

I have used the country name, Namibia, throughout my dissertation, as it has been known since its independence in 1991. During the nineteenth century, the country between the Cunene and Kavango Rivers in the north, the Orange River in the south and the Kalahari Desert in the east had not yet become generally known by one, single name. The central part was generally referred to by settlers as Damaraland, or Hereroland, with Ovamboland north of the Etosha Pan and Great Namaqualand (or Namaland) in the southern parts (Stals 1991).

I am mindful of the ongoing process by scholars and civil society organisations to refigure the archive (see Hamilton *et al* 2002) and challenge the sense of finality and cohesion that comes with an unproblematised use of the word 'archive'. I therefore give preference to the word 'materials' to describe the notebooks, photographs, drawings and paintings made by Lucy Lloyd and the four !kun children under investigation in this dissertation, or use the term 'making of the archive' to indicate archive as a process rather than a fixed entity. The !kun materials are part of the larger body of materials known as the Bleek and Lloyd Collection. I will refer to the !kun part of these materials as 'Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children's collection', to indicate the children and Lloyd's collective ownership and participation in the making of the archive. In this sense I have, for the purpose of this dissertation, separated it from the larger Bleek and Lloyd Collection.

Preface

I came to the Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children's collection as a result of a lifelong fascination with storytellers and the work that stories perform in society. After graduating from the UCT Department of Drama in 1981, I worked with adults and children in a diverse range of storytelling contexts: in professional and community theatre; as a specialist teacher using drama as methodology in schools and teacher's colleges; as a cultural activist during the apartheid years; with young people in prisons, places of safety, living on the street, or working as child labourers on farms.

In my capacity as southern African co-ordinator for the World's Children's Prize Foundation in Sweden during the past decades, I have interviewed many children in vulnerable situations. In 1991, this work took me to Namibia shortly after Namibian independence, where I interviewed and documented stories from children who had been affected by the war in that country. I met anthropologist Megan Biesele in Tshumkwe in north-east Namibia during this visit, where she was doing field research for her studies with Jul'hoan speakers. Our meeting became a reference point for my subsequent visits to communities in Botswana and the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. These resulted in storytelling and community archive projects with a number of individuals and their community organisations over the past two decades.

In 1994, I embarked on a project with the national Ministry of Land Affairs to record historical and personal stories from ten different communities across the South African landscape – all of whom had been victims of apartheid South Africa's forced removal policies and who therefore anticipated the return of their ancestral lands. The Angolan and Namibian !kun and Khwe people, who had been resettled at Schmidtsdrift in the Northern Cape Province by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in March 1990, after the end of the war in Namibia, were part of this project's brief (Weinberg & Winberg 1997). Although I did not intend to become a collector of San stories, my association with San communities and, in particular, the !kun-speaking community over the past 16 years gave rise to various storytelling projects and culminated in what was later referred to as the *Kulimatji* ('we tell our old stories') storytelling project by the individuals and

organisations I worked with (Winberg 1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2006a, 2006b).

In 2002, in response to my publication of *My eland's heart: a collection of stories and art by the !kun and Khwe communities*, archaeologist Janette Deacon alerted me to the !kun material in the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection. Years later, as I started exploring the fragmented stories in the Lucy Lloyd collection, I was struck by the potential of the contemporary !kun storytellers' stories to illuminate the 19th century !kun boys' fragmented stories. In 2009 I began the process of examining the !kun boys' material and Lucy Lloyd's presence in the collection and realised the complexity of my own agency in collecting contemporary !kun material.

A brief encounter with Giorgio Agamben's complex philosophy and his writing about the Nazi war survivors in *Remnants of Auschwitz* (1999) triggered perceptions of myself as a witness to the post-war devastation among ex-San soldiers in the Schmidtsdrift camp in the Northern Cape Province in the early nineties. Agamben's description of trauma survivors as living corpses who should not have survived the trauma of the past but did, and live to bear witness, became particularly meaningful to me in remembering the !kun storytellers and artists' images and narratives in the Schmidtsdrift tent camp.

Likewise, my increasing awareness of my own agency in collecting and facilitating this community's stories influenced my understanding of the meeting between Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children. I was prompted to consider the possibility that her listening to and translation of the children's narratives from !kun to English was also an act of bearing witness to horrific events from the boys' childhoods – particularly the accounts of abduction from their families, the murder of their parents and the feeding of their siblings to crocodiles. In this sense, both Lucy Lloyd and I bore witness to !kun narratives of trauma from the north-east of Namibia and the south of Angola – set apart by 130 years.

While my approach to Lucy Lloyd's !kun material is informed by and briefly refers to the contemporary 'Kulimatji' collection of !kun materials in this dissertation, it is not within the scope of this project to explore the contemporary material and my relationship to it in detail. That is another story for another time.



Figure 2: Inanni's sketchbook.

Introduction

The Bleek and Lloyd Collection

The Bleek and Lloyd Collection is an archive of stories, interviews, drawings, paintings and photographs of and by !xam and !kun individuals, assembled by Wilhelm Bleek between 1870 and 1875 and Lucy Lloyd between 1870 and 1881 in Cape Town, primarily for linguistic purposes but also to collect folklore. The celebrated collection, recognised by UNESCO in its Memory of the World Register in 1997, has, until fairly recently, been accessible only to those scholars who have been able to study the physical material at the University of Cape Town, the National Library and IZIKO South African Museum. The collection is now readily accessible to all those with access to the world wide web, in a digital archive, a decade-long project of dedication by Professor Pippa Skotnes and her team at the University of Cape Town.

The Digital Bleek and Lloyd [<http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>] includes scans of every page of the 110 Lucy Lloyd !xam notebooks, 17 Lloyd (mostly) !kun notebooks and 28 Bleek !xam notebooks. It also includes Jemima Bleek's solitary Korana and !kun notebook and four Lloyd Korana notebooks (but excludes three Korana notebooks [now available] in the collection of the Maingard Library at the University of South Africa) and all the drawings and watercolours made by !han≠kass'o, Dia!kwain, Tamme, Juma, !nanni and Da. [Currently the Bleek and Lloyd dictionaries are being digitised and will become available online in 2011]. This represents the coming together of an archive dispersed across three institutions: the National Library, Iziko, and the University of Cape Town. Along with the scans is a 280 000-word searchable index. (Skotnes 2007: 49)

The !kun children's materials in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection

My dissertation focuses on the four !kun children's contribution to the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection. These children from Namibia – !nanni, Tamme, Juma and Da – lived in Lucy Lloyd's home in Mowbray, Charlton House, between 1879 and 1882. Lucy Lloyd, a linguist and ethnographer, learnt their language and with them created an archive of 17 notebooks and more than 570 paintings and drawings, all of which were annotated by Lloyd. The boys pictured aspects of their home landscape in watercolours and drawings – in sketchbooks, on

loose scraps of paper and in small clay sculptures. The notebooks record word lists and short, often fragmented narratives from a wide range of themes in the children's lives. In the digital archive these have been categorized as animal; artefact and dress; celestial bodies and aerostopy; custom and daily life; healing and ailing; history (personal); new maidens; plants and animals; poetry; relations with others; the Rain and Rain's water; transformation; and words and sentences. A number of photographs of the children taken in a Cape Town studio and in Lloyd's garden are also to be found in the archive.

The boys were the children of hunter-gatherer parents who lived south of the Okavango River, in the north-east of Namibia, during the 1870s. Their childhoods were dramatically interrupted when the local Makoba abducted them from their homes. The children were traded repeatedly in the region and were eventually shipped to Cape Town where they were placed in Lucy Lloyd's home by William Coates Palgrave, the Cape Colony's commissioner to Namibia, who was aware of her desire to learn the !kun language.

Literary overview

The first publication of !kun material from the Bleek and Lloyd collection, *Specimens of Bushman folklore*, appeared one hundred years ago, in 1911. This was a highly unusual publication at the time, one that took many years of labour and an intense struggle on Lloyd's part to complete and finally find a publisher for – only a few years before her death in 1914, at the age of seventy-nine. In her own words: "With all its shortcomings, after many and great difficulties, this volume of Bushman folklore is laid before the public" (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: vii).

Although this book was largely devoted to the !xam content in the collection, Lucy Lloyd included what she called 'an appendix' of the narratives and images she had collected from the !kun children. She tells us that these few texts are accompanied by as adequate an English translation as could be supplied at the time. The texts, Lloyd said, were furnished by two lads, whose portraits are to be found among the illustrations. She introduces the !kun children to us in the preface to the book, using an extract from her Bushman report of 1889, sent in to the Cape Government:

It had been greatly desired by Dr Bleek to gain information regarding the language spoken by the Bushmen met with beyond Damaraland; and, through the kind assistance of Mr. W. Coates Palgrave (to whom this wish was known), two boys of this race (called by itself !kun), from the country to the north-east of Damaraland, were, on the 1st September, 1879, placed with us, for a time, at Mowbray. They were finally, according to promise, sent back to Damaraland, on their way to their own country, under the kind care of Mr. Eriksson on the 28th March, 1882.

From these lads, named respectively !nanni and Tamme, much valuable information was obtained. They were, while with us, joined for a time, by permission from the authorities, on the 25th March, 1880, by two younger boys from the same region, named Juma and Da. The latter was very young at the time of his arrival; and was believed by the elder boys to belong to a different tribe of !kun. Juma left us, for an employer found for him by Mr. George Stevens, on 12th of December, 1881, and Da was replaced in Mr. Stevens' kind care on the 29th March, 1884. The language spoken by these lads (the two elder of whom, coming from a distance of fifty miles or so apart, differed slightly, dialectically, from each other, proved unintelligible to !han=kass'o, as his was to them. They looked upon the Bushmen of the Cape Colony as being another kind of !kun, and !han=kass'o, before he left us, remarked upon the existence of a partial resemblance between the language of the Grass Bushmen, and that spoken by the !kun. As far as I could observe, the language spoken by these lads appears to contain four clicks only; the labial click, in use among the Bushmen of the Cape Colony, etc., being the one absent; and the lateral click being pronounced in a slightly different manner. The degree of relationship between the language spoken by the !kun and that of the Bushmen of the Cape Colony (in which the main portion of our collections had been made) has still to be determined. The two elder lads were fortunately also able to furnish some specimens of their native lore; the chief figure in which appears to be a small personage, possessed of magic power, and able to assume almost any form; who, although differently named, bears a good deal of resemblance to the Mantis, in the mythology of the Bushmen. The power of imitating sounds, both familiar and unfamiliar to them, as well as the actions of animals, possessed by these lads, was astonishing. They also showed a certain power of representations, by brush and pencil. The arrows made by them, were differently feathered, and more elaborately so than those in common use among the Bushmen of the Cape Colony. (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: xiv)

The Bleek and Lloyd Collection has been the subject of many well-known studies since its initial silence shortly after Dorothea Bleek (Wilhelm and Jemima's daughter) bequeathed it to the University of Cape Town in 1948. When the British sociolinguist Roger Hewitt came across a reference made in 1962 by librarian Otto Spöhr (Spöhr 1962), he set in motion a process of rediscovering the notebooks (Hewitt in Szalay 2002: 33). The now famous collection began a second life and sustained generations of scholars, artists and poets up until this day. The !kun material, however, has barely entered the academic literature around the archive.

David Lewis-Williams and Patricia Vinnicombe, among others, brought the !xam texts to bear on their rock art studies in the early 1980s. Lewis-Williams (1981), Vinnicombe (1976) and Janette Deacon (1986, Deacon & Dowson 1996) skilfully placed the narratives within the larger northern Cape landscape whence the !xam came; John Parkington (2002b) and Anne Solomon (2000), amongst many others, developed perspectives on the relationship between the !xam texts and the presence of the rock art in the Northern Cape landscape in their archaeological work. Mathias Guenther (1999, 2002) visited the collection to support his comparative studies of Nharo; in 1991 the Bleek-Lloyd conference at UCT celebrated the collection's existence and was followed by the publication *Voices from the past: !xam Bushmen and the Bleek and Lloyd Collection* (Deacon & Dowson 1996); Pippa Skotnes published her artist's book *Sound from the thinking strings* (1991), followed by her controversial exhibition, *Miscast*, at the South African National Gallery (1996). Her groundbreaking publication, *Claim to the Country* (2007), was accompanied by a DVD of the digital Bleek and Lloyd collection containing scans of the notebooks, drawings and paintings, as well as informative and insightful essays by a number of contemporary scholars who had worked with the collection for some decades prior to its publication. A number of works by Stephen Watson (1991, first published in Skotnes 1991), Alan James (2001) and Antjie Krog (2004) to mention but a few, continued to explore the archive.

Neil Bennun's book, *The broken string: the last words of an extinct people* (2004), made a powerful visual display of the !kun children's presence in the collection by publishing a photograph of the youngest of the four boys, Da, on its front cover. Da looks vulnerable and frightened, subjected as he was, at the moment the photograph was taken, to the ethnographic gaze of the Victorian and colonial camera, seeking to 'capture' the subject of inquiry – the Bushman child. Although Bennun does not delve any deeper into the children's lives than any other researcher did prior to Skotnes' research on the children (2007: 236),

he does offer a summary of the components of the !kun material in the Bleek and Lloyd collection, and says: "For all the colourful detail in their pictures and descriptions, the children were too young to provide Lloyd with much information about the !Xun ... " (Bennun 2002: 315). This dissertation will show Bennun's comment to be misinformed.

Bennun's poetic treatment of the !xam manuscripts weaves together stories and dreams, bringing forth the tone and atmosphere of the original notebooks. At the time, his real achievement was to connect the stories of the makers of the archive (Bleek and Lloyd) with those of the other contributors, the !xam storytellers, with remarkable effect. In parallel narratives, he describes both Bleek and !kaggen's (the !xam trickster figure) experiences in the landscape as if they were characters on the same stage. He offsets painful moments from Lucy Lloyd's personal background with a hunter's painful experience of killing an eland (2002: 85-98). By treating the material in this way, he brings together the shared humanity of both the European and !xam makers of the collection.

In 2002, Swiss curator Miklos Szalay exhibited a selection of the children's drawings and watercolours in Switzerland, accompanied by a catalogue of 250 examples of the children's images and 55 by the !xam contributors. The publication (Szalay: 2002) was introduced with background essays about the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection. This exhibition and catalogue, entitled *The moon as shoe*, brought a selection of the paintings and drawings to the attention of audiences in Switzerland and South Africa¹. However, the catalogue, a major publication of the paintings and drawings, offers only a sketch of !kun ethnography based on 20th century ethnographers' work with the !kun in general. While the essays acknowledge that the drawings and paintings may offer information, they do not review this information. In fact, Szalay (2002: 22) announces that Lucy Lloyd's !kun texts have been published almost in their entirety in *Specimens of Bushman folklore* (Bleek and Lloyd 1911), which is not the case. He continues that "there is no information on their families of origin, the conditions they had previously lived under, or the reasons why they ended up in custody" (Szalay 2002: 21). This dissertation allows a different assessment. In the same publication, Bieseke (Szalay 2002: 53) suggests the children's area of abode was "extremely remote", but current research suggests that while this area is remote for us, perhaps, it may not have been so for all the many people and traders who, as this dissertation will show, moved about extensively. The catalogue offers six essays about the !xam collection, rock art, oral literature and transformation (Szalay 2002: 53-108) by a number of prominent scholars. Although three of the writers

mention the !kun boys, their attention is focussed on the !xam.

In his ethnographic sketch of the !xam in *The moon as shoe*, Roger Hewitt (in Szalay 2002: 33-52) describes his special relationship with the collection and how his observation of a small, inexplicit reference by a librarian to some unidentified notebooks led to the notebooks' discovery and opened the "floodgates of subsequent research" (2002: 34). His essay reviews the setting of the !xam stories in the storytellers' home environment of the Northern Cape (Prieska, Kenhardt and Calvinia) – how they lived, hunted, gathered, shared food, their social life, beliefs and rituals. Hewitt concludes that, by the 1870s, a process of cultural transformation was well under way and although the lives of the !xam in the northern Cape were being rapidly destroyed, much remained intact at the time of the collection of the !xam testimonies.

Janette Deacon's essay in the same publication (Szalay 2002: 67-86) discusses the relationship between the !xam and !kun drawings and rock art. The value of the Bleek and Lloyd archive for rock art research, she says, "lies rather in the connections that can be made between the information given about San beliefs and the links between these beliefs and images in rock art" (2002: 68). The drawings by both the !xam and the !kun illustrate non-religious activities and folktales rather than religious experiences and practice, which had been the context for rock art. She explains that rock art recorded the experiences of medicine people, or shamans, in an altered state of consciousness while performing the trance dance.

Deacon touches on the !kun children's depiction of the 'trickster' !xue's ability to take on different identities and change into trees, animals and other forms. She points to similarities in form and subject matter (plants and animals), between the !kun children and contemporary !kun artists' work, but finds no other connection. Her finding is based on published comments by the contemporary artists². Deacon concludes that it would be inappropriate to use the same metaphors and criteria to interpret rock art and the !xam and !kun paintings and drawings, as they were made under distinctly different conditions.

Mathias Guenther's contribution is explicitly devoted to the "three noted narrators": the !xam (2002: 89) of the Bleek and Lloyd collection. Like Deacon, he pauses briefly on the !kun boys, isolating the 'myth' and 'trickster' figure of !xue, comparing him to what he calls his !xam counterpart !kaggen or Mantis (Lucy Lloyd compared !xue to the Mantis in !xam stories. See Bleek & Lloyd 1911: xiii). Guenther considers the character's multiple and fluid transformations to be the embodiment of ambiguity; !xue is both man and animal, capable of being vindictive, foolish, wise and beneficent. He points out that San

cosmology, in general, has as its “fundamental postulate the kindredness of humans and animals and their mutual participation in each other’s essences” (2002: 98). This notion, he suggests, is expressed through the “mystical process of spiritual animal transformation which is central to trance dancing and passage rites” (2002: 99).

In their essays, neither Deacon nor Guenther considers the social environment in which the !xue transformational stories were told to !nanni and Tamme – a key factor in casting light on the children’s family lives, their backgrounds and their relationships with their immediate environment, as well as the multiple associations they had with the images they painted and sketched.

The final essay in *The moon as shoe*, by Elian Canetti, entitled ‘Presentiments and transformation among the Bushmen’, does not mention the !kun boys at all. Instead, it adds to the discussion by explaining the term ‘presentiments’ in the !xam manuscripts and links this to the concept of transformation in the stories told by the !xam.

Megan Bieseles ethnographic sketch in the same publication (Bieseles 2002: 58-9) reviews the limited ethnography on the Namibian and Angolan !kun in general by, among others, Dorothea Bleek (1909), Estermann (1976), de Almeida (1965) and Guerreiro (1968). Bieseles provides signposts (based on the drawings and her own experience of Namibian geography) for locating the children in north-east Namibia, towards the south of Angola, south of the Okavango river and to the west of the Omuramba-Omatako river. She points to an area between Tsintsabis and the Okavango River; “about a hundred kilometres as the crow flies, and squarely centred on the area specifically identified today with speakers of northern !Xun” (in Szalay 2002: 59). She informs us that linguist Patrick Dickens, who worked in north and east Namibia for years before his death, examined the notes on the !kun boys’ drawings, as well as an extract from Lloyd’s notebooks and suggested that the boys spoke !kun (a !kun dialect from the north), rather than Jul’hoan, a !kun dialect from the east (in Szalay 2002: 57-9).

The lack of understanding of the depth and extent of the !kun material in this major exhibition and publication contributed to the continued marginalisation of this part of the collection and supported the general impression that the !kun material had little to offer beyond a collection of paintings and drawings by four children.

Bieseles own publication, *Women like meat* (1996), based on more than two decades of work with both Jul’hoan and other San communities in Namibia, was a valuable resource for my reading of the children’s fragmented stories. Bieseles analyses the significance of storytelling in the context of a foraging ideology and draws on her

collection of oral literature made in the field. Her reflections on hunter-gatherer societies’ daily relationship with the landscape and its symbolic meaning in the lives of the people and their traditions contributed significantly to my approach to the !kun material.

Although I acknowledge the methodological complexity of using latter-day ethnography such as Bieseles to interpret historically earlier materials, Lorna Marshall’s studies during the mid 1900s with Jul’hoan people to the south-east of Damaraland offered me another well-informed resource for enriching my general understanding of San cosmology, storytelling and practices by other San communities in Namibia (Marshall 1976).

A series of anti-colonial and civil wars (as well as other circumstances) have prevented any in-depth ethnographic work with !kun communities in Angola and northern Namibia for most of the 20th century. We can, however, gain further clues to the !kun children and their families’ lives from the limited historical records of Dorothea Bleek, Wilhelm Bleek’s daughter, before and during her visit to Namibia and southern Angola in the early 1900s, as well as from a few other sources that help to contextualise the period and place (Bleek 1909; Estermann 1976).

My own experience and knowledge of contemporary !kun speakers’ personal histories, lore and language assisted me a great deal during my research and interpretation of the material (Winberg 1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2006a, 2006b). The corresponding topics between present-day !kun storytellers who grew up in northern Namibia and southern Angola, and the stories furnished by the !kun children from the Bleek and Lloyd collection, include explanations of medicinal and edible plants, relationships to specific animals, burial rituals and transformation practices (Winberg unpublished interviews).

In particular, I draw on the work of four contemporary scholars whose thinking, although not all directly related to the !kun children’s collection, played a key role in activating my research and exploration of the !kun children and their collection. My work is indebted to the scholarship of the Swedish author and curator of the Vanersborg Museum in the north of Sweden, Peter Johansson, for his twenty-year-long research into 19th-century northern Namibia. His book, *The trader king of Damaraland, Axel Eriksson: a Swedish pioneer in southern Africa* (2007), is a detailed account of the activities of a Swedish private colonial operator in southern Africa during the second part of the 19th-century whose life and activities were closely interlinked with the local traders and their communities, as well as with all the Europeans who travelled through the interior of the country. The latter included William Coates Palgrave, the Cape Colony’s commissioner to Namibia

during the 1870s and 1880s – the period under investigation in this dissertation. The book offers an insightful view of the socioeconomic conditions in northern Namibia during the latter part of the 19th century and traces the influences of the first Europeans on the lives of the people and their landscape. Johansson marks the uncomfortable, yet co-operative, relationship between Palgrave and Eriksson and shows how a small number of Europeans in Namibia and, in particular, Palgrave and his Cape colonial government, made an impact on the northern Namibian landscape and socioeconomic environment. We are drawn into the daily activities and challenges of the local and foreign traders of the area, as well as the various shifts in power relations and increase in civil wars that resulted from trade in guns and other goods. Significantly, Johansson's work allows us to identify his main character, Axel Eriksson, as the co-owner of the most influential trading company at the Cape during this time, and thus of the boat that transported the children from Walvis Bay to the Cape. He is mentioned by Lucy Lloyd (in her correspondence to the Cape Immigration Officer in charge of Namibian immigrants) as the person who accompanied the two older boys back to Namibia in 1881; she also mentions him in her 1889 report to the Cape government. Johansson's work allows us to piece together information from a number of sources in service of remembrance of the four children.

Johansson's work draws on Axel Eriksson and his fellow explorers' diaries and botanical collections from the period (including a collection of more than 1000 birds from 19th century north-east Namibia), now in the Vänersborg Museum in Sweden, the National Archives of Namibia and other germane sources. His references were invaluable resources to my research, as they enabled me to connect disparate information about the children's lives in Namibia as I tried to reconstruct parts of their backgrounds.

The commissions of W.C. Palgrave: special emissary to South West Africa 1876–1885, an edited collection of the Palgrave diaries during his commissions and journeys in northern Namibia (Stals: 1991) became fascinating reading when placed alongside Peter Johansson's work. An overlapping cast of the same characters in the same northern Namibian setting emerged on one stage. Several references to local children in both works presented a picture of displaced children as items of trade. In particular, it opened up the possibility of placing the !kun boys within specific historical processes, events and places. Palgrave (and Eriksson's diaries as represented by Johansson) further enabled me to picture parts of the !kun children's narratives and drawings in the broad northern Namibian setting and imagine the day-to-day realities of living

in the dangerous wilderness of their childhoods.

An essay by scholar Dag Henrichsen (2008) offered another fascinating piece to the emerging research network. His paper presents his research on the Cape Colony's indentured labour scheme between 1878 and 1884. He draws attention to the 'Berg Damaras' who arrived from Walvis Bay in the Cape as a result of the colony's need for domestic and farm labour. His discussion and analysis of the labour economy in the Cape alerted me to the trade operations between Walvis Bay and Table Bay at the time of the children's arrival. His essay led me to pursue his references in the Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Services, where I found a wealth of archival material relating to the arrival of Namibian adults and children in the files of the Immigration Agent of the late 1870s and early 1880s. As a result of Henrichsen's essay, I located a previously unknown letter in these files, written and signed by Lucy Lloyd to the immigration agent, Mr Stevens, in which she writes and reports on the children. These archival documents informed significant parts of my dissertation³.

Andrew Bank's study of the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection in his publication, *Bushmen in a Victorian world: the remarkable story of the Bleek-Lloyd collection of Bushman folklore* (2006), offers a detailed background to the !xam collection in which he reconstructs the making of the collection in the Cape Town suburb of Mowbray. While he stops short of exploring the !kun texts and images, it was an informative and valuable companion to my own exploration, particularly where Lucy Lloyd's personal history is concerned. His scholarship on the methodology developed by Lloyd and Bleek while recording the larger !xam collection informed my own analysis of the methodology employed by Lloyd in relation to the !kun boys. His chapter on the period during which !han-~~ka~~ass'o worked with Lucy Lloyd, before and after the first two boys arrived, was crucial to my imagining of the children's arrival in the Lloyd home and the influence that !han-~~ka~~ass'o may have had on the making of the !kun collection.

I have drawn on Rob Gordon's work, *The Bushman myth: the making of a Namibian underclass* (1992), in which he gives a historical analysis of the San in Namibia and traces the impact that socioeconomic and political developments have had on San communities. He argues that the views held by others in thinking about San lives throughout the 20th century have been a construct of historical processes, rooted in pre-colonial, post-colonial and apartheid realities. The book offers an authoritative sense of the longer history of dispossession and marginalisation that San communities in Namibia have been exposed to throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries.

Pippa Skotnes' essay on the four !kun boys in her book, *Claim to the country* (2007), was the first publication to contradict the previously-held view among scholars that this collection offered no background information on the boys' childhoods. Skotnes's reading of Lloyd and the !kun boys' collection informed us that the material does indeed contain biographical information, with stories of how the children came to be abducted from their childhood homes. Skotnes situates the children in their northern Namibian landscape and brings forth a sense of them having spent their childhoods in a challenging, violent social environment. Contrary to Szalay's statement (Szalay 2002: 21) that the collection offers no background information about the children's families, Skotnes illuminates personal details about the children's abduction from their families and the potential for this material to yield more information than previously assumed. Her essay points to the "... ways in which their communities were part of a much wider world of trade, exchange, interaction and, occasionally, co-operation" (Skotnes 2007: 258).

Skotnes's thoughtful placement of thirty-two watercolours, drawings, photographs and maps alongside textual extracts from the notebooks began the process of considering the paintings and drawings as historical and informative documents (as she had done with the !xam body of work), rather than aesthetic works of art or the playful activities of children. My work builds on Skotnes's research.

My reading of the !kun children's material has been further informed by a broader body of contemporary literature on 'archive', in which scholars have examined the reading of archives as a complex engagement. An understanding of the power relations implicated in the making of archives has emerged as essential to the interpretation of any content that may be mined from the archive (Foucault 1991; Said 2002). Likewise, the body of contemporary thought and literature suggests that reading the colonial archive is in itself methodologically complicated, and when read critically and along the archival grain, "... draws our attention to the archive's granular rather than seamless texture, to the rough surface that mottles its hue and shapes its form" (Stoler 2009: 53). The colonial archive and, indeed, all archives, may be seen as documentations that reflect the values of the period in which it was created and the people by whom they were made. My dissertation considers this view and incorporates it into my reading of the !kun material.

The ideas put forward in *Refiguring the archive* (Hamilton *et al* 2002) have informed my interrogation of the !kun part of the Bleek and Lloyd collection as one that needs to be opened up and 'refigured' in a post-apartheid society, where children's voices have slowly but

surely been lifted from silence and integrated into the national agenda of democracy. Likewise, Jacques Derrida's argument (1996) that 'the archive' is about the future and that remembering can never be separated from forgetting, has encouraged me to restore a sense of justice to the memory of the !kun children by reconstructing parts of their lives.

Lifting the children out of a shadow

Why did the !kun boys' material lie in silence for such a long time? Lucy Lloyd's publication of parts of the stories and images as an appendix in *Specimens of Bushman folklore* reflected a number of events and circumstances during her lifetime and set up a reaction that kept the !kun materials in the shadow of the larger collection, such that they were largely ignored by contemporary scholars.

Firstly, Lloyd's work with Wilhelm Bleek did not include the !kun children, who arrived in Mowbray four years after his death. As a result, the !kun collection did not surface as more than an 'afterthought' to their earlier 'Bushman' studies. Lucy Lloyd described her work with the !kun boys as acting on Bleek's wish to study other 'Bushman' languages (1911: xii). In his will, Bleek entrusted her with the continuation of his work – an inheritance she honoured by upholding his legacy. While Lucy Lloyd stood her own ground, her apparent modesty prevented her from marking herself as equal to him in intellectual endeavour or achievement and of course, as a woman in Victorian society, her own work was not positioned with the same authority as the work she had done with her male colleague.

Secondly, children were not generally seen as authoritative sources of information or knowledge during the 19th century. Indentured and apprenticed children in particular were, at best, trained in domestic service and schooled in English and Christian beliefs. After the end of a long struggle to get their Bushman work recognised and published, not to mention the difficulty and expense of typesetting the unusual clicks of the !xam and !kun languages, it is hardly surprising that the !kun children's material was marginalised. Fortunately, it appeared as an appendix.

Thirdly, many of the pages in the notebooks reflect Lloyd's work towards a dictionary – with lists of words in English and !kun. For those who read the !xam part of the notebooks, the !kun material made a staccato entrance, with word lists and short, fragmented sentences, compiled by a researcher who was now learning a new language. These are some of the factors that contributed to few paying any attention to the children's material in the collection, or to the appendix that Lloyd published.

What then, does my study add to this smaller literature on the !kun and our knowledge of the collection as a whole? Taking my cue from Pippa Skotnes's essay on the !kun children (2007: 241-71) and placing it alongside my own experience of working with !kun communities and traumatised people's stories over the past two decades, I have been able to bring a process to bear that I hope has given the collection authority and opportunity to enter the literature about the larger archive and lie productively next to its !xam counterpart in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection. More specifically, the visual collection, the children's paintings and drawings, has emerged as a historical document able to yield insight and knowledge in an area where little had existed before. By placing the children at centre stage, my research process has shifted the terms of scholarship around the !kun material and drawn the collection out of the shadow of an 'appendix' and into its own right as a unique collection of 19th century !kun children's material. While this is by no means a comprehensive study and focuses on specific selections of the material, the dissertation foregrounds the collection as possessing significant material that can yet yield insight into a previously unknown area: the children's backgrounds and the lifestyles of their communities, the conditions surrounding the making of the material and Lucy Lloyd's methodology in working with the four boys.

Research questions

I have set out to assess to what extent the four !kun children laid down an account of their personal and historical experiences, of which very little was previously known, through the texts, paintings and drawings that are in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection of Bushman languages and literature.

In order to do this I have established the historical and socioeconomic conditions in Namibia during the period of their childhoods, as well as the circumstances under which they were conveyed to Cape Town and eventually joined the Bleek/Lloyd household. I have performed a close reading of a small selection of the more complex images, as well as of the textual material and I have investigated the conditions of production of their textual and visual material in Lloyd's home in Mowbray. I have interpreted these findings, and use them to reconstruct the family lives of the children and their broader environment in north-east Namibia.

Having foregrounded the children, their backgrounds and the conditions of production of the material, I have gone on to curate a selection of images and texts from the notebooks that highlights Lucy Lloyd's research methodology and, in turn, my own research methodology and findings. I look at the proposition that the text and

images generated by the !kun children intersect in significant ways that bear close exploration. My visual strategy for this section includes a consideration of the !kun material as an assembly of Lucy Lloyd's annotations, both on the drawings and in her notebooks.

The four boys

The two older children arrived at Charlton House four years after Wilhelm Bleek's death. Although Lucy Lloyd's intention to learn the !kun language was a response to Bleek's wish to do so while he was alive, the !kun project took place within a family home which included the five Bleek daughters and Lucy's sisters, Julia and Jemima, each of whom contributed to the translations of the language.

!nanni was the oldest of the four boys and already a young teenager when he arrived at Charlton House in Mowbray on the 1st of September 1879. His contribution to the collection was the greater in terms of the quantity of material recorded.

Tamme was a few years younger than !nanni when they arrived at Charlton House. Both !nanni and Tamme left Mowbray in 1882 and returned to Namibia.

Juma was one of the two younger !kun boys who arrived in Mowbray on the 25th of March 1880. He eventually left Lucy Lloyd's house on the 12th of December 1881, having been found employment with a Mr Fischer by the Cape Immigration Agent, Mr Stevens.

Da was the youngest of the four children and about six years old when he arrived, with Juma, at the Bleek and Lloyd home in March 1880. Da left Mowbray and was placed in the care of an official of the 'Native Department', the immigration agent Mr George Stevens, on the 29th of March 1884.

Wilhelm Bleek and the !xam collection

The making of the Bleek and Lloyd Collection had its genesis in the latter part of 19th century southern Africa and took place against the backdrop of the systematic genocide of San populations in the southern African landscape (Penn 2005). It was within this general colonial framework and project of information-gathering, that the young German-born philologist, Dr Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek (1827-1875) arrived in Natal during the 1850s – by invitation of Bishop John Colenso, who commissioned him to study the Zulu language. Colonists and farmers in this area, as well as in the Cape, were waging bloody wars against the 'Bushman', successfully wiping out their resistance against the settlers' invasion of their land, the taking of their ancestral waterholes and other resources on the land (see for example, Wright

1971). Bleek's sharp linguistic ear and grasp of the political situation was sensitive to the pending loss of language that would result from this war.

How Bleek began his project to record what he saw as dying languages is by now well known from the literature that I described earlier. The governor of the Cape Colony at the time, Sir George Grey, appointed Dr. Bleek as interpreter and cataloguer of his library, now the Grey Collection, in Government House in the Company Gardens in 1857. During the late 1860s, Bleek's linguistic research led him to interview some of the 28 !xam prisoners at the Breakwater Convict Station in Cape Town. Realising that the inland war against the !xam people in the northern Cape would result in their extinction, Bleek resolved to document these last echoes of the !xam language. A breakthrough in his research came when the Colonial Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, gave him permission, in 1870, to transfer the !xam prisoner, !alkunta (thought to be 18 years old) and, later, the older !|kabbo (about 55 years of age at the time), to Bleek's home in Mowbray for the purposes of documenting their language.

In his *Report concerning Bushman researches*, submitted to Parliament in 1873, Wilhelm Bleek wrote of this transition in his work:

In 1870, the presence of twenty-eight Bushmen at the Breakwater afforded me an unprecedentedly rare opportunity of obtaining good instructors in the language. On the recommendation of the Rev. G. Fusk, the best-behaved Bushmen boy was selected, and in August of that year, he was placed with me for this purpose by Her Majesty's Colonial Government. This experiment was found to answer; but it was taken into consideration that one young Bushmen alone, would soon lose a good deal of accuracy in speaking his mother-tongue, and, further, that the boy in question could relate hardly any of the numerous tales and fables which are met with in the traditional literature of this nation. On these grounds His Excellency Sir Henry Barkly was pleased to direct that one of the most intelligent of the old Bushmen should join the other. Both are still with me. Their term of penal servitude expired in the middle of the year 1871; and they have since remained of their own free will. In order to achieve the object of the inquiry the presence of these men (or other Bushmen) is necessary for several years; at least four; – two and a half of which has already expired. And soon after the arrival of the elder Bushmen, I took steps to ascertain the whereabouts of their wives, in order to induce them to join their husbands. But although inquiries have been made in many different directions, they have as yet led to no result, – and I therefore fear that ere long one or

both of the Bushmen will leave me. (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 443)

Bleek's contemporary, and contributor to *Specimens of Bushman folklore*, George McCall Theal, gave us his view of the dynamics between settlers, Bushmen and the Cape government of the time. His words sketch a picture of the intellectual and political attitudes held at the time and comment on the broader environment in which Bleek began his research into the language of those so-called "wild" and "savage" people who were facing "absolute extinction" (Theal 1911: xxxi), and gives us insight into the broader social context in which Bleek worked and lived.

Every man's hand was against them, and so they passed out of sight, but perished fighting stubbornly, disdaining compromise or quarter to the very last. There is no longer room on the globe for Palaeolithic man.

When I say every man's hand was against them, I do not mean to imply that no efforts were ever made by white men to save them from absolute extinction, or that no Europeans cast an eye of pity upon the unfortunate wanderers. On more than one occasion about the beginning of the nineteenth century benevolent farmers collected horned cattle, sheep, and goats, and endeavoured to induce parties of Bushmen to adopt a pastoral life, but always without success. They could not change their habits suddenly, and so the stock presented to them, was soon consumed. The London Missionary Society stationed teachers at different points among them, but could not prevail upon them to remain at any one place long enough than they were supplied with food. In the middle of the same century the government of the Orange River Sovereignty set apart reserves for two little bands of them but by some blunder located a Korana clan between them, and that effort failed. Then many frontier farmers engaged families of Bushmen to tend their flocks and herds, which they did as a rule with the greatest fidelity until they became weary of such a monotonous life, and then they wandered away again. Other instances might be added, but they all ended in the same manner. The advance of the white man, as well as the Hottentots and the Bantu, was unavoidably accompanied with the disappearance of the wild people. On the farms, where a number of Bushmen families lived, white children often learned to speak their language with all its clicks, and smacking of the lips, and guttural sounds, but this knowledge was of no use to anyone but themselves, and it died with them. They were incompetent to reduce it to writing, and too ill-educated to realise the value of the information they possessed. Here and there, a traveller of scientific attainments, such as Dr. H. Lichtenstein, or a missionary of talent, such

as the reverend T. Arbousset, tried to form a vocabulary of Bushmen words, but as they did not understand the language themselves, and there were not recognised symbols to represent the various clicks, their lists are almost worthless to philologists.

So matters stood in 1857, when the late Dr. Wilhelm H. I. Bleek (Ph.D.), who was born at Berlin in 1827, and educated at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, commenced his researches in connection with the Bushmen. (Theal 1911: xxxi - xxxii)

From the arrival of the !xam men in chains and after the release of !alkunta in 1871, the famous archive began to take shape. It was enriched and expanded by the arrival of several more !xam men and women over the following decade. Shortly before his death in 1875, Bleek's writing in his last report to the Cape government reflects his own growth and understanding of the ironic loss and preservation of the !xam culture:

... [we could] preserve, not only a few "sticks and stones, skulls and bone" as relics of the aboriginal races of this country, but also something of that which is most characteristic of their humanity, and therefore most valuable – their mind, their thoughts and their ideas. (Bleek 1875: 2)

Bleek was joined by his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, in 1870, shortly after he initiated the project⁴. They worked together closely until he died and more than two thirds of the notebooks that eventually comprised the Bleek and Lloyd collection were done in her hand. The !kun children's collection was a product of her own making, although informed and influenced by the work she did before and after Bleek's death.

Methodology

A first, surface reading of Lucy Lloyd's !kun notebooks suggested uneven, fragmented notes and short stories. The scattered nature of the textual information, with its bits and pieces of narrative and word lists, reflected its original function as a language-learning exercise for Lucy Lloyd, an intention she herself had expressed (Lloyd 1911: xii). Like the !xam texts, !kun is recorded in a column on the left-hand side of the page, with the English translation on the right-hand side. Many pages of the notebooks are simply word translations – a dictionary assembled by Lucy Lloyd in !kun and English.

Upon closer examination, I was compelled to take these fragments seriously. I discovered many rich clusters of information relating to the children's backgrounds scattered all over the notebooks. A distinctive feature of my methodology has been to assemble scattered materials

into biographical sketches of the children's lives. I began a process of welding them together in narratives, complemented by, or expanded upon, Lloyd's annotations on the paintings and drawings. It became apparent that the fragmented material contained much more substance when read alongside these paintings and drawings. This methodology then gave rise to a different way of reading the material – one that became increasingly led by the drawings and paintings as sources of information. My research of other, germane material, including 19th century archival documents, provided further information about the children's backgrounds. When placed alongside the !kun material, these archival sources provided new information about the children's lives after they were abducted from their homes.

Historical research into the broader sociopolitical context of north-east Namibia during the period under investigation led me to consult a range of sources, including scholarly essays and publications, maps from the period and internet resources. My archival research at the Western Cape Provincial Archive and Records Services was particularly useful as it helped to fill in previously unknown aspects of the children's backgrounds, especially around their departure and arrival at the Cape. An investigation into Lucy Lloyd's background enabled me to gain insight into how she may have shaped the material as a result of her personal history, her own childhood and the work she had done with Wilhelm Bleek.

A breakthrough moment in my research came when I shifted my approach from reading the material to following a visually-driven process. I set the paintings and drawings against, or alongside, the text and began to read these as parts of a whole. This method opened up significant new possibilities for reading the fragmented material, as I will illustrate in both the visual and textual components of this dissertation.

I repeatedly backtracked and worked through certain drawings, paintings and notebook pages, examining single words, images, notes and phrases to find clues that make sense of the material and help to connect information found scattered across the notebooks. The digital archive facilitated this task enormously as it enabled me to refer to previous passages in other notebooks, or drawings, with quick ease. It was therefore far easier to draw together clues about specific themes or related subjects, dispersed all over the collection, than had I had access only to Lloyd and the children's actual, material notebooks, drawings and paintings in the archives where these are held.

This method of reading the material set in motion the discovery that Lucy Lloyd used painting and drawing with the boys as part and parcel of her methodology in working with them, with their visual

images informing narratives and vice versa.

This lateral process of connecting information and images, recorded over a period of two years, led me to observe that Lucy Lloyd and the children had an ongoing conversation about a range of topics that they sustained, revisited and expanded on as Lloyd's vocabulary and her relationship with the boys developed. In this light, the material appeared less and less fragmented. I was thus able to gain insight into the underlying dynamics of Lloyd's project with the !kun boys, and the meaning and relationships suggested by the material.

A chronological exploration of the period at Charlton House between September (when the boys first arrived) and December 1879, set against the !xam material which Lloyd had collected from !han=kass'o before and during that time, pointed to the influence he (and Lloyd's previous work with the !xam) might have had on the methodology and actual production of the material.

My understanding of the oldest boy, !nanni's, story was largely facilitated by the close reading of his maps, in particular his map of the 'Bushman country' around his home in north-east Namibia. A picture of his family and their life ways emerged from this approach, highlighting the strong male generational theme in his stories and, in particular, his close relationship with his paternal grandfather. This methodology thus led me to information that fleshed out the emotional content of the actual losses he suffered when abducted from his home.

In summary, the methodology I have used in representing Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children's collection came about as a result of allowing the paintings and drawings to lead the process of research. This visual engagement with the annotations on the drawings and the notebooks, the details and inter-connectedness of the material, directed my consciousness at that which I could not see before – the relationships between the people of the archive, their home, animals and landscape.

An overview of the main body of this dissertation

My investigation of northern Namibia during the period of the !kun children's childhoods in **chapter one** of my thesis provides contextual background information about the children's home country. It considers how these conditions influenced the four !kun boys' departure from their country, their journey at sea and the subsequent arrival at the Cape of Good Hope – of the two older boys in 1879, and the two

younger boys in 1880.

It offers an overview of the political, economic and social conditions in pre-colonial northern Namibia and places it alongside the economic and labour needs of the Cape Colony during the 1870s. The chapter takes a look at the increase in trade opportunities, the activities of individual traders and colonial officials in northern Namibia, and explores how this may have affected the !kun children's broader environment during their childhoods.

Chapter two focuses on the conditions of production of the archive and considers the various dynamics present both in Lloyd's home and in her broader sociopolitical environment. It draws attention to the particular circumstances in which several groups of Namibian children arrived from Walvis Bay on board the *Louis Alfred* in Cape Town during 1879 and 1882 and what happened to them upon arrival at the Cape. Among these groups were the four !kun boys with whom Lucy Lloyd made her archive of narratives, drawings and paintings. Given this context, the chapter asks how Lloyd's personal history and her own childhood may have affected her methodology and the children's experience of displacement in Cape Town, setting them apart from the other groups of Namibian children who were placed in Cape colonial homes.

I look at the methodology and relationship that Lloyd developed with the !xam and, in particular, with !han=kass'o, during the eighteen months prior to the children's arrival. I ask how this may have contributed to, and set the stage for, the children's descriptions of their tragic losses and boyhoods in Namibia.

Chapter three focuses on what the !kun children tell us about themselves. It reconstructs parts of !nanni's personal history and offers an intimate view of the !kun children as members of specific families and communities. I explore the four children's losses, as expressed in their drawings, paintings and stories and in relation to their environment and the families they represented.

Finally, I present a curatorial element to the dissertation that summarises the main themes in the collection and shows how the children's images unlock their stories of loss. My departure point for this visual exploration was a drawing by !nanni, in which he depicts his Bushman country. By analysing this little map in relation to the rest of the material, I am able to contextualise it within the centre of !nanni's world: his family home in north-eastern Namibia.

Footnotes:

1. Volkerkundemuseum, University of Zurich (2002) and Iziko South African National Gallery (2003).
2. The fact that these published comments (Winberg 2002) offer no explicit similarities does not mean that none exist. It may be a productive area of study in the future.
3. Henrichsen wrote a letter to Skotnes (2008) in which he expressed his excitement about connecting her research on the !kun boys (Skotnes 2007) with his research on the Berg Damara indentured labour scheme that took place between Namibia and the Cape Colony during the late 1870s and early 1880s. The photos of the four boys, he said, were the "only ones that provide faces to those several hundred 'Namibians' who were shipped to Cape Town and surfacing in the Cape files as Damara labourers". (Skotnes in lit.)
4. Lucy Lloyd's life story is explored in chapter two of this dissertation.

BC 151 EL 4.6.1

4.2. 4.6. Inanni (from the country lying to the North-East of Damaraland).

5.2. — 5.6. Tamme (from the country lying to the North-East of Damaraland).

6.2. — 6.6. Iuma (from the country lying to the North-East of Damaraland).

7.2. 7.6. Da (said to be a "Biriko" Bushman, from the country beyond the Nyobea).

Da is without the cut between the eyebrows, that 4., 5., & 6 possess.



A pre-colonial wilderness

On 30 October 1879, two days before Inanni and Tamme were placed in Lucy Lloyd's care in Cape Town, the schooner *Louis Alfred*, belonging to the Swedish traders Eriksson and Ohlson, arrived in the Table Bay harbour from Walvis Bay. Also on board were 32 'Berg Damaras'. On 31 October 1879, Mr Stevens, the designated Immigration and Contracting and Pass Officer charged with native immigration from extra-colonial territories, wrote that of the 32 people who had landed in Table Bay "by the next day all had found masters"², and were assigned a labour contract, with Mr. Stevens as witness. The 'Berg Damaras' were among the first of many central and north Namibian immigrants who landed at the Cape between 1879 and 1882, recruited through an indentured labour scheme organized by the Cape government (Henrichsen 2008).

Children were among those 'dispatched' to the Cape by the labour agent in Walvis Bay, Mr. Murray. They were given to masters upon the signing of an "Indenture of Apprenticeship by Parent" contract. Three-year-old Anna, whose guardian's name was recorded as Motena, was apprenticed to a Sophie Smith on 21st August 1879 until she would turn sixteen years of age. 'Baboon', the guardian of twelve-year-old Oura, gave his consent on 27 July 1880 to Mr. Stevens and the new master, Mr James Ayliff, for Oura to dwell and serve until the age of eighteen, during which time he would "faithfully and honestly serve and obey his master", who would teach and instruct Oura in the "English language and Christian religion"³.

The *Louis Alfred* was but one of many vessels that had landed at Table Bay with people from various parts of the world intended to be sold as slave labour during the centuries preceding this period (Penn 1999). Of significance to this story is the fact that the Bushman boys who were to become the narrators of Lucy Lloyd's !kun texts were on board the *Louis Alfred* in 1879 (Inanni and Tamme) and 1880 (Iuma and Da)⁴.

The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the socioeconomic conditions in northern Namibia and the Cape Colony in the 1870s and 1880s, as the context of the four !kun boys' childhoods, before and after their departure from northern Namibia. I will show how their departure from Namibia was bound up with the Cape Colony's labour market and colonial expansion into northern Namibia during the 1870s and 1880s.

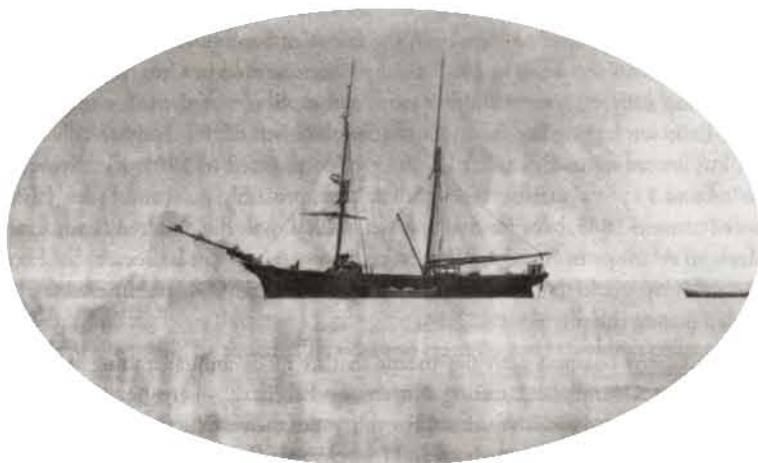
Namibian written history, prior to German colonisation in the 1880s, does not offer us comprehensive documentation of the period and place under review. The following sketch of the period relies largely on a handful of diaries left to us by European explorers of the time, archival resources and contemporary scholarly work of the period and place. It draws on Lloyd's !kun collection and is shaped by the dynamics of the relationship between her and the boys, as well as other conditions to be discussed in this dissertation. We therefore have a complex, if limited, archival base from which to reconstruct the four boys' childhoods.

The Palgrave project of information gathering

The Governor of the Cape, Sir Henry Barkly, and his council appointed William Coates Palgrave as the Namibian (then referred to as South West Africa) Commissioner of Enquiry into the "resources of the country and the disposition of various tribes towards Colonial Rule" (Stals 1991: xviii) on 16 March 1876. In his letter of instruction dated 5 April, Palgrave was directed to "proceed to Walwich Bay and from thence penetrate into the country north of the Orange River; both above and below Walwich Bay, visiting the principal chiefs and tribes and explaining to them the benefits and advantages they would derive from Colonial Rule" (Stals 1991: xx).

Furthermore, Palgrave was to record and furnish the British government with detailed information regarding the local structures, production, climate, physical features, geography, geology, mineral resources, botany, the strength of the tribes, the areas they occupied, the exact nature of local trade, the distances of main points, principal villages and stations from each other and Walvis Bay.

Palgrave left Cape Town for the first of his five commissions (1876-1885) on 10 April 1876 and anchored in Walvis Bay two weeks later, waiting for good weather to allow him and the crew to wade through the water to the beach. From there, they braved a twenty kilometre stretch of shifting sand dunes towards the interior. Palgrave was one of only a few Europeans, mostly missionaries, who had embarked on this journey prior to the 1870s. The Namibian landscape was a brutal, scorched and hostile terrain, where only a few foreigners would last long enough to experience the beauty of an occasional spring rainfall



Opposite

Figure 3: A loose note from Lucy Lloyd's !kun material in which she describes the four !kun children's place of origin as north-east of Damaraland. Da's place, "the country beyond the Ngoba", was also to the north-east of Damaraland.

Left

Figure 4: The 'Berg Damara' families and the !kun children arrived in the Cape from Walvis Bay on the schooner *Louis Alfred*, owned by the traders Eriksson and Ohlson. (In Johansson 2007: 39, from the National Archive of Namibia)

which brought relief from the relentless desert.

The north-east Namibian landscape

The !kun boys' country of the 1870s is remembered in their paintings and drawings⁶ through a rich representation of veld food, flowers, fruits, bulbs, roots and various animals, including small rodents, giraffe, ostrich, lion, leopard, rhinoceros, antelope, jackal, wild dogs, birds and trees large enough to carve boats from, all of which the boys carefully named in !kun.

In the late 1860s, Axel Eriksson, the explorer and trader who accompanied the two elder boys to and from Cape Town, described the oasis around his trading station in Omaruru (in Damaraland) during the summer season as a place that hosted numerous birds, including flocks of snipe and red shank, sandpiper, crane, lapwing, herons, cranes and ducks (Eriksson in Johansson 2007: 38).

During the middle of the 19th century this vast stretch of land was the seasonal territory of thousands of migrating elephants who fed on the low desert bush and followed the muddy rivers that still transform the desert landscape for a few short weeks during the rainy season.

The people of north-east Namibia

The diversity of the environment was reflected in the diversity of people who lived in north-east Namibia (Gewald 2001). The !kun boys referred to many 'different' people who spoke 'different' languages and came from different locations in the broader area. The Makoba, Damara, Berg Damara, Ovaherero, Shimbari, Ngoba, the !geriku yao, Benza and !uhobba people were just some of the many who spoke their own language, different from the boys'. The Birikua yao, Bugu Bugu, the !lhi, Hai !lum and ʒam were, on the other hand, also described as Bushmen in Lucy Lloyd's notebooks. The !gu !xani Bushmen were said to be black and resemble the Berg Damara. The Ash (ʒgua !ku) Bushmen and the Bugu Bugu !ku were other people whom !nanni saw after travelling for some months. Then there were the !kam-ssin !ku (Sun Bushmen) and the ʒgua-ssin !ku who were tall and not very black people and whose language !nanni could speak. The !korro-ssin, or pit-making Bushmen, who lived near water, were not very black according to !nanni, and also spoke his language⁸. The children painted a complex picture of various groups' cultural identity and their relationships to one another; their descriptions are very different to the categories of identification that Europeans used for the various people. We can make some sense of their descriptions of north-east Namibia as a place with a rich palette of human cultures by drawing on historical sources. However, our view of the different communities in Namibia often reflects the problematic

understanding of Europeans at the time, who constructed the borders and often referred to local people by names different to those that the communities applied to themselves, or ignored the complexity of language difference and identity within, for example, the various San communities.

The children spoke of the Ovaherero, whom travellers and scholars describe as the cattle-owning communities who had migrated from east Africa long before settling in Damaraland during the 1800s, when they split into many smaller communities, each with its own social autonomy, chief and council (Johansson 2007: 11). During the first half of the 1800s, the Herero people were strongly decentralised and developed different dialects in the different places where they settled, including Ovatjimba, Ovahimba, Ovambandero, Otjihimba, Otjikuvale, Mbanderu, Ochi-kuanyama and Ovatjimba in northern Namibia. The children also spoke of the 'Dama', or 'Plain Damara' or 'Berg Damara', people who were also known to travellers and scholars as Dama, Damaqua, Namaqua and Tamakwa (Johansson 2007: 11). Other San groups lived to the east of Damaraland in the Kalahari Desert, as well as further south in Angola. Like their neighbours, they spoke a variety of different languages, each with a dialect specific to the geographical area. The !kun boys' language was part of a cluster of dialects we call and spell !xun today, still spoken by different San groups in northern Namibia and southern Angola (Bieseke 2002: 57; König and Heine 2008: 3).

The nomadic Nama groups, who had been migrating in small communities across Namibia for centuries, also spoke different dialects. The eventual defeat of the Nama by the Oorlam accounts for frequent references in historical literature referring to Nama/Oorlam. Most of these communities (in north-east Namibia) lived in comparatively socially egalitarian societies, where the power of the leading group or individual was fairly limited in relation to other society members. The reason for this social structure was partly that the scant resources of the area did not permit for the accumulation of possessions of greater economic value. Most of the natural resources were shared communally. The exception to this egalitarian social structure were the Oorlams, another Khoikhoi-speaking people who immigrated from the south in the early 19th century, having been forced northwards by expanding colonists in the Cape Colony and whom, by then, had already had considerable experience of European ways of life (Johansson 2007: 12).

Close to the Okavango riverbanks, Ovamboland's rich forest and thick vegetation separated the people and their ways from their Damaraland desert neighbours, although trade was common among all the people. Ovambo families were believed to number around 100 000 at

Anti-clockwise from the top

Figure 5: A watercolour by !nanni depicting a Bushman's house and creeping plant, *shaka*, in which Lloyd notes that the *shaka's* fruit is "eaten raw by the natives of !nanni's country".

Figure 6: A pencil sketch by !nanni of a little child asleep in the heat of the sun and in the shade of a tree.

Figure 7: A watercolour by !nanni depicting the *Dui* plant, its fruit and leaves, eaten by the !kun and Goba (Makoba).

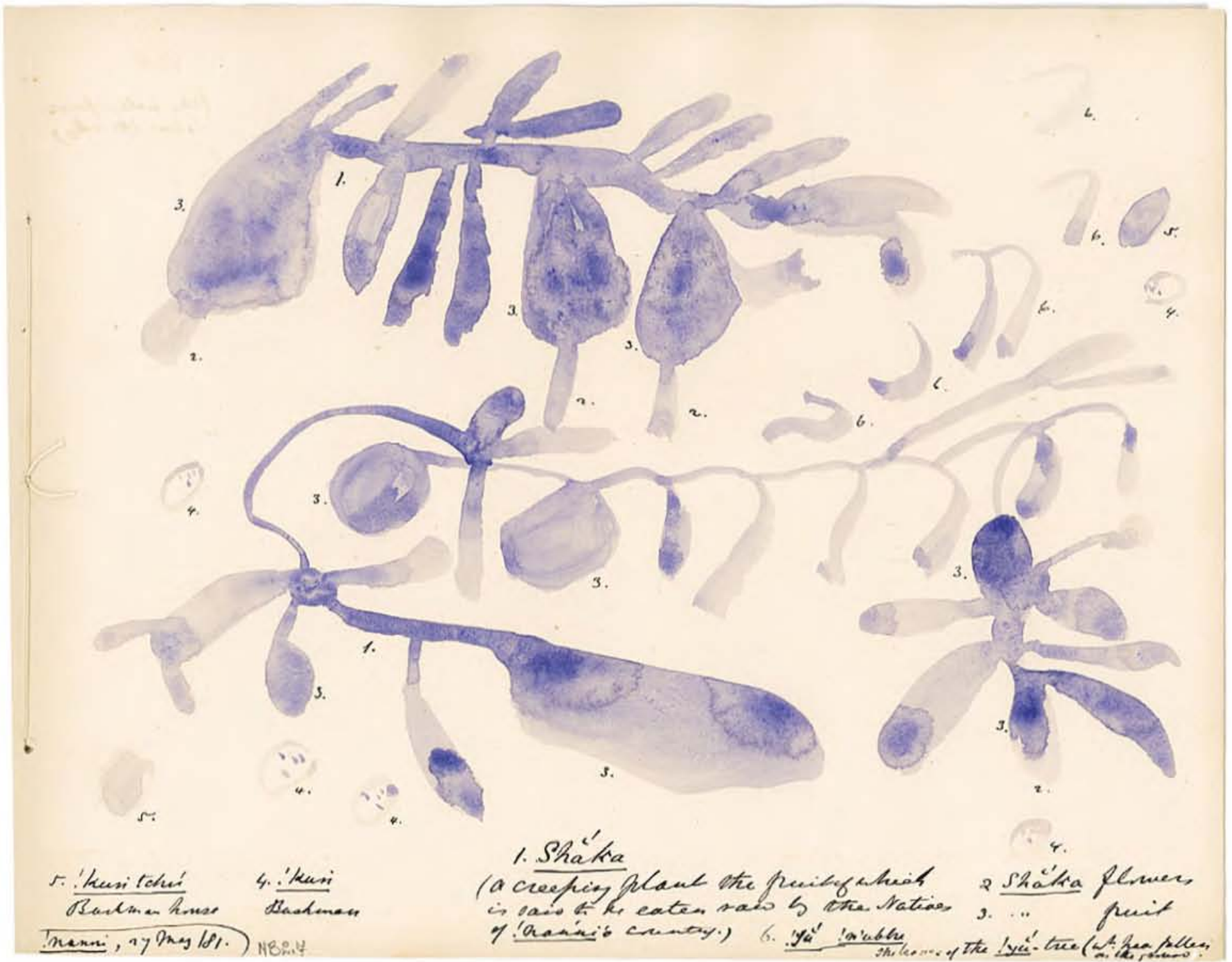


Figure 5

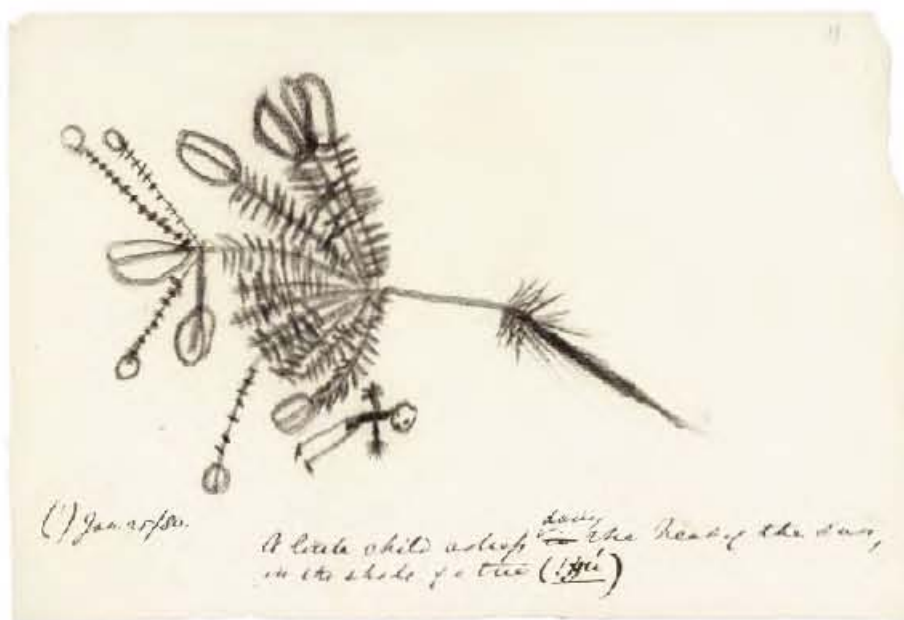
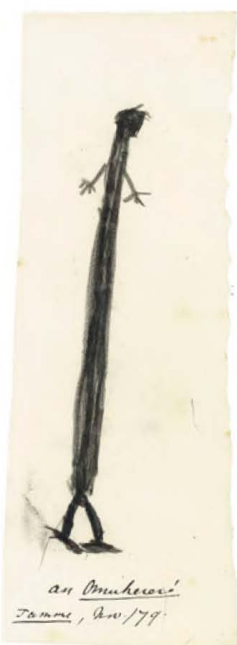
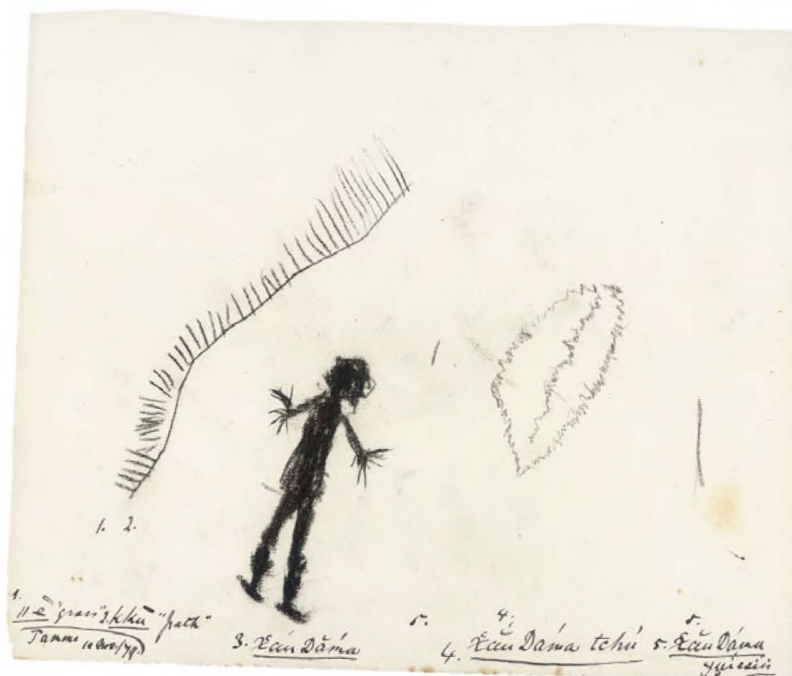


Figure 6



Figure 7



Top left to right

Figure 8: Inanni's charcoal or pencil sketch depicts an Ovambo person with a stick.

Figure 9: A colour pencil sketch by Inanni of a Shimbari person, with a pipe, quiver and arrows.

Figure 10: A charcoal or pencil sketch by Tamme depicting a Berg Damara who carries a sling.

Figure 11: A pencil or charcoal sketch by Tamme of a Berg Damara person with ropes, house, grass and path.

Figure 12: A charcoal or pencil sketch by Tamme depicting the Tka'kue of the Makoba's country.

Figure 13: A charcoal or pencil sketch by Tamme depicting an Ovambo person smoking a pipe.

Figure 14: A charcoal or pencil sketch by Tamme depicting an Omukherero person.

Figure 15: A charcoal or pencil sketch by Tamme depicting an Ovambo person, child, ropes and wooden boat.

the time, and to speak a number of dialects, including Ndonga, Osidonga, Ochindonga or Otjivambo (Johansson 2007: 34).

The Makoba, described by one of the !kun boys, Da, as having murdered his family and kidnapped himself and his siblings, lived along the Shonongo (||xumm in !kun) River, near to river grass. In both Lucy Lloyd's notebooks and on the children's drawings, as well as in Dorothea Bleek's dictionary (Bleek 1956: 48), Makoba and Goba are indicated as the same people. Thomas Baines, who travelled to Lake Ngami and beyond, refers to the 'Bushmen' people he met, as well as the Goba, or Makoba, living along the banks of a river in the north-east of Namibia. Makoba is an occasional surname in Botswana today and is used by other groups of people in the north of Botswana to describe the few hundred surviving people who call themselves and their language 'Wahei'¹⁰.

Although the many different inhabitants of Namibia were by no means at peace, the socioeconomic conditions between the different language speakers were relatively fluid before the 1860s. Up to the 1860s, both Damara and Herero, as well as, to a certain degree, San, were either livestock holders or hunter-gatherers or both, in addition to being agriculturalists (closer to the Kunene and Okavango rivers) and copper miners, within a larger, flexible regional system of economic possibilities.

With this picture in mind we can better understand the complex description of identity the boys gave to themselves and the various people they were in contact with in Damaraland. People lived a relatively decentralized life at the time and developed complex identities and dialects in the different places they occupied. It was only later, in response to the influences of the traders of Palgrave's generation, that the Herero, for example, became a far more centralized society and identities became categorised according to the understanding of European traders. (Johansson 2007: 151)

Traders, trade and trade routes

The arrival of the first few European missionaries in the mid 1800s,

followed by a succession of individual Swedish explorers and other traders in the mid-1800s, the game hunters in the 1860s and William Coates Palgrave in the 1870s, marked the beginning of a new form of trade and mining activity in northern Namibia¹¹. Within two decades, a small group of European men would be directly responsible for the introduction of guns, virtual destruction of the elephant herds, ostrich, antelope and the biodiversity of the flora. Their activities would result in a dramatic escalation of the trade in human beings, wars among the local people and the forced departure of labourers from Namibia to the Cape Colony (Johansson 2007: 151-5; Henrichsen 2008: 4).

It is worth examining the background and actions of a few of these men, each of whom had a direct influence on the !kun boys' lives and departure from Namibia, as it gives us insight into the time and place¹².

Sir Francis Galton and Carl Johan Andersson

The adventurous Carl Johan Andersson (1827-1892) left Sweden in 1849 and joined the well-known English doctor, Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911) in London, from whence they departed for Galton's expedition to the interior of South West Africa, to them an unknown place. Their aim was to reach Lake Ngami from the west, which had previously been 'discovered' by David Livingston from the south. Although they did not succeed, the men's passions resulted in hundreds of additions to their collection of natural specimens, many of which were carefully preserved and sent to Andersson's hometown museum, Vanersborg.

Andersson's fascination with Africa caused him to stay behind when Galton left Namibia. By hunting and trading elephant and ostrich, he saved enough money to finance another expedition and, in 1853, he finally reached Lake Ngami with the help of local people and opened up new trading possibilities during this challenging journey. Andersson went on to establish a trading station in Otjimbingwe, (Otjimbingwe today) brought his family to live with him and set about developing his plan for the station to become the Damaraland centre of trade for cattle, ivory, ostrich, guns and ammunition. He took up an appointment

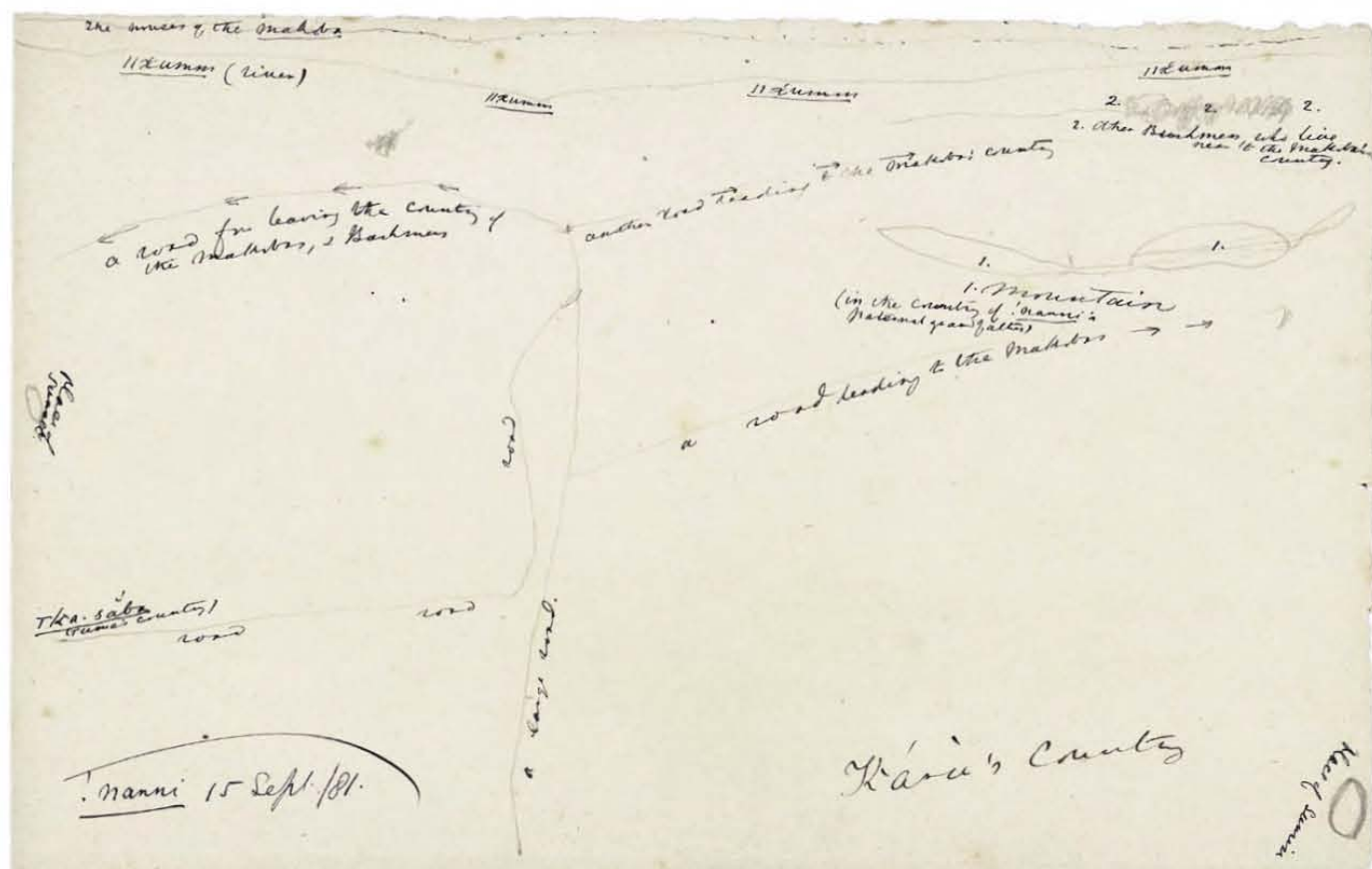


Figure 16: !Nanni's pencil map depicts his paternal grandfather Karu's country, with pathways and roads leading to the Makoba and other people's countries (including ||uma's), the ||xumm River and mountains.

as the Walfisch Bay mine manager between 1857 and 1864, while simultaneously co-ordinating trade and hunting activities in the region (Johansson 2007: 6).

Two decades later a bullet wound, sustained while fighting with the Herero against the Nama, caused him permanent injury. His health was further affected by several fevers and tropical diseases, but despite this his spirit continued to find expression in extremely challenging expeditions into the wilderness, by horse and foot, finding and creating traders' routes more sympathetic to ox and wagon (Johansson 2007: 6).

Andersson also continued with his ornithological work and research while travelling in Namibia and wrote a bestselling book, *Birds of Damaraland* (1872), which was celebrated in London and Sweden as the follow-up to his book *Lake Ngami*, published in 1858 (Johansson 2007: 8). He was one of the cartographers of the earliest colonial maps of northern Namibia.

Axel Eriksson

Nature lover and fellow Swede, youthful Axel Eriksson (1846-1901) followed the older Andersson in the early 1860s, seeking a life of adventure in foreign lands. Andersson's father, Lewellyn Lloyd, was Eriksson's teacher in the Swedish town where they were both born. He arranged for Eriksson to take up employment with his son in Africa. A lifelong partnership between the two men developed, during which time they became the first traders to establish more comprehensive and long-term operations in Damaraland and Ovamboland – after which most other Europeans would become tied to the two Swedes' operation in one way or another (Johansson 2007: 133). Andersson eventually died in Eriksson's arms in their ox wagon, after a final and gruelling expedition into the wilderness to find safer routes. They aimed to open up a new trade route to the west in order to bypass a Damaraland that had, by then, become too dangerous to negotiate. Eriksson buried his friend near a Herero village in northern Namibia in the presence of a large group of Herero trading partners (Johansson 2007: 27).

During the 1860s and 1870s Eriksson himself went on to become the most significant trader in Damaraland and the surrounding area. A look at his inventory of imported goods at the trading station in Omaruru in 1878 gives us a good sense of what passed hands at this oasis (Johansson 2007: 141).

1000 rifles
9070 kg gunpowder
8165 kg tobacco
1818 litres of gin
2726 litres of brandy
726 kg rice
17 963 kg coffee
23 134 kg sugar
1769 kg tea
5453 litres of lager
2268 kg of wax candles
4536 kg soap
2722 kg other goods

During the 1870s, Eriksson employed more than one third of the traders in the entire Namibia – more or less twenty men. This number would increase to about 150 men during the hunting season. According to Commissioner Palgrave's diaries from the period (as well as other historical sources¹³), the needs of all the traders and the native communities were almost entirely dependent on Eriksson's trading

goods and company (Stals 1991: 177-308).

After a divorce from his first wife, Eriksson had a liaison with a Herero chief's daughter, who bore him a son. Axel junior, the Swedish Herero, became his father's partner and a trader of note in the area, who on occasion travelled to Sweden with his father. Eriksson's new father-in-law, Chief Zeraua from Omaruru, gave Eriksson the Herero name Karuwapa. At the same time, Eriksson's reputation among the Damara chiefs was such that "...they often turned to him with disputed issues..." (Johansson 2007: 103). Whether this was because of his wisdom or his trading power with guns remains debatable, but he regardless established himself as an indispensable part of a newly emerging economic power in the region. After his death in 1894, the British newspaper, *South Africa*, reported that he had been "...the greatest living authority in respect of Damaraland and Ovamboland" (in Johansson 2007: 104).

Anders Ohlson

Anders Ohlson (1841-1912) travelled with Eriksson to Damaraland in the 1860s, where the two men established a partnership. Ohlson, also Swedish, was a prominent businessman and politician in the Cape at this time, where Ohlson & Co. was also the largest trading company. Having joined forces, the two men were now firmly in charge of trade within northern Namibia, as well as the trade between the Cape and northern Namibia. Their purchase of the *Louis Alfred* secured a regular trade route between the Walvis Bay and Cape Town ports. Eriksson now bartered and hunted in the north of Namibia and Ohlson managed the trade down south, with both visiting the other on a regular basis.

The two men built a trading station at Omaruru in Damaraland, where the local Swedes and Europeans dined at Christmas and invited locals to their parties with a dressed-up Father Christmas in attendance. The men established a firm brotherhood of traders and hunters (Johansson 2007: 154).

William Coates Palgrave

William Coates Palgrave was an Englishman born in 1833. Almost immediately after his arrival in the Cape in 1859, he joined an expedition to the area around Lake Ngami in Namibia. They reached Damaraland in 1860, where Palgrave decided to stop to prospect for metal and precious stones. He became seriously ill from one of the many local fevers and was taken care of by Andersson. For the next few years he remained in north Namibia and accompanied Andersson and Eriksson on several hunting and trading expeditions. The men developed active relationships with several chiefs in the area during this time and created a trading network (Stals 1991; Johansson 2007).

After serious conflict with the Oorlam/Nama commandos (who had been slowly advancing from the Cape Colony into Namibia in search of land), Palgrave left for Cape Town, where he reported on the conditions in Namibia. The British colonial authorities asked Palgrave to conduct five commissions between 1877 and 1884 in preparation for possible British annexation of the area and its rich natural resources. For most of these years, Palgrave travelled by foot and by ox wagon across the expanses of Damaraland and the fever-ridden forests of Ovamboland.

Transport was high on the local trade and mining agenda as a necessary requirement for economic success in the region. Overland transport routes comprised basic tracks and ox wagon roads, as well as tracks made by elephants and used by local people as roads to and from waterholes. The better roads carried up to 60 ox wagons in the Eriksson/Ohlson caravan and more or less 30 men at a time. The largest

number of European men recorded taking part in a hunting season in the 1870s in Damaraland was no more than 200 men.

By the mid 1860s, central trade routes had been created into Namibia; the interior was accessible by ox wagon from the Orange River down south to the Kunene and Okavango Rivers in the north. The increase in ox wagon traffic was a consequence of the rising trade in many parts of the country and changed the way of life for its people. Windhoek and Otjimbingwe developed as new trade centres with the creation of new routes into the north of the country.

These four influential men, Andersson, Eriksson, Ohlson and Palgrave, were part of a small core group of less than sixty men who were consistently active in Damaraland during the 1860s and 1870s and who broke through the Namib Desert in search of the 'wilderness' that lay beyond – and the riches it held. With them came a newly developing economy and trading possibilities – with powerful and irreversible effects on northern Namibia and its communities.

Change in Damaraland

One should bear in mind that 'Herero' was the general term describing a large number of related language groups in the area at the time; in fact, the Damara and Herero were sometimes referred to as the same group by missionaries and Europeans, while Damaraland became "Hereroland" during the early 1880s. The same is true for other groupings whose identities were far too complex for the settlers to understand.

The Herero, in particular, had become Eriksson and his colleagues' active partners in trade. Guns became prerequisites for trading cattle, ivory and ostrich feathers – the main commodities of the time. The huge trade in guns and ammunition was of great benefit to the Herero for military purposes and for the defence of their herds from predators and had obvious benefits over spears, bows and arrows. William Coates Palgrave reported in 1875 that almost all boys from around the age of twelve carried rifles, often of a very good quality. At the same time, the missionary Carl Buttner stated that all adult Herero males owned a considerable number of rifles and ammunition, and the outdated technology of spears, bows and arrows were now found only among servants (Johansson 2007: 155).

The Herero people could now better protect themselves in local wars, especially from the Nama, or Oorlam, source of conflict that arose from the south. These local wars had by now become more frequent and bloody, as raids for cattle, territory and other goods increased and were made more intense with the use of guns and ammunition. The local hunters could carry out successful hunts for elephant and ostrich and now did so outside of the traditional hunting season. Guns contributed to the expansion of their cattle herds, as weapons were a deciding factor when it came to raiding people's land for greater pasture. Individuals now carried out quick raids on unarmed locals, without the traditional authority and planning of the chief and council.

Needless to say, the Herero's power increased dramatically in this region. The Dama and San communities became increasingly more vulnerable and marginalised. They were often in the employ of the Herero and, of course, the Scandinavians and other Europeans (Johansson 2007: 151-5).

The process of re-pastoralisation took place, as is well-known, in the context of mercantile capitalism expanding from the Cape Colony. In contrast to processes of underdevelopment in southern Namibia at the time, Herero managed to consolidate their livestock wealth and at the same time engage in new

trading and hunting possibilities, through the acquisition of huge numbers of guns, horses and to a lesser degree, ox wagons. As such, the Herero society became both a cattle and gun society and this controlled, from the 1870s onwards, the central means of power and resources in the region. The consequences of this were dramatic, especially for the Damara. (Henrichsen 2008: 11)

Elephants, guns and pianos

Ostrich feathers and elephant tusks continued to be valuable currency, while ivory piano keys were a sought-after commodity in Europe as a result of the popularity of piano playing among the wealthier classes (Gordon 1992: 33). Between Eriksson, his hunters and the local communities, the elephant herds of Damaraland were virtually wiped out by the late 1880s (elephant hunting had long since stopped being a limited seasonal activity among locals and other hunters). Eriksson himself wrote that where he had collected more than 3000 tusks in one year a decade ago, he could now find only the tracks of a female with calf and an old bull. The increasing herds of cattle had destroyed large areas of indigenous growth and rendered certain areas barren to those who relied on the area for gathering food. As elephant and other game became scarce, cattle became the more common exchange – motivation for the cattle owners to continually increase the size of their herds (Johansson 2007: 209).

It is worth taking a look at the trading conditions further up north in Ovamboland, as they had an influence on Damaraland's demise during the late 1870s, as well as on the abduction of the !kun boys whom we know lived further north-east. Gewald's book (2001) on the Herero described Portuguese traders who demanded slaves in exchange for alcohol and weapons from Ovambo people, as they needed labour for the coffee plantations in northern Angola (see also Johansson 2007: 152).

Previously, there had been two types of violent conflict between different Ovambo communities; robbery and war. The aim of robbery was to appropriate cattle and prisoners of war used as hostages to gain even more cattle. Through the trade in cattle with the European's presence in Ovamboland, robberies between communities became commercialized. As big game was becoming scarce and people became dependent on cattle for trading, the capture of prisoners also increased in order to use them as exchange for more cattle. By increasing the number of raids, more cattle was acquired, which were exchanged for more weapons – and more weapons in the hands of the bands of robbers resulted in more violent conflicts and greater amounts of bloodshed. (Johansson 2007: 153)

In this way the more successful communities, meaning those who now had guns, cattle and the means to trade successfully, came to dominate the others. The political structure between communities changed radically as a result of European trading activities.

The Ovambo's trade in weapons and people extended itself to Damaraland, where slaves could easily be picked up among the vulnerable San and Dama communities, by the Makoba and others, who would, in turn, sell them. In the late 1880s, Eriksson reported that in many places civil war between communities was commonplace and rendered Damaraland and Ovamboland dangerous places to be. Whereas he and his men had previously been able to lie down next to the campfire to sleep during their expeditions, they now had to take turns to guard and make sure they were always armed, to protect themselves from the very



Top
Figure 17: Tamme's watercolour of a young elephant with a tree it has pushed to the ground.

Left
Figure 18: Tamme's watercolour of the root of a plant taken out of the ground by an elephant and laid upon, with flowers and leaves.

people whom they themselves had armed by supplying ammunition as an item of trade.

A severe drought during the latter part of 1870 rendered the Damara and !kun communities even more vulnerable. A near-famine situation developed and according to documented letters and reports¹⁴, brought these two previously thriving communities to their knees. Stories from local Europeans included accounts of starving Berg Damaras, while others described the Damaras as a plague, as war-hyenas or as everybody's workers. During this devastating famine, Damaraland's semi-desert and surrounding areas had become a place where human beings fought tooth and nail for survival.

Several of Axel Eriksson's hunters were murdered and their goods plundered from their wagons. Eriksson wrote in agitation: '... in this country the damned negroes are amusing themselves by plundering each other and now and then also one of my wagons'. The Hereros also robbed and murdered the Bushmen and Damaras, peoples the Herero hardly considered human (Johansson 2007: 50).

Again, trader Axel Eriksson wrote to W. Coates Palgrave in October 1879¹⁵ and informed him that Europeans were collecting food for the Damaras until the next rains and that "Berg Damaras are starving, my store is breeched from morning to night with living skeletons". He asked for help on behalf of the Damaras.

Bushman children

Under these circumstances, the trade in human beings became a more serious threat to the Bushmen and their children. Swedish surveyor and zoologist Gustaf De Vylder visited Axel Eriksson in Omaruru in November 1874. He had made a human specimen 'acquisition' for his collections, which he said he had long wanted. This is what he wrote in his diary:

In the evening, Mr. Eriksson and I sat with his mother-in-law; he had showed me a Bushman boy lying in a box asleep. This child he had bought, almost dead from starvation, from a Bastard whom he had given a rifle in exchange. The child's parents had been killed by the Bastard and he had since then passed through many hands. Mr. E[riksson] had only bought the child to save it from starvation. Mr. Eriksson was good enough to give me this child and my wish to have a Bushman child was thus fulfilled. (Johansson 2007: 174)

De Vylder was fascinated with the 'Buschmen' in the area. He recorded the following story from Eriksson's brother, Albert, on his way to Omaruru during the 1870s. It gives us a glimpse into the insecurities

and dangers of the environment in which they all lived.

... arrived at a small watering hole where a fire had burnt and next to the fire lay a Bushmen's (sic) arrows, bow and quiver, in the fire lay 'uintjies' to fry, beside the fire could be seen the fresh tracks of an old lion, which had carried off the Buschmen. This lion was probably a so-called 'maneater', an old lion whose claws and teeth had worn down. Mr. Albert did not have time to stay to find the lion and kill it. (Johansson 2007: 176)

The little boy was given the name Joseph De Vylder and would later travel with De Vylder back to Sweden. Joseph De Vylder was sent to school in Lunnarp outside Tomelilla in southern Sweden and died after six years of living there.

Placed alongside this story, Da and his friend Juma's accounts of how they were captured and sold and eventually boarded the ship in Walvis Bay become part of a bigger picture of how children were taken, bought and sold in 19th century northern Namibia. Palgrave's assistant recorded an incident in his diary at this time about the buying and selling of two Bushman boys. It corresponds directly with Da and Juma's accounts of their capture and their Boer masters and strongly suggests that this diary entry refers to these two boys.

Monday 9th 1880.

Walvich Bay.

... Mr. Wilmore arrived this morning, having come down in charge of Mr. Carew's Wagons. The latter expected in a few days. He has two Bushman boys whom he had brought down to give up to the Commissioner; they having fled to him from one of the trek Boers who had bought them from an Ovambo. Water rose from crest of beach, and flowed from lagoon round premises.

Wednesday 11th

... Commandant Botha said he wished to give his version of the story about the two Bushman boys that Mr Carew had. When we were on the Okavango – I was then only a field cornet – some 5 or 6 Bushman boys were brought to us by the Ovambo to sell. They said if we did not buy the Bushmen they would be killed. To save the lives of the boys they were bought or exchanged for a gun or whatever the Boers could give in exchange.

The man who purchased the two found them missing from the Laager one day. He rode about the country for several days, endeavoring to find them – a native directed them to Mr. Carew's wagons where he saw them, but was not allowed to talk to them. Mr. Carew said he would not return the boys as they were bought as slaves, but would take them to the Commissioner. He accused

the boers of running away from the Transvaal, and bartering with the natives for slaves. Mr. Botha simply wished Mr. Palgrave to know his version. (Stals 1991: 312)¹⁶

A following entry in Palgrave's diary (Saturday 14th February 1880), tells us that the *Louis Alfred* left 'Walvich Bay' for the Cape at 4.30 pm, taking with it 33 Berg Damaras and 14 Europeans.

In her reconstruction of how Juma came to be parted from his family, Pippa Skotnes writes:

One day that Juma recalled well, the neighbouring Makoba arrived, snatched him and his half-brother ʔni||nau and dragged them away. Juma's mother and the mother of his half-brother tried to prevent the kidnapping, pleading with the Makoba to let the children go. The Makoba were not sympathetic, and while the women cried and protested, the boys were put into a boat and rowed away. They journeyed for two days and, arriving at their abductors' place, were given food and slept the first and second nights there. On the third day, Juma's father arrived. He remonstrated with the Makoba and demanded the return of his sons. They had done nothing, not stolen their food, he said; they should be returned to their parents. The Makoba threatened Juma's father and he left, returning later with the two mothers. All three then tried once again to secure the release of their children, but again were met with threats and hostility. The three parents spent a last night near the camp of the Makoba, having made a little fire which Juma watched burning. Then, next morning, they left the area, leaving the boys behind. Some time later the Makoba took ʔni ||nau back to his home, where he died, but they kept Juma and he never saw his parents again. (Skotnes 2006: 246)

After about six 'moons' (Juma showed Lucy the number using his fingers) with the Makoba, he was sold to a Boer, Krenys, for a gun, but Juma ran away after being beaten up by this man. Juma tried to find his family, but he was too far away from home. Evidently the young boy felt better prepared to protect himself from the wild animals in the

wilderness than from this adult. A hunter ('messenger Karo') found and 'took' the little boy (10225-52).

The 'Mr. Carew' mentioned in Palgrave's diary is the 'messenger Karo' mentioned above by Juma to Lucy Lloyd. Carew was a hunter and trader active particularly in the Otjitambi and Omaruru area during 1871 and 1880; he worked with Eriksson and Palgrave and made several trips between Damaraland, Walvis Bay and the Cape Colony at the time, before a fall from his wagon killed him at Natboud in 1880 (Tabler 1973).

Juma met up with Da while with Carew. He handed the boys over to another man who then took them to Walvis Bay. The boys told Lucy that they were told to board a ship.

Lucy Lloyd tells us how the two elder !kun boys came to stay at her house.

It had been greatly desired by Dr Bleek to gain information regarding the language spoken by the Bushmen met with beyond Damaraland, and through the most kind assistance of Mr. W. Coates Palgrave, (to whom this wish was known), two !kun boys of this race (called by itself !kun), from the country north-east of Damaraland, were, on the 1st of September, 1879, placed with us, for a time, at Mowbray. They were finally sent back to Damaraland, under the kind care of Mr. Eriksson, on the 28th of March, 1882. (Lloyd 1911: xvi)

Back to the Cape Colony in the 1870s

Meanwhile, down south in the Cape Colony, the labour shortage (Henrichsen 2007: 1) for servants, mine and agricultural workers made officials look to Namibia (and elsewhere) for their labour supply. William Coates Palgrave and G. H. Stevens, the labour contract officer in the Cape, exchanged several letters about the Berg Damara during this period.

The cattle owners being very rich and powerful in flocks and herds, oppress the other section of the people (that is, Damara)... To



Figure 19: Lucy Lloyd had the children photographed in a Cape Town studio on more than one occasion during their stay in Mowbray. This photograph is of Juma and Da on the left and Tamme on the right.

prevent their annihilation the Government, through agents at Walvis Bay, made possible to these people for bringing them to the Cape to work. (Palgrave 1880¹⁷)

The stage for the 'Indentured Labour Scheme' had been set. In 1879, Coates Palgrave and the Cape Government had successfully annexed Walvis Bay as a point of control for trade and export and, at the same time, consolidated this form of trade. A labour agent, James Murray (WCPA: 1878), was appointed and set up a shed, the 'Berg Damara Station' at Walvis Bay, from where he spread the word that five to ten shillings would be paid to recruiters for every man, woman or child who would willingly proceed to Walvis Bay and emigrate to the colony. Omaruru remained the inland trading station.

G.H. Stevens, James Murray's counterpart, was appointed Labour Agent in Cape Town. Ohlsons & Co (Eriksson and Ohlson's trading company in Cape Town) became the import company that arranged for the 'Damara shipments' that were to carry the labourers to the Cape for the next three years. Eriksson remained Ohlson's trade

partner stationed at Omaruru, well positioned to facilitate the labour recruitment programme from there¹⁸.

This was the context in which the Cape Colony recruited people from central and northern Namibia to the Cape – where they signed labour contracts for up to three years at a time. It was also the broader context in which the !kun boys arrived in Walvis Bay and departed for the Cape. The children had found themselves part of this historical drama in the north of Namibia during the 1870s.

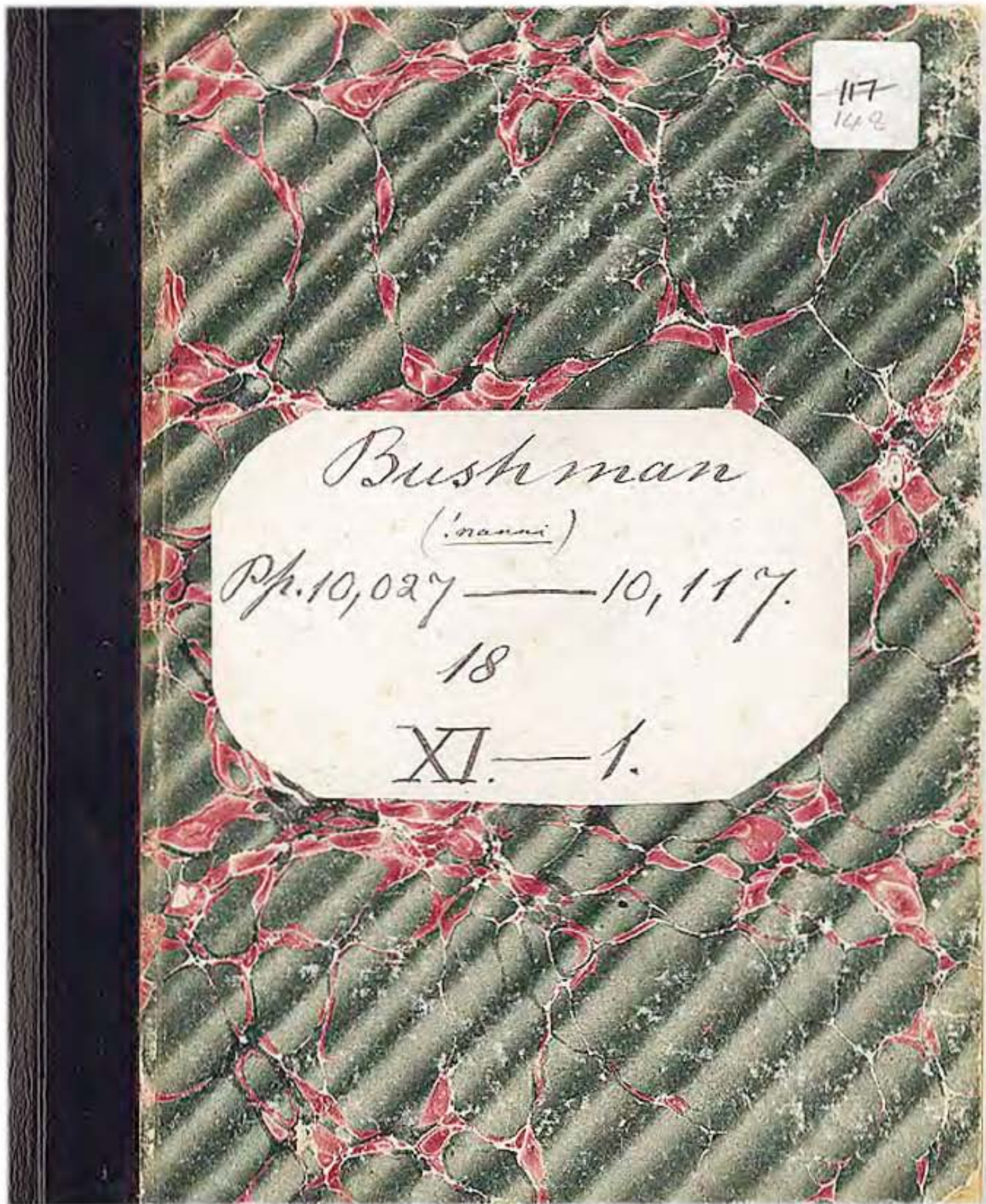
This overview of north-east Namibia during the 1870s and 1880s gives some sense of where the four !kun boys spent their primary years. It was a time when thousands of elephant were exterminated, where extensive trade between all the people of the region increased rapidly, where bullets replaced bows and arrows and where socioeconomic relations changed radically within less than three decades. A severe drought in the 1870s had caused widespread hunger and forced people to find harsh ways to survive. It was a place where people stole children from their parents, forced them into slavery, killed or sold them.

Footnotes:

1. The main sources for the Namibian immigration administration and "Damara" shipments to the Cape can be found in the Western Cape Archive and Records Service. Immigration Agent for Cape Town (IAC). Volumes 1-17. 1878-1885.
2. G.H.Stevens (Contracting & Pass Officer). Western Cape Archive and Records Service. File of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. 5.4.1880, in Report on Native Immigration to the Colony from Extra-Colonial Territories, 1879.
3. Anna and Oura's contracts, as well as a list of children including twenty-four whose parents were forwarded to East London on 15th May 1879, may be found at the Western Cape Archive and Record Service. Files of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol. 10 & 15. Contracts 1878-1885.
4. The Louis Alfred left Walvis Bay on February 4th 1879 with Da and Juma on board. (See Stals 1991: 315). They were placed in Lucy Lloyd's care the following month, on 24th March.
5. For a detailed account of Palgrave's commissions, see Stals (1991).
6. The paintings and drawings in this dissertation are a selection from those made by the !kun children and annotated by Lucy Lloyd. The full collection can be found at <http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>
7. To see Eriksson's 19th century bird collection at the Vänersborg Museum in Sweden, visit http://www.vastarvet.se/kulturvast_templates/Kultur_ArticlePage.aspx?id=28644
8. Inanni and Tamme's descriptions of the various people in their region can be found in BC 151_A2_1_111, 9163-9166, 9173-9175-9183, 9183v, 9223v, as well as in Claim to the country (Skotnes 2007). All references to the notebooks will be indicated by page number throughout this dissertation and can be found as such in the Digital Bleek and Lloyd

(<http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>).

9. Nigel Penn (in Skotnes 2007) reminds us that the word 'Oorlam' came into use at the end of the 18th century to refer to people of Khoikhoi or 'Bastard' descent who had acquired knowledge of European skills and culture, such as the use of horses and firearms, who lived on the margins of the colony. In colonial parlance, "Bastard" was someone of mixed parentage, usually of a white farmer and a slave or non-white mother.
10. le Roux, W. Personal communication. More historical information about the Goba or Makoba may be obtained from Wood (1868: 48).
11. See Stals (1991) for details about the growing trade relations with the inhabitants of Namibia during the 1870s.
12. See Edward (1973) for information regarding the 'pioneers' of Namibia between 1738-1880.
13. Western Cape Archive and Record Service. Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol. 1-17.
14. Western Cape Archive and Record Service. File of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol. 4. Private letters. 1878-1885.
15. Eriksson to Palgrave, 25/10/1879. Western Cape Archive and Record Service. File of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol. 4. Eriksson to Palgrave, 25/10/1879.
16. I use fairly long quotations and extracts throughout my dissertation to bring forth a sense of the archive I have drawn from.
17. Palgrave to Stevens. 05.04.1880. Western Cape Archive and Record Service. File of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol.5. 1879-1885. Also see Stals (1991: 357).
18. As documented in the Western Cape Archive and Record Service. File of the Immigration Agent for Cape Town. Vol. 1-17. 1878-1885.



Lucy Lloyd in the !kun collection

This chapter addresses a key issue in this dissertation; the conditions of production of the archive and my analysis of how Lucy Lloyd may have shaped the !kun material.

Firstly, attention is drawn to the context in which several groups of Namibian children arrived from Walvis Bay in Cape Town during the late 1870s and early 1880s, including the !kun boys. Archival documents highlight how Lloyd's life and work was entangled in the socioeconomic activities of her contemporaries in the colony, while requiring us to read the !kun collection against and beyond the tainted backdrop that the colonial archive presents: in this case, the Namibian Immigration Agent's files (1878-1882) held in the Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Services.

Secondly, this chapter introduces Lucy Lloyd and examines how her own childhood, personal history and domestic environment in Mowbray may have affected both the production of the material and the children's experience of displacement in Cape Town, setting their experience apart from the other groups of Namibian children who arrived with them and were apprenticed to masters.

Thirdly, I examine the relationship and methodology which Lucy Lloyd developed with |han=kass'o, the |xam man who lived at her home during the eighteen months prior to the children's arrival and during the first three months of their stay. I examine how this may have set the stage for the children's accounts of their losses and childhoods in Namibia.

Leaving Walvis Bay for Cape Town

I want to return to the immigration agent's records from the 1870s and 1880s which I described in Chapter One, where a list of 26 children between the ages of four and thirteen, whose parents were sent to the eastern Cape on 15 May 1879, may be found¹ – the children stayed behind to be apprenticed. A letter from Walvis Bay, dated 6 May 1880, from Namibian Commissioner William Coates Palgrave, reads: "I have the honour to enclose a list of Berg Damaras forwarded this day to Cape Town by Louis Alfred, comprising 18 men, 17 women, two boys of contrastable age and 19 children ... I am sending up two Bastard orphan girls, both fairly trained to domestic service and of good character ..." (Palgrave 1880²). He continues that each vessel will in future contain a

fair number of Berg Damaras, although the authorities should not be disappointed if a few months pass, as time is still required to get the scheme into working order.

Another letter in the same file records Palgrave as saying that a number of Berg Damaras should be returned after a period of service in the Cape, to reassure local recruits that all is in order and to allay their many fears about leaving Namibia – such as being thrown overboard to drown on account of having stolen something on land. This may have been part of the reason the two elder boys returned to Namibia in 1882.

Arrivals and departures

We do not know if the !kun children were officially 'apprenticed' to Lucy Lloyd on the day of their arrival. I could find no documentation or apprentice contracts referring to either !nanni, Tamme, Juma, Da or Lucy Lloyd among the others in these files, although Dorothea Bleek (1909: 42) mentions that the boys from Namibia were "sent to my Aunt". Instead, we find her and the boys in the South African Museum on the very first day of their arrival, setting the tone for the two years to come. (Perhaps Palgrave or immigration officials took the boys to her at the South African Museum in the Company Gardens where she worked at the library). Her first act of communication with the boys was to learn their language. In her notebook numbered 'XI & XII' on pages 8968 and 8969, dated September 1st 1879, she recorded a two-page list of English and !kun words, enabling us to read what the boys saw in the museum on that day: leopard, lion, hyena, hippopotamus, giraffe, rheebok, jackal, porcupine, quagga and an anteater, among other creatures. Perhaps Lucy Lloyd and the boys travelled home to Mowbray after the museum visit and walked up to Charlton House, where she would have introduced them to Jemima Bleek and her five children, their other sisters, |hankass'o and his kitten, the Khoikhoi family from Kimberley who lived there at that time and Scamper, the family dog (Bank 2006: 344).

Eighteen months later, upon their departure having contributed their part of the !kun collection, Lucy Lloyd wrote to Mr Stevens, the immigration agent. Her words, personalised in her distinctive slanting calligraphy in blue ink on two small cream-coloured sheets of loose paper, is almost lost among the many other letters in the file called

Opposite

Figure 20: One of Lucy Lloyd's 17 !kun notebooks in which she recorded words, notes, short sentences and stories from the !kun children.

'private individuals' – may of which complain about the 'laziness' of labourers, despite 'repeated lashings'.

Charlton House
Mowbray
30 March 1882

Dear Mr. Stevens,

The two elder boys from the country N.E. of Damaraland, are returning to Walfisch Bay with Mr. Eriksson en route to their own land, and they have asked me to tell Juma from them, that they were returning to their own country. I promised to do this; I have written a letter to Mr. Fischer, which I enclose to your kind care for him. I thought it would give you less trouble if I did this myself. Would you please read the letter before sending it on [...]. I also enclose, to your kind care, a handkerchief, which Juma left behind him, by mistake, in his last hurry of departure. Our little fellows [...] anxious to lend their goodbye message to their friend Juma. I write this at once, for fear of it being forgotten in all the pressure of other matters. The little lad, Da, is still with us and, at present seems to be happy enough.

With our united kind regards, I am, my dear Mr. Stevens,

Truly yours
L. C. Lloyd
(Lloyd 1882)

Her letter indicates that she was familiar with and acted in accordance with the legal framework of monitoring the indenture. Beyond this, her letter reads as a farewell gesture, marked by a sense of integrity in relation to the children whose traumatic stories we would never have known had it not been for the nature of her engagement with them while they stayed at Charlton House. During the course of this and the following chapter, I suggest how Lucy Lloyd's own childhood and personal history of trauma may have influenced the boys' experience of displacement in Cape Town, setting it apart from that of other immigrant children, such as twelve-year old Oura and three-year old Anna, whose stories may never be known⁴.

Who was Lucy Lloyd?

Lucy Lloyd (1834-1914) had originally joined Wilhelm Bleek's Bushman

project with the !xam prisoners in 1870, as a result of her close relationship with her sister, Jemima. Home-based education from their mother's family evidently prepared them adequately with linguistic skills and nurtured a lifelong love of literature. It is through Jemima's articulate letters to Wilhelm Bleek during their courtship (between 1860 and 1862) that we come to know much about Lucy Lloyd's personality and the domestic circumstances that later gave rise to the making of the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection. These private letters give the impression that it was important to Jemima to introduce her sister to Wilhelm Bleek, include her in their growing friendship and share their background with him.

Lucy and Jemima Lloyd were the children of an English rector and chaplain, William Henry Lloyd, and Lucy Ann Jeffreys, herself the daughter of a minister of the church. Their mother died after a long illness in 1842, when Lucy was eight years old. Their father's second marriage a year later resulted in another thirteen siblings during the years to come. The family left England in 1849 and after 88 days on board the John Line arrived in Durban, where William Lloyd took up a position as colonial chaplain. The influence of their mother's family and the refined lifestyle the sisters had grown used to was about to come to an end.

Jemima's correspondence⁵ with Wilhelm represents a vivid picture of her and Lucy's teenage years in Natal as a period of challenge upon challenge. It was not only a struggle to make ends meet and help raise their siblings, but the sisters and their family also suffered long periods of hunger; and when food was available it was often of an inferior kind. This took its toll on Lucy Lloyd and her sisters' health. Lucy endured a relentless relationship of verbal and emotional abuse from their father; often supported by their stepmother. In 1861, Jemima wrote that their father would express his anger "in all its virulence", with his second wife often by his side. Jemima told Wilhelm that "...there was always this poor and angry little woman there – who was constantly making aggravating speeches abt us & in every way the cunning of her little mad mind cd suggest – trying ... to set him against us & prevail on him to throw us out of house & home' (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 277).

Poignantly, Jemima wrote that even though the stepmother allowed their father "to abuse us a great deal in her presence, there were some things that even her gentle nature roused against & so used to leave the room..." (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 277). One can only imagine what these 'things' might have been.

Jemima explained to Wilhelm that Lucy was more deeply affected by this chain of events than herself. Jemima described Lucy's childhood as very unhappy, one that had left an indelible mark on her increasingly



Left

Figure 21: Juma, Da, Inanni and Tamme (left to right) photographed in Lucy Lloyd's garden in a shelter they had made some time after their arrival.

Opposite (top to bottom)

Figure 22: Lucy Lloyd took Inanni and Tamme to the South African Museum on the first day of their arrival, where she began recording their language. This image is of a word list on page 8968 in her notebooks, recorded on September 1st 1879.

Figure 23: A copy of the first and last pages of the letter written by Lucy Lloyd to Mr. Stevens in 1882, upon Inanni and Tamme's departure.

<p>* Another name for the lion</p> <p>Sept. 5/81.</p> <p>† La ke kēga 'khumim, It resembles to e 'khumim tanki a leopard(?), and is a different kind of leopard</p>	<p>Sept. 1, 1879, South African Museum. 8968 from <u>!madui & !agame</u>.</p> <p>!mat * <u>!ne'</u> [Xl. & Xll-1] Lion</p> <p>!mat <u>!ne'</u> linefox</p> <p>5 !mat <u>!ne'ma</u> lion-cub</p> <p>!gao <u>!had'!gao</u> Leopard +</p> <p>!kumm spotted hyena</p> <p>10 !xau hippopotamus</p> <p>xara <u>jjodzho'</u> Lechee</p> <p>15 xara <u>yara</u> palla</p> <p>!kauwa } !kau ka } <u>!kau</u> gemibok</p> <p>!kau buffalo</p> <p>20 * <u>!koā</u> * <u>!koā'</u> giraffe</p>
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be happy enough.
With our united kind re-
gards, I am, my dear
Mr. Stevens,
truly yours,
L. J. Lloyd

Charlton House,
Mowbray:
30 March/82.

My dear Mr. Stevens,

Our two elder
boys, from the country to the
N. E. of Damara-land, are returning
to Walvisch Bay with Mr.
(on route to their own land)
Brickson, and they asked
me to tell uma, from
them, that they were
returning to their own
country. I promised to try
from Stevens, Esq. To

negative self-image. Lucy's views on religion and the church had begun to differ from her father's, whose lifestyle was not in keeping with his professed religious devotion, inevitably causing further rupture between father and daughter.

Jemima and the sixteen-year-old Lucy returned to England in 1851 for a period of nearly four years. Here they once again enjoyed the caring company of their mother's family, whom Jemima described as a thoroughly sane set of sober people, whose " ... pure motives ... [were a] constant example of their daily unselfish and striving lives ..." (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 275). This atmosphere must have contributed to a sense of healing from the ill-treatment they had experienced in their father's home in Natal. The maternal side of their family was better off financially and certainly more refined, living in a cultural English environment where the novels of Dickens, the Brontës, Elizabeth Browning and George Eliot were emerging as respected literature. The Lloyd sisters' love for language, writing and reading which endured for their lifetimes must have been well stimulated during this period of their lives.

After returning to Natal on their father's insistence, Lucy Lloyd became of age and therefore eligible for the inheritance of 3000 pounds which her mother had left to each of her daughters. However, her father insisted that she hand the capital to him. She was determined to resist his attempts to claim her inheritance (which, along with a rental income, would amount to an income of 100 pounds per year), as he had done with her older sister, Fanny (Bank 2006: 48). Lucy Lloyd's firm determination became the final straw in their already strained family relationship – her father eventually evicted Lucy from his home in Durban in 1857.

Then approaching 23 years of age and engaged to a young man, George Woolley, Lloyd was offered a home by a neighbouring family, the Middletons, who lived on a farm close by, where another disappointment and betrayal of trust were soon to follow. An extract from another letter written by Jemima to Wilhelm in 1861 conveys a sense of this episode of Lucy Lloyd's life.

... She [Lucy] had been obliged to leave home about a year and a half previously, owing to some unhappy differences with our father about money matters. [...] A family, who lived on a neighboring farm, had given them a home, which both her independence and gratitude, (of both which qualities I think she has rather more than a common share) concurred to make her repay by her services to the utmost of her power – and so well did she succeed that she became invaluable to them; and they being unfortunately very selfish people, and especially the woman, who was very clever too – they managed to sow distrust and pain between her and poor George; feeling if she married him that of course they must lose her – Oh it was such a thing – such a diabolical thing to do – I think – so heartlessly cruel – And there she was, poor girl, away from all of us, who, tho' not nearly as sensible as she is, yet mt have helped her by just our love and sympathy & without our mother to guide her – just at the mercy of those wretched Middletons ... (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 274).

Not long after Lucy Lloyd had broken off her engagement with George Woolley, he took ill and died alone in his home. Lucy Lloyd was devastated, as she had, in the meantime, nurtured the hope of reconciliation. Jemima, who had also been evicted, described Lucy as feeling utterly alone. "Poor Loui has many morbid ideas abt herself –

among others that she is ugly and stupid, that no one cd love her, etc etc – so, with this groundwork to go on, Mrs Middleton's task was made an easy one." (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 274).

Lucy Lloyd's morbid frame of mind at this point in her life, her "sad view of things – herself especially", did not affect her sense of justice. Despite the gossipmongering in Durban society about the sisters, Lucy Lloyd insisted that they put up a respectable home on their own, even though they'd have to fend for themselves and face the "difficulties belonging to two unprotected girls setting up house-keeping alone – I mean the way one person blamed us – a 2nd said cruel things about us – a 3rd tried to cheat or injure us..." (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 277).

Lucy Lloyd had learnt a powerful lesson in protecting her independence from her experience with the Middletons. Still, she had entered a listless period of her life, where even small tasks such as cleaning her new home, sewing and cooking required energy she could barely muster. This lack of stamina and weakness of body were to return to her throughout her years, causing her to set sail for England to consult a medical specialist on several occasions during her adulthood.

In her letters, Jemima described this period of their lives (1858-1860) as a time when the world had turned its back on them. She expressed a feeling of being knocked about by circumstance. When a kind Durban family, the Sandersons, offered them a home, Lucy Lloyd stuck to her decision to find her own feet. She "kept firm to her belief that because our natural earthly protector had turned us out of his (& our) home, it was no reason that we go & be an incubus ... to our friends, however earnestly they wished it – & that it was right before God that we should have a home of our own, after all our sore trials" (Jemima Lloyd in Skotnes 2007: 277).

The four Lloyd sisters had by now all been evicted from their father's house, and shared the home in Durban where Lucy and Jemima supported the others (Fanny and Julia). Jemima's health had also taken a knock. On Lucy's insistence, Jemima withdrew money from her inheritance to pay for a trip to England to consult a specialist (Bank 2006: 56).

It was while stopping off in Cape Town for a few weeks in 1861, awaiting her ship to England, that Jemima met Wilhelm Bleek at Mrs Roesch's guesthouse in the Gardens, where they were both staying. After Jemima's departure from Cape Town, a romantic correspondence followed, with Bleek proposing marriage a year later in a love letter. Not long after that, Lucy sailed to the Cape to meet her future brother-in-law, and helped him set up home for her sister, who was soon to return from England. The marriage took place in St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town in 1862.

Sometime later (we are not sure when), Lucy Lloyd moved permanently to Cape Town and became an intimate part of the extended family at *The Hill* in Mowbray, now a settled home and household that grew over the years to include the five Bleek daughters and several Xam and other San speakers who stayed for varying periods of time.

Lucy Lloyd began working with Bleek on his linguistic projects and later, in 1870, on the newly initiated project with the Xam prisoners. Jemima remained a faithful and active supporter of the project, even contributing some notebooks, for the rest of their lives.

The two sisters' close relationship produced another series of letters – this time written by Lucy Lloyd to Jemima and Wilhelm, while she was on board the *Roman Mary* to England between 1st and 25th May 1874 (Lloyd 1874⁶). Lucy Lloyd's fragile constitution had again

surfaced in weak health and she was on her way to consult a specialist in Europe. In these letters she reveals herself as a person with strongly held views, deeply sympathetic towards the discomfort or illnesses of other passengers on board and, in particular, the children. While our view of Lucy Lloyd's fractured childhood and her shy, modest yet determined personality is mainly based on Jemima's descriptions to Wilhelm in their courtship letters, Lloyd's 'chronicles' on board this ship offer an unusual glimpse of her more mature personal likes and dislikes. She expresses feelings of contempt for the boring religious sermons on board, as well as intolerance of the rude men who impose themselves on female passengers during dinner. Within the relaxed framework of these personal letters to her sister and family at home, she was quick to comment on small injustices between crew and passengers. She wrote to her sister about her weakness and the ill health that plagued her, preventing her at times from reading her 'Bushman' in the cabin light at night, or during the day on deck. Throughout this journal of 24 letters, her affection for Wilhelm Bleek surfaces, as well as the high respect held for him by fellow passengers, many of whom knew of his work.

Lucy Lloyd's personal voice surfaces in ways that the rest of the archive, by its very nature, does not allow. The letters give us insight into her as a person, outside the context of the !kun collection. Quoted here is only the first paragraph of the chronicles.

May 1st 1874

As some of dear "Brothers" at Mowbray expressed a wish for a chronicle of our ship-life, I am trying to write one; – 1st explaining that my head is very weak still, although it is a great interest and amusement to me to write things down for them. But I cannot hope to do it well; at all events yet a while.

She had no brothers, of course, but had come to refer to her sisters in this way as a result of them having to live independently, like men, in their Victorian world. Tragically, the sisters found themselves alone 'as women' once again, one year after Wilhelm's Bleek's early death in 1875. With Jemima and the rest of the family's support, Lucy remained devoted to the collection for the rest of her life.

In 1887, twelve years after Wilhelm Bleek's death, she departed for Europe, where she continued to work on translating and preparing the manuscripts for eventual publication in 1911. Thereafter, Lucy returned to Cape Town and, in 1913, some years after Jemima's death in Somerset West and only one year before her own, her work was granted official recognition when she became the first woman in South Africa to receive the degree of Honorary Doctorate from the University of the Cape of Good Hope. By far the largest number of what eventually became more than 13 000 pages in the larger Bleek and Lloyd collection was recorded by her hand (Skotnes 1999: 31). She lies buried in the St John's Anglican cemetery in Wynberg, opposite the grave of Wilhelm Bleek and two of his children who died in infancy.

Her devotion and final struggle to publish the 'Bushman' material is remembered in the introduction to her now famous publication of one hundred years ago.

Before the results of such prolonged labour were ready for publication, but not until a very large quantity of valuable matter had been collected, to the great loss of students of man everywhere Dr. Bleek died, 17th of August 1875. Miss Lloyd then continued during some years to collect further material from various individuals of the Bushman race, and after adding greatly to the stock on hand at her brother-in-law's death, in 1887 she proceeded to Europe with a view to arranging it properly and

publishing it. For nine years she endeavoured, but in vain, to carry out this design, the subject not being considered by publishers one that would repay the cost of printing, as that cost would necessarily be large, owing to the style of the Bushman text. In 1896 Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. undertook to get out a volume, but then, unfortunately, Miss Lloyd fell ill, and her impaired strength has since that time delayed the completion of the work. It has only been at long intervals and by dint of much exertion that what is here presented to the reader, with much more that may perhaps follow, has been got ready. This is a brief account of the manner in which the material was collected, and of the causes which have delayed its publication for so many years. It would be quite impossible to gather such information now (Theal in Bleek and Lloyd 1911: xxxvii-xxxviii).

Lucy Lloyd's research methodology

By the time Lucy Lloyd started her work on the !kun texts in 1879, Wilhelm Bleek had been dead for over three years. She brought the considerable experience she had accumulated over a period of nine years (while working with Bleek) to bear on the work she undertook with the !kun children.

Right from the start of her and Bleek's project in 1870, the two researchers had distinctively different styles of working with their !xam storytellers. While Wilhelm Bleek's research was more academic and remained motivated by scientific linguistics as defined at the time, Lucy Lloyd developed a more personal style and articulated different insights, possibly as a result of her less 'book-bound' training at that time (Bank 2006: 351-3). Bleek described her as having a quick ear. His main interest was in learning the language, while she included the oral literature and lore that lay at the heart of the stories. Lloyd expressed her sense of sharing in the lore of the !xam as being part of a living culture with fellow citizens. The stories of the San were 'among us', she said, and 'somehow existing on every side of us' (Lloyd 1879: 5).

We are not alone dwellers in South Africa. We form part of a larger society. (Lloyd 1879: 5)

In 1878, she wrote of her personal understanding of the !xam's loss and ownership of land with the insight she had gained from countless hours spent listening to stories of their landscape, the meaning associated with it and the tragic losses that accompanied their dispossession. The following is an abbreviated version of her letter.

*Grey Library
Cape Town
28 February 1878*

My dear Mrs Frere

Mrs Bleek and I read with much interest the letter from Mr J M Orpen, which you left with us at Mowbray on the 17th instant. I now return it to you, and in reply to His Excellency's apparent desire for more information, will briefly say that the Bushmen who lived with us at Mowbray used to make similar statements with regard to the treatment received by them from the generality of the farmers. For instance, that the water pits were taken from them, although they had belonged to certain Bushman families for generations, that the game had been driven from their hunting grounds ... The old Bushman, who lived nearly three years with Dr

Bleek, had himself possessed a certain waterpit, inherited by his father and grandfather before him, of which he had been deprived by some farmers ...

If only a wise kind of mission could be established among the Bushmen, there would be some protection for the people nearer at hand. I had a faint hope, the other day, which Messrs Sharp and Harris might perhaps have taken the matter up. But no.

I am, my dear Mrs Frere,

Truly yours

Lucy C. Lloyd

(Lloyd 1878)

Charlton House and |han=kass'o

This letter was written shortly after |han=kass'o, then around the age of 34, had voluntarily returned to Lloyd's house from the Northern Cape in 1878, even though his wife and baby had died on the way. Lloyd had immediately set about working with him, asking him to make a drawing on the very first day of his arrival at the house on 9 January 1878, when he drew his image of the male and female wild dogs. He continued, over the following 23 months, to make his own collection of at least 39 pencil sketches and watercolours. In discussion with him, Lucy Lloyd annotated these. The images are clearly by a keen observer of the landscape. His descriptive drawing of the porcupine animates the story of how the hunters would wait at the entrance for the porcupine to return after seeing the spoor made by the animal as it left its hole in the ground. |han=kass'o drew the porcupine's long, sharp nails to show how it makes elongated scratch marks in the soil as it moves.

He stayed until December 1879, overlapping with the first two !kun boys' arrival by three months. Andrew Bank (2006: 341-53) observes and discusses how the notes and asides in Lucy Lloyd's notebooks were but a reflection of a much wider conversation between the two during this period of time. We learn of his fascination with the family dog, Scamper, and |han=kass'o's gift from the family, a little kitten who had difficulty walking and whom he called Kauki-tui (the one who does not hear). The humming of the table lamp around the writing table prompted him to comment on its sound and led Lloyd to record various other sounds around them. He described the parrot as making lateral clicks similar to that of a European man who uses the tip of his tongue to speak, in contrast to the |xam, who use the body of their tongue (Bank 2006: 346).

Lloyd and |han=kass'o's work included a variety of visual references. He viewed H. C. Schunke's copies of rock art shortly after he arrived at Charlton House. Among the books he and Lloyd referred to in

their building of vocabulary and common references were *The natural history of man* (Wood 1868) – on 10 July 1879, Lloyd recorded plants recognised by |han=kass'o on page 237 of the book: the Grapple-plant, Hook-thorn and Uncacia Procumbens. Their mutual interest in botanical plants is reflected in the collection in a number of ways. Lloyd kept a red diary in which she recorded the |xam names of plants on Devil's Peak and also recorded |han=kass'o's stories about plants. In her notes to Roland Trimen, who worked close to her in the South African Library (where she had taken over from Bleek as curator of the Grey Collection), she asked for clarification on a number of plant and animal species. On 23 May 1878, Trimen replied to her note to him: "... I can shew you a living spider which would astonish your Bosjesman." This was followed by several more notes that passed between the two of them with regard to plants and "Bosjesman" (Bank 2006: 350).

|han=kass'o was particularly interested in small insects and creatures. He told stories to Lloyd about the lives of the birds he recognized and how, for example, the fish eagle, ||ko, flies up with a stone and lets it go in mid-air in order to crush an ostrich egg below. He also explained to Lucy Lloyd that the jackal's plant at his place was used to brew a potion for a hunting dog to drink, in order to give it the courage to hunt the jackal (Bank 2006: 348-9).

Although |han=kass'o spoke a different language to the !kun boys and the Bleek children, he had a reputation for taking great pleasure from interacting with children. He was an extremely lively storyteller, able to communicate with dramatic gestures, songs and music, performing the jackal, ostrich, hyena and anteater with special nuanced tones of his voice and clicks. Andrew Bank (2006: 365) observes that towards the end of 1879, when the boys lived there, his storytelling increased in energy and expressiveness. Although we know that he was about to return to the northern Cape and probably giving his best, it is possible that he saw his performances as his last contributions to Lloyd's quest for knowledge about his culture. One must wonder if the special audience of the two displaced !kun boys from Namibia contributed to the increased energy in storytelling at Charlton House during this period.

Did he show his paintings and drawings to them? Did the boys see the copies of H. C. Schunke's rock art that he himself had studied with Lucy Lloyd? Did they share a drawing table on occasion? Although we cannot answer these questions, one can, while imagining the creative interactions between Lloyd and |han=kass'o, imagine him encouraging !nanni and Tamme to feel at ease, to entrust Lucy Lloyd with their stories and to make their drawings. Not verbally, as they did not understand each other's languages, but by way of example.



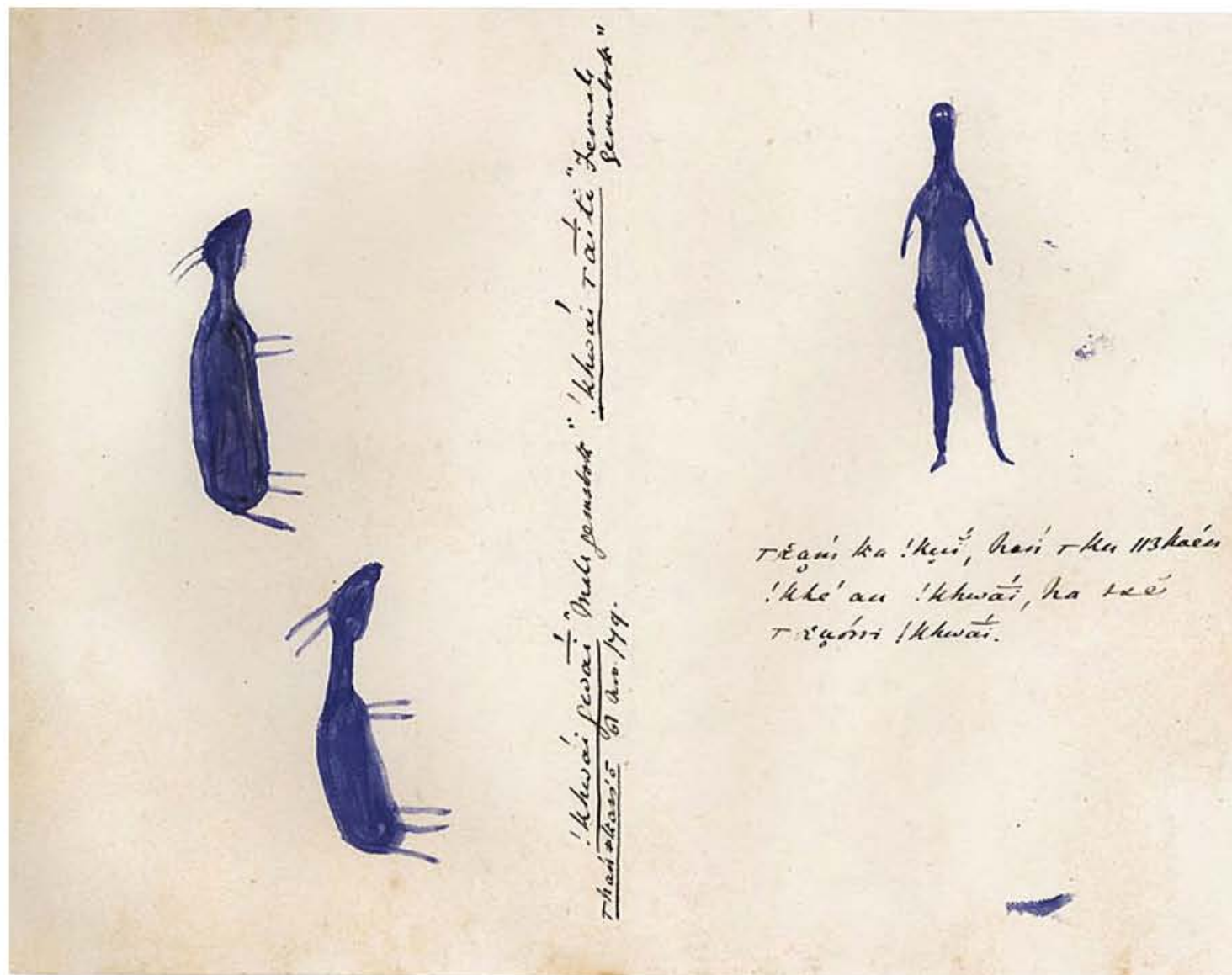
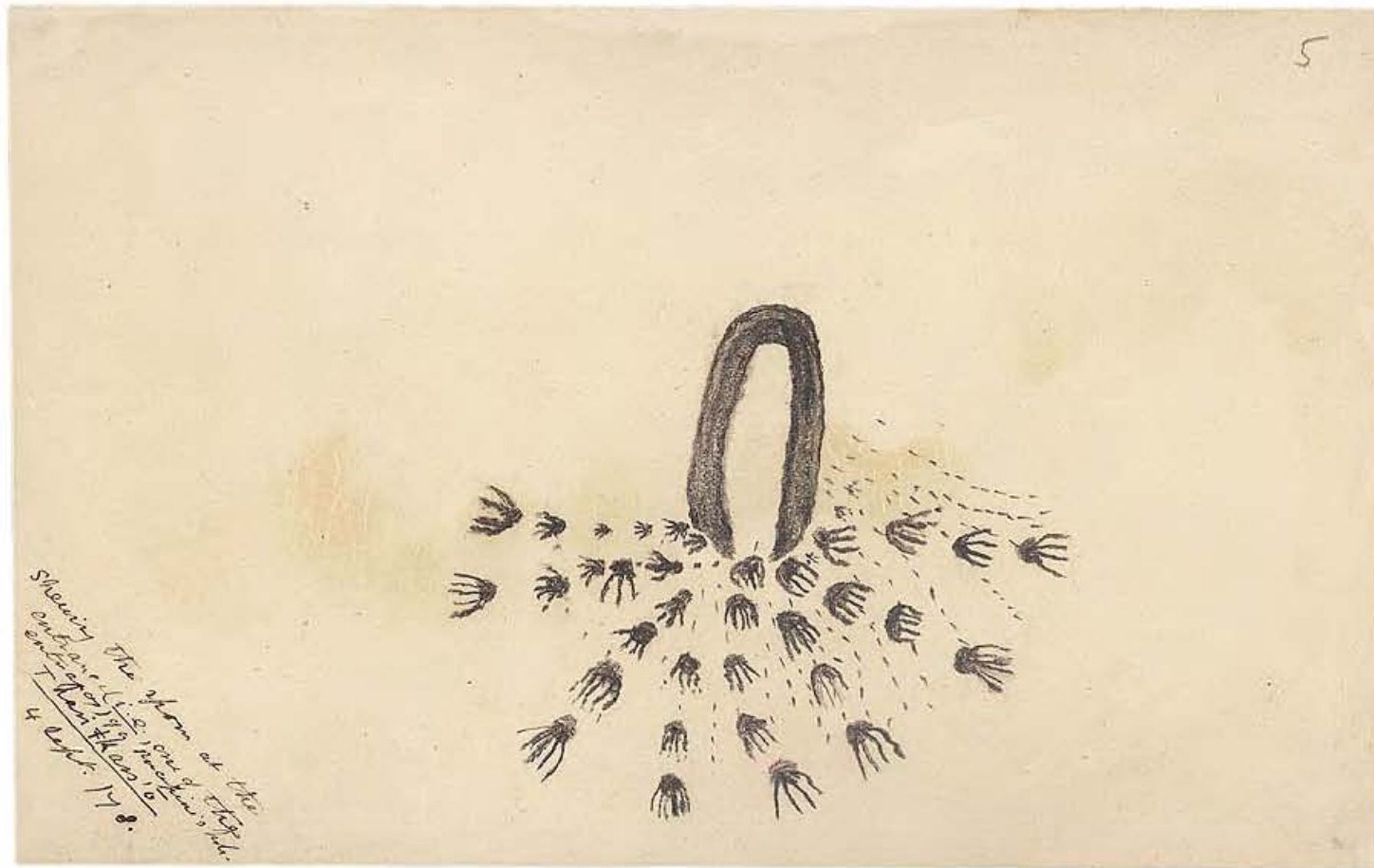
Left

Figure 24: A page from Wood's *The Natural History of Man* (Wood 1868: 48) from Tanya Barben's reconstruction of the Bleek and Lloyd library. It shows a picture of the Makoba, or Goba. Lloyd may have shown this book to the !kun boys, as she did to |han=kass'o.

Opposite (top to bottom)

Figure 25: A pencil sketch by |han=kass'o depicting a porcupine's claw marks as it crawled out of its hole in the ground.

Figure 26: A watercolour made by |han=kass'o of a human figure and a male and female gemsbok.



* *τkani tanki, e* Another day, (when)
'kuni ngō, e ti we slay a man, we
τhōā umu, sa purify (?) (with) food
'n'ubbu, τkani food (fruit is new meat),
 and leaves, another
tan'ki, e 'kuni gāe, day (when) we slay
 a woman, we purify
e ti τhōā e τhō' our fees only, with
τnē-e', hae 'n'ubbu, leaves; putting little
τūwa umu hae leaves into the
'n'ubbu tēma, do, fruit, those which
e τhā 'n'ubbu, are *τnā* leaves,
τnā 'n'ubbu, τnē-e', the *τnā* leaves
e ti τūwa umu, only, we put into
e ti τhōā e τhō' the fruit, we
umu e 'kani-a, e purify our fees;—
 fruit which is (that
'yā tēma, e ti τhōā of) the *'kani,* which
 is a small plant, we
e τhō' e ti 'kuni ngō, cleanse our fees. (if)
e τhōā 'kani sa 'n'ubbu, we kill a man, we purify
 with the leaves of *'kani*.

99/15
τē τhōā ^{thui} *umū* Do not cleanse
 with *τhūi*
τhē-e'; τae tūwa alone; put the
 leaves of trees
 5 *'kani 'n'ubbu* into the *τhūi*,
kue thui, hui
τhūma τhōā. Then (?) cleanse
 (thyselves). For,
 10 *τā e 'kuni dghu* (when) we kill
 another person,
tan'ki, e τhūi τhōā we do not cleanse
 (with) *τhūi* for
umu τnē-e', ta' ti alone; but (we)
 cleanse (with)
 15 *τhōā umu sa* food and
'n'ubbu. "Ta ha leaves!" And he
sāi, ta o yui dgha hears; and says
 20 *tan'ki, "I na 'n'ubbu,"* to the other people,
 "I have water, that"

Figure 27

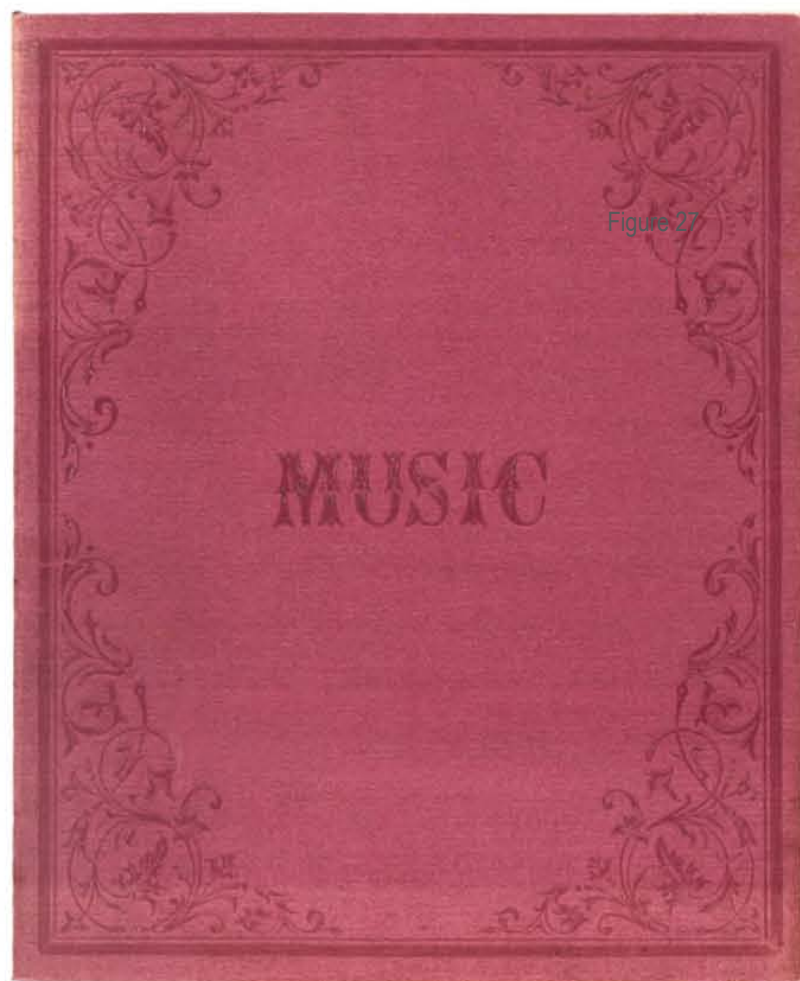


Figure 28

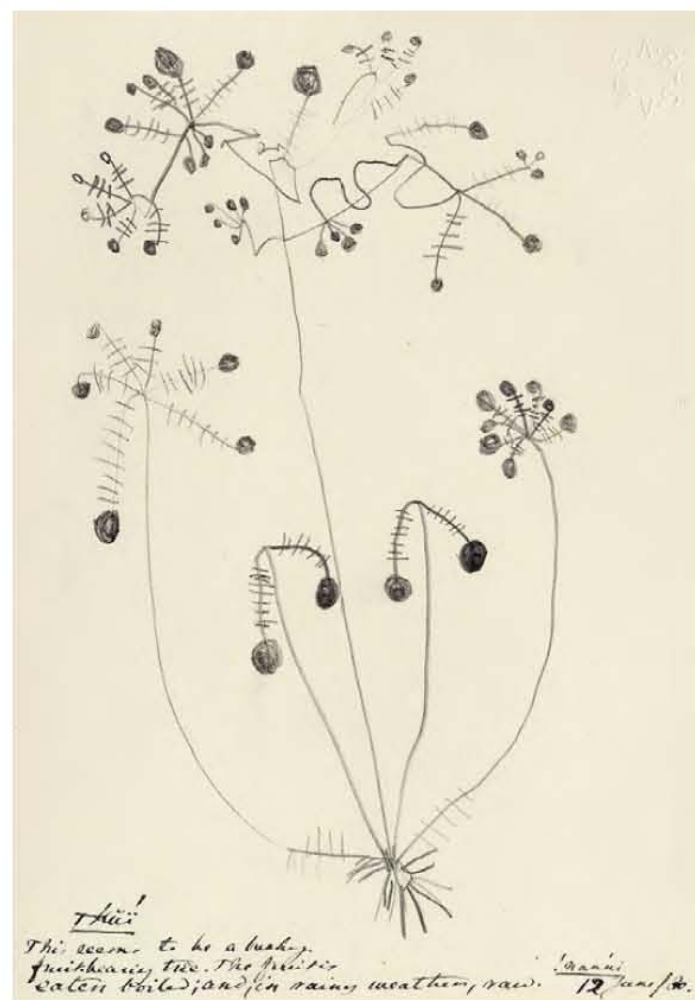


Figure 29

Creating the !kun material

Lloyd and Jhan~~z~~kass'o's methodology and shared interest in the botanical certainly reflect in the children's legacy of more than 570 drawings and paintings. Lucy Lloyd used her previous experience with her !xam interlocutor to build a successful methodology for her expressive and visual way of working with the children. When she placed the blue and green, red, orange, yellow and brown watercolours, paint brushes, pencils and charcoal in front of these boys with their hunter-gatherer backgrounds, it probably did not take much encouragement to get them to express themselves in what was a foreign medium. The children came from a highly oral and visual culture wherein the transmission of knowledge and values through oral tradition was as important as the life skill of reading marks and prints on the ground. Drawing in the sand, reading spatial and visual clues to safely navigate the landscape's features and resources, body decoration, beadwork and the making of basic tools, to mention only a few skills, were fundamental to their families' daily lives. They knew the shapes and forms of hundreds of different species of pulses, bulbs, roots, fruits, berries, trees, plants, flowers and animals on their land. The act of slaughtering animals was dependent on visual and sensual skills. Knowledge of the creature's contours, shapes, lines and the tactile, sensual 'reading' of inside organs with their hands was a part of the mechanics of dismembering an animal. In their communities, the two teenage boys were already initiated into young adulthood and therefore equipped with the ability to hunt and gather. Memory of the landscape and all that had an impact on it was an essential skill.

Lloyd questioned them about their drawings and annotated their replies on almost every single one of their drawings and paintings, as she did with Jhan~~z~~kass'o. Many of the detailed annotations to the images testify to the quality of communication between Lloyd and the children. In her notebooks she expanded on these conversations and recorded more references to the plants that the children had sketched, describing how they were harvested, prepared and eaten. On top of page 10,105 for example, Lloyd made a note that says "see !nanni's drawing of 16 Oct 80" (the /*kui* plant). On other pages she refers to the /*kui* plant mentioned here, and notes that people roasted it when it was not ripe, but that it was eaten raw when ripe; that the Makoba called the plant *nkand* and the fruit itself, *shabi*. The children also told her of the ritual and emotional associations they had with the /*kui* and other plants, which Lloyd recorded on page 9915 and 9916 of her notebooks. This is one of the ways in which the textual and visual material interact, one informing the other, clearly a conscious methodology on Lucy Lloyd's part.

Lucy took down the lyrics of several of the children's songs in her

notebooks and had Juma photographed holding the traditional mouth bow. In 1879 she commissioned the European musician Charles Weisbecker to "record some of the airs sung by the Bushmen; a task of peculiar difficulty, not only on account of the particular character of Bushman music, but, by reason of the smallness of some of the intervals employed" (Lloyd 1889: 28). This collaborative work left a few surviving musical manuscripts, including !nanni's about a cock crowing in Mowbray (a song he made up while weeding the garden at Charlton House) and from Tamme a song entitled *The wood pigeon's song*⁷.

While examining and reading the text and images, one becomes increasingly aware of this 'behind the scenes' aspect to the making of the collection – an ongoing conversation that took place around the house and in other places. The collection, as we have inherited it, was not only the result of specific, recorded interviews and drawing sessions. This in turn suggests that only aspects of conversations were recorded in the images and notebooks, often in short bits and pieces – annotations. In the !kun texts these appear to be erratic, but in fact Lloyd revisits specific themes with consistent clarity throughout the eighteen months she spent with the boys, as we will see in the reconstruction of !nanni's stories in the following chapter. We can also trace the linguistic development of these conversations by looking at how Lloyd built her vocabulary in the notebooks and in the annotated images – it grows from word lists and simple sentences to short stories and more complex subject matter.

In this collection of words and phrases, annotations and asides, little snapshots of life around the house and neighbourhood appear. 'Jantje' (Jhan~~z~~kass'o) took Tamme to sleep, the dog barked, they carried the cat in a basket, they heard cocks crow in Mowbray and heard another respond in nearby Rondebosch, a cat ate a mouse and the horse held the kettle in its mouth (Skotnes 2007: 256). At this point, it is worth pausing on Jemima and Wilhelm's daughter, Dorothea Bleek's, recollections of her childhood. She was only a little girl when the children arrived at Charlton House in Mowbray, so we assume that these recollections were shaped by family discussions over a period of time. However, it gives us further insight into the domestic environment in which Lloyd received the boys and made the !kun collection.

... two Bushmen boys from the country north-east to Damaraland were sent down to my aunt. They were called !nanni and Tamme and had no Dutch names. They seemed to be in their teens. !nanni, a broad youth, grew stout and strong for a Bushman; Tamme remained slight and small. On their arrival they were handed over to Klein Jantje. To our surprise he could not understand their language, nor they his. Still he was pleased to see them, and

Opposite (top to bottom)

Figure 27: Page 9915 from Lucy Lloyd's notebooks is one of several that record the children's multiple associations with the plants they sketched and painted. In this and the following pages, she recorded the /*kui* plant's medicinal and ritual value.

Figure 28: The cover of Lucy Lloyd's music notebook.

Figure 29: A pencil sketch by !nanni depicting the /*kui*, a bushy, fruit-bearing tree. The fruit is eaten boiled and, in rainy weather, raw.

said they were real Bushmen, not Hottentots. Their language and folk lore has a good deal of resemblance to the colonial Bushman's.

Later, a couple of waifs, Juma and Da, were sent from the same district. They looked like two little dolls in blankets when they arrived. Juma soon grew into a big boy; Da remained a baby. He had a hard time, poor mite, among the other lads, none of them his relations. But he could defend himself upon occasion. One day Juma teased the little man badly, fled into their room, and locked the door. Da made a tiny arrow with a pin at its point and lay in wait outside the door till he saw Juma within range. Then he shot through the door and wounded Juma in the eyelid. He might easily have blinded him.

Bows and arrows were the boys' playthings. They made quantities of them and shot at everything in the garden, including each other. The village lads greatly coveted these weapons, and bartered tobacco or some boyish treasure for them. Sometimes they found a hiding place of the Bushmen and simply annexed the bows and arrows, which led to anger and quarrelling.

One day Inanni and Tamme were sent to the next village on an errand. On their way big coloured lads called names after them, and as they returned, blocked their path and beat them with belts. The two Bushmen, outnumbered, unarmed and laden with parcels, escaped as quickly as possible and came home in a fury to hand over the parcels and fetch their bows and arrows. Luckily their excitement was noticed and they were asked what they were doing. This they frankly admitted, never doubting that any just person would stop their shooting the boys who had attacked them unprovoked.

It took a long explanation to show them that this would not do, and that only the law might punish the offenders. Their consent to forgo immediate vengeance was most reluctantly given, and a sharp watch had to be taken all evening to prevent them slipping away with their weapons. Next day they were taken to point out the ringleaders, who were arrested and punished.

It was difficult to keep these boys employed as all house and garden work was new to them at first. They cleaned knives with such energy that half the blades and a whole bath-brick disappeared in a month. In time they learnt to be useful; Tamme even waited at table.

They built themselves a hut with gum bows as a playroom. Here they cooked wild doves that they had shot, and, as a special treat, an ox' head. But they would not let Da eat any of it, and

explained that he was too young, not having the cut from the forehead to the bridge of his nose that the elder three boys had.

A second bush hut they made as a gift for the children of the house. It was big enough to use as a summer house.

Once the boys would not enter a certain room. The reason they gave was not understood and the order was repeated; they politely but firmly stood by their refusal. At last it came out that they had dreamt about the roof of this room falling in during the day, and believed the dream implicitly, until the passing of time reassured them. As a rule they were obedient and respectful. (Bleek 1909:42)

A picture emerges of the boys having found a temporary substitute for their own families in the extended Lloyd and Bleek household, where |han=kass'o and other Bushmen were also resident. They, too, must have been deeply traumatized as a result of their dispossession, imprisonment and extremely violent encounters and, as such, sensitive to the children's recent history and displacement.

There is not much reference in the material about the kind of labour that the children may have performed at Charlton House, but as mentioned above, we do know that Tamme waited at the table, they ran errands and worked in the garden.

Parallel narratives of loss

The !kun boys arrived at Lucy Lloyd's house after a series of traumatic incidents marked by the brutal break-up of their families and their consequent enslavement, followed by a perilous journey across land and sea from the Namibian desert to the Cape Colony, a destination the boys could not have comprehended. They witnessed a range of atrocities back home in Namibia and witnessed what most people would hope their children never see: the murder of their parents and siblings. Although the collection does not offer us explicit evidence of how this trauma manifested in the boys' behaviour, their personal stories render them as displaced children and orphans in mourning, who were surely suffering the consequences of a great deal of loss and abuse.

One can only imagine what it might have meant to Inanni, Tamme, Juma and Da to be listened to attentively while they identified themselves as young hunter-gatherers from north-east Namibia. The !kun material allows us to understand several factors about Lucy's conversations and interviews with the children, which reached far beyond her original desire to learn their language. The recording must effectively have validated their experiences and we can conjecture that Lucy Lloyd's own losses enabled her to respect the losses described to her by the boys. She

allowed them to talk about the implications of these losses and their significance to them, by remembering their family and relationships. She did not trivialise or patronise their loss by ignoring it or changing the subject. Instead, she created an environment in which they could reflect on their moments of trauma, revisit them, paint and draw the settings of their experiences and share the loss not only with her, but with each other (the boys did not know each other before they were taken from their families). Indeed, she was even mindful of the importance of the loss of a handkerchief. During the course of their conversations and in the powerful act of image-making and storytelling in Lucy Lloyd's drawing room, the boys were, for those moments, at the centre of the world they found themselves in, rather than marginalised by it. This is attested to in the density of the texts and images. The boys were able to act on their survival of their violent pasts with visual and poetic performances of their multiple losses. Lucy Lloyd's listening skills and wide range of methodologies helped yield a range of information and testimonies from the children which we would otherwise never have known. She supported the children and helped them to connect their

past with their present, linking it imaginatively, creatively and expressively with their displaced life in Mowbray.

The making of this unique 19th century collection of !kun children's images and texts took place during a time when children were to be seen but not heard, when they could be taken from their parents and forced to work and where young children, like Anna and Oura who arrived with !nanni and Tamme from Walvis Bay, could look to a future of dispossession in a master's house at five shillings a month.

How might the children's stories have been different if their interviewer had had different interests? My reading is that Lucy Lloyd's childhood of abuse and humiliation, her father's attempt to dispossess her of her inheritance, her grief at the loss of her mother, fiancé and parental home, her vulnerability as a woman having to fend for herself at an early age in a colonial Victorian society, her living with the pressure of remaining silent about her own strong views and then having to suffer severe consequences when speaking up for herself, affected her ability to be sensitive and listen to the loss, grief, dispossession and injustices suffered by the !xam and !kun who lived at the Lloyd and Bleek home.

Footnotes:

1. Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Service. IAC.Vol.15.
2. Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Service. IAC.Vol.5.
3. Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Service. IAC.Vol.5.
4. Western Cape Provincial Archive and Record Service. IAC.Vol.5.
5. Many of her letters and all those quoted here can be found in Skotnes 2007: 272-89.
6. An unpublished transcription of these letters may be found in the Deetz Collection at the Centre for Curating the Archive, University of Cape Town.
7. These may be found in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection at UCT: BC 151. E4_4_3_002-8.9.



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32

The children of the archive – |uma and Da, !nanni and Tamme

This chapter focuses on what the four children tell us about themselves. It recreates a sense of their lives in north-east Namibia by exploring !nanni, the oldest boy's, story in detail and representing short sketches of the other three children's lives.

The violent extermination of the elephant herds in Damaraland and northern Namibia by foreign and local hunters must have left hundreds of orphaned young elephants to die on the banks of the Okavango and the plains of the desert. The relentless slaughter of these animals mirrored the aggression with which the !kun children were abducted from their families. While the parent elephants' ivory was used to provide billiard balls, knife handles and piano keys for the new entertainment vogue in Europe – the upright piano – human parents were killed so that their children could be traded, or provide labour. As we have seen, the boys were four of many more children from the area who suffered a similar fate in the wake of this emerging trade.

Before their departure from Namibia, the children had had first-hand experience of the complex and diverse social conditions in northern Namibia. They were born into a hunter-gatherer community in the wilderness, became child-slaves in the service of the Ovambo and Makoba, met up with new 'Boer' masters in ox wagons and wheels, found themselves under the patronizing 'protection' of the Swedish and European traders and hunters and trekked across the Namib dunes to Walvis Bay, where they boarded the *Louis Alfred* with the Berg Damara labour recruits. They sailed on the vast Atlantic Ocean to an unknown destination and finally arrived at the comparatively refined, peaceful home of their colonial mistress, Lucy Lloyd, in the Mowbray village. Here they met with the company of the northern Cape |xam man, |han=kass'o, who had his own personal history of brutal capture and imprisonment at the hand of the Europeans. In their short lives, the children had indeed experienced a diverse, challenging and multicultural world.

But how did the four !kun boys live with their own families in their *!nuerre*, their country, back home where they shared their place with herds of elephants, rhinoceros, lions and other animals? Who were their parents and grandparents, brothers or sisters? What did they eat? How did they spend their time? What stories did they listen to? What did they feel and think? How did they play? What was their relationship with their natural environment and the people around them?

Who was !nanni?

!nanni, the oldest of the boys, appears as a rather robust teenager in the photograph Lucy had taken of him, with his typically teenage boy hands just too large for his body. He was a ||no Bushman and came from a place they called *Kaku i ra*, to the north-east of Damaraland where the Sun Bushmen lived (9360)¹.

While searching for information about !nanni's background I became intrigued by two maps he had sketched. In the first, said to represent the Bushman country, he indicated the presence of a large river to the north of his home, the Shonongo in the Makoba's country, called ||xumm by the !kun, as well as a number of roads and pathways used by the Europeans, Nama, Bushmen, Makoba and others. He specifically marked a country of fruit trees and named the trees to be found there. He marked the elephant's country near a region of thorn trees with water holes close by. To the north-west, he showed the Damara's country and to the east (place of sunrise), his own home near a branch of the Shonongo river and close to his paternal grandfather Karu's country. This map (and others he and Tamme made to provide more detail) indicates a water-rich area with abundant resources, where different people moved around, in and out of each other's countries. (I focus on !nanni's 'Bushman country' in greater detail in the visual exploration that follows this chapter.)

The second map is a diagram of his family home situated within this larger map of his country, with annotations made by Lucy Lloyd. My examination of this map gave rise to a number of questions about the relationships between the symbols on the paper. What were the names of the family members in the map? What were the relationships between the people who lived in the huts that !nanni drew? How did they build the huts that !nanni sketched? What did they talk about around the fires he indicated? What were the circumstances around the burial site on the map? How did they bury the little sister he refers to? How did she die? Did they try to heal her and, if so, how? How did !nanni and the family respond to her death? What were their beliefs concerning death? What happened beyond this camp?

!nanni's map of his family home in north-east Namibia, probably to the south and fairly close to the Okavango River; is a graphic representation of the centre of his world. When read alongside other drawings and parts of the texts in the collection, it offers a way to bring together

Opposite (anti-clockwise top to bottom)

Figure 30: The !kun boys, !nanni and Tamme.

Figure 31: !nanni's watercolour of the */gui*. Several of the children's paintings show the gender of the animal.

Figure 32: !nanni's watercolour depicting a 'mere thing', a */chi /uha* and a plant growing out of the earth.

the fragmented information about his life. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Lucy Lloyd and the children had an ongoing conversation that developed over time as her vocabulary grew; they revisited certain themes and topics in stories, paintings and drawings. By tracing these conversations between the pages and images, one is able to reconstruct a strong sense of his life around the camp and make connections between the paintings, drawings, annotations, references and stories that previously seemed too splintered to contextualise. !nanni spoke of his close relationships with his family, the plants that they harvested and prepared for medicinal and nutritional use, their knowledge, dreams, survival practices, neighbours, trade in the region and much more. In those intimate moments when he recalled his family stories, !nanni wove themes of death and dying into his personal landscape of loss. At the same time, he sketched and painted parts of his family history – unintentionally, or perhaps knowingly, leaving us the opportunity to recover fragments of his childhood².

!nanni's home and family

In this map of home, his mother, ||ka ||ma, her mother, Jr lke and his father, |umma-tchi-gua's³ huts each had their own small fireplace and formed a rough semi-circle around the family's large, communal food fire. Both !nanni and his older brother had their own shelters and fireplace next to their parent's huts, and close to their paternal grandfather Karu's, who also had his own fireplace. They had built the sturdy hut frames by inserting long poles into holes in the ground and tying the tops of the poles together in a dome on top. The family filled the spaces between the poles with leaves and grass (9266).

!nanni drew his father's fire sticks and explained in detail how they made their fire by rubbing and drilling two sticks of wood together until they produced a spark. "[In] my country when the sun has risen, the people sit (by the fire) to warm themselves, the people eat (a fruit) they eat, the people eat ..." (9159).

!nanni's father, |umma-tchi-gua, taught him to identify, gather and prepare bushfood and game; knowledge he had gained from his own father, Karu. These men taught the boy to respect certain animals and to understand that eating these creatures could have negative consequences. Wild cats, for example, could cause a headache, which would then have to be 'bled' by cutting the skin between the eyes. Eating the elephant's heart after killing it could result in serious harm to the hunter; an elephant might kill him on another occasion (9274-5).

|umma-tchi-gua enjoyed eating the meat of ostrich, wildebeest, eland, hyena, owl, small birds and tortoise. He also liked hippopotamus meat, which presumably was acquired close to the water-rich Shonongo or

perhaps the Okavango River. !nanni's father used the skins of the weasel and genet to make his back and front apron. His father was alive when he was taken, but !nanni dreamed of his father's death while in Mowbray and told Lucy Lloyd about this. "I dreamed I saw my father. My father was dead" (9227).

Grandfather Karu: his knowledge and stories

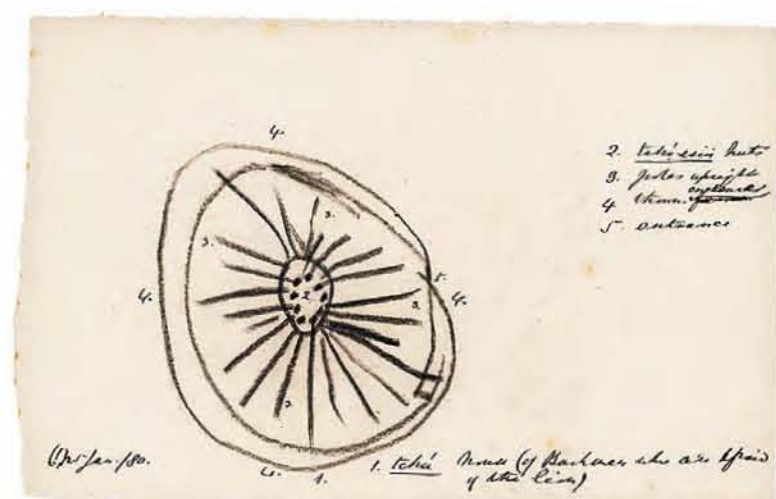
Grandfather Karu, a He-||kum Sun Bushman, was an important figure in !nanni's childhood. The older man probably also wore animal skin clothes like the back and front apron !nanni had described for his father. Karu carried a knobkerrie and his bow and arrows in a quiver. The old man had his own hut with !nanni's family. "We do not throw away our old man," he told Lucy, "our old person takes nicely care of us, our mother goes out, she seeks other food, our mother gathers something, our old person keeps us in the hut" (9799v). When !nanni saw his grandfather, he would use the respectful !kun term and greet him by saying "My father's father!" (9198).

Judging from the stories Karu unknowingly passed down to us through his grandson and Lucy Lloyd, Karu was the carrier of a great deal of traditional knowledge. He spoke to !nanni about the lore of the !kun, their ideological knowledge, about survival strategies, relationships between people and how to relate to the many animals around them. Karu talked to his grandson about their daily lives while the two sat down in the shade of a tree or next to a fire. He spoke to him about the dangerous desert lions and told him to respect the lion. He told !nanni what the lion-person says:

People! ...
 Bushmen!
 Leave off laughing at this person!
 Leave off laughing at the lion! ...
 Ye people!
 Leave off laughing at me! ... (9775)

Karu taught !nanni how to build a circular structure of poles and thorn bushes to protect a village of huts from lions. !nanni explained and sketched a diagram of this structure in January 1880 for Lucy Lloyd.

Karu told the boy that, if a person died from a snake bite, the snake could become a potent messenger. When a " ... certain snake, by lying on its back, announces a death in the family, and must not in these circumstances be killed ... " (9952-3). The ||un snake was a portent, or an omen, announcing a death. Karu said that this behaviour would make



Left

Figure 33: A pencil diagram by !nanni shows the house of a Bushman who is afraid of the lion.

Opposite (anti-clockwise top to bottom)

Figure 34: !nanni's map of the Bushman country. (Larger image on page 60.)

Figure 35: !nanni's pencil diagram of his family home in north-east Namibia. The marks on the paper represent his family's huts, fires and two graves. (Larger image on page 64.)

Figure 36: Tamme's pencil sketch of the /u//ke plant, the roots of which are eaten by males alone. The roots are worn on a piece of string around the neck. The root was also used for medicinal purposes and the name is extended to mean the bull-roarer used in male initiation. The skin is scraped off and used as an antidote for snake bites.

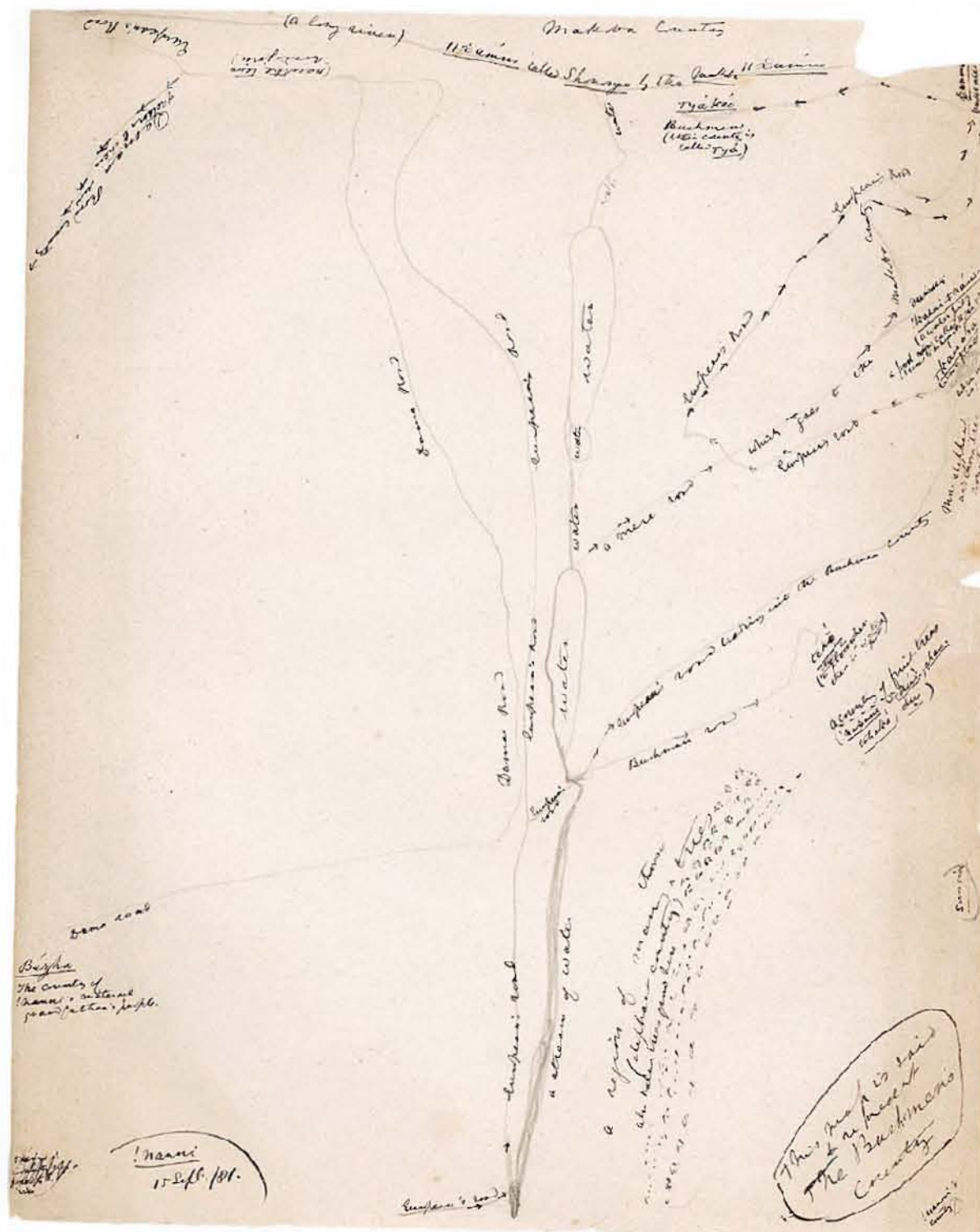


Figure 34

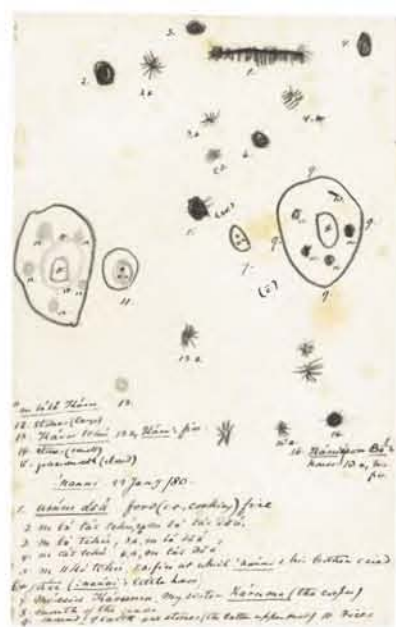


Figure 35

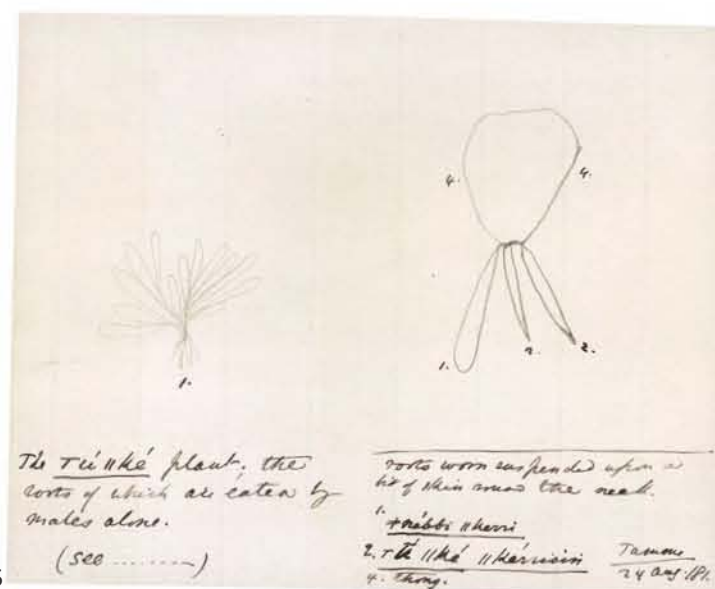


Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 42

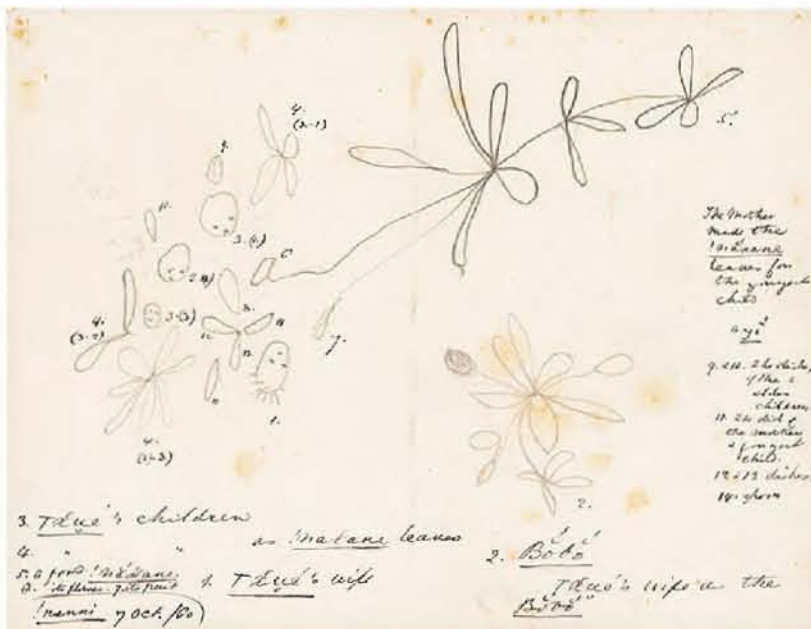


Figure 41

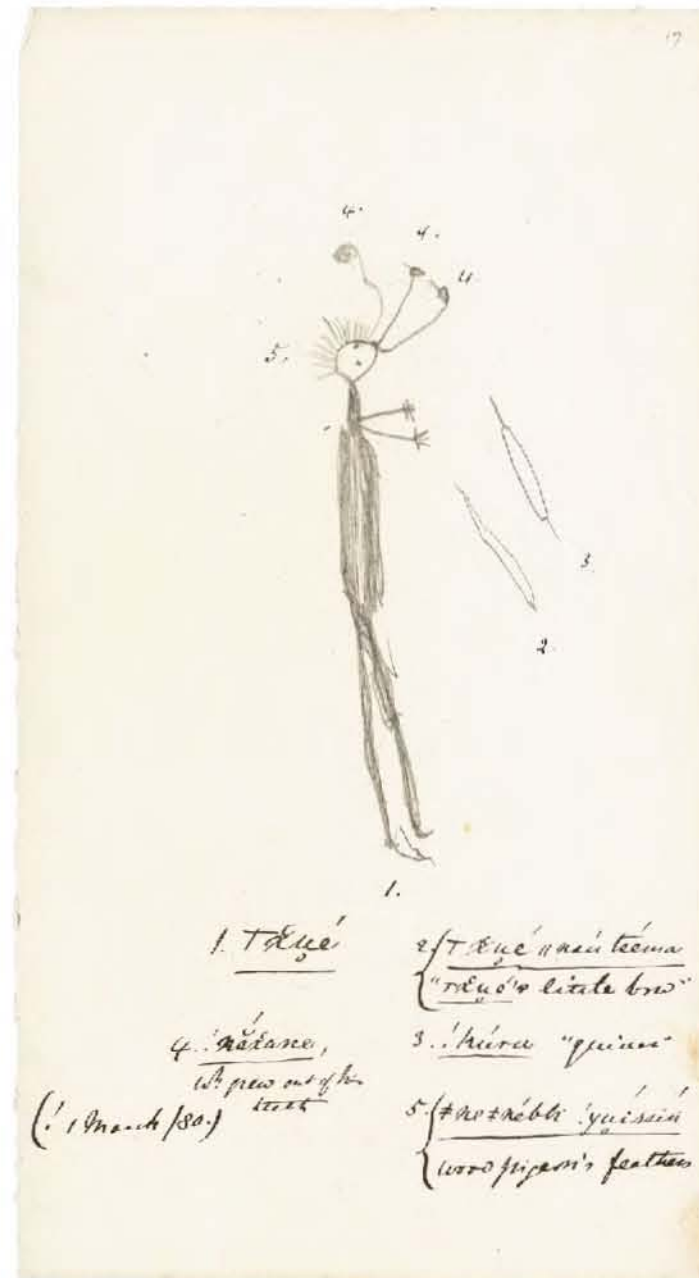


Figure 40

the women cry. He told !nanni that their people did not kill a snake found near a grave. The dead person could also appear in the form of a lizard or another animal and should be respected as a messenger, or spirit, of the dead.

However, Karu explained that there were occasions when a snake was not a portent. If the snake did not roll over onto his back when struck, it was permissible to kill and skin it. The family used the skin around the root of the ||*nabbi* plant as an antidote for snake bites. It was also worn around the neck by women and produced a smell that kept the ||*un* snake away.

The family traded snake skins with the Makoba for clay pots, because “the Bushmen of !nanni’s country did not make pots” (9230). !nanni’s family were skilful negotiators:

And we give them a male elephant’s tusk ... and the Makoba give one bull, with Indian Hemp; and they give to us; and we kill, () and eat it up and they return to their home; and we speak nicely to them saying: ‘return ye to your dwelling; give us Indian Hemp; do not give us the bull alone; we object to one thing (only) because we do not eat one; for we eat two things’ (9275-82).

Karu taught !nanni to fear and respect the many elephants in his land. He said that when the !kun hunt an elephant, they especially respect its heart. If the hunter were to eat the heart, an elephant might well kill him on another occasion. Other people could cut up and boil the heart in a pot on the fire and have it, but not the person who killed it (9274). It would take the family five days to eat an elephant’s heart.

Karu prepared the boy for his work as a hunter and taught him how to gather, harvest and prepare the hunting arrow’s poison. He even mentioned special clothes that should be worn when harvesting the poison. There were different kinds of poisons to be found in the bush. The plants *yabbi* and ||*xan* were good. The caterpillar called *kai* was picked from a tree and used in the mixture that was boiled up in a pot over the fire (9581-97).

It was Karu who told !nanni the story about |xue⁴, a being who was a ‘Bushman’, capable of multiple transformations. His other name was Hu’we, because this is what the !kun call a person who “works many things” (9892). !nanni said that Karu spoke to him like this of |xue:

My father’s father feared to speak of |xue at night; he spoke to me in the day time of |xue, I listened and I cried ... Karu spoke to me about |xue and I was afraid of |xue until I cried. And Karu objected (and) said to me ‘My grandchild, |xue is not in this place; he will not kill thee; leave off being afraid of |xue’. (9556-8)

!nanni had told Da, the youngest !kun boy, that the only reason his

father did not tell him about |xue was out of respect for his young age (9567).

But Karu knew how to calm his grandson when he feared |xue –
... I listened, and was silent, and sat down. And my father’s father took !naxane and put the !naxane into a dish; the !naxane filled the dish. I sat and ate !naxane. (9556-8)

!nanni made several drawings of the popular food *!naxane*, a small leafy bush or tree that grew low on the ground.

In the drawing by !nanni in which he depicts and identifies |xue’s camp and food, he shows how |xue also lived a human life and had a physical home with specific foods, different to the people’s food. The drawing of |xue’s place’s things and family has a real sense of place next to the *shana* tree with its yellow fruit. Like !nanni’s own family camp, |xue’s had a fire place and houses for the in-laws and his son, |xum-ta⁵. He had a little knife, a pot, a bag, a knobkerrie and another knobkerrie with which the Makoba beat him.

In the following story, |xue becomes a vehicle through which we experience !nanni’s grief at the loss of his own family. This moving scene of longing, loss and uncertainty is a very complex tale, but I present it here to indicate the complexity of emotions that is contained in !nanni’s narration.

[...] And his father went to him [|xue], and came to look at him, and he was dead. And his father went away; and he was not dead, and was |xue and rose up. He called to his father, “My father! O!” and his father called to him, and said: “My child! O!” [...]

And his father saw him, and said, “It is my child |xue! For it is not another person, but is my child; () and (he) saw me, and died. And (he) was rubbing sticks (to make) fire; and saw me, and died; and is not another person, but is my child, and is |xue. For, I went (?) go away to my country, and I did not see my child, and today I saw my child, () and my child was rubbing fire, little sticks’ fire; and my child rubbed fire, and saw me, and died. And is |xue, and is not another person, but is |xue. I am afraid of my child, for my child is dead. (9409-12)⁶

Karu told many more tales of the elusive |xue, whose transformations touches on the centre of !kun lives. His ability to adapt himself to circumstance is a reflection on the demands of the ever-challenging environment in which !nanni’s community lived. In short episodes, !nanni retold stories he had heard from Karu of |xue’s ability to navigate between many forms and employ his shape-shifting abilities to blend into nature on the hunting ground in order to be a successful hunter.⁷ For example, in one story |xue hunted a wood pigeon that was eating the fruit of the |*kui* tree next to the water. |xue became the water in

Opposite page (clockwise, from top left).

Figure 37: A watercolour by !nanni of a tree he has seen in the country of the Biriko kxau. The flower is light coloured, small and sweet and !nanni knew the scent of it, but not the name. The flowers, which were numerous, have fallen to the ground. The leaves that have fallen off are shown to the side of the tree. The elephant eat the roots and leaves.

Figure 38: !nanni’s watercolour depicts a *Ta* tree and a *!kue*, a Makoba’s puppy. The Makoba were said to eat their dogs when food was scarce.

Figure 39: !nanni’s watercolour depicts a *gongan-a*, a fruit tree growing in the Yao country. Its root is eaten by the !kun.

Figure 40: !nanni’s pencil sketch depicts |xue with *!naxane* growing out of his teeth, with his little bow, quiver and wood pigeon feather.

Figure 41: !nanni’s pencil sketch depicts a narrative about |xue’s children, *!naxane* leaves and his wife. The mother made the *!naxane* leaves for the youngest child.

Figure 42: !nanni’s watercolour painting depicts the */gui*, the hyena.

the shade of the tree, then a lizard lying under the dead leaves on the ground and when the pigeon settled at the water's edge to drink, |xue quickly grabbed hold of it. (9404-8)

Old man Karu also talked to !nanni about the deeper and more profound questions of life. They discussed death, an occasion for ritual and respect in !nanni's family. Karu told him that, when a man dies, his things are not given to another man. This would make his wife cry and people would tremble at the sight of this other man wearing the dead man's things. Instead, the man's bow and stick should be put into the grave, the !korro, and be buried with him by covering him with earth. It would be permissible for another man to take his arrows, though. (9563)

The man's father should be the one to dress and arrange the dead man's body. He should be dressed with a male jackal's skin for his back and front apron and then lie like that. His head should rest on his bag and he should wear two jackal ears as bracelets, with the feet and tail of the jackal hung upon his head. This is how he should lie, dead (9564).

Karu also taught !nanni about mourning behaviour at the graveside. "And people see him, and laugh at him. And his wife says to the people, 'Desist from laughing at my husband.' And the people listen and are silent; and she cries: 'My mother! Oh! My husband! My mother! Oh! My husband ... And (she) is silent, and sits down, and warms (herself) at the fire, while she cries'" (9564-6). After this, the rest of the family would lament and cry around the grave. After the burial, everyone in the group should leave on another day for another place because of respect for the deceased (9235-6).

Karu explained to !nanni that people did not just die when they died. People became spirits when they died. In turn, !nanni told Lucy Lloyd that dead people go "into the moon". !nanni called the moon "beautiful" and said that it was home to ancestral spirits and therefore a focus of prayer for food and water (9251-6).

Young Moon!
Hail, Young Moon!
Hail, hail,
Young Moon,
Young Moon, Speak to me!
Hail, Hail,
Young Moon!
Tell me of something.
Hail, hail!
() When the sun rises,

*Thou must speak to me,
That I may eat something.
Thou must speak to me about a little thing,
That I may eat.
Hail, hail,
Young Moon!
(Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 415)*

When !nanni and his family saw the new moon, they would say !kalkarrishe, and blow the male antelope's horn. The Moon, *Kkammi* (9267), inspired many stories, like the one the children told Lloyd about the moon who always returns after dying and the hare who insists that death is permanent and smelly (2627-70).⁸

!nanni and Karu's story about the origins of death was not simply told for entertainment, but identifies the moon as a home for the dead and a source of wisdom about living and dying. With the hare as the earthly antagonist, this tale gives us insight into the kind of stories and imaginative explorations that !nanni's family had about the timeless conflicts and questions of life and death (it also tells us about !nanni's own ability as a young storyteller).

!nanni's brother and sister

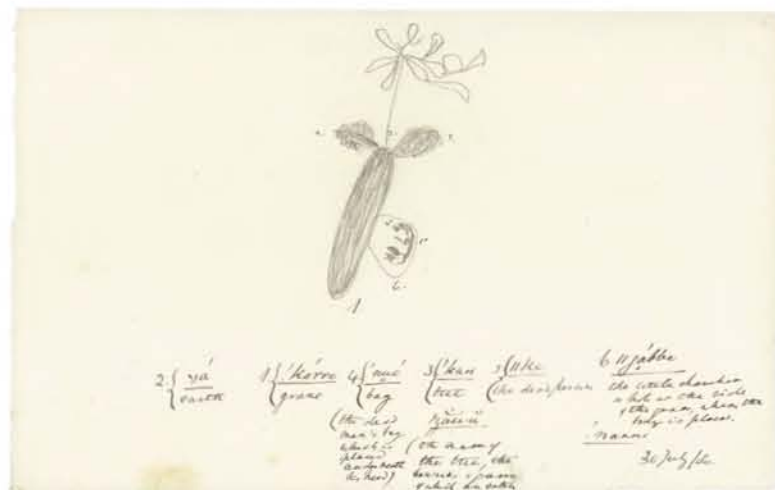
!nanni's little brother died when he was still very young. His mother cried and he, !nanni, "cried for my younger brother", his "older brother cried" and his father cried so much that !nanni spoke to his older brother and told him that they should call other people to come and help dig a "pit" for !nanni's little brother (9251-6).

In his drawing of his family's settlement, !nanni drew the grave of yet another of his siblings, his little sister, Karuma. The grave is situated to the side of his uncle Bo's and Karu's huts. It is surrounded by five little fires, in turn surrounded by the mound of earth from the grave. To the other side is !nanni's older brother's fire place, where the two boys sat and cried for their little sister.

!nanni also told Lucy about an incident in which family violence erupted, seemingly as a result of the intense grief Karu felt at the death of his son, !nanni's uncle Bo, in the house of a Makoba – after an incident involving a "Biriku Bushman girl" (9449-52). It is unclear exactly what happened at the Makoba's house.

!nanni's uncle Bo

Karu could not be calmed and silenced by either his wife or !nanni's father. A physical fight between Karu and !nanni's father (Karu's son),



Left

Figure 43: !nanni's pencil drawing of a grave at the foot of a tree, with two mounds of earth on either side. The corpse is lying in a little chamber or hole in the ground next to the grave, with his bag that is placed under his head when buried.

Opposite

Figure 44: !nanni's watercolour painting depicts a jackal.



followed. Karu's father-in-law then intervened by hitting Karu. Retreating to his hut, Karu took his bow and arrow and shot his father-in-law.

... many people were beating Karu with knobkerries, until he cried... and the people let Karu alone; and he took his quiver, and slung (it) on, and strung on the string of his bow, strung on the string of his bow and drew out a [arrow] from his quiver ... Karu's wife (who) was calling out 'Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh! Take ye hold of Karu! Karu is killing his people! Oh dear!' (9550-2)⁹

Laws of conduct

!nanni knew the laws of justice for stealing in his place. Karu had told him of the severe consequences and possible violence that met such deeds.

If a Bushman woman steals, (and) her father and mother exist, we take her, we give her (back) to her mother and her father, and they all go away from their country. Her stolen thing, we take it, we run, we give (it) to the other person, run to give to the other person, the other person's (i.e., his own) thing. We say to the other person, 'My wife stole your thing which is here; your nice thing here my wife stole. And, I have given (back) my wife to her father and her mother. For, my wife stole the nice thing here.'

And the other person hears, and objects (saying), 'No; kill thy wife.' And we hear, objecting: 'No; I do not listen to ye, and do not kill my wife; and, my wife has gone away altogether, and has gone to her father and her mother; and is far distant; and has gone into their country; and I do not kill my wife'. (9848-50)

!nanni was well-educated in !kun family custom and daily manners; he knew all the respectful terms for addressing different family members, and how to behave in relation to different family members – !nanni was aware that a husband should be silent when a mother-in-law spoke. He knew the ritual avoidance of certain names and the observances relating to marriage and his extended family. The family also spoke about people's intellects and how individuals have different minds. Their language had specific terms for intelligent or foolish people whose "thoughts were wanting" and those whose thoughts, in contrast, were "not absent" (9795).

The boy understood the importance of ritual food avoidances for both genders. Little girls, for example, did not eat !no, but respected it, although their mothers ate it. Certain foods would cause headaches which would have to be bled by cutting between the eyes with a blade and rubbing charcoal into the wound. Other illnesses could also be cured with bloodletting. Dancing was part of a healing practice in !nanni's community.¹⁰ When someone was ill, he said, people danced

and "the other people sing" (9259-60). His father did not play the drum on these occasions, but his brother did. The drum was beaten by hand. The !gauru drum was made from the stem of a tree, hollowed out and covered with hide (9790).

Natural resources

!nanni's family taught him a great deal about his natural surroundings and how to survive off the earth's resources. He knew how to dig water from a well in the earth (9793), or how to make a straw from a reed to take water from a hollow in a tree. He knew that the coming of rain affected the plants and the behaviour of, for example, caterpillars on trees. He could draw the ||ge, a puffadder, its lair and its eggs in some detail. He had knowledge of the birds of his country, their songs, their eggs, nests and habits (9267-8). He described a number of these to Lucy and also sang their songs to her.

The black kwai bird, who ate fruit from a small tree, "...laughs at me. The bird laughs at us" (9268). The green dja-dja bird ate ants and was also eaten by people. The sho-sho was dark with a red bill and throat, eaten by the !kun and also by the frogs. !nu'she, a small, black bird, was feared by lizards and eaten by !nanni and his friends.

The skyscape

When the sun left for another country at the end of the day, the skyscape opened up another source of playful wonder and stories for !nanni and his friends. The Milky Way hung in the sky and was called Tnui. Stars were small, dark coloured things that had small little arms, but no horns. When a star fell from the sky it made a small "earthen house" (9868). When it saw the darkness of night, it ran off, ran into the sky, it entered the sky. But when it saw the sun, it was afraid and it ran off again to its small house in the earth. It did this for many days, running off into the sky and returning to its house in the earth every time it saw the sun. The sun had its own star that remained in the sky after the sun had set (9870).

The children pulled the stars from their earthen houses during the day, played with them and threw them far away. When the dying stars fell to the earth, the children would pick them up and look at them and, again, throw them far away. Then they would see another, look at it, pull it out of the ground and throw it up again. They would also put grass into the mouth of the star's hole's, piercing the body of the star. They would take a digging stick and pull the body of the star out, a dark-coloured, black little thing. They would kill it, but not eat it and, again, throw it far away (9868-71, 9874-5).

Opposite (anti-clockwise top to bottom)

Figure 45: A pencil drawing by !nanni that features a narrative involving !xue, plants and the making of a !kun drum that !nanni could play. It was used when his family performed a healing dance.

Figure 46: A charcoal sketch by !nanni which depicts Konta's father, Kxa, next to his fire, and a Bushman who died from a snake bite, a puffadder and the eggs in its lair.

Figure 47: !nanni's charcoal sketch of the !nuarri, a bird with a black head and neck, with its eggs.

Figure 48: A watercolour by !nanni of a bird seen in Damaraland, the name unknown to him. !kano, a small plant eaten by the !kun, the fruit of which is shown here as the leaves have fallen off.

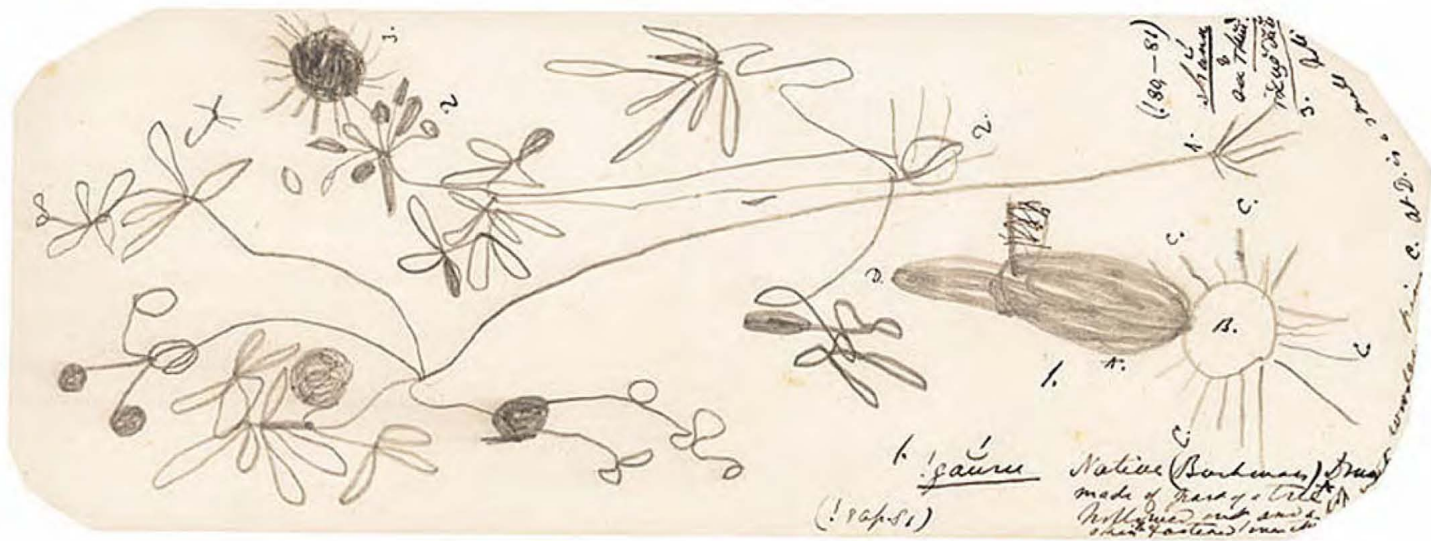


Figure 45



Figure 46

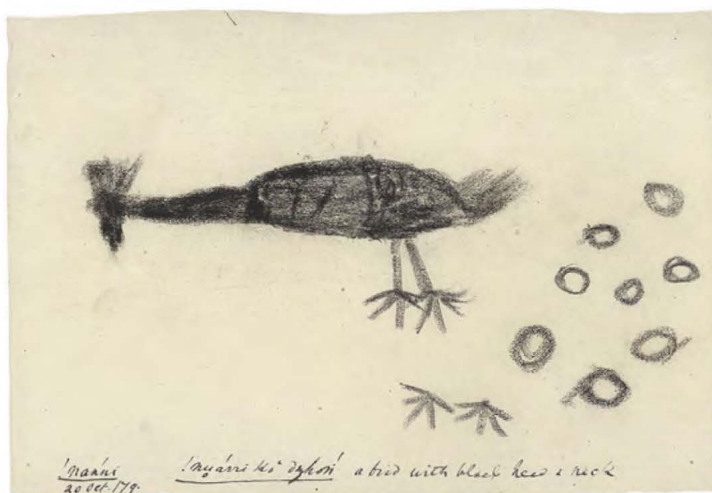


Figure 47



Figure 48

As hunter-gatherers, Inanni (and the other three children) paid close attention to the details of their environment, and when they were in Mowbray they painted and sketched these for Lucy: the half-eaten remains of an animal, a fish, or the exaggerated shape of an animal's hooves, painted to look like its spoor imprinted on the ground. The roots of many plant species are depicted as if pulled from the earth. Others, such as the *n||gao*, a fruit-bearing tree, is drawn with another smaller one growing up its stem. Colours and textures of individual flowers and leaves are recorded in certain drawings, with fairly detailed explanatory comments dictated by the children to Lucy Lloyd.

These visual documents describe the children's *Inuerre* (country) and present a collection of the plants they knew and studied. Inanni could describe the different ways numerous plants were harvested, which parts were used and how they were prepared for eating. He knew which plants were poisonous and he knew which plants the animals, such as the monkey and elephant, ate. His attention to detail was a skill developed as part of his survival kit in the vast landscape of his childhood.

In their drawings and paintings the children sketched an environment abundant with nutritious food. The *||kuerre*, for example, was a fruit-bearing tree found in the country of Inanni's mother. The fruit was roasted in the fire. The flower was white and the fruit large and red. The *!ko zshai*, another tree found in Inanni's mother's country, bore edible, large, red fruit. Another plant, the *kani*, lay and crept on the ground; its root was harvested, roasted and eaten. In Karu's country they found *!karre*, a small tree with light-coloured flowers and dark-coloured fruit that was good when boiled. The *dui* was roasted when it was still green and eaten raw when it was ripe. When people were thirsty they drank the creeping plant, *!shaka's*, fruit and threw the skins away. The *shana* fruit fell to the ground and they ate its berries. Roots and bulbs, in particular, offered a nutritional base to their hunter-gatherer diet. Inanni told Lucy that his people observed the phases of the moon by eating certain plants, but that when eaten at the wrong time, certain plants could make people ill. Inanni described the *!u' ||ke'*, or *!shaka*, a small plant, that his people used as part of the purification ritual, or *!koa*. It caused intoxication and could kill if handled incorrectly (at the wrong time of day), and was therefore feared. The *≠nabbi* did not kill people and was given when people "seek their hearts". A purification ritual could, for example, be performed after a man had killed another and therefore had to "seek his heart" (9904-6). The *!koa* was also a time of abstinence from Indian Hemp and certain food (a purification ritual would probably have been performed after Karu killed his father-in-law).

Inanni described the plant *||goa* that grows in his country as "abundant". An isolated sentence in one of Lloyd's notebooks records Inanni as saying: "It is on the earth in my country; it is abundant" (9228). This sentence sums up his memories of the food resources he and his family gathered. Inanni's drawings and descriptions are testimony to his education in the fauna and flora of his country.

Statement of loss

These texts will offer scholars much material of ethnographic interest, but Inanni's invocation of his family and of the knowledge passed down from his father and grandfather, are also powerful and abundant statements of himself and his own subjectivity in its rightful setting. In its very abundance, his contribution to the material is also a statement of loss.

Tamme

Tamme accompanied Inanni upon his arrival at the Lloyd sisters' home on the 1st of September 1879. Tamme, in his mid-teens, also came from the far north-east of Namibia, from the *||koo yau* people, whose place he called Tsaba.

Tamme told Lucy that one day the Makoba, with whom his family had traded often before, called him by name while on their boat near to his home (9216). His mother had been away from home, collecting food to trade with the Makoba. He was reluctant to go, but eventually joined them and went to their house. Here, he was tricked into their house with an offer of food.

The Makoba "gave" the captive Tamme to the Ovambo, who took him away and eventually "gave" him to white men. Although his description of leaving his family is not detailed or explicit, Tamme told Lucy that his parents were eventually killed by the Ovambo, presumably while trying to demand their son back from them (9166-7, 9216-21).

Tamme contributed at least 142 (an additional two were made with Inanni) of the paintings and drawings in the collection. These also show the landscape of his country – as he experienced it and saw it. Like Inanni, he recorded in detail plant after plant, root after root, flower, bulb, leaf, fruit and animal in an earthy array of colours, textures, shapes and sizes. Most of the children's visual recollections have a strong sense of the positive aspects of their childhoods and in this way stand apart from the themes of violence that run through the written texts.

Tamme's narrations are in many ways very similar to Inanni's. He also spoke of the dangers and ever-present sense of death in his country. A number of his paintings, drawings and stories refer to the same elephant



Left

Figure 49: Inanni's watercolour of a giraffe shows the shape of its hooves.

Opposite

Figure 50: Inanni's charcoal drawing depicts the *!gurri*, a fruit-bearing tree about the size of a loquat tree. The fruit is eaten raw and boiled. The tips on the top of some of the fruit represent the flowers which are reddish or pinkish.

Figure 51: Inanni's charcoal drawing depicts the *!shaka*, a creeping plant which bears fruit, which is drunk and then thrown away.

Figure 52: Inanni's charcoal sketch depicts the *!gan ganni*, a ground plant found in the Benza country.

Figure 53: Inanni's drawing in charcoal depicts the *n≠gao*, which is boiled and eaten. A young plant is growing around the grown-up one.



Figure 50

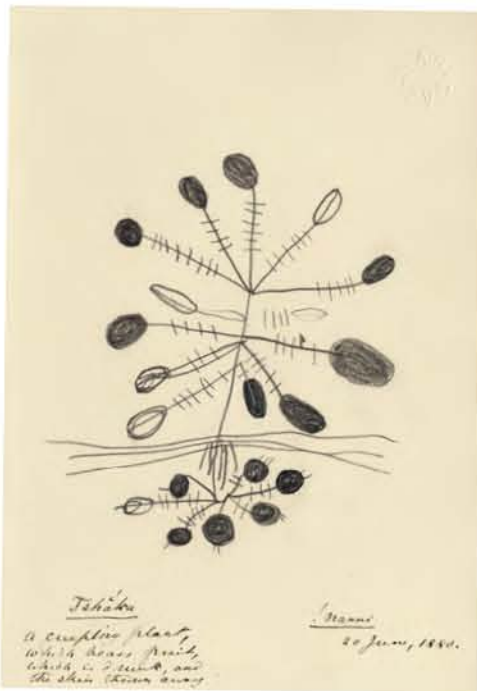


Figure 51

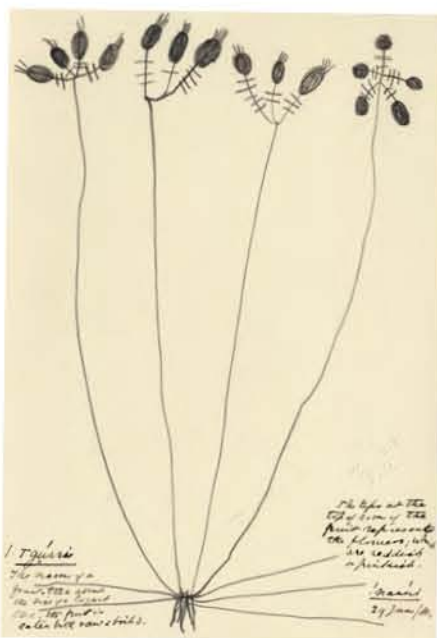


Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55

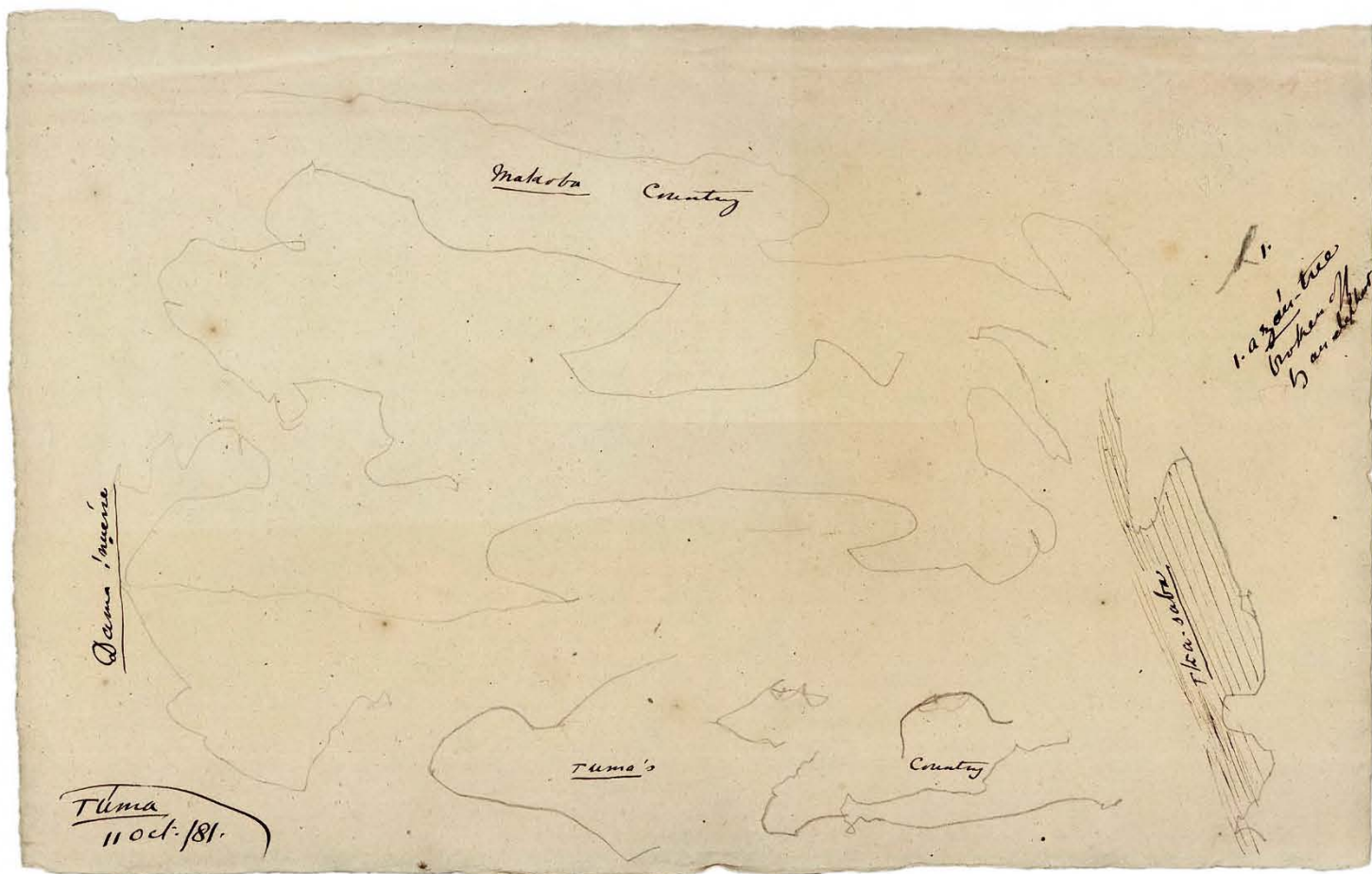


Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58



Figure 61



Figure 59



Figure 60

herds that were being hunted to extinction by the European traders in Inanni's country.

The younger boys, Juma and Da

During the year after the arrival of the first two boys at the Lloyd household, the younger boys, Juma and Da, were placed in her care by the Cape Native Department, in March 1880. Juma, in his early teens, called his place of origin the *!ka saba* country, also to the north-east of Damaraland.

In one of the few photographs Lucy had taken of the boys, Juma lies on his back, playing the musical bow. Contemporary !xun musicians call this the shungu bow – it looks much like the hunting bow and is made from wood or reed with a string of twisted hair, sinew or leather and is struck with a thin reed or grass. In the picture we can see Juma using his mouth and cheek cavity as a resonator. He seems relaxed and comfortable with the instrument, which suggests that he was probably able to play it.

Da, barely six or seven years old, told Lucy Lloyd that his father was an elephant hunter. When he saw an elephant, he would run to call his father so that his father could hunt it.

Da said that they were afraid of strangers and that the children would run away and hide when strangers came. Even so, Da was also abducted by the Makoba from his family home in a place called ||noma. When his mother tried to wrestle him away from the Makoba men, she was beaten. His father tried to shoot the attackers, but he was murdered. The Makoba then "put" his siblings in the water. They drowned. Da told Lucy that they were eaten by the crocodiles. "... they did not put me into the water" (10253, 10280-1).

Da was passed on, or sold, to other keepers. He eventually met Juma while in the service of "messer Karo". Both boys boarded trader Eriksson's boat, the *Louis Alfred*, at Walvis Bay.

In one of Lucy's photographs, Da carried a little toy called the *djani*.¹⁰ The *djani* stick, with a feather weighted in the centre to help it fly, is thrown into the sky and kept up by beating it with another stick. Da may have brought the *djani* with him all the way from home on the boat, but it is more likely that he and his friends recreated this traditional toy in Mowbray from sticks, string and feathers found in the neighbourhood.

Both Juma and Da painted and sketched at least 50 and 25 images respectively, which Lucy annotated to identify the plants they had recreated. Her encouragement to all four boys to reimagine their sensorial experience of home – its tastes, textures and colours (as

recorded on the drawings) – resulted in more than 570 works over the time they spent with her. It seems that in the making of the images, the boys found a way of calling up the power of their landscape, even though it is possible that the making of these drawings may also have dislodged traumatic experiences.

As a whole, the children's images speak of !kun folklore, of medicinal plant and healing knowledge, of the waterways, roads, paths and territorial mapping of their place, of the architecture of their dwellings, of boat-building craft, artefacts and dressmaking, of daily customs, celestial bodies and of history. The paintings and drawings are a unique interpretation of their individual recollections of home in the 1870s – an area about which we have little specific knowledge today.

Loss, landscape and oral tradition

Although the children's losses were immense and can be viewed from a number of perspectives, I want to explore the boys' losses from one central perspective that encompasses, I believe, the essence of their personal and cultural loss: alienation from their cultural traditions and the landscape that shaped those traditions.

The landscape has been described as an

extraordinarily important part of our concrete physical experiences in the world, the apprehension of things derived from these experiences and our accompanying sense of place. It calls up impulses, moods and regulative or controlling patterns of awareness, which in turn affiliate the varying verbal and visual forms of expression that we use as admissible means of response. (Roskil 1977:1)

The boys and their families were intimately connected with their environment in northern Namibia. They knew how to read animals' behaviour; they knew where to find water and what kind of food each season offered. Their sense of place was an essential part of their ritual practices and shaped their thought patterns, knowledge and the stories they performed. This relationship between the community and the landscape called !xue and other forms of lore into being.

All societies support and strengthen their identity by conserving their mores. A social consciousness, formed by consensus is, as it were, continually placed in storage for re-use. Literate societies do this through documentation; preliterate ones achieve the same result through the composition of poetic narratives which serve also as encyclopaedias of conduct. These exist and are transmitted through memorisation and retelling, and their ongoing recitation constitutes a report – a reaffirmation – of the communal ethos and also a recommendation to abide by it. (Havelock in Bieseke 1993: 51)

Images on previous pages:

Page 56 (clockwise, top to bottom)

Figure 55: Juma holding a mouth bow.

Figure 56: A photograph of Da holding a toy in his one hand.

Figure 57: Juma's pencil sketch depicts his country at the bottom of the sketch, the Makoba's country at the top and the Dama's country to the left.

Page 57 (clockwise, top to bottom)

Figure 58: Juma's watercolour depicts a bird from the 'Goba's *!nuerre*, the Makoba's country, a *!no* and *!naxane* tree.

Figure 59 Juma's painting of an ostrich next to a *shao* tree.

Figure 60: Juma's watercolour depicts a wild beast and a *!yu* tree.

Figure 61: Da's watercolour depicts a *!kui* tree with a large trunk for Makoba boats.

Figure 62: Da's watercolour depicts a *!no* tree in flower.

When the boys left their home, they left behind their very sense of belonging to a family, a community and a landscape; essential components in the construction of early childhood identities. They lost sight of the powerful animals that inhabited their inner and outer worlds.

There are several realms of life in which the San believe that human beings cannot act by themselves. Things like curing the sick by calling on supernatural sources of power, travelling to another world to plead for the dying, bringing game into range, changing the weather, fending off attacks by lions – all seem to the San to demand a source of power which is beyond human grasp. Accordingly, they seek ways of transcending human limitations, mediators between men and the forces of the atmosphere, metaphors with the strength to bridge worlds. Animals, because they are visible and visibly powerful, are good choices for these purposes. (Bieseke 1993: 55)

This direct experience of their environment was the vehicle through which !nanni's people explored the more profound questions of life and death. The snake that Karu spoke of, for example, was a particularly potent symbol. Not just a snake, it had the power to carry messages of people who had passed away. Likewise, the moon was perceived as a symbolic home for dead people, as Karu explained to !nanni when he told him that when people die, they go into the moon. The elephant's heart was imbued with the power to seek revenge for its own death, by causing a surviving elephant to kill its hunter. This ritual food avoidance after the elephant hunt reminded the hunter of his own vulnerability on the hunting grounds, his mortal connection with his prey and his inability to be the master of his destiny. In this sense, the hunter and elephant's hearts were metaphorically linked as a symbol of fear and respect. The boundaries between humans and animals were constantly negotiated.

In this context, one can imagine the !kun storyteller's voice energetically painting |xue's different shapes across the landscape in quick succession, invoking them, calling them into being from the very features of the landscape within which they were situated: |xue is water, |xue is an ostrich, |xue is a bird, |xue is a child, |xue is a hunter ...

When Karu and !nanni told their tales, they were simultaneously

exploring their people's worldviews and expressing their oral traditions as an integral part of the landscape – shaping it and being shaped by it. But because stories live not only in the human mind and imagination, but also in specific places in the landscape, the boys left behind their visual, communal and culturally shared experiences of |xue, their metaphors and symbols, when they were forced to leave. Jonathan Lear described this profound event in the life of a person as a devastating loss of culture (Lear 2006: 10). Instead, the children held the loss in their memories and expressed it abundantly in their stories, drawings and paintings.

Having completed this stage of my examination of Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children's material, it is possible to imagine !nanni as part of a family of real people, a boy with specific talents, skills and fears. It is possible to imagine him crying next to his sister Karuma's grave and his grandfather Karu offering him a bowl of *naxane* to calm his fears about |xue's all-embracing and penetrating spirit. I am baffled by the extent of the violence he endured, both within his family and outside of it. I imagine him bravely standing his own after his abduction, resiliently finding ways to cope with his loss. I can also imagine him and Tamme staying in Axel Eriksson's service after arriving back at Walvis Bay on the *Louis Alfred* in 1882, and joining him on his expedition to Lake Ngami shortly afterwards. After all, by that time both boys would have been experienced in European ways, with good linguistic skills. Or perhaps they set off to try and find their families in their own *!nuerre*?

In the hours that I have spent deciphering Lucy Lloyd's handwriting, weaving together themes and topics from the material and linking these to other germane sources, a portrait of the young !kun man we remember as !nanni has emerged. This was made possible by piecing together disparate elements and joining what was previously separate. The visual exploration of !nanni's map of the Bushman Country that follows this chapter illustrates this methodology.

Footnotes:

1. I reference only the page numbers of the notebooks throughout this chapter. The notebooks can be found at the Manuscripts and Archives department of the University of Cape Town Libraries, or at <http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za>.
2. !nanni's story is pieced together from several sections of Lucy Lloyd's notebooks, referenced as BC 151 A 2 1 108 to 124.
3. Lucy Lloyd compared |xue to the |xam trickster, the Mantis called |kaggen: "The two elder lads were fortunately able to furnish some specimens of their native traditional lore; the chief figure in which appears to be a small personage possessed of magic power, and able to assume almost any form; who, although differently named, bears a good deal of resemblance to the Mantis, in the mythology of the Bushmen" (1911: xiii).
4. |xum-ta, !nanni and Tamme are common !kun names among contemporary !kun speakers.
5. Kapilolo Mario Mahongo, a contemporary !kun speaker, and his uncle, Kapilolo, told me that the word |xue was known to them, although they did not know the "|xue" stories told to Lloyd. |xue is one of the words for hunter in an old dialect of the !kun language still spoken today.
6. The eye water !nanni refers to is likely to be the eye of a water hole.
7. The moon and hare, as well as the |xue, or, Hu'we stories, exist in different forms all over southern Africa in San communities, and

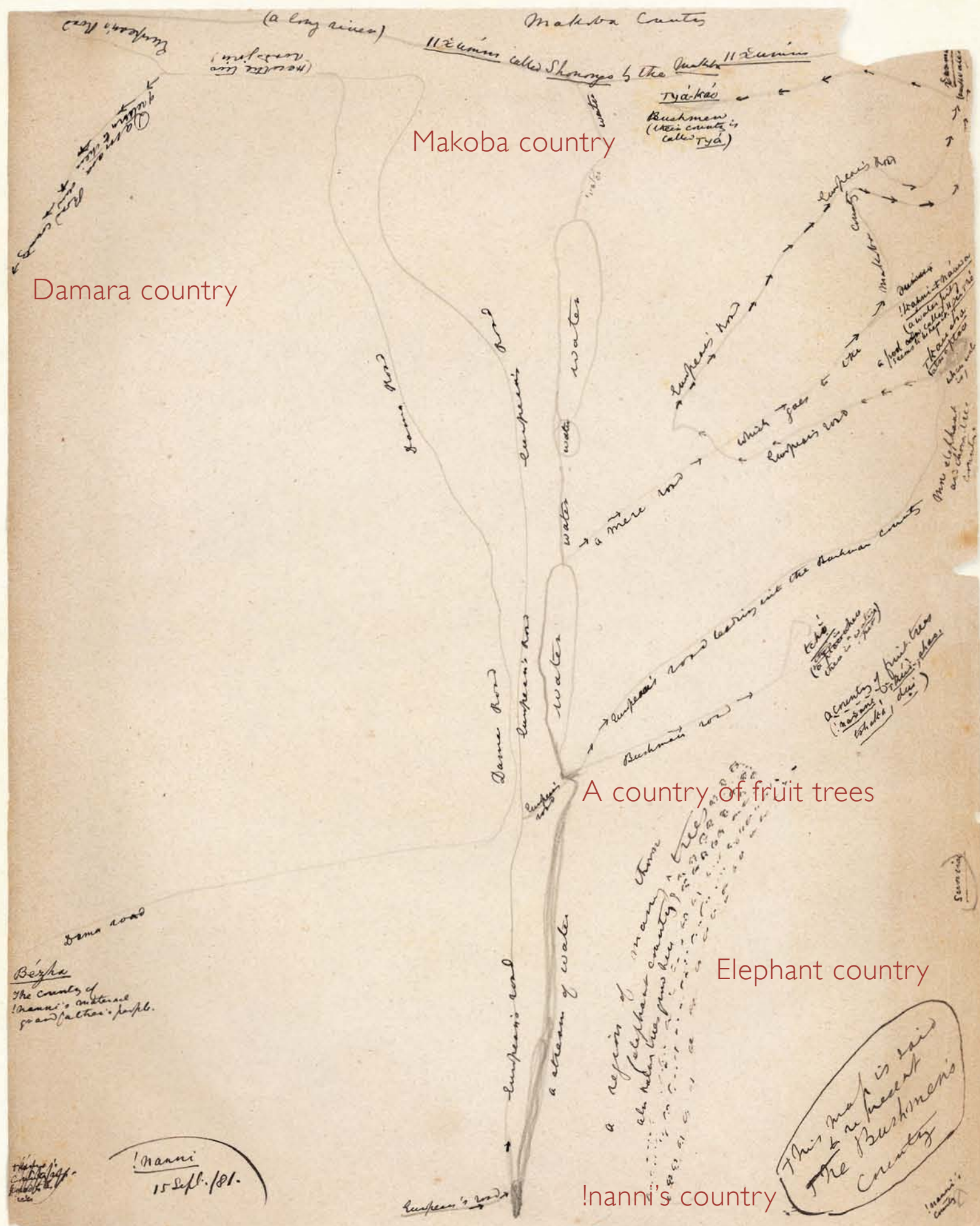
therefore comment on the longevity of stories. It may be a productive area of further study. The |xam told a version to Lloyd and in Dorothea Bleek's version (1934) of the moon and hare, |xue appears as the spokesperson between the moon and hare. The story suggests that |xue is also the moon. In other versions recorded during the 20th century by Lorna Marshall (1976) and more recently by myself, |xue, or Hu'we, steals the moon and sun from its captor and brings light and fire to people.

8. This story can be further pieced together from sources scattered across different pages: 9449-9450, 9451v-9456v, 9458v-9468v, 9470v-9474v, 9477v, 9480v-9482v, 9485v-9487v, 9490v-9491, 9528-9552..

9. This dancing may well have been the healing dance, during which a healer would achieve a state of trance while his/her community clapped, sang and healed the sick. The "trance dance" has been the subject of much contemporary research by, among others, David Lewis-Williams and David Pearce (2002).

10. Lorna Marshall (1976: 348) recorded the djani in a folktale about Hu'we (|xue in the !kun boys tales) and the creation of fire in Tsumkwe in the 1950s. It also features in contemporary !kun storytellers' tales – I collected another version from contemporary !kun speakers in 2002 with a similar reference to the djani.

58
This map is said to be a present
The Bushmen's Country



On 15th September 1879, Inanni sketched a map of the Bushman country from which he had been abducted in north-east Namibia. Inanni named six countries within his country, all of which are connected by a number of roads, paths, trading routes and rivers that were used by the many different people who occupied the country.

A visual exploration of !nanni's map of the Bushman country

This single map (opposite) enabled me to unlock the !kun children's stories of loss and the abundance of their memory in different ways. !nanni's map of the Bushman country may be viewed as the nerve centre that runs through the textual and visual material – by tracing its pathways in the rest of the !kun and germane archival material, I have been able to uncover layers of the children's personal stories and identify the main themes in the collection¹.

The idea of making envelopes and inserting single images of the children's paintings and drawings into these envelopes (a distinctive feature of this visual exploration) is based, in the first instance, on the methodology employed by Lucy Lloyd in the construction of the !xam dictionary. She and Bleek wrote out words and phrases in !xam and !kun accompanied by English translations (and vice versa) and often cross-referenced to the notebook narratives; they placed this into labelled envelopes as an organisational device. Like these, the single images I have placed in envelopes in the visual exploration suggest these are elements that intersect in illuminating combinations with other parts of the collection as a whole. I have also drawn on other methodologies to provide expanded information on single images or pages, such as the method employed by early botanists, who would include envelopes with

additional material on a page alongside a plant specimen². In this way, the mobility of the images in the !kun collection is signalled, and refer to how they might have been used in, literally, drawing out the narratives and stories the boys had to tell. I have also attempted to give the viewer the opportunity to relate the images to !nanni's map of the Bushman country, thus framing what is, at first, seen as very dispersed and opaque information. Keeping these images loose in the envelopes is a way of referencing the drawing table in Charlton House, where Lloyd and the boys used them for discussion, both to understand the representations themselves, and to see their value in generating the texts.

My hand-written notes on the envelopes and on the back of some of the drawings reflect both my own way of sorting through the images during the research process and resonate with Lucy Lloyd's annotation strategy of writing on the back of the photographs in the collection. I have made these envelopes from scanned images of paper I found in Lucy Lloyd's music books, thus referring to her archive while also referencing my own interpretive strategies. As the images in the envelopes are, in a sense, my notes or research aids, I printed them on my home computer and have not sought to achieve a high standard of reproduction attentive to the originals.

Footnotes:

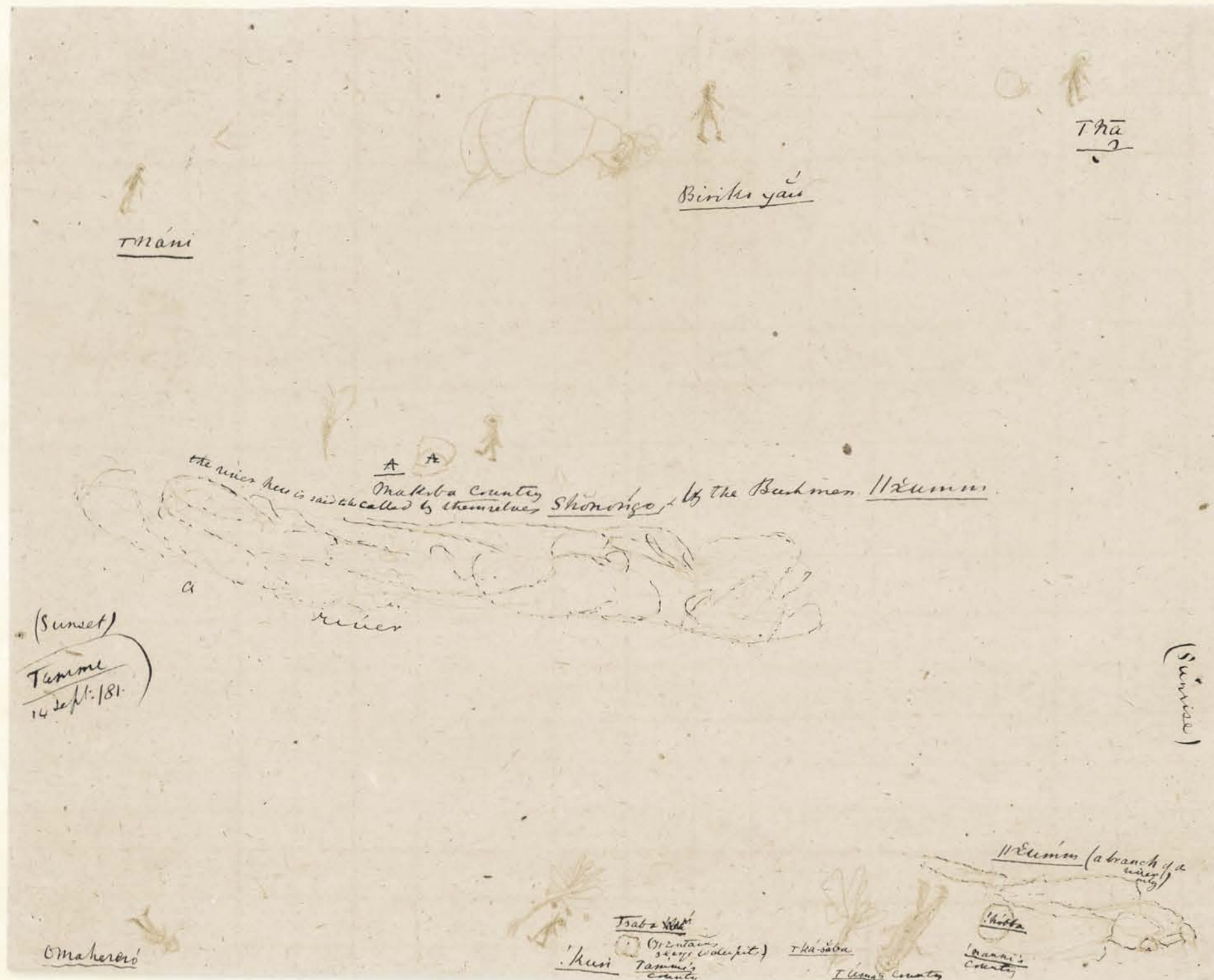
1. This dissertation by no means exhausts the information that !nanni and the other children's maps and images may offer researchers.
2. See for example, scanned images from the Bolus Herbarium at the University of Cape Town's Department of Botany. These may be viewed by staff/students from institutions subscribed to JSTOR at <http://plants.jstor.org/>.



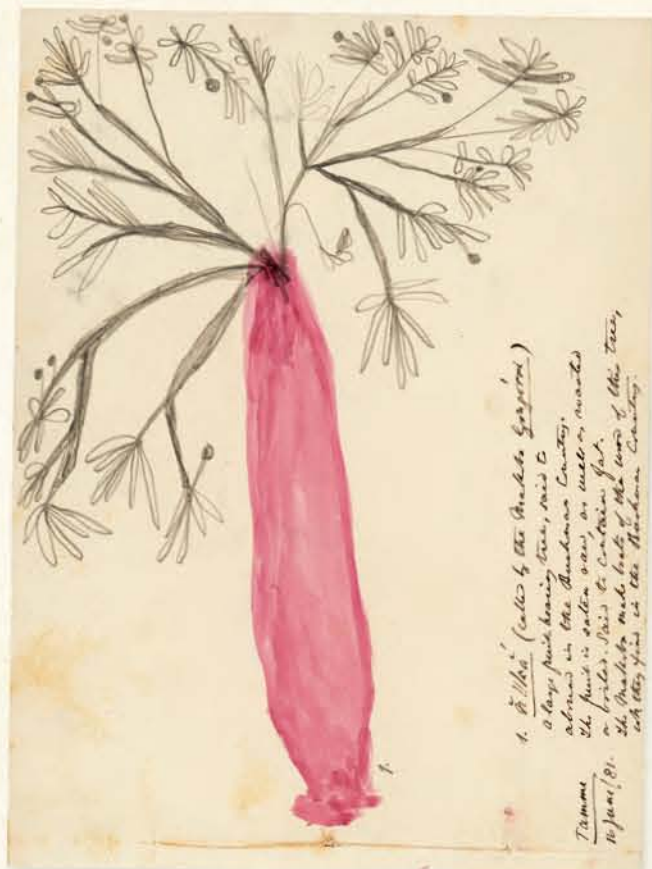
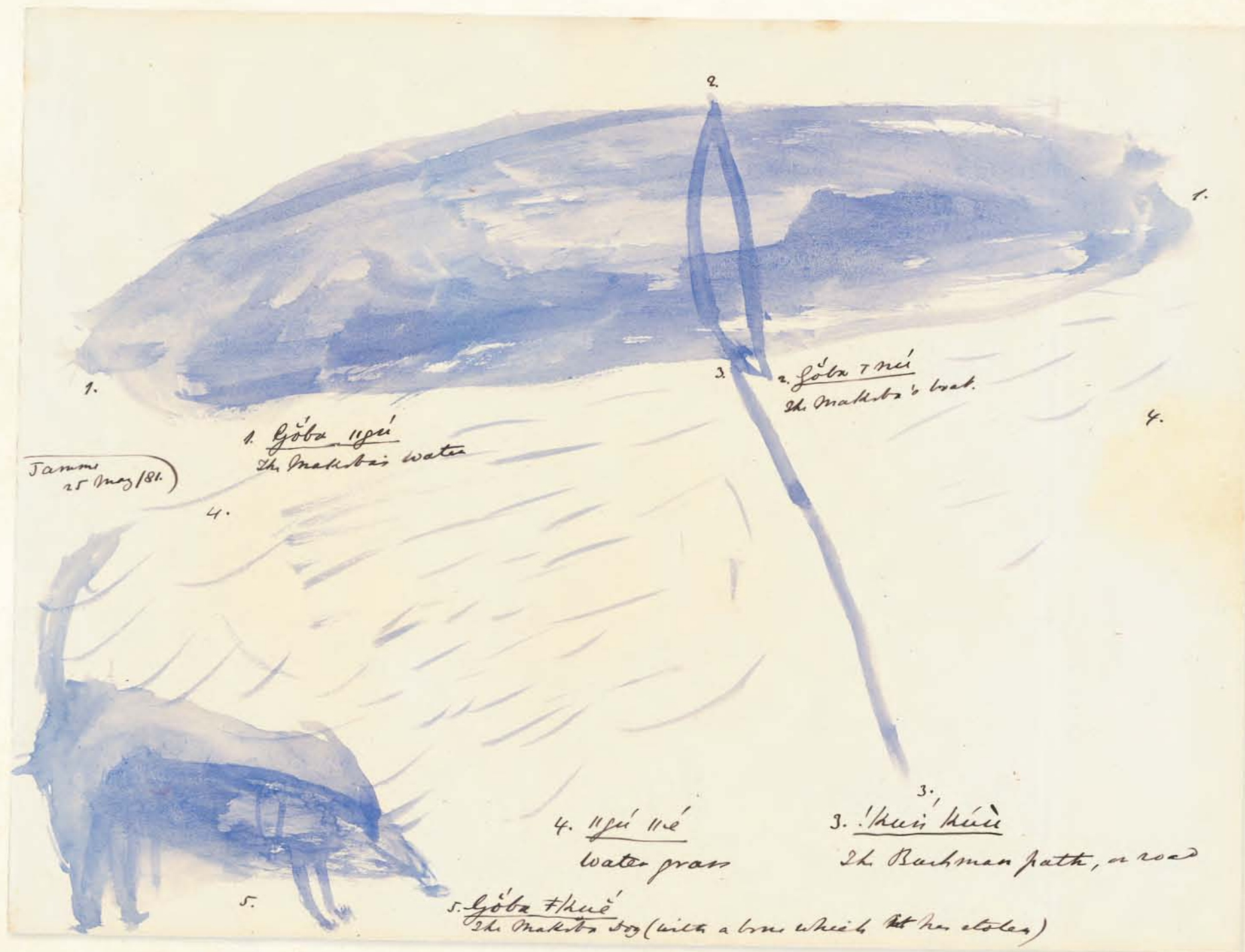
Figure 62: One of the envelopes from Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek's !xam dictionary.

MAKOBA COUNTRY

In this map drawn by Tamme, the Makoba's country lies close to a river they called the Shonongo, also called ||xumm by !nanni's people. The children described to Lucy Lloyd how the Makoba came to take them from their parents' homes and traded or sold them to other people in the region.



The children's stories, paintings and drawings show their complex understanding of the identities of the different people who lived around the Shonongo, or ||xumm, River; and how this was different from the identities of the northern Namibian people as recorded by Europeans at the time.



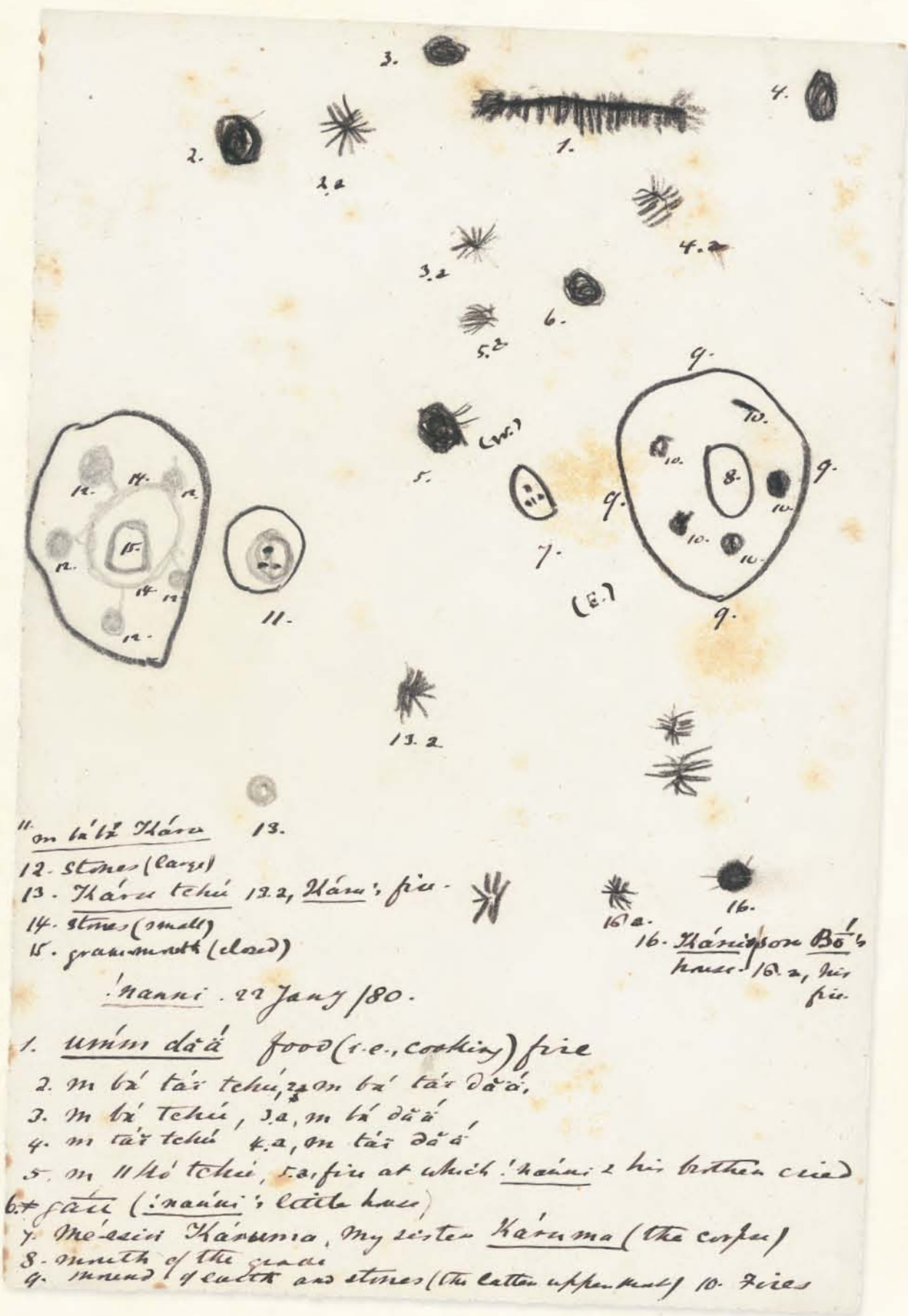
A place of loss

Tamme's watercolour (above) links the Makoba, their boat, the Shonongo River and its water grass with the Bushman path, or road next to it. Tamme and the other children spoke of how they were snatched from their parents and taken to the Makoba's boat. Da explained to Lucy Lloyd that the Makoba beat his mother while she wrestled with them and then murdered his father when he tried to shoot them. When Da was in the Makoba's boat on the river, they put his brother into the water, where he was eaten by crocodiles. Da told Lucy Lloyd that the Makoba did not put him into the water. When read in this context, Tamme's painting becomes a representation of loss. The Makoba beat his mother while she wrestled with them and then murdered his father when he tried to shoot them. When Da was in the Makoba's boat on the river, they put his brother into the water, where he was eaten by crocodiles. Da told Lucy Lloyd that the Makoba did not put him into the water. When read in this context, Tamme's painting becomes a representation of loss. The Makoba beat his mother while she wrestled with them and then murdered his father when he tried to shoot them. When Da was in the Makoba's boat on the river, they put his brother into the water, where he was eaten by crocodiles. Da told Lucy Lloyd that the Makoba did not put him into the water.



!NANNI'S COUNTRY

Inanni's pencil sketch depicts his family home in his country, where he lived before he was taken to the Cape Colony in 1879.



1. Inanni's family's communal fire, where they cooked eland, hippopotamus, tortoise, hyena, owl, small birds and a wide variety of other meat, fruit and vegetables. They talked about which food to eat and avoid, which were poisonous and medicinal. Inanni and his father would eat the lion's heart, for example, but feared its body.

2. Inanni's paternal grandmother's house and fire (2a). Her name was Ji lke. The family made their huts by digging holes into the ground and inserting long poles into it, brought together and tied in a dome at the top. The family used dry grass and reeds to fill in the spaces between the poles.

3. Inanni's father's tchi (house) and da (fire - 2a). His name was Ya l|ne, but he was also called Jum-ma-tchi-gua. He would rub his fire sticks together early in the morning so that the family could sit together while the sun was rising.

4. Inanni's mother's house and fire (4a). Her name was l|ka l|ma. Inanni's father respected her mother as his mother-in-law and therefore did not speak her name out loud.

5. Inanni's older brother's house and fire (5a), where they sat and cried for their sister Karuma when she died.

6. Inanni's house. Inanni's family taught him how to build various protective structures.

7. Karuma's corpse. A mound of earth and stones (9) surround a circle of small fires (10) around her grave mouth (8). The dead were buried amongst the living.

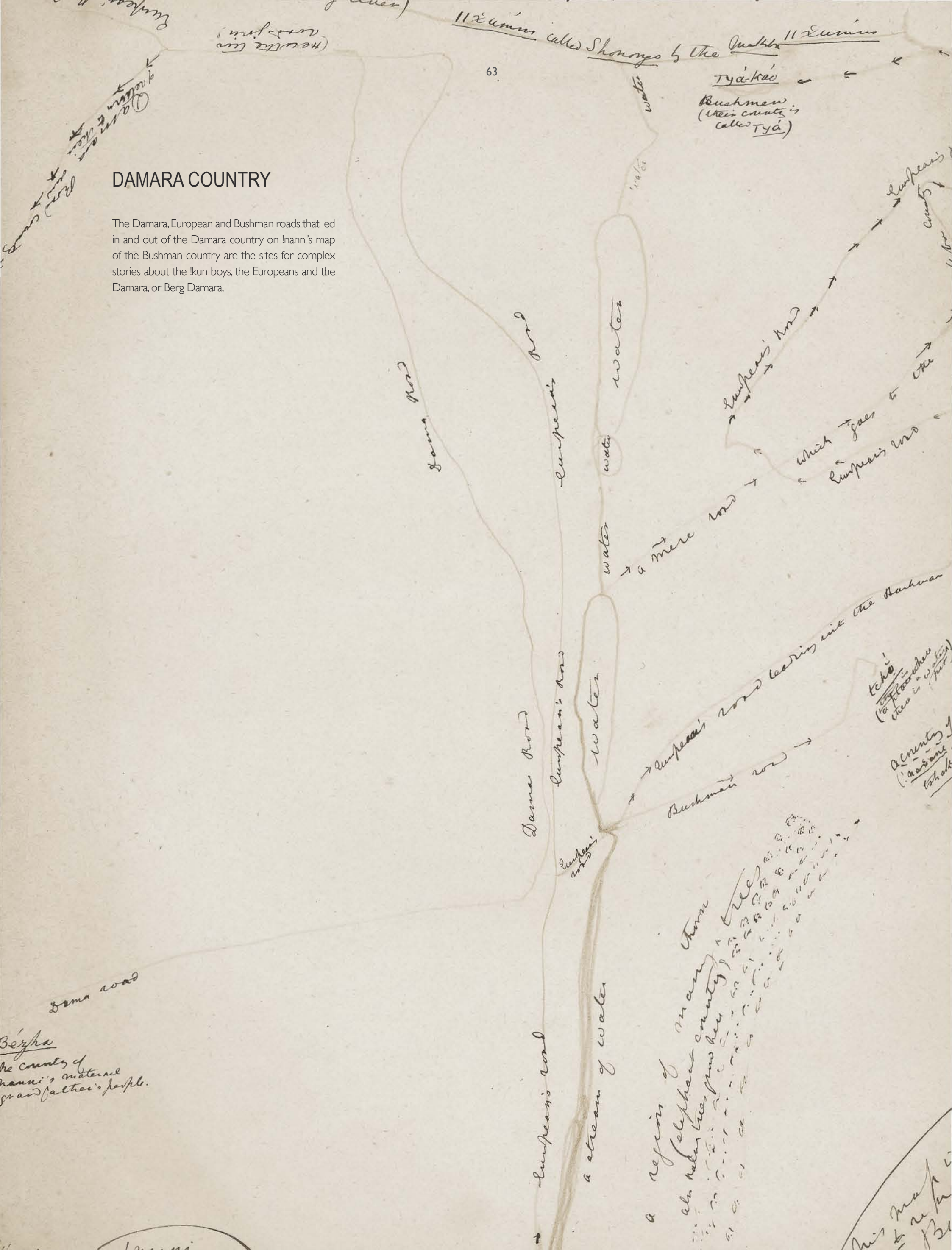
11. Inanni's paternal grandfather, Karu (11), drawn in the same way as Karuma's corpse (7), next to a grave Inanni did not identify. Inside the circular mound of earth is another circle of small heaps of stones (12 & 14), connected to yet another circle that surrounds the grave mouth (15).

13. Karu's house and fire (13a). Inanni and Karu were close companions and spent much time together in his hut, where the old man looked after Inanni while his parents were looking for food. Karu told him many stories that Inanni, in turn, told to Lucy Lloyd.

16. Inanni's uncle Bo's (also called Jun'ta) house and fire (16a). Bo died in the house of a Makoba after an incident involving a girl. Karu's grief at the loss of his son, Bo, drove him to despair.

DAMARA COUNTRY

The Damara, European and Bushman roads that led in and out of the Damara country on Inanni's map of the Bushman country are the sites for complex stories about the Ikun boys, the Europeans and the Damara, or Berg Damara.



Prior to the 1860s very few Europeans had settled in northern Namibia. This changed with the arrival of a few hunters and traders, who by the 1870s had extended their trading network into the Bushman country where ivory, ostrich feathers, cattle, food, guns and people became lucrative items of trade. The European roads that ran in and out of the Damara country and across Inanni's map were also used by the Cape Colony's commissioner to Namibia, William Coates Palgrave. He had set up an indentured labour scheme in Damaraland in response to the Cape Colony's labour needs. Between 1878 and 1882, hundreds of Damara families left their country, travelling by foot and ox wagon across the Dama and European roads to Walvis Bay, where they boarded the trader Axel Eriksson's boat.

The *Louis Alfred* proceeded to Cape Town, where many Damara children were taken from their families and assigned as servants to Europeans. Inanni and Tamme were among the first of these Berg Damara shipments to the Cape Colony in September 1879. The other two children, Juma and Da, arrived in March 1880, from where they were taken to Lucy Lloyd.

This letter, written by a Rev. de Beer on June 1st, 1881, asks for no more than two children in his Berg Damara family.

Office of the Commissioner of
Crown Lands and Public Works,
Cape of Good Hope,
31 Oct 1879

My dear Sir,
Please let
Mr C. de Wit have
one family of Berg
Damaras.
Yours truly,
C. de Wit

Office of the Commissioner of Crown
Lands and Public Works, Cape of Good Hope,
1st June 1881

Sir,
I have the honour to
apply for a family of
Damara servants, as soon
as a family will be pos-
sible.
As to number of the
family, it is desirable that
the children be not more
than two. I have the honour
to be
Yours obediently
Rev. de Beer
per Mr. de Wit



Above

Inanni's depiction of a Berg Damara person with a bag slung over his back.

Opposite

Many of the children from north-east Namibia who arrived in the colony were apprenticed to Europeans. This "Indenture of apprenticeship by parent" contract was signed on July 26th 1880 by "Baboon", said to be the guardian

of twelve-year-old "Oura". His contract with his new master, Mr. James Ayliff, made Oura his apprentice and was valid until he reached the age of eighteen. Oura was to be trained as a domestic servant, schooled in the Christian religion, taught the English language and be paid five shillings per month (see pages 31, 32 and 33).

Indenture of Apprenticeship by Parent.

TriPLICATE Indenture of Apprenticeship by Parent.

District of Cape Town.

This Indenture, made on the *Twenty-sixth* day of *July* 18*80*
WITNESSETH: That *Kaboon* *his Guardian*

pursuant to the Act No. 15 of 1856, in that case made and provided, hath, in quality of the Parent of the *male*
Child hereinafter mentioned, put and placed, and doth by these presents put and place, *Cura*
a boy aged *Twelve* Years, or thereabouts, as an Apprentice to
James Ayliff
of *Cape Town* with him to dwell and serve after the manner of an Apprentice, from
the Day of the Date hereof, until the said *Cura*
shall attain the age of *Eighteen* Years; during all which time the said Apprentice shall faithfully and
honestly serve and obey *his* said Master.

And the said *James Ayliff* for himself, his Heirs, Executors,
and Assigns, doth covenant and agree with the said *Kaboon* that the
said *James Ayliff* will teach and instruct, or cause the said *Cura*
to be taught and instructed, in the Trade of a *General Domestic Servant*
in the best manner that he can, during the said term; and also shall instruct, or cause the said *Cura*
to be taught and instructed, in the Christian Religion and the English Language,
to the best of his ability; and shall and will, during all the time aforesaid, find and provide for the said Apprentice suitable
and sufficient Meat, Drink, Clothing, Washing, Lodging, and all other things necessary and fit for the said Apprentice at any
time during the said term; and also that the said *James Ayliff*
should not assign or transfer the said Apprentice to any other Person whatever, during the said term, without the consent, in
writing, first had and obtained, of the said *Kaboon*.

And the said *James Ayliff* in consideration of such Apprenticeship, doth hereby, for *himself, his* Heirs, Executors, and Administrators,
covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said *Kaboon*
acting for the said Apprentice, in manner and form following, that is to say;—that, *he* the said
James Ayliff shall pay to the said *Cura*, wages
when the said
~~shall attain the age of Twelve Years~~ at the rate of Five Shillings (5s.) a Month for the first year, and an increase of One
Shilling (1s.) a Month for each succeeding year.

In Witness whereof, we, the said
said *Kaboon*
set our Hands the Day and Year aforesaid.

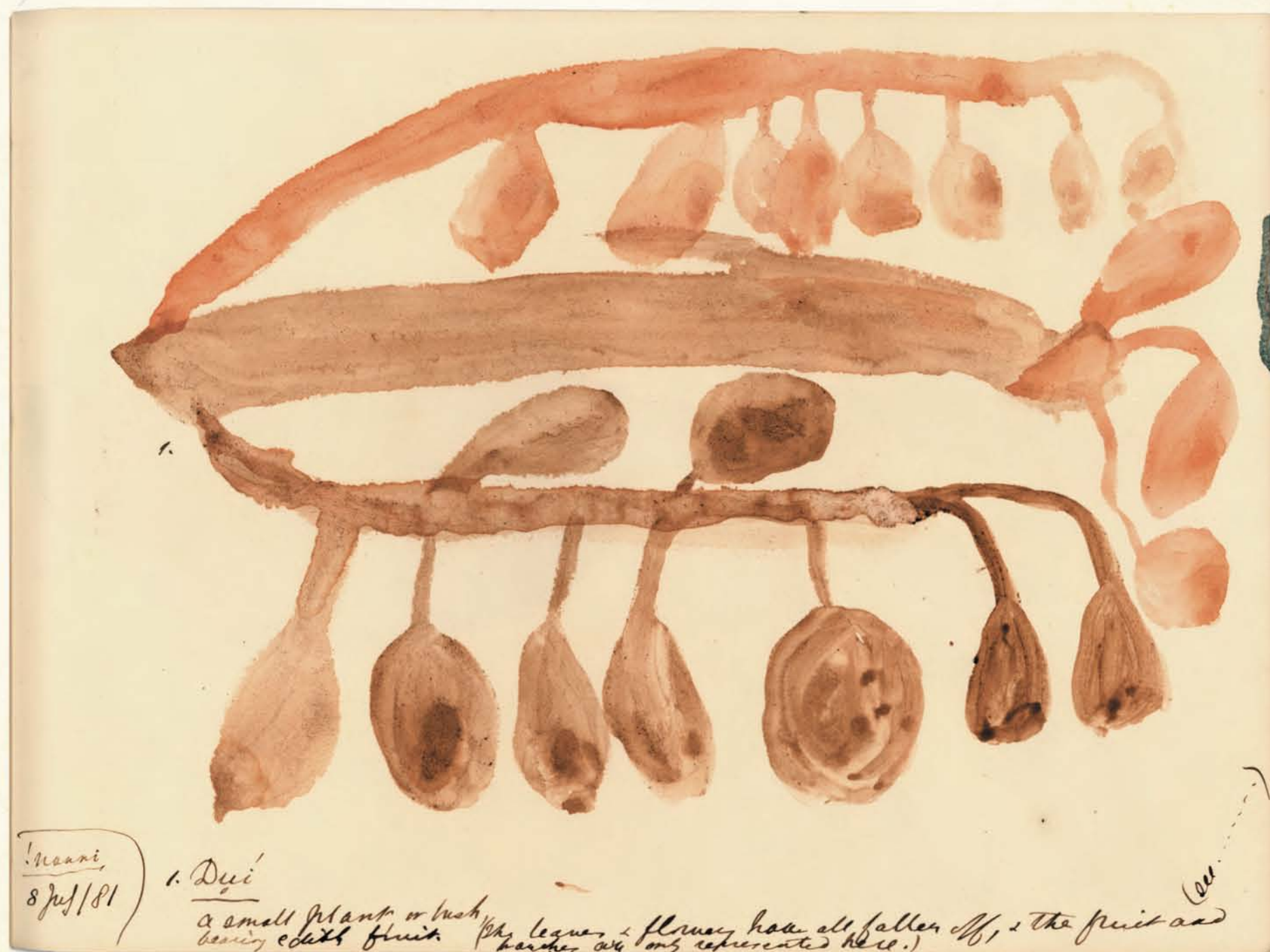
In presence of

A. Horsley Stubbs
Harry Osprey

James Ayliff and the
have to this Contract, in three parts interchangeable,
James Ayliff
Cura
Kaboon
Geo. W. Stevens
Contracting Officer.

A COUNTRY OF FRUIT TREES

In contrast to his associations with the Makoba country and the stories of the Damara, Inanni's descriptions of a country of fruit trees suggests a sense of abundance.



Above

This watercolour by Inanni depicts the *dui* bush in his country of fruit trees. The painting shows a branch of leaves and flowers that fell onto the ground. People made knobkerries from *dui* wood.

Left

The children told Lucy Lloyd of their associations with the many plants and trees that grew in their country. In his map, Inanni specifically mentions the *dui*, *Inaxane*, *Ishaka* and *Ikui* trees. The *Ishaka* and *Ikui* were both used during the *Ikoa*, a purification ritual conducted when a man has shot and killed another man. Two pots and two vessels made from *Ihu* wood were used in the ritual, one for cooking the plants and one for cleansing the man with water; *ngo* and *ua* leaves. The man's father-in-law would help him to cleanse himself while he sat on his kudu skin next to the cleansing fire.

ELEPHANT COUNTRY

Not far from 'a country of fruit trees' in Inanni's map is a place of many thorn trees and the elephant country. Elephants loomed large in the children's landscape and appear in some fragmented but powerful episodes told to Lucy Lloyd.



Above

Tamme's watercolour depicts an elephant.

Left

The children made paintings and drawings that show their keen observations of the elephant in their environment, what they ate and how destructive they could be to the environment.

Conclusion

The !kun material in the Bleek and Lloyd collection has received almost no attention from scholars, many of whom have assumed that it holds very little information beyond documentation of aspects of a dialect in the !kun family of languages and a few stories told by young lads. By piecing together disparate elements and bringing together what previously appeared separate, I have accumulated clusters of related images and read these contrapuntally with the children's stories. In the process, I have gathered information that proves the aforementioned assumption not to be the case.

My intention has been to examine the extent to which the !kun children laid down an account of their personal and historical backgrounds by means of their paintings, drawings, stories and word lists.

My exploration of the archive has revealed that it holds significant material, both visual and textual, that can yield previously unknown information about the children's individual lives and the !kun families around them. I have provided a better understanding of how !kun hunter-gatherer families' lives from a particular area in the north of Namibia were integrated into the trade routes and activities of the time, and can picture the role that specific traders and trade items (such as elephants, ostriches, guns and ammunition) played in the lives of the people with whom the !kun children lived. I have offered insight into the children's lifestyles and their knowledge of a number of plants and animals, as well as their understanding of social behaviour, death and mourning. I have suggested a vivid and painful sense of the violence and trauma of their abduction and relocation to Cape Town.

My exploration extends to a consideration of the role that Lucy Lloyd played in shaping the !kun material. The study lifts out traumatic events from her early life and suggests that these events may have aided her ability to facilitate the children's stories, which were filled with similar themes of trauma, loss and disruption. Given the research findings that surround the children's arrival and departure in Cape Town, we can now begin to question how they came to be placed in Lloyd's home, the role she played in that process and the relationship that subsequently developed with the boys. I have provided insight into her contribution to the !kun material by investigating the production of the material in Lloyd's home and shown how |han~~z~~kass'o may have had a direct influence on the genesis of the drawings and watercolours in 1879.

The reconstruction of !nanni's family life around his home camp led us to imagine the young man as a mature teenager, capable of building dwellings and other structures to protect himself from the dangers of the wild, but also a competent storyteller and carrier of a great deal of !kun traditional knowledge. By treating him as an individual

from a specific family whose names have now been lifted from silence, this study shifted our thinking from the generic “!kun boys” to the emergence of these children as individual human beings with stories of their own. We have come to appreciate !nanni's paintings and drawings as rich sources of historical and personal information.

Within the drawings and notebooks this study found a strong sense of place, personal voice, family and individual associations and experiences within specific environments, plants and animals. This moved me to conclude that the children's profound losses can be read in their recollections of the abundant resources in their landscape and families. Those intimate moments during which they recalled the riches of the earth and the powerful relationships with the families they had left behind are to be found in their annotated paintings and drawings, or in the words, fragments and stories in Lucy's notebooks – hence the title of my thesis: annotations of loss and abundance.

In this project I have shown that 'reading' the visual can be as productive as reading the text. I have been able to reveal much new information through an analysis of the annotated images. A specific contribution of this dissertation lies in its identification and exploration of the way in which the !kun images and narratives intersect. My approach, explicitly sensitive to the trauma experienced by the children, has been to look for material in the images which the children were unable to articulate verbally. I have suggested that Lloyd herself may have been disposed by her own childhood traumas to recognise distinctive possibilities in communicating with traumatised children through the medium of visual expression. Indeed, it is a finding of this study that Lucy Lloyd's methods in working with the children were different from her methods of working with the !xam adults, as explored by Bank (2006), notably in how she and the children used the images.

In the visual exploration of !nanni's map of the Bushman country, I have read this single drawing in conjunction with a number of other paintings and drawings and connected these with phrases and words from the notebooks. In this way, I have demonstrated significant relationships between the various components of the !kun material and shown how the collection cross-references itself. In so doing I have been able to show how fragmentary texts and images at first thought to be of little value, when read and seen together, facilitate a deeper understanding of the Bleek and Lloyd Collection and the contribution that the !kun boys made to it.

Finally, as the research process yielded so much more than lay beyond the original scope of this study, I hope that my examination of parts of Lucy Lloyd and the !kun children's collection indicates the depth of the material they generated and their potential for future research.

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Note
Previously unpublished notebooks, paintings and drawings are published in The Digital Bleek and Lloyd that accompanies *Claim to the country* (Skotnes 2007). It is also available at <http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>.
I have referenced the images of Lucy Lloyd's notebook pages with the scan number in the Digital Bleek and Lloyd. The drawings and paintings are cited by their scan number in the digital archive, due to the range of institutions they are drawn from, and the number of possible contributors.

Abbreviations
NLLB: National Library of South Africa, Cape Town (previously South African Library)
IZIKO_SAMLB: IZIKO South African Museum
NA: National Archives of Namibia, Windhoek
UCTLB: Bleek and Lloyd Collection, Manuscripts and Archives Library, University of Cape Town
Llarec: Lucy Lloyd Archive Resource and Exhibition Centre, University of Cape Town

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