

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

By:  
Harriet Clift  
February 2001

Submitted in full requirement for the MA degree in Archaeology,  
Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town.

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<b>Content</b>	
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Tables</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Figures</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1. Background to research</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2. Methodology</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1.3. Terminology</b>	<b>6</b>
1.3.1. The DEIC at the Cape	6
1.3.2. Land usage at the Cape	7
1.3.3. Indigenous communities at the Cape	9
<b>1.4. Content</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Chapter 2: Culture contact and change</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2.1. The social landscape at the Cape, pre 1652</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2.2. Frameworks for understanding culture contact and culture change</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.3. European settlement and the demise of indigenous society</b>	<b>21</b>

<b>2.4. 'Artefacts of trade'</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.5. Archaeological evidence of contact, post 1652</b>	<b>25</b>
2.5.1 Andriesgrond	25
2.5.2 Voëlvlei	28
2.5.3 Seacow River Valley	29
2.5.4 Oudepost 1	32
<b>2.6 Summary</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Documentary evidence of 18<sup>th</sup> century Baviaanskloof</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.1. The texts</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.2. The Moravian Church</b>	<b>38</b>
3.2.1. Aan de Sergeants Rivier, 1737 – 1744	38
3.2.2. Baviaanskloof, 1792 (–1806) onwards	40
<b>3.3. Diary of George Schmidt (1737-1744)</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>3.4. Diary of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel (1792-1794)</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>3.5. Journal of Lady Anne Barnard (1798)</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>3.6. Discussion</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Chapter 4: A sortie into the archaeology of the Moravian mission station, Genadendal</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>4.1. Environmental background</b>	<b>56</b>

<b>4.2. The social landscape of the Overberg during the 18<sup>th</sup> century</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>4.3. Survey and site selection</b>	<b>60</b>
4.3.1. Shelter excavation	62
4.3.2. Discussion	69
<b>4.4. The Village – excavation of Schmidt’s house</b>	<b>71</b>
4.4.1. Schmidt’s House – excavation	73
4.4.2. Schmidt’s house assemblage	76
<b>4.5. Discussion</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Chapter 5. Missions, missionaries and mission archaeology</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>5.1. Khoekhoen and christianity at the Cape during the 18<sup>th</sup> century</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>5.2. 18<sup>th</sup> century missions at the Cape of Good Hope</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>5.3. Mission archaeology and the mission experience</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>5.4. Mission studies: future directions - expanding knowledge of the Khoekhoen in the historical period</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Genadendal Archaeology Project</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>1.1. Public archaeology in South Africa</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>1.2. Genadendal Archaeology Project</b>	<b>109</b>
1.2.1. Aims of the project	110
1.2.2. The site and preliminary preparation	112

1.2.3. Participants	113
1.2.4. Funding	115
1.2.5. Programme	115
1.2.6. Learning areas and specific outcomes	117
1.2.7. Open Day	122
<b>1.3. Evaluation of the Genadendal archaeology project</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>128</b>

## Abstract

In the 1980s Tony Humphreys suggested the archaeology of the Moravian Mission at Genadendal as a possible avenue through which the archaeological ‘void’ regarding the Khoekhoen, post 1652, could be addressed. Building on this suggestion, the primary aim of this research was to find evidence of the Khoekhoen who lived at the mission during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century and to explore the ways in which Khoekhoe communities interacted with mission establishments as a means of reinventing themselves in a changing world. Material evidence of both the Khoekhoen and the mission itself (excluding the architecture) during this period proved to be elusive, in contrast to the wealth of documentary records. The reasons for this elusive material expression of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century mission, missionaries and Khoekhoe converts at Genadendal has been sought in the archaeological elusiveness of the Khoekhoen themselves and the nature of their material cultural base, as well as in the nature of the exchange and supply of European manufactured commodities in the Overberg.

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**Tables**

1. Ceramics from the Genadendal shelter, Unit 1	64
2a. Distribution of stone tools from squares D5 and D6	67
2b. Distribution of stone tools from squares B11 and C11	68
3a. Percentages of raw material distribution throughout D5 and D6	68
3b. Percentages of raw material distribution throughout B11 and C11	69
4. Percentages of formal tools and the use of raw material	69
5. Comparison of results from Genadendal shelter with a selection of sites in the South Western Cape	70
6. Ceramics from the excavation at Schmidt's house	79

## Figures

After page:

Front piece: Genadendal, Melville Survey, 1816

1. Khoekhoe kraals in the vicinity of Genadendal, based on historical descriptions 6  
(Le Roux 1984:46, Prins 1979:27-19).
2. Approximate locations of Khoekhoe territories before contact with Europeans 7  
(Elphick 1977).
3. Location map 10
4. Differential use of arm and leg decorations among Khoekhoe men and women 24  
(Smith and Pfeiffer 1993:53).
5. Sketch of the historical core by Lady Anne Barnard c1798 (Fairbridge 1924). 51
6. Geology of the Genadendal area (Cowling *et al* 1997:100). 56
7. Call.1 SG no B62.1857, showing the location of 'Koekson's hutten'. 61
8. Research area, showing the location of the three shelters (3419 BA Greyton, 62  
1:50 000 topographical sheet).
9. Layout of the Genadendal shelter. 63
10. Genadendal shelter: stratigraphy. 63
11. Genadendal shelter: a representative selection of stone tools. 66
12. Genadendal c1799, sketched by Daniel Schwinn (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14). 71
13. Genadendal c1816, surveyed by John Melvill (Genadendal Mission 71  
Museum).

14. Genadendal c1901, drawn by Rev L.R. Schmidt, uncompleted (Genadendal Mission Museum). 71
15. Location detail of the test trench at Schmidt's house in the historical core. 74
16. Cobble path in front of the 18<sup>th</sup> century church and church bell. 76
17. Layout of Genadendal c1799 (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14). 92
18. Sketch of the Sak River Mission c1800 (Kicherer 1804). 93
19. Sketch of the Bethelsdorp Mission c1806 (van der Kemp 1897). 93

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1. Background to research**

In the 1980s Tony Humphreys initiated a preliminary study of the archaeology of Genadendal with the aim of addressing the archaeological ‘void’ that currently exists with regard to Khoekhoe sites dating after 1652. Humphreys (1989) suggested that a possible way of finding historic archaeological remains of the Khoekhoen would be to look at aggregation sites, such as Gonnema’s kraal, which are often indicated on maps, as well as mission sites, such as Genadendal, which were established for the prime purpose of christianising the Khoekhoen, the indigenous herders of the Cape of Good Hope. This project is an attempt to build on these suggestions.

The archaeology and history of missions in colonial contexts, particularly in the Americas, have attracted a wide array of research interests ranging from architectural studies to research focused specifically on the contact between indigenous communities and missionaries (Graham 1998:27). Graham’s definition of archaeology within the context of mission archaeology includes not only excavation and the study of material culture, but also any research that “illuminates the historical, demographic, or socio-cultural context of mission encounters” (Graham 1998:26). Graham (1998:25) considers the spread of colonial influence, the Christian doctrine and the cultural transformation of indigenous populations to be common in all mission efforts. Within the context of the South Western Cape, Khoekhoe society was already largely fractured and dispersed by the time that the missionaries started their efforts amongst them. Even though by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Khoekhoe communities had already been greatly affected by colonialism,

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

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

## **1.2. Methodology**

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

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

Much of what is known about the Khoekhoen and their interaction with the DEIC has been based on historical research. Richard Elphick's doctoral research, "Kraal and Castle – Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa" (1977), investigated the relationship of the Khoekhoen of South Africa with the DEIC officials and their role in the establishment of the settlement at the Cape. The Historical Research Institute of the University of the Western Cape's initial interest in the history of Moravian mission stations in South Africa has generated much research focussing on the Khoekhoen living within the boundaries of the colony. The transformation of the Khoekhoen from independent herder to indentured servant and their interaction with the early colonial settlement at the Cape has been explored in detail by Professor Henry Bredekamp (Bredekamp 1979, 1981, 1988). Russel Viljoen (1993), Susan Newton-King (1986), and V.C. Malherbe (1978), have written about the relationship between the Khoekhoen servants and farm labourers and the colonial farmers and authorities, particularly on the eastern frontier. Robert Ross (1994) has explored the changing social and political position of the Khoekhoen in the colony. In 1996, Emile Boonzaier, VC Malherbe, Andrew Smith and Penny Berens produced "The Cape Herders". This book covers the history of the Khoekhoen from the earliest evidence of herding in the archaeological record and follows it through to the modern day issues of repatriation and land rights in Namaqualand.

Equivalent archaeological research, however, has been lacking, mainly owing to the absence of suitable archaeological sites that can be attributed to Khoekhoen living within the confines of the colony during the historical period. Several archaeological research

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

Although there have been no DEIC period Khoekhoen sites excavated to date, traces of contact between indigenous groups and European traders and/or colonists are present in surprisingly many archaeological sites in the South and Western Cape. Using the criteria formulised by Smith *et al* (1991:71), these sites have all been identified as hunter, rather than herder sites. This evidence, (although admittedly meagre) has rarely been recorded as a focus for publication as it often fell outside the then current research paradigms. Given the quantities of metal and glass beads that were exchanged during these historical transactions only a fraction of the evidence has turned up in excavated sites. Miller *et al* (1998) investigated metal objects found in archaeological sites in the South Western Cape in particular. Nineteen objects in total were identified, coming from 11 sites<sup>1</sup>, two of which had additional associated European artefacts. An interesting point at this stage is to

---

<sup>1</sup> Kleinplaas (Gifberg, Clanwilliam district), Pepper Tree Hill (Verlorenvlei), Voëlvlei (Voëlvlei Dam), Elands Bay Cave (Elands Bay), Wadrifsooutpan, Drie Susters Main (Posberg Reserve), TR4 (Pakhuis, Clanwilliam district), Eland Cave (Pakhuis, Clanwilliam district), Andriesgrond (Clanwilliam), Langberg Rock shelter, Tortoise Cave (Elands Bay).

note that while most recorded trade and exchange took place between Khoekhoen and Europeans, little physical evidence exists in support of this exchange.

Due to the seeming difficulty of drawing parallels between the written historical records and the archaeology, this project approached this problem from a different angle. Instead of looking at 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century travelogues and official journals for indications of where Khoekhoe kraals were situated, I followed the suggestion made by Humphreys (1989), that the present-day Moravian mission station of Genadendal was a potential window into the Khoekhoe past. Genadendal has its roots in a Moravian mission station that started in the Overberg between 1737 and 1748 and after a hiatus was re-established in 1792. This mission station was established with the aim of christianising the Khoekhoen and during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century the majority of the inhabitants of the mission were Khoekhoen or Khoekhoe descendents.

Even though the limited use of historical documents for identifying actual Khoekhoe camp sites on the ground have been demonstrated by Hart (1984) and Robertshaw (1979), deeds of transfer for farms surrounding the land set aside for the Moravian mission at Genadendal were investigated for any mention or description of neighbouring kraals or Khoekhoe grazing ground. With the exception of 'Koeksons hutten' (see Chapter 4) on the Survey diagram of Genadendal dated to 1857, no indication of Khoekhoe settlements could be found on the actual survey diagrams or deeds of transfers and this avenue was not explored further. A detailed study of the expansion of farms into the Overberg during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century has been produced by Elizabeth Prins (1979, 1983) and Le Roux (1984) has compiled a map showing the locations of Khoekhoe groups in the

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

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

### **1.3. Terminology**

#### **1.3.1. The DEIC at the Cape**

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

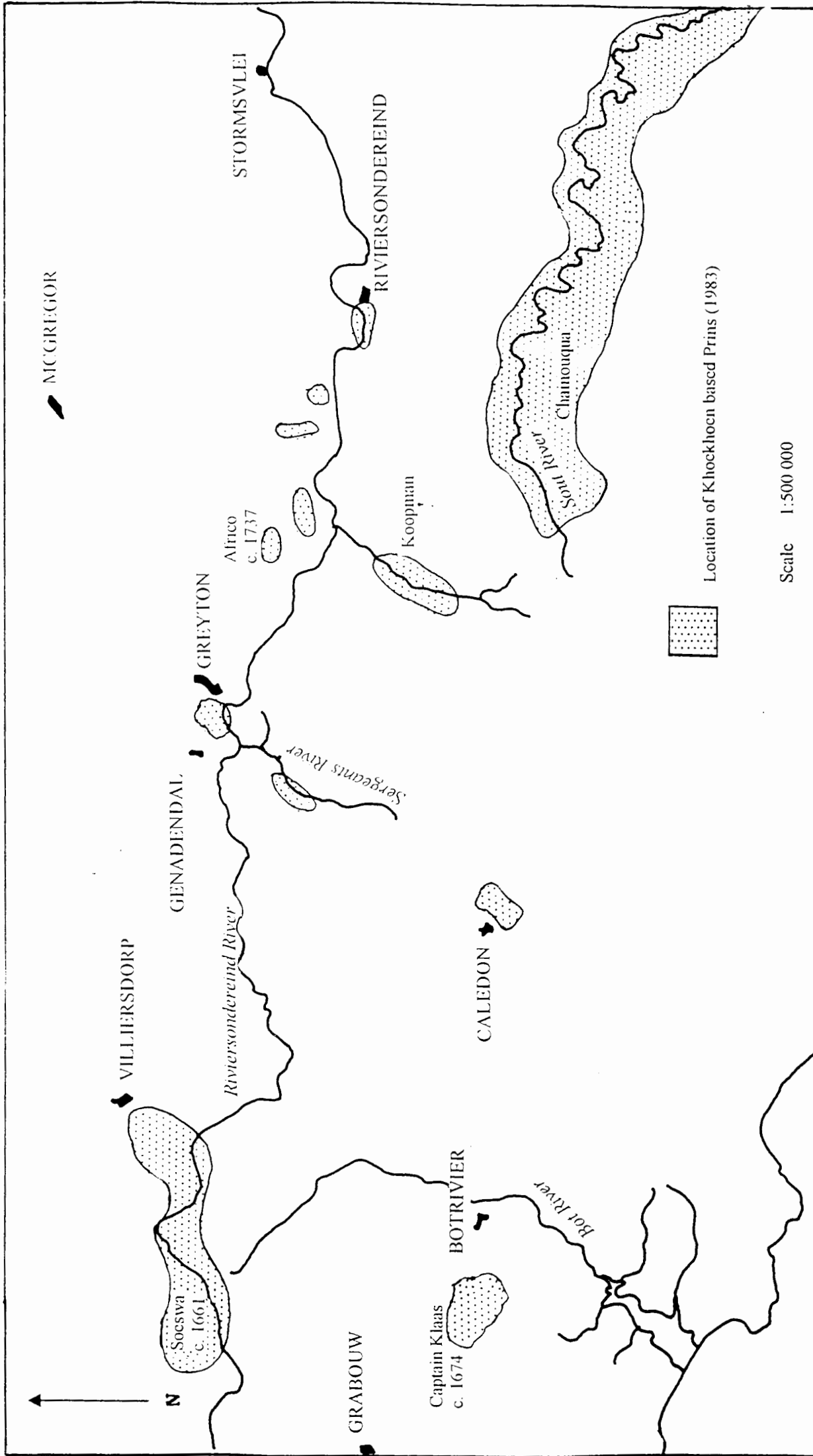


Figure 1: Khoekhoe kraals in the vicinity of Genadendal, based on historical descriptions (Le Roux 1984:46, Prins 1979:27-29).

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

### **1.3.2. Land usage at the Cape**

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

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

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

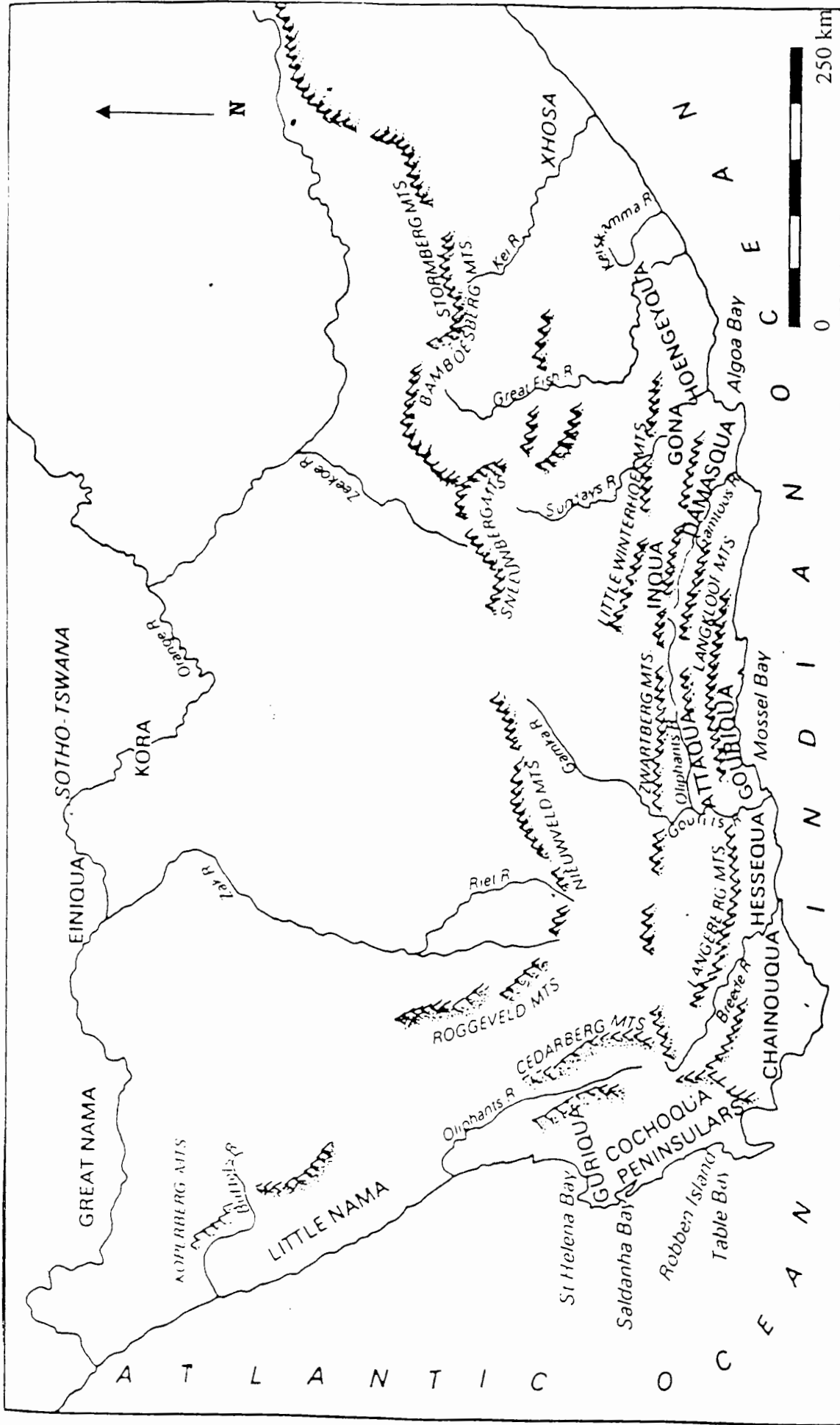


Figure 2: Approximate locations of Khoekhoe territories before contact with Europeans (Elphick 1977).

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

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

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

### 1.3.3. Indigenous communities at the Cape

The use of 'Khoekhoen' (adjective 'Khoekhoe') as opposed to 'Khoikhoi', 'Khoi' and 'Quena', referring to historical herders of the Cape is based on modern Nama and Korana usage (Barnard 1992:7). The word 'Hottentot' was probably derived from a Cape Khoekhoe dance chant and was used by colonists and officials throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries to refer to people of Khoekhoe descent (Barnard 1992:9). Between 1699 and 1710 DEIC journal entries describe trade with the local Khoekhoen. The use of the group's indigenous name as well as references to individual leaders (e.g. the Cochoqua under the leadership of Odesoa) is an indication of the value that the DEIC, at least initially, placed on maintaining good (trade) relations with the Khoekhoen. After 1720, the use of individual and group names was increasingly replaced by general descriptions of 'Hottentot' and after 1732, the Khoekhoen rarely feature in the DEIC journals (Smith 1993:17). The term *Bosjemans hottentotten* or Bushmen Hottentots was also used, presumably to refer to Khoekhoen who were no longer able to subsist as herders and who were full time hunters (Newton-King 1986:108).

The word 'Khoisan' refers collectively to indigenous hunter-gatherers (San) and herders (Khoe). There is no historically recorded indigenous word used by hunter-gatherers to refer to themselves collectively. The words 'San', 'Sonqua' and 'Soaqua', were terms used by other groups to describe hunter-gatherers and were not particularly flattering. In cases where hunter-gatherers were described in the historical records as 'Soaqua' or 'Sonqua' these terms are used, but where specific historical references are absent, the term 'hunter' has been used.

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

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

#### **1.4. Content**

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

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

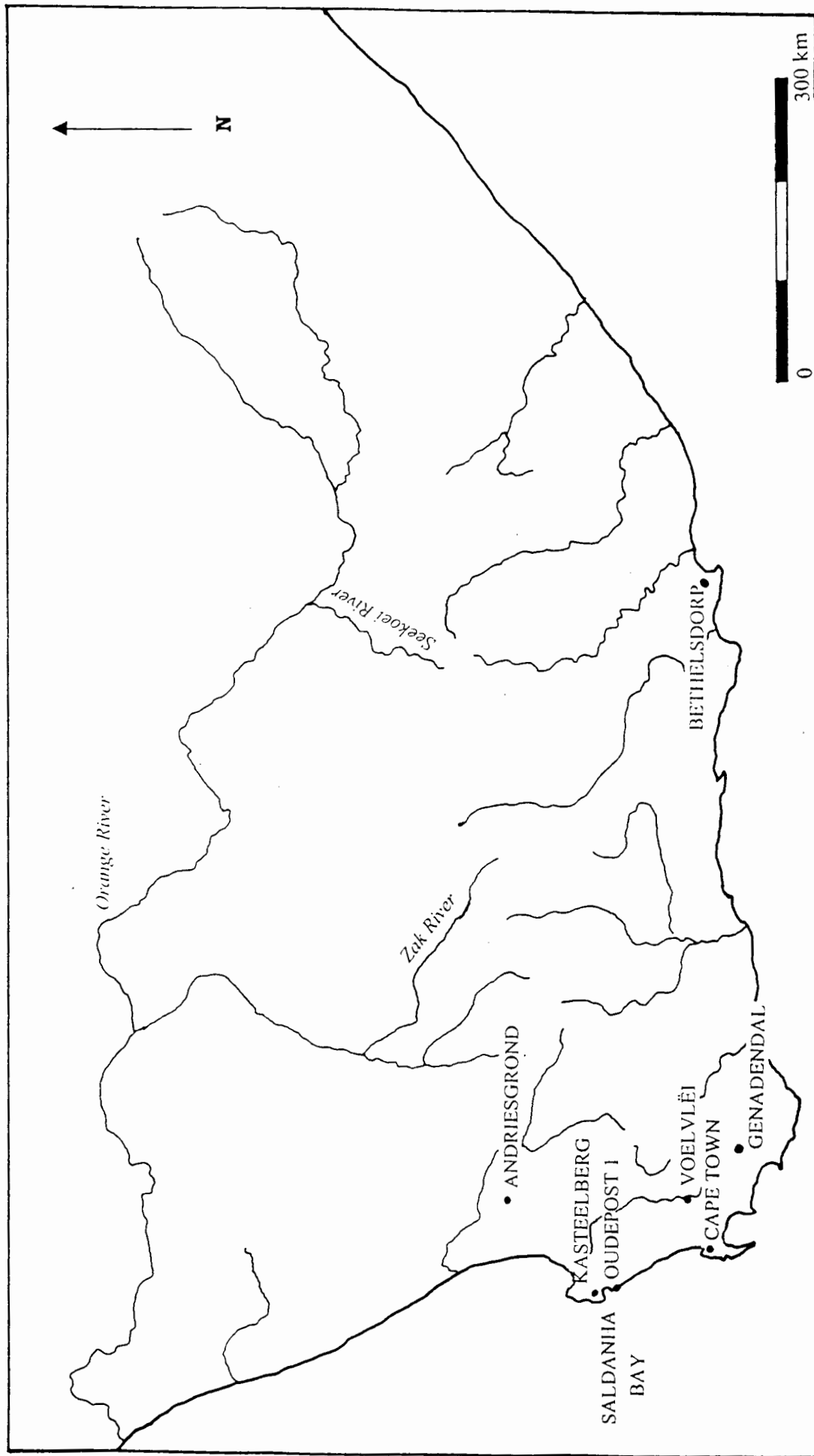


Figure 3: Location map

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

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

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

throughout the village raised questions over the kinds of artefacts used by both the Khoekhoen and the missionaries, and the nature of supply in mission contexts.

In the final chapter the findings of this research are examined in the context of missions and mission archaeology. Particularly during the 19<sup>th</sup> century missions and the manipulation of missions by Khoekhoe descendants played an important role in the process of reinventing or “reconstructing a broken world” (Elbourne 1995:72). The comparative archaeology of missions holds the key to understanding the changing material expression of Khoekhoe identity at Genadendal as well as other missions in the South Western Cape. Future lines of inquiry are also suggested in this final chapter.

## **Chapter 2: Culture contact and change**

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

### **2.1. The social landscape at the Cape, pre 1652**

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

The Khoekhoen lived in kraals<sup>2</sup> or camps, each consisting of the members of the same clan and a variety of hangers-on, which would include Bushmen clients (Boonzaier *et al* 1996:38, Elphick 1977:44). These camps were mobile and very flexible in terms of size. Kraal size would vary depending on the availability of natural resources, season migration patterns and the need for defence during raiding activities. Historical records document Khoekhoe camps that vary from about 20 huts to over 100 huts (Barnard 1992:161). The huts of a kraal were usually arranged in a circle with an open central area. The huts, or *matjehuisse*, themselves were of an oval shape and were made of branches bent into shape and covered with woven reed mats and occasionally skins (Kolb 1968:215). The interior of the huts were furnished by two or three cooking pots, one or two drinking pots and a number of earthenware vessels for holding milk or butter fat (Kolb 1968:221).

Each kraal had a headman, or chief, who made decisions regarding the general well being of the kraal. Chieftainship was hereditary and was passed from father to eldest son, but authority was held in check by a council of chiefs (Barnard 1992:160). Evidence also suggests that the headman was usually the wealthiest in stock and therefore the most able to look after the kraal in times of difficulty (Boonzaier *et al* 1996:38-39, Elphick 1977:46).

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<sup>2</sup> The term 'kraal' is used in the historical documents to describe Khoekhoe campsites. In this context the word refers to the temporary settlement constructed by the Khoekhoen, which consisted of a number of domestic dwelling units i.e. huts. This contrasts to Iron Age and European stock farmer usage, where the term refers to an animal enclosure. For the sake of historical continuity I have used the term 'kraal' in favour of camp or campsite which is possibly more politically correct.

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

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

Kasteelberg, on the Vredenburg Peninsula, has been identified as the herder type-site. This granite outcrop forms a prominent feature in the landscape and over 30 open-air sites have been identified on the kopje. Seven of these sites have been excavated since 1981 (Smith pers comm.). The excavated deposits span the Middle Stone Age to the Later Stone Age, with the latest occupation dating between 800 and 200 BP (Mütli 1992:2, Sadr & Smith 1991:107, Smith 1992). The analysis of the faunal material suggests that there is a general increase in the ratio of cattle to sheep through time (Klein & Cruz-Urbe 1989, Smith 1990:10).

The abandonment of Kasteelberg coincides with the shift from sheep to cattle as the dominant livestock type; a move which the latest occupation dates seem to suggest happened more or less at the same time that European ships started calling at the Cape. Sadr (1998:124), consequently, suggests that the large-scale herding practised by the Khoekhoen at the time that the refreshment station was established at the Cape may have been a response to the market for fresh meat created by the ships stopping at the Cape on the trade route to the East. This interpretation possibly represents the first effect of contact between the Khoekhoen and Europeans. It has been contested by Smith (pers comm.) because the Khoekhoen were already managing large herds of cattle at the time that Portuguese navigators rounded the Cape in 1488 (Elphick 1977:72).

As yet there are no archaeological sites dating to the historical period, that confirm the historical records of large herds of cattle managed by Cape Khoekhoen. A number of studies have attempted to locate archaeological traces of Khoekhoen based on these

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

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

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

gatherer sites and herder sites and that these characteristics remain fairly constant through time.

## **2.2. Frameworks for understanding culture contact and culture change**

In the South Western Cape, culture contact between Europeans and the Khoekhoen started towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Portuguese sailors first rounded the Cape of Storms en route to the East. Just over one and a half centuries later, the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at the Cape. As discussed above, the lack of historical Khoekhoe sites inhibit the degree to which archaeologists can interpret Khoekhoe responses to European expansion and changes to their social organisation and the ultimate disintegration of indigenous herding society. In many cases of this kind researchers appeal simply to the overwhelming power and consequences of the coloniser in the colonising process. In the American South West contact between Europeans and Native Americans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century lead to rapid culture change, depopulation and cultural upheaval. This has been interpreted to be the result of the catastrophic affect of epidemics and unequal economic trade relations (Ewen 1996:41). In the South Western Cape the cause for the rapid social disintegration of the Khoekhoen has also been sought in these factors (Smith 1990:12-14). While these factors are clearly contributory, some of their theoretical assumptions require discussion. These relate to the active relationships between material culture and the process of change and reinvention, in contrast to the somewhat passive and unidirectional flow of cultural form constructed for coloniser/colonised interaction.

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

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

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

would be recognised as being useful to the indigenous society (e.g. metal cooking pots, iron utensils) and later come to replace equivalent indigenous artefacts (Foster 1960:7). Inherent in this concept of acculturation is the suggestion that traditional societies are static and passive receivers of values, and in this light, their own systems of belief and values count for nothing as an internal force in driving the direction and form of change. As repeatedly seen, indigenous society in this framework, is dependent on external forces in order to change. Culture change, furthermore, is seen to take place only in the direction of the politically dominant and economically more advanced society. This concept is unsatisfactory because it reflects underlying assumptions of an evolutionary cultural hierarchy, with European civilisation at the pinnacle.

Henrietta Moore (1985:85-86) criticises this concept of acculturation on a number of points, the most important being that it fails to explain the process of social change in terms of the particular historical context of the community concerned. The use and adoption of European artefacts and the superficial emulation of European life style needs to be seen in the context of internally rationalised strategic choices made by individuals and/or communities within traditional society in an attempt to recreate their position in changing social, economic and political relations. The absorption of European artefacts and way of life does not necessarily indicate a reflection of social change. In some cases European ways could be followed in order to be able to maintain and promote indigenous values. In such cases the European material provides merely the base for strategic intervention, the means to an end, rather than being the end in itself. This alerts us to the possibility that there may be no simple one-to-one correlation between European artefacts in indigenous contexts and continuity in function, value or meaning. While European

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

### **2.3. European settlement and the demise of indigenous society**

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

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

Dutch and English immediately created gradients within indigenous society in terms of power over the nature of interaction.

Also present at the Cape were groups of people who van Riebeeck and others referred to in the historical journals as Soaqua or Bushmen. These people subsisted through hunting game and gathering plant foods. The Soaqua were not actively approached by the Dutch as were the Khoekhoen, mainly because they were not perceived to have anything worth trading. Olfert Dapper (Schapera & Farrington 1933:31) describes the Soaqua in 1668 as living in the mountainous regions in “hidden caves” and being skilled hunters, “great plunderers and marauders” who regularly stole cattle from the Khoekhoen (and later also from the colonial trek farmers). By 1652 one can assume that the Soaqua had already been experiencing some degree of strain owing to the spread of pastoralism into the Cape some 2000 years ago (Parkington *et al* 1986:313) and more recently through the emphasis of the Khoekhoen on cattle. The large herds of cattle described in the historical records as early as 1488 would have impacted on the way in which the Soaqua exploited the landscape (Parkington *et al* 1986:317). The observed predisposition of hunters towards mountainous regions, may very well have been the result of the movement of the Khoekhoen and the competition of their herds with wild game for grazing and water (Parkington *et al* 1986:325).

Despite varying degrees of resistance to colonial domination (see Marks 1972), the Khoekhoen and the Soaqua alike lost their independence and were ultimately consumed by colonial society, becoming part of the lower class occupied by slaves. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were no indigenous people to the west of the Hottentots Holland

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

#### **2.4. 'Artefacts of trade'**

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

Anders Sparrman, who visited the Cape between 1772 and 1776, described the dress and ornaments of the Khoekhoen he encountered. Khoekhoe women wore three leather aprons, the outer one often decorated with beads, including glass beads (Forbes 1975:185). They also wore headbands decorated with rows of cowrie shells as well as necklaces consisting of 8 to 10 shells threaded on a leather thong. While women wore leather bands or rings around their arms and legs, men wore similar bands nearly exclusively on their arms. Copper and iron rings or armbands were considered to be particularly valuable and were worn together with the leather bands, but mostly on the arms. Ivory armbands were also worn (Smith & Pfeiffer 1993:52). Among women, bands worn on the arms and legs were indicative of status, with older women of high rank wearing more bands, particularly on the legs. Prepubescent girls were not allowed to wear bands at all. As far as glass beads were concerned, Sparrman notes that white and blue pea-sized glass beads were especially sought after. These white and blue glass beads were rarely worn by women and when worn by men were nearly always worn in a string around the hips and never around the neck (Forbes 1975:185-189). Figure 4 (Smith & Pfeiffer 1993:53) clearly illustrates the different usage of arm and leg bands amongst men and women.

John Barrow wrote in 1797-1798 that aprons were also decorated with large metal buttons as well as beads and shells. Those Khoekhoen who could not afford glass beads would decorate their aprons with leather tassels (Barrow 1806:104-105). The historical records seem to suggest that blue and possibly white beads were favoured in cattle trade and were worn by men.

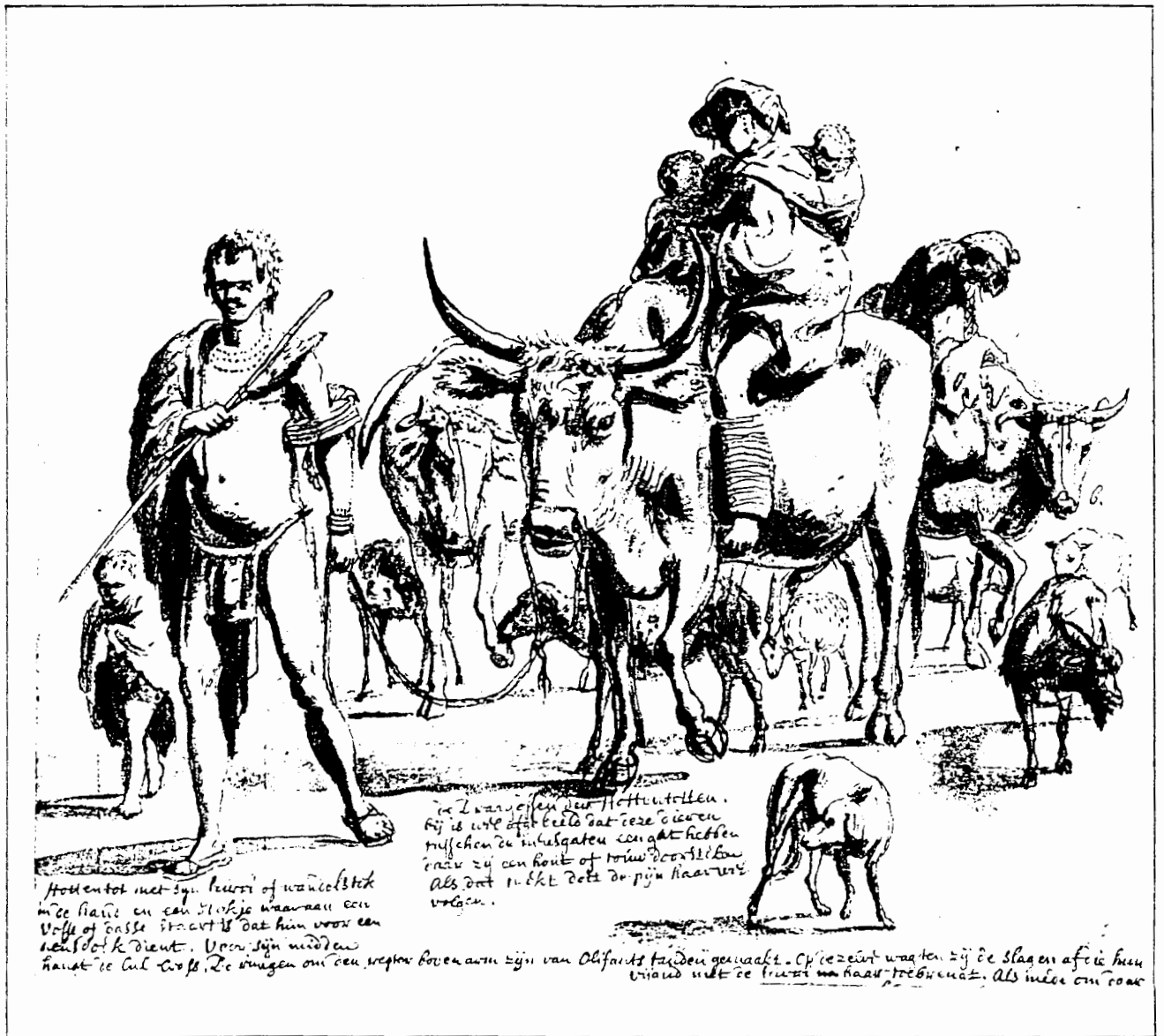


Figure 4: Differential use of arm and leg decorations among Khoekhoe men and women (Smith & Pfeiffer 1993:53).

## **2.5. Archaeological evidence of contact, post 1652**

As mentioned earlier, the Cape of Good Hope during the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century was the scene of much cultural interaction and political upheaval. In this section four sites with evidence of contact material and culture change are briefly summarised. Three of the sites, Andriesgrond, Voëlvelei and the Seacow River Valley represent, in the relevant layers, the indigenous side of the colonial frontier, as evident in the small amounts of European manufactured artefacts recovered. In contrast, the site of Oudepost 1 was a colonial structure, occupied mainly by DEIC soldiers, situated within the frontier zone. The side of the 'colonial frontier' on which contact sites are situated largely influences the interpretations of the findings. These influences are largely based in the concepts discussed earlier dealing with the perceived flow of ideas and objects from the coloniser to the colonised. The indigenous artefacts at Oudepost 1 therefore have been interpreted as evidence of the physical presence of indigenous people at the site (Schrire & Deacon 1989). The European manufactured goods in the indigenous sites are interpreted as evidence of contact and exchange.

### **2.5.1 Andriesgrond**

Andriesgrond shelter is situated about a kilometre to the west of the Clanwilliam dam. The shelter is 15m wide and has a maximum depth of 6m. The shelter also contains several panels of rock art (Anderson 1991:1). The deposit in the shelter dates from 1640±50BP to 180±50BP and later. The high percentage of formal stone tools in the Andriesgrond assemblage identifies this site as a LSA hunter-gatherer site. Hunting and trading expeditions into the Cedarberg, Clanwilliam region started in 1660AD, and the first permanent colonial settlements were built towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Early

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

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

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

Of interest to this research is the presence of a Dutch clay pipe, stoneware fragments possibly from the same vessel, five brass/copper items and a glass bead. All the European material occurs in the layers post dating 1700AD. Tobacco, alcohol and metal were the choice trade items to exchange for cattle in the eyes of the Khoekhoen. Vast quantities of beads and small 'trinkets' also entered the trade network in exchange for smaller food items (Schoeman 1999, Schapera & Farrington 1933:135).

The interpretation of the archaeology of Andriesgrond illustrates the social effects of changing economic and environmental conditions that hunter-gatherers faced at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and also illustrates the ripple effect of the refreshment station at the Cape. Freeburghers and trek farmers expanded into the pastures traditionally used by the Khoekhoen. In the same way the Khoekhoen moved their pasturelands into territory used by hunters, who in turn, moved away from the sphere of influence of the herders. In this regard, the presence of European trade items in the assemblage does not necessarily indicate direct contact between hunter-gatherers and colonial farmers. The very small percentage of European items may have entered the cultural assemblage at Andriesgrond through the increased occurrence of gift giving within hunter-gatherer society as suggested by Anderson (1991). A string of ostrich egg shell beads, including a few glass beads, a stoneware vessel which originally contained alcohol which was possibly reused as a water container, or a pipe full of tobacco, could have been part of a payment made to an individual who had entered into a client relationship with herders closer to the colonial sphere of influence. These items could

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

### 2.5.2 Voëlvlei

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

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

they were affiliated (Waterhouse 1932:122). The practice of clientship is well documented in modern ethnographic studies throughout Africa. The Dobe! Kung, a modern hunter-gatherer/Bushmen group living in Namibia, occasionally work for their Herero neighbours, tending their cattle (Lee 1984:124).

### 2.5.3 Seacow River Valley

Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Seacow River Valley formed part of the northeastern frontier of the colony. Although this region falls well outside the geographic confines of the South and Western Cape, it provides an important archaeological measure of culture contact and change through time. The indigenous inhabitants of the Seacow River Valley, the *Sun èi* Bushmen, first experienced incursions by indigenous herders in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The herder presence seemed to be short-lived and was restricted to the southwestern edge of the valley (Sampson 1986, Sampson & Vogel 1995:89).

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, trek farmers tried establishing themselves in this region. They were met with fierce resistance and initially the *Sun èi* Bushmen successfully managed to expel farmers from the valley (Sampson 1995:31). As was the case in the South Western Cape, farmers and occasionally their Khoekhoe servants mounted punitive expeditions against indigenous groups that resisted the expansion of the white farmers. Historical documents describe the Seacow River Valley during the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as fraught with resistance in which raids and counter raids stripped Bushmen groups of looted livestock and their women and children. Women and children who were captured in the course of commando raids were relocated to farms where they were used as indentured labour (Sampson 1995:31).

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

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

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

interaction between the early trek farmers in the Seacow River Valley and the *Sun èi* Bushmen. The period following c1840 shows a marked increase in European artefacts as well as an increase in domestic animal remains. Voigt *et al* (1995:37) have indicated that the majority of the faunal remains are cranial and lower limb with an increase in hind and forequarters, which they interpret as gifts or wages from farmers. During this period increases in European goods are also observed in some of the shelters. This has been related to the closer proximity between Bushmen bands and European farmsteads. The accessibility of European manufactured goods further increased in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the activity of *smouse* (travelling merchants) and the establishment of towns such as Richmond and Middleburg (Moir & Sampson 1993:35).

The cultural assemblages of Andriesgrond and Voëlvlei may reflect the strategies that hunter societies followed in the process of revaluating the change in the *status quo* brought about by the emergence of pastoralism, the subsequent development of Khoekhoen society, and the later expansion of European farmers into the Cedarberg and Berg River Valley respectively. In the Seacow River Valley, Bushmen had to contend with the expansion of colonial stock farmers into their territory, initially following a strategy of aggressive defence, and later, failing this, becoming stock farmers in their own right (Sampson 1995). While Smith *et al* (1991) maintain that hunters and herders can be differentiated in the archaeological record on the basis of their cultural 'packages', this distinction in the historical period becomes questionable, particularly as few sites have been excavated that can be unequivocally be associated with the Khoekhoen. The issue of archaeological identity as opposed to historic identity is also partially addressed in the site of Oudepost 1.

#### 2.5.4 Oudepost 1

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

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

extensively with the Khoekhoen living in and around Table Bay and had effectively stripped them of livestock and pasture.

The indigenous artefacts found at Oudepost 1 have been described as Ceramic Wilton. Ceramic Wilton has a relatively high percentage of formal stone tools, usually made on silcrete or other fine-grained stone, and has been found on sites containing pottery and domesticated sheep, but rarely on sites with domesticated cattle remains (Schrire & Deacon 1989:107). According to the scheme used by Smith *et al* (1991) for differentiating hunter and herder sites, the indigenous assemblage of Oudepost 1 more closely resembles that of hunter-gatherers than herders or Khoekhoen. Despite the argument put forward by Schrire & Deacon (1989) that the indigenous material should be interpreted in terms of their context rather than form, much controversy has surrounded their interpretation of this material and its association with the colonial outpost (Wilson *et al* 1990, Yates & Smith 1993a and 1993b).

The debates that have blossomed around the indigenous material found at Oudepost 1, have failed to answer a basic question: If it is accepted that the indigenous material reflects a 'hunter' archaeological signature that is either a) contemporaneous to the European material or b) deposited during the period 1673-1686 through the opportunistic usage by hunters, then where and how is the archaeological presence of the Khoekhoen reflected, who, according to the historical records, had repeated contact with the garrison? The problem of identifying herders archaeologically and interpreting indigenous remains is again highlighted at Oudepost 1.

## 2.6 Summary

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

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

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

then may have distributed some European material to hunter-gatherer groups with whom they had client contracts. Elphick (1977:33) notes that Khoekhoen gave hunter clients beads, tobacco and small pieces of iron. From this point, small amounts of material may have been filtered into more remote hunter-gatherer communities, and because of the rock shelter contexts, this exchange retains a reasonable degree of archaeological visibility. In this way, the extremely small numbers of European goods found in these indigenous sites may be explained. It must also be remembered that much of the material that might have been exchanged, such as tobacco and alcohol, would not be preserved in the archaeological record.

### **Chapter 3: Documentary evidence of 18<sup>th</sup> century Baviaanskloof**

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

#### **3.1. The texts**

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

sent to their superiors in Europe. The mission texts are not personal accounts, but rather 'reports' describing the progress of the mission and its converts.

The diary of George Schmidt has been translated into Afrikaans (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981). The diaries of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel for the period 1792-1794 have been translated into English (Bredekamp *et al* 1992). Lady Anne Barnard, wife of Andrew Barnard the Colonial Secretary during the first British Occupation (1795-1806), visited Genadendal in May 1798. Lady Anne Barnard's diaries were not written for public consumption, but rather for circulation amongst her family and friends. She kept a detailed diary with frank observations of the social situation in the colony and the people she met (Lenta 1992).

The original mission texts are written in archaic German and housed in the Moravian archives in Germany. Due to financial constraints it was not feasible to have them copied and the remainder translated. The comparison of the mission diary for 1798 and the journal of Lady Anne Barnard's visit to Baviaanskloof during the same year would have been insightful, and may provide a control for the type of information these different authors were recording. Hopefully such a comparison will be possible in the near future.

Before looking at the texts themselves, it is necessary to briefly contextualise, particularly the mission diaries, in terms of the history of the Moravian Church and the establishment of the mission at Genadendal.

### **3.2. The Moravian Church**

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

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

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

church services and religious gatherings. In those cases where servants were allowed to be present, they were barred from taking part.

The unpopularity and disdain of the Moravian Church was reflected in the way a contemporary writer, Otto Mentzel (1944:83-84), describes Schmidt as a “hypocrite ... sham” and “fraud”. It is not surprising then that Schmidt was very impatient to leave Cape Town and, on the advice of Captain Rhenius, the head of the garrison, he left for the outpost at Soetemelksvlei. At Soetemelksvlei, Schmidt met the group of Khoekhoen who were to form the core of his converts. In 1738 Schmidt moved to the present location of Genadendal, then known simply as “Aan de Sergeantrivier”, with 11 men, 12 women and 4 young children (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:97).

Towards the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century feeling against the Moravian Church in Europe had flared up again and a combination of factors forced Schmidt to leave the Cape in 1744. He was despondent at the apparent lack of interest that the Khoekhoen living at the mission had in learning and converting. The local Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town was strongly opposed to Schmidt from the start of the mission, but became increasingly so as it became apparent that Schmidt was preaching and praying with some of the neighbouring farmers. Tension between Schmidt and the local Dutch Reformed Church came to a head when Schmidt started baptising his converts. When Schmidt came to christianise the Khoekhoen he had not been ordained as a minister and the Dutch Reformed Church tolerated him on the basic principle that he would not be stealing parishioners from amongst the colonists. With the controversy surrounding the baptism of Schmidt's

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

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

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

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

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

who had lived with him (Kruger 1966:45 – 53), it is possible that these structures were Schmidt's outbuildings. Schmidt had built not only a house, but also a latrine, a kraal, a grain store, a threshing floor and an oven (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981).

### 3.3. Diary of George Schmidt (1737-1744)

When Schmidt arrived in the Overberg, he was taken to the DEIC cattle outpost of Soetemelksvlei. There he made contact with a group of Khoekhoen who seemed to be under the leadership of a man called Africo, who also worked at the outpost as an interpreter. Schmidt described the Khoekhoen as wearing sheepskins, 'something' over their private parts and *veldskoene* (shoes made from leather), which they made themselves. The Khoekhoen wore very little else and also smeared their bodies with fat (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:45, 55). George Schmidt makes no mention of bead decorations, but does mention that the women are in the habit of wearing thin leather strips wound around their legs (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:493).

Even though the Khoekhoen moved to the mission, their everyday life changed little. The women gathered wild plant foods such as *anyswortel* and wild figs, and reeds (*matjiesgoed*) with which to weave mats. On one occasion a young girl went to the neighbouring kraals to fetch a *melkpot* (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:91). The significance of this *melkpot* is not clear, nor whether it was locally manufactured indigenous earthenware, as Schmidt does not describe this pot, or how it was used. The men hunted wild game and tended their herds of livestock. According to Schmidt's diary some of the men may still have been hunting with bow and arrow even though at least two men owned guns (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981).

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

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

Schmidt also had a gun, as did several of the Khoekhoen living at the mission. Schmidt mentions in his diary that two men from the mission had killed a hippopotamus with two bullets (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:149). Khoekhoe men living at the mission were also expected to take part in commando's against the raiding Bushmen and other Khoekhoen groups who were resisting European expansion by preying on farmers' herds (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:79).

Schmidt rather obsessively recorded the coming and going of the members of his mission to the neighbouring kraals, farms and Soetemelksvlei. He noted in his diary the names of people, where they had gone and when they returned. Under the guise of 'dancing and singing', fetching skins with which to make karosses and getting tobacco at the kraals, important social ties and rituals were maintained and renewed between the Khoekhoen living at the mission and friends and family living in the kraals. Schmidt was strongly opposed to the mission Khoekhoen taking part in any ritual activities at the kraals such as 'dancing and singing'. Those Khoekhoen living at the mission who took part in what Schmidt described as 'heathenish behaviour' would be punished by being forbidden to attend classes until they repented their 'sins'. In some cases, unrepentant Khoekhoen were asked to leave the mission. What Schmidt describes as ignorance and an unwillingness to learn, was possibly an indication of the reluctance of the Khoekhoen to give up their ties with and participation in traditional activities still practiced amongst the Khoekhoen living in the kraals. For instance, marriage partners were sought out from people living at the kraals (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:103).

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

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

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

The Khoekhoen who went to live at the mission station with Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel, relied on gathering plant foods and hunting for meat. On one occasion a group of Khoekhoen arrived late for their classes, because they first had to collect food (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:67, 131). Some still owned livestock, but many owned nothing and earned a living working for neighbouring farmers (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:75).

The missionaries described the huts of the Khoekhoen as follows. Branches were taken from a bush and driven into the ground in the shape of a circle, usually 6 ells<sup>3</sup> in diameter. The size varied depending on the size of the family. The branches were tied together at the top, so that the height of the hut was about 2 ells. The floor was covered with skins and skins or mats were draped over the framework of the hut with a door opening to one side. The huts were shared by men, women and children. The missionaries noted that the women did not habitually work, but preferred to smoke tobacco, a habit taken up at a young age (Bredekamp *et al* 1992: 78). The Khoekhoen had few material possessions. Towards the end of 1793, for example, one of the baptismal candidates' houses burnt down. She was not as poor as some of the Khoekhoen living at the mission, but the missionaries remarked that her "vessels (are) nothing but calabashes", and the few clothes she had were lost in the fire (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:161).

Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel found that all the Khoekhoen spoke Dutch. A few Khoekhoe men wore European clothing, while the majority still wore sheepskin karosses flung over their shoulders as well as a small covering for the privates. Among the women European clothing was rare and was a clear indication of higher status. The missionaries

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

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

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

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<sup>3</sup> One ell is the equivalent of 1.14 m.

Initially, the Khoekhoen discussed their prophetic dreams and visions with the missionaries, but towards the end of 1794 the missionaries note in their diary that the Khoekhoen were having fewer visions (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:134, 251). It is not certain whether the Khoekhoe converts had stopped putting their faith in prophetic dreams and visions, or whether they simply stopped discussing them with the missionaries. Although only the tale of the honey guide was recorded by the missionaries (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:93), it is certain that more of these myths and folk tales existed in the everyday life of the Khoekhoen living at the mission. Kruger (1966:106), for example, mentions that a later missionary by the name of Küster was very interested in the traditional way of life of the Khoekhoen and that he interviewed some of the older inhabitants of the mission. Unfortunately, to date, I have not been able to trace this document. As can be expected Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel strongly condemned traditional ritual (dancing and singing) and Khoekhoen who were found practicing these rituals were excluded from church meetings (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:215).

The three missionaries brought material goods to the Overberg. Amongst their personal belongings they also brought a box full of books (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:6). There is, however, little description of the stores they brought with them from Cape Town, other than that they were given a jug of wine (which broke on the way), roast chicken and meat (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:55). They most certainly owned a gun and also applied to Colonel Gordon, commander of the garrison for a supply of gunpowder and flint to be sent from Cape Town (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:85).

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

### 3.5. Journal of Lady Anne Barnard (1798)

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

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

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

the missionaries lived mainly off the produce of the gardens, milk, eggs, rice and coffee. They did eat meat, but only when an animal died of natural causes or when the Khoekhoen had shot wild game (Lewin Robinson 1994:332). Lady Anne does not mention the diet of the mission 'Hottentots'. It is possible that a large portion of the food consumed at the mission was being gathered and hunted.

The missionaries also spoke of their work with the Khoekhoen and how their teachings had influenced the way the Khoekhoen from the mission interacted with the local farmers. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the base of the agricultural labour system was rooted in slavery and although the colonists were not allowed to enslave the local Khoekhoen, they were often treated as though they were. The missionaries related to Lady Anne Barnard how local farmers would hire 'Hottentots' at 3-4 *schillings* a month, but would habitually not pay them. Khoekhoen working for farmers could easily be caught in a trap of spiralling debt and dependence. Under the guidance of the missionaries, they learnt to grow gardens, how to make butter and a type of cheese, and to grind flour. Once the Khoekhoen had come to the Mission, they were reluctant to go back and work on the farms. The men would sell or barter the produce of their gardens in exchange for clothes, and other necessities (Lewin Robinson 1994:332-333).

Lady Anne Barnard had brought beads from Cape Town to give as gifts to the inhabitants of the mission station. The missionaries advised her rather to keep back the beads and ornaments and to give practical, useful gifts, such as a pair of scissors, thread or seed. Lady Anne's beads would possibly not have been well received in any case, as the missionaries also told her that the Hottentots highly valued beads that were of a uniform

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

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

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

development in the mission economy and is recorded in the remaining volumes of the mission diaries which are yet to be translated into English.

The diaries of Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel suggest that once a person has been baptised, they put aside their beads and traditional dress in favour of European dress (Bredekamp *et al* 1992:117, 128). Lady Anne mentions, however, that very few people actually wore European clothing, and most attended church in “their Sheep Skins” (Lewin Robinson 1994:339).

The following day the missionaries took Lady Anne Barnard on a tour of the village and she used this time, not only to make her well-known sketch of the historical core (Figure 5), but also to investigate the interior of some of the Khoekhoen dwellings. She wrote that the huts were of clay and thatched with reeds. Some of the huts were square, while others were round in the “original Hottentot fashion, brought to the tops without rushes, a hole only being left in the middle to serve as a vent and another for the door”. She entered into a round hut and noted the lack of furniture. In the centre of the hut were “a few sticks ... on which to boil a kettle”, drying skins were hanging from the roof, there were a few calabashes, an iron pot, a couple of spoons made of wood and shell and some calabash bowls and ladles. Outside the huts, she saw people drying and curing leather as well as drying “Hottentot coffee” and beans. She mentions that these dried beans could be strung on thread made from “dried animal entrails” (Lewin Robinson 1994:336).

From Lady Anne Barnard’s description, it would seem as if the same construction materials was used in both square and round dwellings. The huts were sparsely furnished,

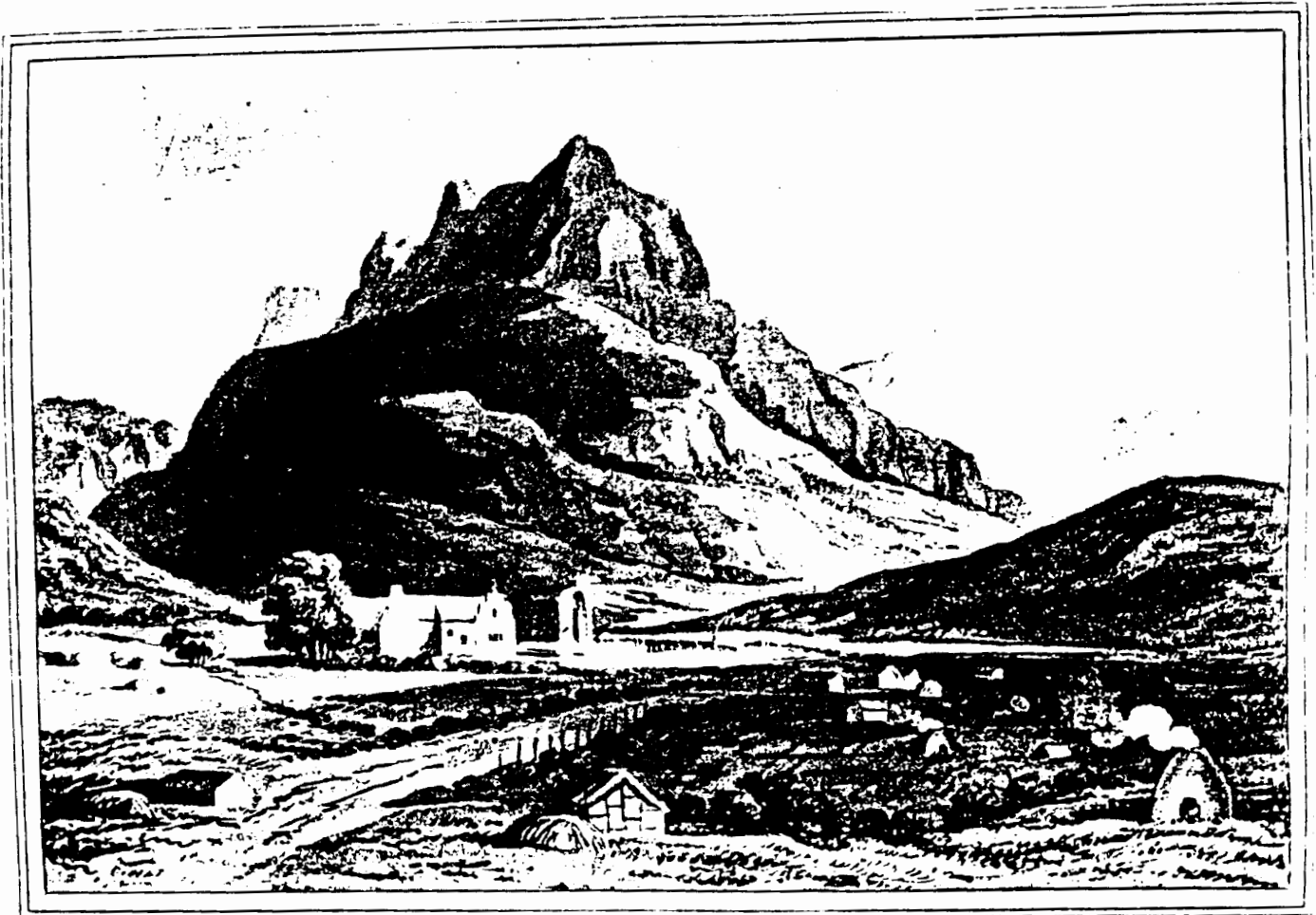


Figure 5: Sketch by Lady Anne Barnard of the historical core of Genadendal, 1798 (Fairbridge 1924).

with no European-style furniture. There was a central hearth, an iron pot, a few calabashes, wooden spoons, calabash ladles and bowls and skins (Lewin Robinson 1994). In all, this picture probably resembles what one would expect to find in a 'typical' Khoekhoe dwelling.

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

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

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

and to refer to this pattern as 'poor' may be misleading. Furthermore, even if these items were carefully curated, it is unlikely that any would survive in the archaeological record.

### 3.6. Discussion

The three texts considered here span the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, covering the period in which the Overberg Khoekhoen had to adapt to increasing demands on their land by the DEIC outposts, grazing farms and later by permanent settlement by European descendent farmers. One of the main emphases in all three texts concerns the outward appearance of the Khoekhoen and the systematic rejection of traditional dress and decoration by baptised converts in favour of Western dress. Once again the link between material goods and culture as a package of values is highlighted. Traditional dress amongst women, for example which left their breasts uncovered, was considered by the missionaries, and possibly most of the European community at the Cape, to indicate immorality and the corruption inherent in 'heathen ways'. By 1798 most of the men at the mission station wore trousers, as well as their sheepskin cloaks.

The role that beads played in the Khoekhoen society is not discussed in the mission diaries. The anecdote about bead size and the curios produced by Khoekhoe women living at the mission station for sale to travellers, like Lady Anne Barnard, invites comment. Among the annotated depictions of the Khoekhoen dating to the 17<sup>th</sup> century by an unknown Dutch artist, is a description of the usage of beads as decoration. The artist noted that a particular Khoekhoe woman wore several strings of beads around her neck. Copper beads were most favoured and then glass beads of several colours. Ostrich eggshell discs were used as decorations on the body (Smith & Pfeiffer 1993:32). In comparison with locally produced ostrich eggshell beads, glass beads and copper or brass

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

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

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

supported over a thousand people and their herds. The insufficient land available to the Khoekhoen to graze their cattle was reflected in the number of complaints lodged against the mission regarding Khoekhoe cattle straying onto the land of neighbouring farmers.

The Baviaanskloof mission also provided Khoekhoen with an alternative to living on colonial farms where their children risked becoming indentured labour and their livestock could be confiscated by farmers when the Khoekhoen wished to leave the farm. The mobility of the Overberg Khoekhoen was strongly linked to their pastoral way of life, but while living at the mission a greater emphasis was placed on becoming sedentary and cultivating gardens. The traditional *matjieshuis*, which was ideally suited to a highly mobile pastoral lifestyle, gave way to a more permanent structure; round reed huts were plastered and eventually gave way to square dwellings constructed from clay and thatched with reeds. Huts at the mission stood as separate entities. The social solidarity of people who lived together in one kraal was no longer reflected in the spatial organisation of their huts. Presumably the formal layout of the huts within the kraal had fallen into disuse when small groups of Khoekhoen went to live and work on the farms.

Last, the narratives also suggest that the expectation of finding much material culture in the archaeological record may not be high. In the following chapter the archaeological record of Genadendal is investigated.

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

### 4.1. Environmental background

Genadendal is situated at the southern foot of the Riviersondereind Mountains, of the Western Overberg. The Riviersondereind mountains form part of the Cape Fold Belt and contain three geological series; Table Mountain, Bokkeveld and Witteberg. Older Malmesbury shales with granite intrusions can be found between Greyton and Riviersondereind and younger Karoo sediments are found at Greyton (Le Roux 1984:9). The Table Mountain series consists mainly of sandstone, while the Bokkeveld and Witteberg consist of alternating bands of sandstone and shale (Figure 6). The erosion of shale produces soil that has a relatively high nutrient value (Mountain 1968: 62-65).

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

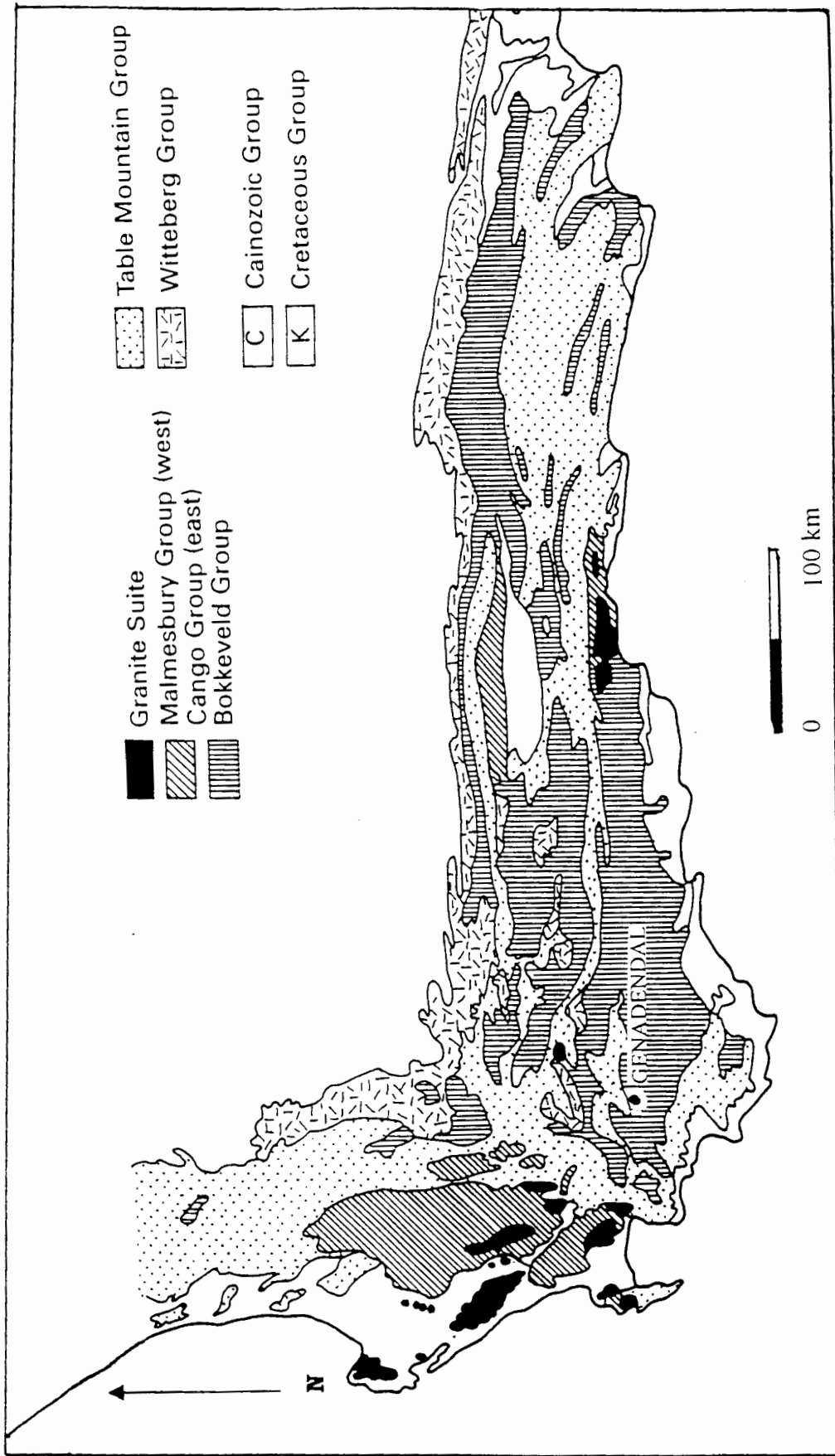


Figure 6: Geology of the South Western Cape (Cowling *et al* 1997:100).

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

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

porcupine, bush pig, steenbok, grysbok, a now-extinct endemic species of bontebok and bloubok, as well as a range of predators and baboons as being abundant in this area during the 18th century and earlier. By the mid 19th century, however, most of the wild game had been exterminated through over-hunting for both domestic and commercial use.

#### **4.2. The social landscape of the Overberg during the 18th century**

Historically, the region between the Hottentots Holland Mountains and the Keurbooms River was the traditional grazing ground of the Hessequa and Chainouqua (Elphick 1977:138). Although the Hottentots Holland Mountains separated the Overberg from the Cape, regular trading and hunting expeditions into the Overberg region started soon after the establishment of the refreshment station in 1652. In the mid 1660s, Hieronymus Cruse was sent out to barter cattle from the Hessequa living in the Riviersondereind Valley (Burrows 1994:4). The Chainouqua, together with the Hessequa, were the main cattle suppliers to the refreshment station at the Cape during the years 1662 to 1713 (Humphreys 1989).

The Chainouqua 'Captain' Dohra, also known as Klaas, acted as go-between in the trade relations between the DEIC officials at the Cape and the Chainouqua and the Hessequa during the years 1679 to 1693 (Sleigh 1987:539). He had a kraal at Knoflokskloof, near the present-day Lebanon forestry station (near Grabouw), and his presence there was recorded in 1674 and 1689 (Prins 1979:19). Prins (1979:27-29) also mentions various kraals scattered along the southern foot of the Riviersondereind mountains.

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

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

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

historical record in 1694 and were referred to by the local Khoekhoen as *disportcamma* (Sleigh 1987:539).

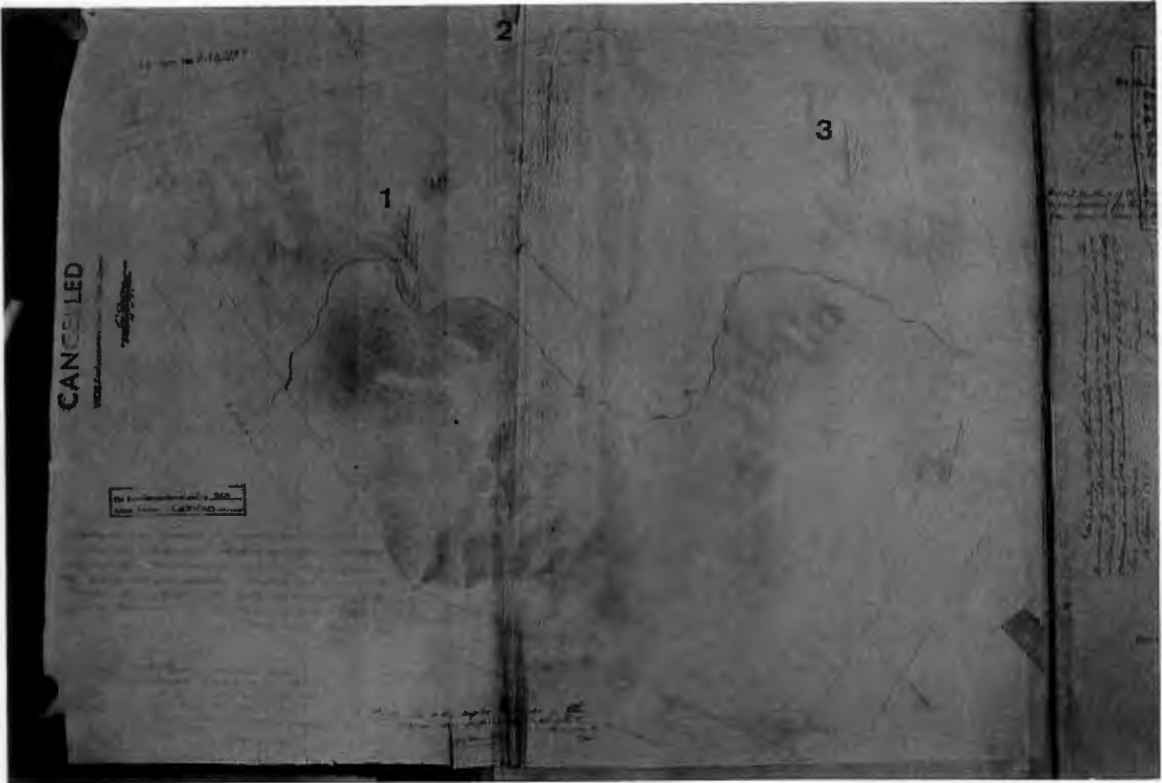
The escalation in numbers of farms granted in freehold in the Overberg from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Prins 1979:29-30, Prins 1983:234) had the effect of greatly limiting the movement of the Khoekhoen on the landscape, barring access to water sources as well as grazing. The pressure on natural resources and the limit on free access to grazing in the Overberg became even more evident in the later decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Guelke and Shell (1992) suggest that it was this factor, rather than unequal trade relations with the colonists, that ultimately led to the decline of the Khoekhoen. Without access to grazing and water it was impossible for Khoekhoen to maintain and replenish their herds. The only means by which local Khoekhoe groups could get access to the natural resources was either to move into territories further away, or to go into service of freeburgher stock farmers; Khoekhoen who worked for freeburgher farmers were allowed to graze their stock on the farmers land. This compromise often backfired as farmers refused to release the stock once the Khoekhoen decided to move on (Viljoen 1993:43).

### **4.3. Survey and site selection**

The research area is defined by the boundaries of the land granted to the Moravian Mission Society in 1857. The survey area was divided into two: the outlying areas and the historical core of Genadendal village. The outlying areas south of the settlements (Snyderskraalkoppe and Bakenskop) were covered as well as the kloof extending northwards beyond the historical core at Genadendal.

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

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



1. VOORSTEKRAAL
2. GENADENDAL
3. KOEKSON'S HUTTEN

Figure 7: Call.1 SG no B62.1857, showing location of 'Koekson's hutten'.

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

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

#### **4.3.1. Shelter excavation**

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

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

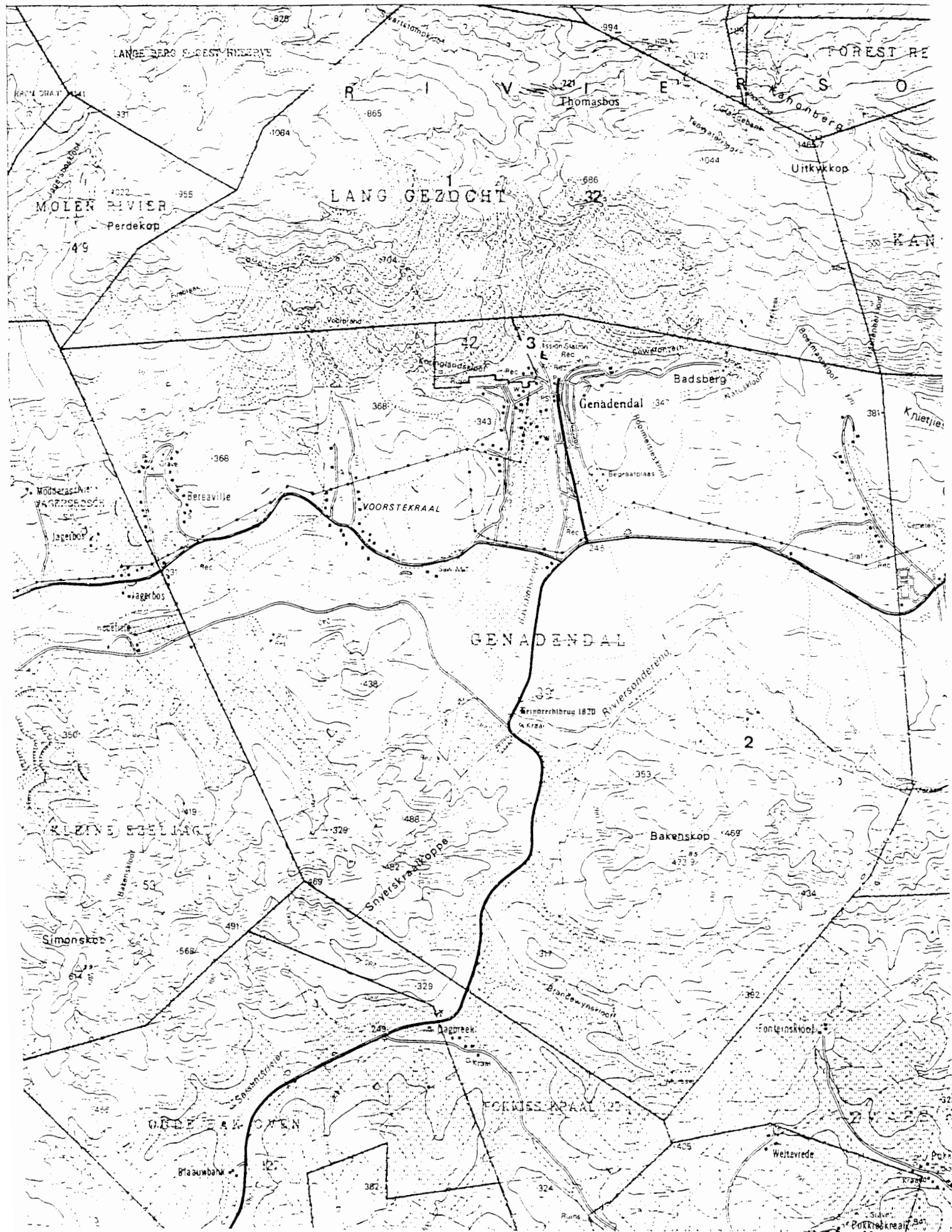


Figure 8: Research area, showing the location of the three shelters (3419 BA Greyton, 1:50 000 topographical sheet).

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

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

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

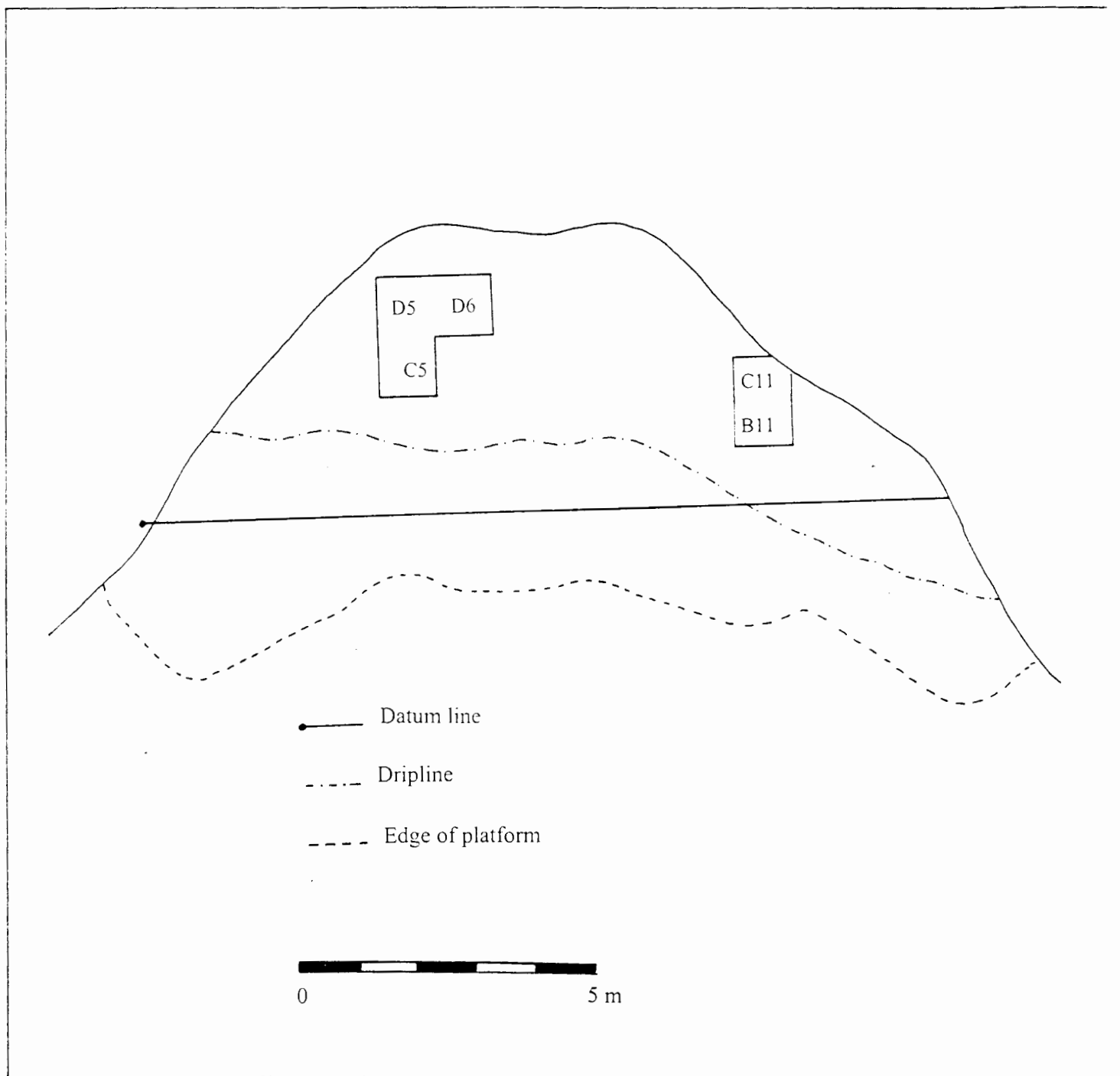
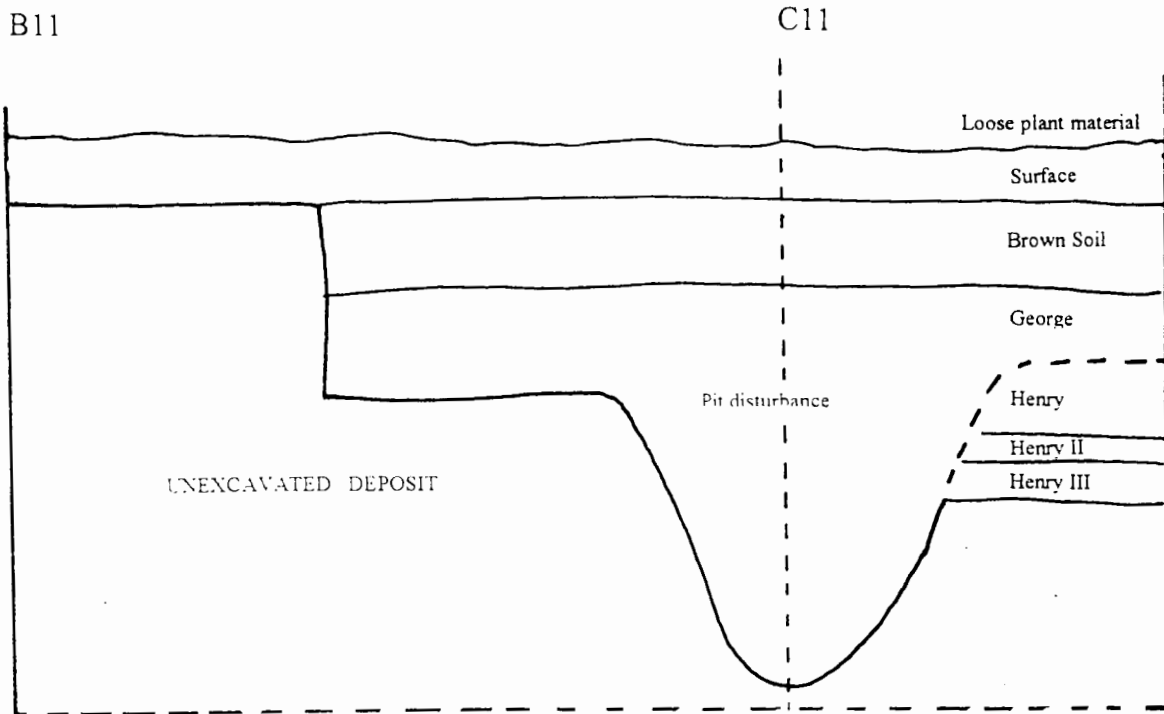


Figure 9: Layout of the Genadendal shelter.

N section wall, transecting B11 and C11



SE section wall, C11

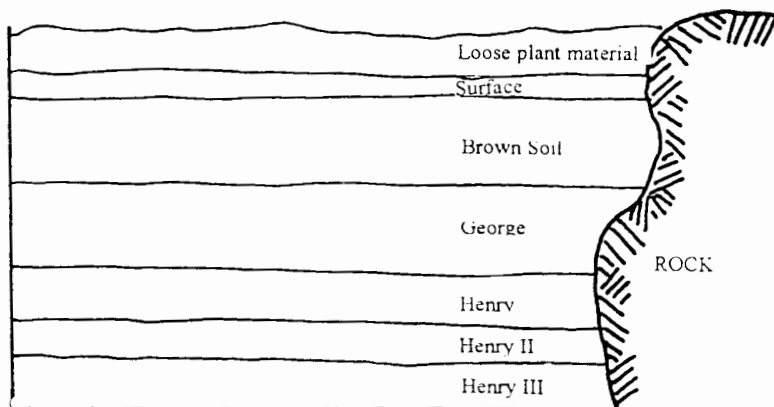


Figure 10: Genadendal shelter: stratigraphy.

### 4.3.1. Shelter assemblage

#### (i) Ceramics

The ceramics found in the Genadendal shelter fall into two basic categories: indigenous earthenware and refined industrial wares (Table 1). The ceramics are found in Layers 1 to 5 in D5 and D6 and in Layers 1 and 2 in B11 and C11. In both cases ceramics were also found in the disturbed hollow and pit. All the ceramics were found in Unit 1, described above.

Table 1: Ceramics from the Genadendal shelter, Unit 1.

	Shard count	MNV	%
<b>INDIGENOUS EARTHENWARE</b>			
Undiagnostic	8	1	
Total		1	8
<b>EUROPEAN REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES:</b>			
REFINED WHITE-BODIED: CREAM COLOURED WARE			
Undecorated/undiagnostic	2	2	
Total		2	15
REFINED WHITE-BODIED: WHITE WARES			
Gilt and floral moulded	1	1	
Printed blue: Willow pattern	1	1	
Printed blue: Other	3	3	
Industrial slip	1	1	
Spatter/Sponge	2	2	
Undiagnostic	5		
Total		8	62
MODERN VITREOUS "CHINA"			
"Continental China"	6	2	
Undiagnostic	2		0
Total		2	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>

The shards of indigenous earthenware found in the shelter are all undecorated and undiagnostic (no rim nor base shards). None of these shards could be refitted. It is generally accepted that indigenous pottery first occurs in the archaeological record some 2000 years ago and coincides with the arrival of herders. It is not known exactly when indigenous pottery production stopped. During the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the time of his visit to the Cape, Kolb (1968:235) observed Cape Khoekhoen making pots,

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

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

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

#### (ii) Glass

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

(Surface) and the hollow (29% and 28% respectively). In B11 and C11, 99% of the glass is found in the Layers 1 and 2 (38% and 27% respectively), as well as in the pit (34%).

(iii) Metal

An assortment of screws, nails and wire were found. A 1984 twenty-cent piece was found in D6, Layer 1 (surface) and a 1974 one-cent piece was found in D6 Layer 3 (DCS).

(iv) Plastic

A jockey helmet rim, two soft drink bottle tops, a sealer ring off a soft drink bottle and two bits of unidentified origin were found in D5 and D6 (Surface and Hollow).

(v) Bone and Ostrich egg shell

As already mentioned, preservation in the shelter was extremely poor. In those layers where some bone and ostrich eggshell has preserved, it does not, on average, weigh more than 5 gm.

(vi) Plant material

Peach and apricot pits were recovered from D5 and D6, Layer 1 (Surface), and a plum pit from Layer 5 (Es). No plant material was recovered from B11 and C11.

(vii) Stone

The stone assemblage from Genadendal shelter is consistent with that found in other Later Stone Age sites. The high occurrence of backed bladelets and segments identifies the assemblage as part of the Wilton stone industry (Deacon 1982)(Figure 11). Wilton-type

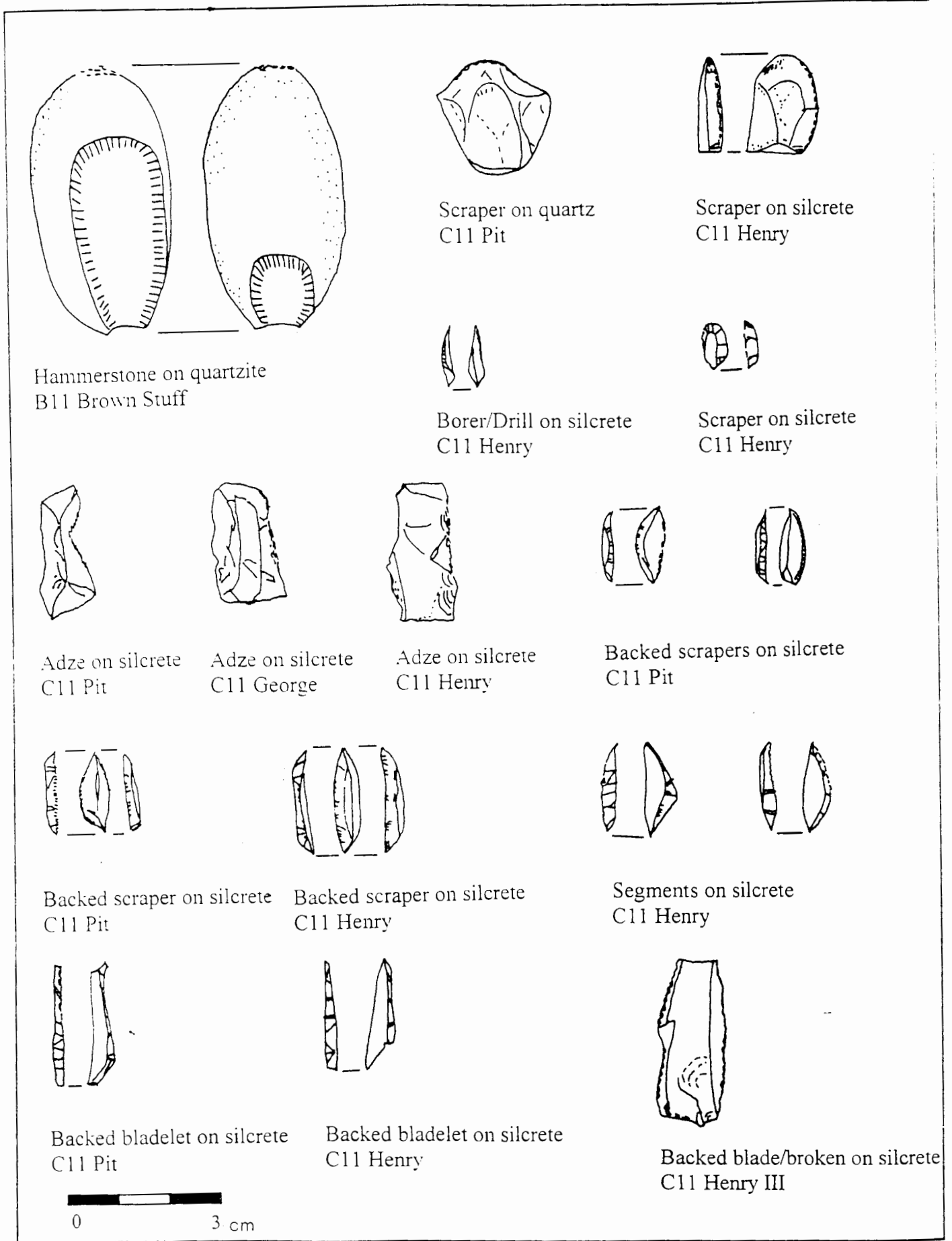


Figure 11: Genadendal shelter: a representative selection of stone tools.

assemblages have been dated from between 8000 – 100 BP (Deacon & Deacon 1999:119), but owing to the poor preservation of organic matter, it was not possible to date the deposit.

The worked stone sample was divided into five raw material categories; quartz, quartzite, silcrete, CCS and Other (which included hornfels and quartz crystal). Ochre, un-worked quartz crystals and phyllite is also present (Table 2a,b). Quartz is the dominant raw material used in all layers of D5 and D6 and Layers 1 and 2 in B11 and C11 (Table 3a,b). A shift to silcrete as the dominant raw material occurs in Layers 3 through to 6 in C11 as well as in the pit. The fact that the pit had been dug into the lower lying layers accounts for it having a higher percentage of silcrete. In C11 the shift to silcrete as dominant raw material coincides with an increase in the occurrence of backed formal tools (Table 4).

Table 2a. Distribution of stone tools from squares D5 and D6

UNIT	UNIT 1										TOTAL
	1	2	3		4	6	7	8	9		
Layer (Number)	Surface	YCS	BCS/DCS	Hollow	RB/DS	ES	S	S2	S3		
Debitage*	44	25	15	50	36	143	386	77	42	818	
Ochre	3			1	2	4	10		4	24	
Cores	1		1							2	
Hammerstone/Grindstone											
Manuports						1	1			2	
Convex scraper	1				1	1	1			4	
Side scraper											
End scraper											
Backed scraper											
Backed segment											
Backed blade/point											
MBP											
Drill/bore											
Adze	2	1		1						4	
MRP			4	1						5	
Total formal	3	1	4	2	1	1	1			13	
<b>TOTAL</b>	51	26	20	53	39	149	398	77	46	859	

\* Incl chips, chunks, unretouched flakes and blades

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

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

\* Incl chips, chunks, unretouched flakes and blades

\*\*Incl ochre crayon

H, HII, HIII only excavated from C11

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

D5 and D6

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

Table 3b: Percentages of raw material distribution throughout B11 and C11

B11 and C11

			Q crystal	Quartz	Quartzite	Silcrete	CCS	Other	Glass
Unit 1	1	Surface		47.0	26.3	22.7	2.2	1.9	38
	2	BS		39.8	26.1	33.2	0.7	0.3	27
		Pit	0.6	36.3	17.2	45.2	0.3	0.5	34
Unit 2	3	G		32.9	32.7	33.9		0.6	1
	4	H		17.0	20.3	62.6			
	5	H2		10.5	11.0	76.2	1.2	1.2	
	6	H3		45.7	1.6	51.6	0.8	0.4	

Table 4: Percentage of formal tools and the use of raw material D5 and D6

D5 and D6

		Q crystal	Quartz	Quartzite	Silcrete	CCS	TOTAL	% formal of total	% formal silcrete
Unit 1	Surface		1	2			3	6.2	66.7
	YCS)			1			1	2.6	100
	BCS/DCS			4			4	13.35	100
	Hollow			2			2	4.3	100
	RB/DS	1					1	2.8	
	ES	1					1	0.8	
	S			2			2	0.4	100
	S2						0		
S3						0			

B11 and C11

		Q crystal	Quartz	Quartzite	Silcrete	CCS	TOTAL	% formal total	% formal silcrete
Unit 1	Surface		1	1			2	4.05	50
	BS		1	1	5		7	4.95	71.4
	Pit		3		28		31	4.85	90.3
Unit 2	G		5		24		29	5.35	82.8
	H				15		15	3.1	100
	H2				9		9	5.3	100
	H3				14	1	15	5.9	93.3

#### 4.3.2. Discussion

It is difficult to say much about the history of the shelter and the people who used it because of the limited range of artefacts that have been preserved. The inability to date the deposit also hampers interpretation. In order to partially overcome these limitations, the stone assemblage from Genadendal shelter was compared with that from Kasteelberg

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consequently, the shelter is of limited value in tracking any changes to Khoekhoe life ways.

#### **4.4. The Village – excavation of Schmidt’s house**

Three maps illustrate the development of the village of Genadendal. The earliest known diagram of the historical core dates to 1799 (Figure 12). This diagram, drawn by Daniel Schwinn, is housed in the Moravian Archives in Germany. In 1816, the village was surveyed by John Melvill (Figure 13). The original of this map is in the Genadendal Moravian Archives. Documents pertaining to Genadendal are now housed in the Genadendal Mission Museum, having previously been in the SA Moravian Archive in Heideveld, Western Cape. Another map (incomplete) of Genadendal, executed by the Rev LR Schmidt in 1901, is also housed in the Genadendal Mission Museum (Figure 14).

An overlay was made of the three maps, which was then compared to an aerial photograph and an architect’s plan of the village (Le Grange 1991:3). With the help of the overlay we were able to identify areas outside the immediate mission core that dated to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Where possible the areas were surveyed for any traces of late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics. A lack of surface material was noticeable even in the mission core. One would expect to find at least some surface scatter on a site where there has been at least 200 years of historic occupation.

Prior to organised garbage collection/disposal, dirt and garbage would have been swept out of the house door, to the edges of the yard, or dumped in rivers or irrigation canals (Malan pers comm.). In the case of the former option, one would expect to find domestic

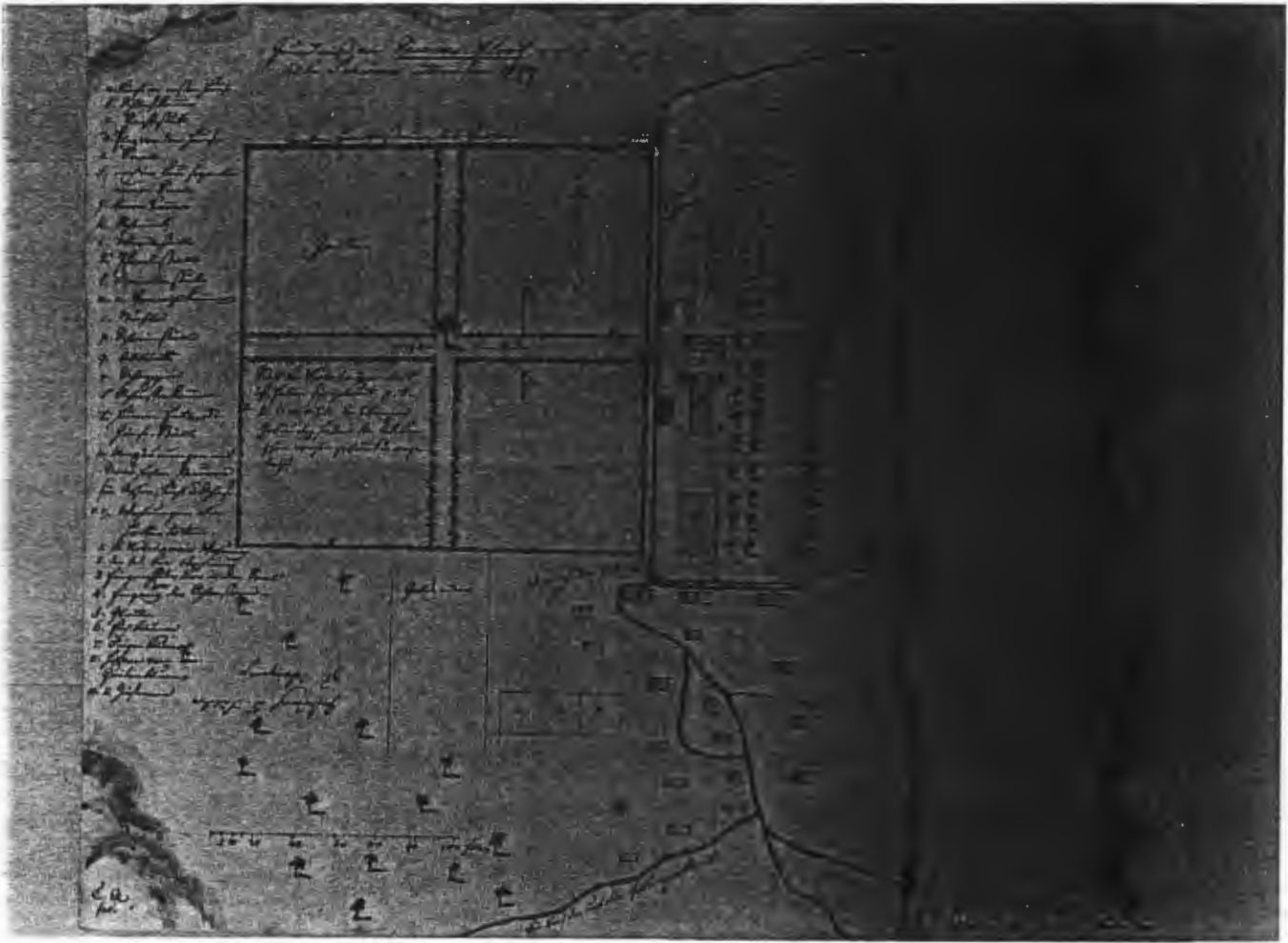


Figure 12: Genadendal c1799, sketched by Daniel Schwinn (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14).

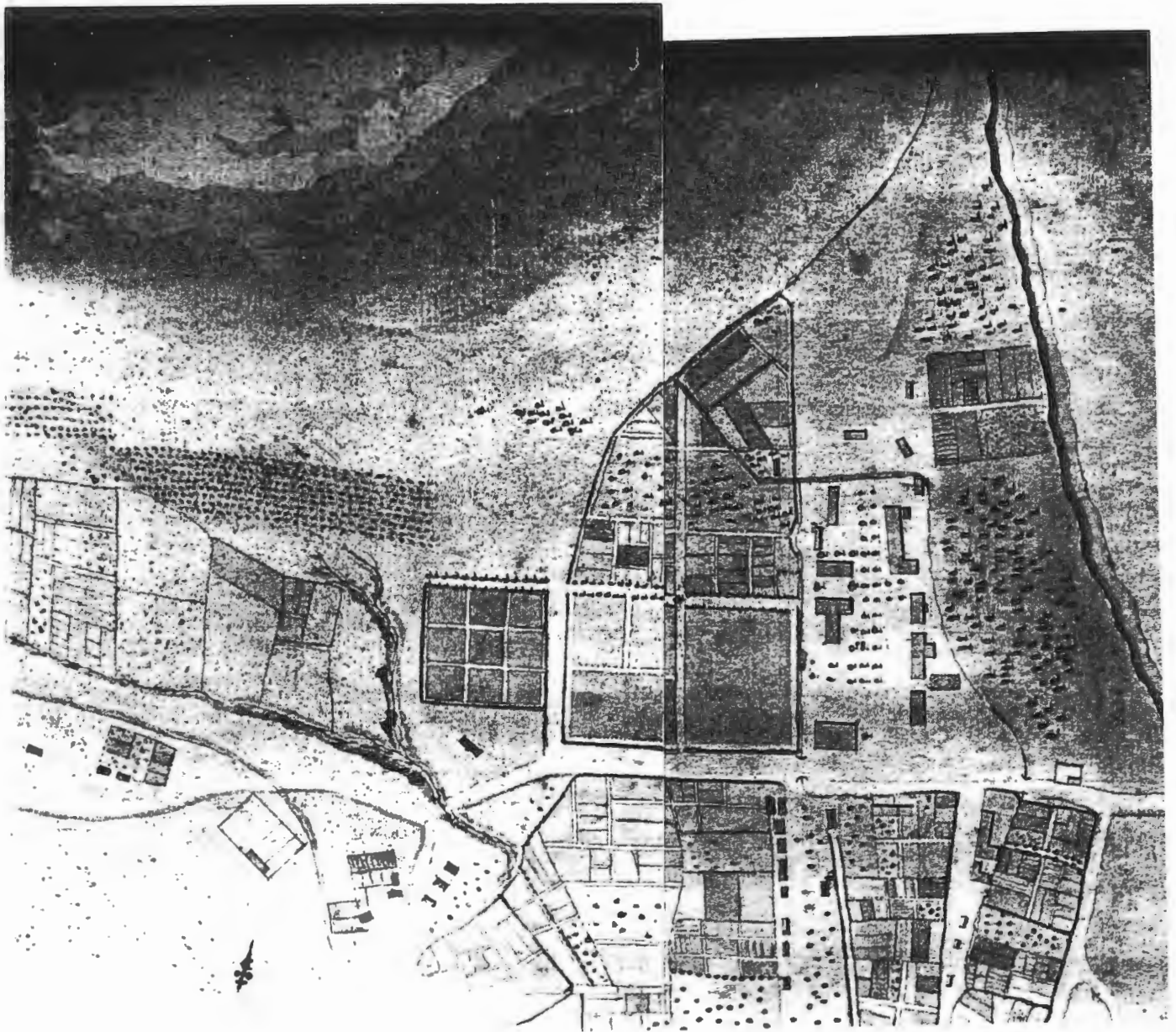


Figure 13: Genadendal c1816, surveyed by John Melville (Genadendal Mission Museum).

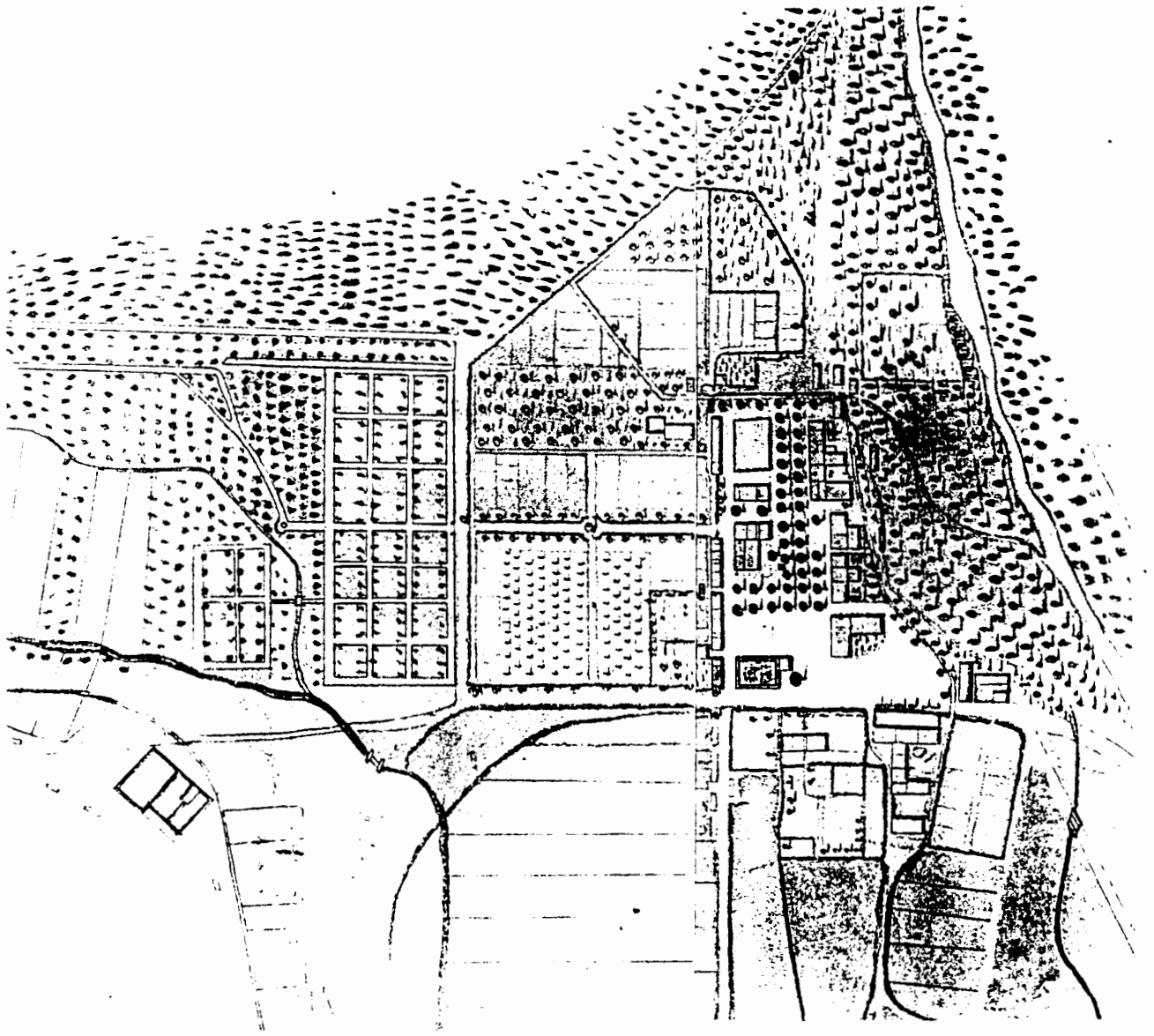


Figure 14: Genadendal c1901, drawn by Rev L.R. Schmidt (Genadendal Mission Museum).

middens. If household refuse was disposed of in the old irrigation canals and or river, one could expect to find some material on the banks of the irrigation canals if these had been regularly cleaned out, although it is possible that strong streams may actually have carried much of the material away. Using the Schwinn plan of 1799, we traced the remains of the irrigation canals flanking the historical core. Investigation of a limited section of the irrigation canal running along side Kühnel house delivered only a few pieces of very fragmented ceramics. This canal was followed along its course through the garden land at the centre of the village, but no further ceramic material was found outside the historical core.

It is possible that surface material was removed with the restoration of the church square or that, at least within the historic core, there has been some form of formal rubbish removal. If garbage from the historical core was dumped in the irrigation canals, then the present-day parsonage and adjacent buildings on the eastern side of the church square (which were built over the old irrigation canal) obscure the 18th century material.

In conjunction with the research component, the Genadendal Archaeology Project took place in October 1999, which was a partnership venture with the Genadendal Mission Museum. As part of this partnership, we were asked to see whether we could find any traces of George Schmidt's house (1737-1744). Although limited in extent, the opportunity to excavate within the historical core would allow us to gauge the material being brought into the village by the missionaries themselves as well as providing an assemblage that could potentially be compared with that of the rock shelter excavated in June 1998 and March 1999.

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

#### **4.4.1. Schmidt’s House – excavation**

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

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

taken as the datum point. We paced out 15 ft from this point to get an estimation of where Schmidt's house would have been. We then measured 6 m from the datum point and laid an E-W trench (G3 to G-2) of 5 m across (Figure 15).

Grass lawn had to be removed from all 5 squares. A plaster layer capped squares G-1 and G-2, indicating this was the area where the building plaster for the restoration of the tearoom had been mixed.

The trench grid was further divided into 0.25 m<sup>2</sup> quads. Two diagonal quads were removed from each square of the trench. The benefit of this method of sampling is that it produces an unbroken section along the length and breadth of the trench with minimum excavation. This method is particularly useful when time is limited. Two layers could be distinguished in the sections. The upper layer (Brown soil) was a light brown, clayey layer that hardened on drying. Underneath this layer was a black soil layer (Black soil). There is a fair amount of mole tunnelling in this deposit and it is possible that material is being moved from the Brown Soil Layer to the lower Black Soil layer.

Quads G2a and G3c were taken down through Black Soil and terminated in a natural layer of small pebbles 0.39 to 0.4 m below the surface. At this depth the soil remained dark, but became very sandy and contained no artefacts.

In Quads G2b and G2c the remains of what may have been unbaked clay bricks were found 0.2 m below the surface. It seemed as if these clay features were individual bricks rather than part of any structure. Sun-dried clay bricks in archaeological deposits are

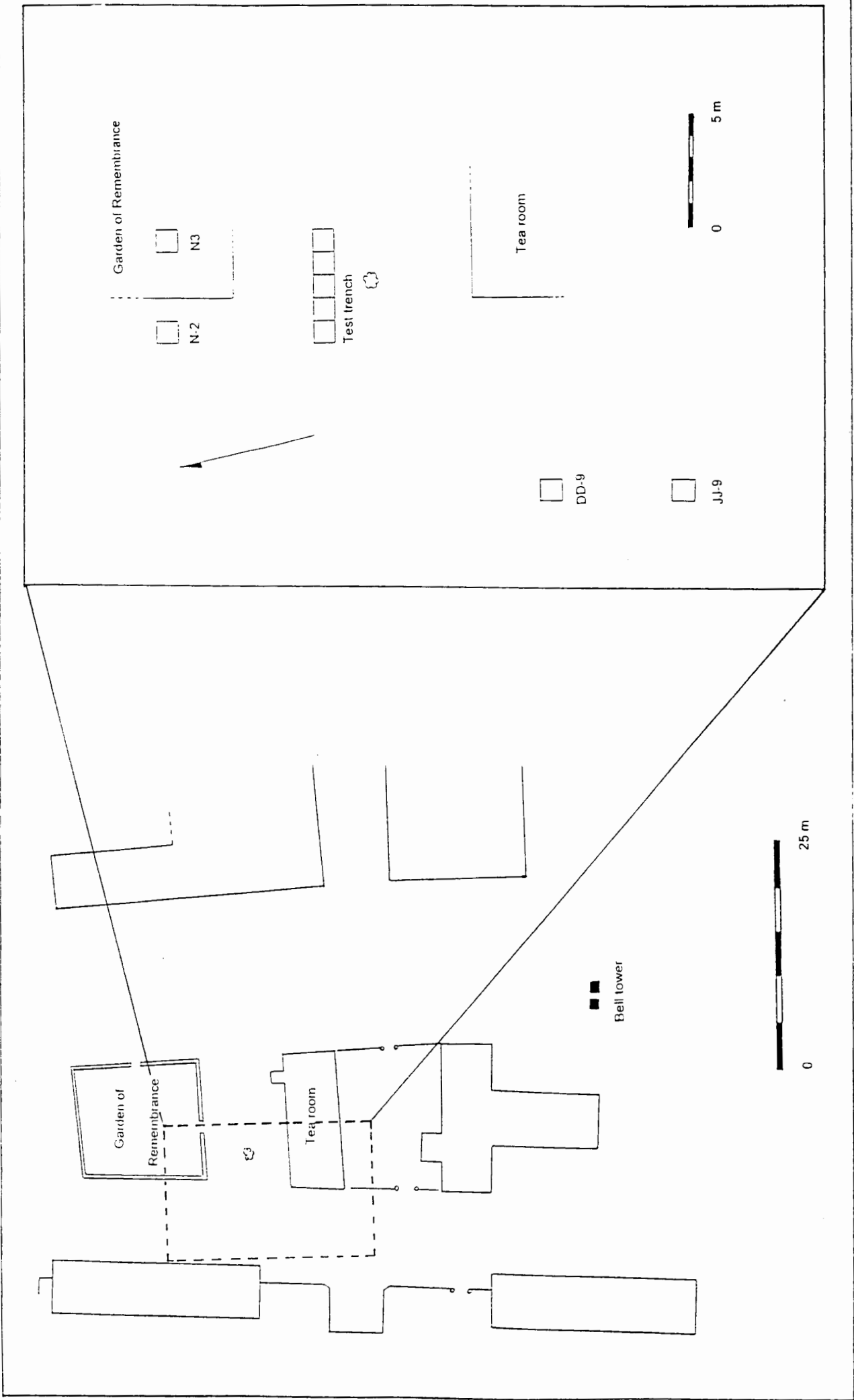


Figure 15. Location detail of test trench at Schmidt's house in the historical core.

sometimes identifiable only by their regular rectangular shape and a different texture than the surrounding deposits. Had the clay features lined up, the excavation would have been extended along the feature to check whether it may have been the remains of a clay brick foundation.

The Garden of Remembrance commemorates the first mission effort of George Schmidt. Local lore has it that this is the location of Schmidt's house. Two squares were excavated (N3 and N-2) on either side of the wall of the memorial garden, 11 m from the datum point. The squares were excavated to the depth of 1 m. No artefacts or features were found in these squares.

The location of the old irrigation canals is indicated on the Schwinn diagram of 1799. The old canal flowed down from the present millstream, along the boundary of the vegetable garden and the church square (Figure 12). Based on the premise that in the past the garbage from the missionaries' houses may have been discarded in the old irrigation canals, a series of test squares were placed along the mapped course (DD-9; JJ-9; ZD-9) (Figure 15).

In DD-9 and JJ-9 traces of a cobble layer was found between 120 mm and 200 mm beneath the surface. Square ZD-9 was excavated in the area where the irrigation canal would have left the millstream. No traces of the cobbling were found in ZD-9, indicating that the cobble layer was after all not part of the old irrigation canal. The cobble layer is very similar to the remains of a cobbled path which runs in front of the church bell and the T-shaped building that served as a church during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century

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

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

#### **4.4.2. Schmidt's house assemblage**

##### **(i) Ceramics**

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



Figure 16: Cobble path in front of the 18<sup>th</sup> century church and church bell.

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

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

The only example of European porcelain was also found in the Brown Soil Layer. Gilding and 'lilac sprig' decoration on bone china were popular during the second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and were mostly found on tea wares (Klose & Malan 2000:14).

Two shards of underglaze blue-and-white Asian porcelain were found in the Brown Soil layer. These shards are most likely part of a 'ginger jar', which are typically found on 19<sup>th</sup> century sites in the Cape (Klose & Malan 2000).

All except two of the European refined industrial ware shards found in the Black Soil layer were undecorated. One shard of underglaze blue porcelain as well as one shard of brown-glazed or Batavian ware was also found in this layer. Blue-and-white porcelain is found on most sites dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century through until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Batavian ware was popular until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and provided a chronological marker for the Black Soil Layer (Klose & Malan 2000:12,19).

The total number of shards in this assemblage is 36. Although this sample is extremely small and the shards too fragmented to infer vessel form or shape, the presence of certain Asian porcelains and European refined industrial wares in the layers reflect the pattern that one would expect to find in a mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century sample (Table 6). All three shards found in the Surface Layer were European refined industrial wares. The Brown Soil layer contained 85% European refined industrial wares, 3.7% European stoneware and 7.4% Asian porcelain. The Black Soil Layer contained 50% European refined industrial ware, 16.6% European stoneware and 33.4% Asian porcelain.

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

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

#### (ii) Glass

Glass can be divided into categories according to colour, form and marking. Over 90% of the glass came from the upper Brown Soil Layer. The majority of the glass is clear, with 33.7% of the total glass being flat glass (window glass).

#### (iii) Metal

A range of metal objects was recovered from the Brown Soil layer. These objects included bottle tops, a broken horseshoe, 3 round nails and 1 square nail, wire and a hook (from a hook & eye). One unidentifiable fragment of flat metal was recovered in the Black Soil layer.

#### (iv) Plastic

A lollipop stick and fragments of green and black hard plastic were found in the Brown layer. Underneath the mud plaster layer in G-1 some hard plastic was also found as well as the head and top of a small plastic medicinal bottle. There was little plastic in the deposit as a whole and was it limited to the Brown Layer.

#### (v) Bone

The bone assemblage is small and the majority comes from the Brown Soil layer. Three sheep teeth were recovered; two molars and one incisor. It was possible to identify the distal end of a humerus, the proximal end of a scapula, the proximal end of a radius, a phalange and rib fragments. The rest of the bone was very fragmented and seems as if it represents long bones broken for marrow extraction. One bone had saw marks and was neatly cut through. It is possible that these bones represent meat cuts from either a sheep or a goat (Ryder 1968; von den Driesch 1976).

(vi) Other

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

#### **4.5. Discussion**

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

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

between history and archaeology as separate disciplines. This tension does not necessarily reflect an inability to marry text and artefact (Hall 2000:16), but rather represents a challenge to interpret both as different, but equal and interwoven aspects of the same reality or scenario. Discrepancies between the two sources of evidence form part of the overall pattern to be uncovered. Second, the excavation was characterised by an extremely low artefact density, which can be explained in terms of the status of the mission and its converts within a frontier region.

Possible reasons for the lack of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century material is to be found in the settlement patterns of the frontier and in the types of material culture available. During most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Western Overberg was frontier land, occupied by migrant European stock farmers and their Khoekhoen counterparts. Few loan farms were occupied permanently and were usually leased for periods ranging from three months to several years. Two classes of stock farmers operated in the Overberg: wealthy farmers who had freehold farms nearer to Cape Town and who leased or owned grazing farms in the Overberg, and poorer freeburghers who held no land but that which they leased as grazing farms. These stock farmers followed the lifestyle of the Khoekhoen, being very mobile and making use of dishes, bowls and plates made of wood (van der Merwe 1995:176). Lady Anne Barnard pointed out the merit of using calabashes on their journeys into the interior, as ceramics were prone to breakage (Lewin Robinson 1994). Pewter utensils were also used on the frontier and these had the added advantage that they could be melted down, mixed with lead and made into bullets once the vessels could no longer be repaired (van der Merwe 1995:176). The recycling of metal objects translates into a very low archaeological visibility as illustrated by Miller *et al* (1998).

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

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

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

sample of inventories of the Graaf-Reinet district by Susan Newton-King (1987), which indicated that the average frontier household was relatively modest, with an emphasis on metal utilitarian items rather than ceramics.

There are exceptions to this pattern, however. For example, the probate inventory for the ex-Heemraad of Swellendam, dated 1793, who was living on his grazing farm, *Piesang Rivier*, near Swellendam, lists, among others, numerous iron, tin, pewter and copper items, as well as five earthenware pots, an earthenware pitcher, one lot of assorted porcelain and over 100 individual porcelain items including bowls, plates and teacups and saucers (Newton-King 1987:26-27). This documented variability needs to be tested through the archaeological record.

The Moravian missionaries who arrived in the Overberg to establish a mission for the Khoekhoen thus found themselves in a frontier landscape, populated by migrant stock farmers of European descent and Khoekhoe herders. Grazing farms leased by stock farmers were rarely permanently settled and the Khoekhoen, as well, were constantly on the move in search of fresh pastures for their livestock.

The Moravian missionaries did not enjoy much material support from the command at the Cape, nor from the European farmers. It is feasible therefore that they initially had to rely on the expertise and material base of their Khoekhoe converts. In turn, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Khoekhoen were increasingly marginalized and their loss of land and status is especially reflected in a meagre material culture.

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

## **Chapter 5. Missions, missionaries and mission archaeology**

In the previous chapters the focus has been on the Khoekhoen, material culture and culture change within the context of contact between the indigenous people of the Cape on the one hand, and DEIC employees and later freeburgher farmers and missionaries on the other. These chapters have indicated the archaeological invisibility of the Khoekhoen and early mission period in contrast to the wealth of descriptions regarding them in the historical record.

In this chapter the Moravian mission endeavour at Genadendal is placed in the context of other 18<sup>th</sup> century missions at the Cape of Good Hope, as well as within the context of mission archaeology of particularly the Spanish territories of North and Meso-America.

### **5.1. Khoekhoen and christianity at the Cape during the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

The dynamic between 'Christian' and 'heathen' affected most of the interaction between Europeans and the indigenous people with whom they came in contact during the 'age of exploration'. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries at the Cape, the only means through which Christianity was expressed was through the protestant Dutch Reformed Church, with the DEIC providing ministers to look after the spiritual needs of its employees (Gerstner 1997:16). Particularly during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch Reformed Church emphasised a strong bond between Christianity and European descent. Europeans were therefore by definition 'Christian', while indigenous people and slaves were by definition 'heathens' (Elbourne 1995:69, Gerstner 1997:24-25). The Dutch Reform Church made little effort to christianise the indigenous populations at the Cape or the slaves, although

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

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

## **5.2. 18<sup>th</sup> century missions at the Cape of Good Hope**

The Moravian Church, in 1737, was the first European religious order to establish a mission amongst the Khoekhoen at the Cape. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the only two other mission stations established in the Cape colony were the Sak River mission and the Bethelsdorp mission, both being affiliated to the London Missionary Society. All three mission stations aimed at christianising Khoisan descendants, who had for the greater part been alienated from land and other resources and who, in some cases, were actively rebelling against colonial Dutch domination.

The later surge of missionary societies into the Cape colony coincided with the occupation of the Cape by the British at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The founding of mission societies in Britain is closely linked to the expansion of British trade and colonial interest in the ‘new’ worlds (including Africa and the East as well as the Americas). One of the priorities of the British colonial policy was to “pacify the natives” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992:197). Christianity was seen as the means through which tranquillity and social order could be restored and maintained amongst rebellious or resisting indigenous communities (Elbourne 1995:69). By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe had experienced the effects of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution and, by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, also had to contend with Napoleon Bonaparte’s empire building. In fact, the British occupied the Cape in 1795 with the main purpose of keeping it out of French hands and so protecting the trade route to the East. The publication of travel journals and exploration accounts also awakened the awareness of the public in general to the world beyond Europe and the people that populated it (Gray 1996:18-19) and further stimulated interest in mission endeavours.

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

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

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

While Kicherer and Edwards set off to the northern frontier, the remaining two missionaries, Johannes van der Kemp and John Edmond, headed towards the Eastern Cape. Their initial intention had been to set up a mission amongst the Xhosa, but their mission efforts found more fertile ground amongst Khoekhoe clients working for the Xhosa, and particularly amongst the women (Elbourne & Ross 1997:35). It was therefore amongst the dispossessed Khoekhoen whom the missionaries had most of their success and who formed the basis of the Bethelsdorp mission (Keegan 1996:34-35). The Bethelsdorp mission was very successful and was seen as the flagship of the LMS.

The LMS missionaries thus started their mission endeavours at the Cape of Good Hope on the northern and eastern frontiers; both regions plagued by violence and resistance to colonial expansion, from Bushmen and Khoekhoe descendants on the northern frontier and the Xhosa and Khoekhoe descendants on the Eastern Frontier (Penn 1995a:411).

Of the three Cape mission stations, only Bethelsdorp has subsequently experienced major urban development (Japha *et al* 1993:3), possibly as a result of its status as LMS flagship. Genadendal, despite its seemingly prolific growth towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, remained a rural settlement, increasingly marginalized politically and economically, and the Sak River mission was abandoned after a mere seven years. Little comparative work has been done regarding the archaeology of missions in the Cape, contrasted to the vast amount of mission archaeology that has taken place in the Americas. A brief consideration of this may help orientate future work and direction at the Cape missions.

### **5.3. Mission archaeology and the mission experience**

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

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

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

state religion with much political power, actively encouraged the christianising of indigenous peoples in the colonies, the same could not be said about the DEIC, which had mainly commercial concerns at the Cape. Missions at the Cape were therefore reliant on their own resources. In the case of the Moravian Church that during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was operating very much on the periphery of mainstream Protestantism, these resources would not have been excessive. The restriction in material support from authorities and/or the founding church is best reflected in the paltry architecture of these early missions at the Cape in contrast to the often expansive architecture of the Spanish missions in the New World (Graham 1998).

Graham (1998:29) suggests that the material representation or built form of the mission should be seen as a reflection of the changing cultural imagination and a reordering of the conceptual universe of the mission inhabitants. These changes are perhaps best illustrated by the adoption of rectangular houses as opposed to the traditional round *matjieshuis* that was evident at both the Genadendal and Sak River mission. The layout of Genadendal was based on the Herrnhut village, where each house had a small garden in addition to which converts had access to communal land which could either be used for grazing or agriculture (Japha *et al* 1993:15) (Figure 17). This contrasted to the mobile pastoral life style of the Khoekhoen. Visible changes in dress and housing of converts were often taken as a confirmation that the mission was successful and was actively encouraged by the missionaries. A drawing of the Sak River mission clearly differentiates between the rectangular huts of the converts, neatly laid out in a L-shape contrasted to the round huts of the “un-baptised Hottentots” (Japha *et al* 1993:26,28,29). The drawing of the Sak River mission also shows the huts of the un-baptised Khoekhoen situated between the

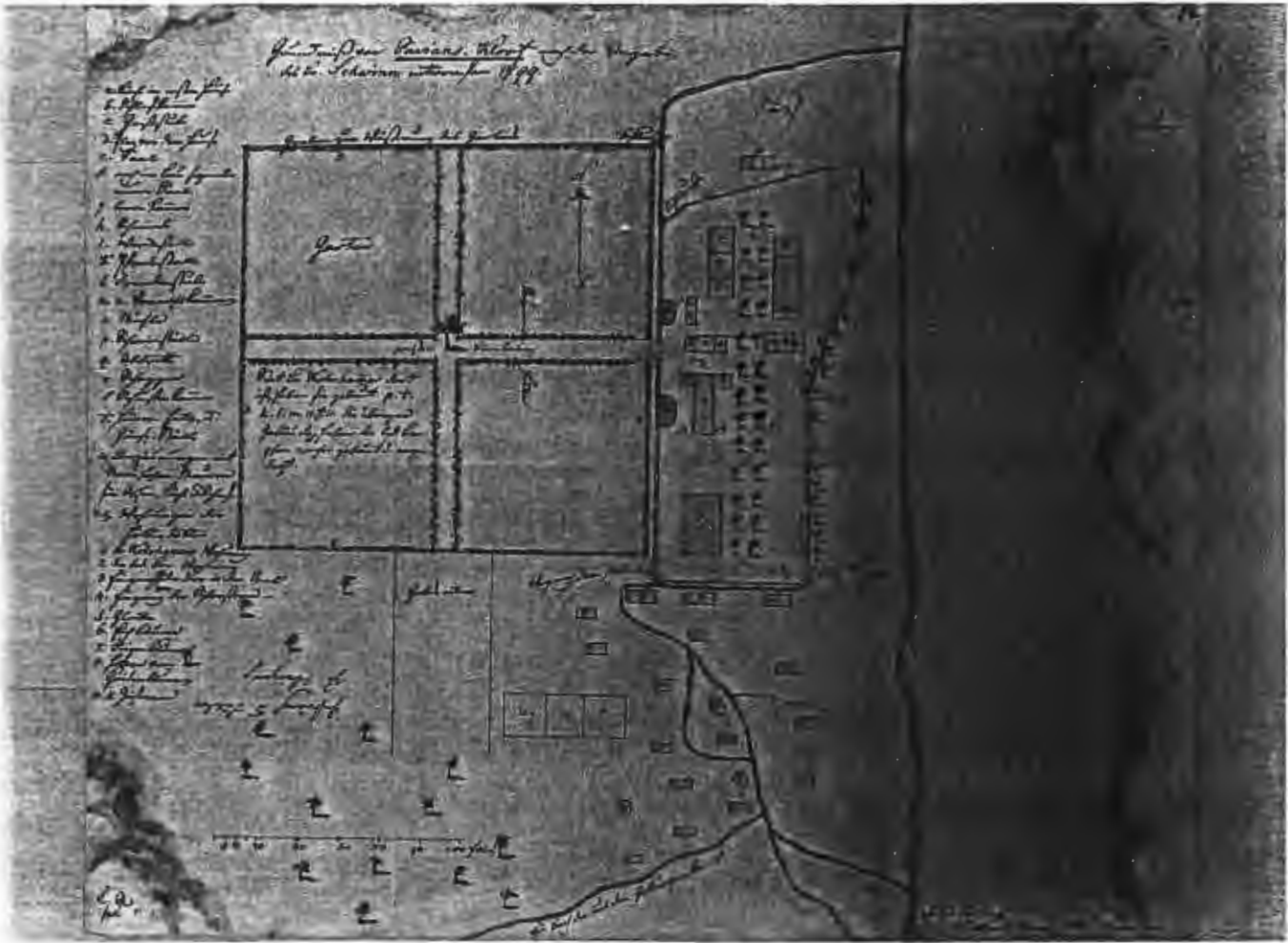


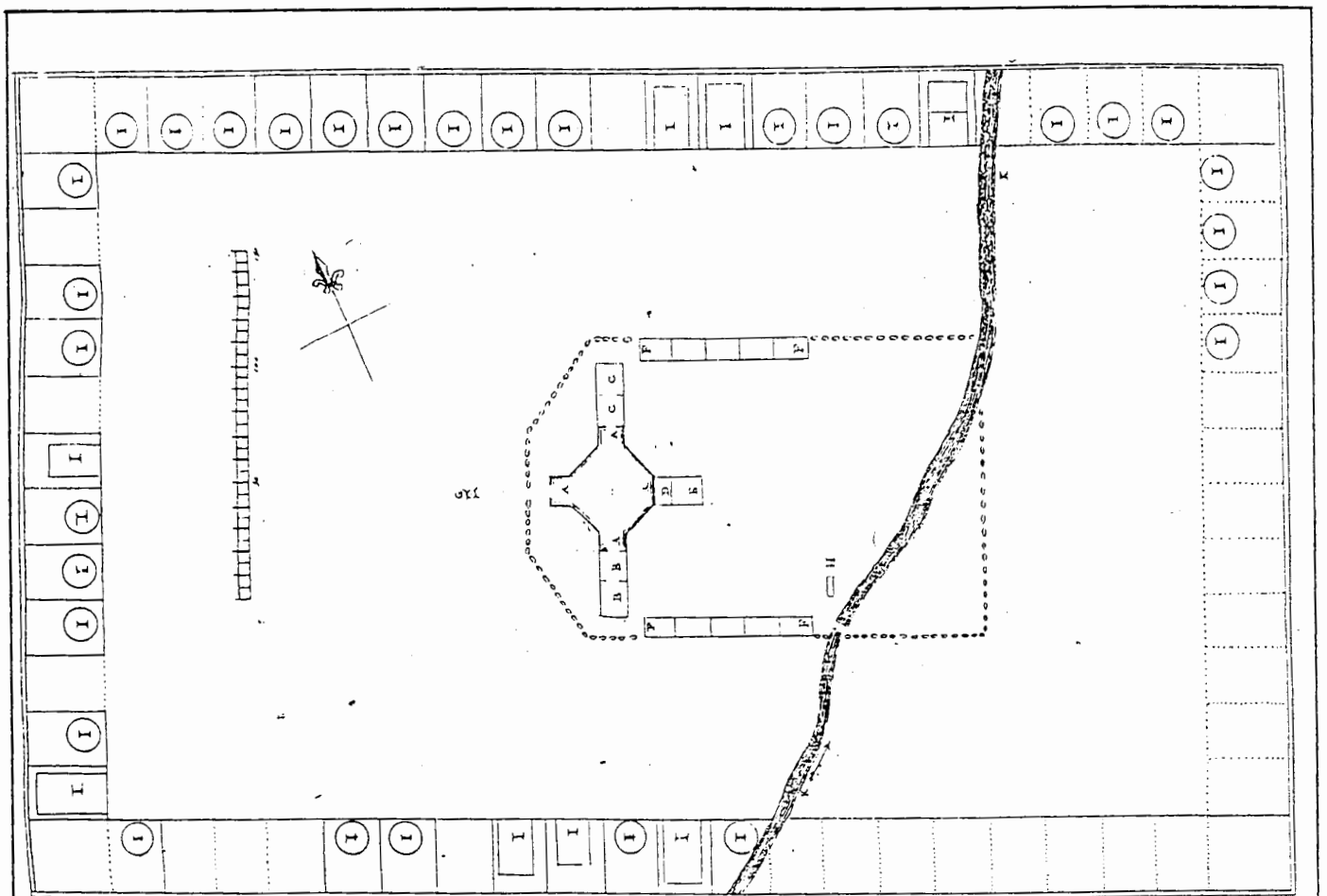
Figure 17: Layout of Genadendal c 1799 (BA 1767 (F) NB.X.T.14).

river and the church. The absence of any visible order in the spatial arrangement of these huts is highlighted by the presence of two kraals situated on the very edge of the settlement (Figure 18).

It is interesting to note that at the Bethelsdorp mission there seems to be no distinction made between hut shape and religious status, as was the case in the examples mentioned above. The plan of the Bethelsdorp mission circa 1806, although rather rigidly laid out, shows round and rectangular huts arranged around the central structure consisting of church and the dwellings of the missionaries (Figure 19). Taking into consideration that the Bethelsdorp mission was established by Johannes van der Kemp, the missionary described as 'going native' (Keegan 1996:37), it is possible that at this mission station there was considerable less pressure placed on converts to shed traditional practices and conform to outward symbols of westernisation and Christianity. Indeed the arrangement of dwellings around the central structure suggests the adoption of the indigenous settlement pattern.

The adoption of European-style, rectangular dwellings as a reflection of changing cultural imagination is also supported by the example of Africo, one of George Schmidt's first converts. At the time that George Schmidt met him, Africo was working at the DEIC cattle outpost, Soetemelksvlei. Africo spoke Dutch and lived near the outpost at Hartebeestekraal, presently known as The Oaks (Prins 1983:237). Schmidt described Africo as living in a 'proper house', while the rest of his people lived in *matjieshuise* and moved around in search of grazing for their stock, some having up to 500 head of cattle (Bredekamp & Hattingh 1981:45). It is plausible that Africo used his position as





Index to diagram:

- |      |                             |
|------|-----------------------------|
| AAAA | Church                      |
| BB   | Dwelling of J. Read         |
| CC   | Dwelling of J. van der Kemp |
| D    | Dining Room                 |
| E    | Kitchen                     |
| FFFF | Stores                      |
| G    | Mill                        |
| H    | Bakoond                     |
| IIII | Dwellings of the Hottentots |
| K    | The Bethels river           |

Figure 19. Sketch of the Bethelsdorp mission c 1806 (van der Kemp 1897).

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

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

An important consideration in the success of missions amongst the Khoekhoen was access to land and resources. Their increasing need and desire for land by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is reflected in the increased enthusiasm with which Khoekhoen flocked to the re-opening of the Moravian mission at Genadendal. In the course of the nearly 10 years (1737-1744) that Schmidt spent among the Khoekhoen, at most his flock numbered 30 individuals. However, within five years of re-opening the mission in 1792, the number of Khoekhoen living at the mission was well over a thousand (Kruger 1966:76).

The benefits that the Khoisan stood to gain from the missions is possibly best echoed by the objections that farmers had against the establishment of the missions. One of the core quarrels that farmers had with the establishment of both Bethelsdorp as well as Baviaanskloof had to do with the mobility and control of Khoekhoe labour (Elbourne 1995:69, Kruger 1966:22,64). Khoekhoe labour was particularly sought after in the rural districts on farms that were far from the slave markets in Cape Town. In the Swellendam district, for example, slaves formed only 8% of the total labour force (Clift 1995:20-21). While farmers feared that the missions would drain the available labour, most men were still obliged to enter into seasonal labour relations with farmers and in effect, the missions contributed greatly to pooling the available labour force (Kruger 1966:112).

Mission stations furthermore also provided Khoekhoe men with a haven where they could leave women and children while they worked on farms. By the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century the European sphere of influence had expanded to such an extent that there were no Khoekhoen living within the boundaries of the Cape colony who were not working for

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

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

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

Bethelsdorp both became active members of the mission, playing an invaluable role in recruiting new members from Khoekhoe society (Elbourne 1991). Although the use of 'native assistants' was only officially instituted amongst LMS missions circa 1812, the mission at Bethelsdorp depended on a strong core of indigenous evangelists who actively recruited converts from outside the mission society (Elbourne 1995:72). Often these indigenous evangelists, together with wagon drivers and interpreters, formed a 'new elite' within Khoekhoe society (Dedering 1997).

Missionaries, too, were forced to change and adapt their lives in order to survive in environments that were very different from what they were used to in Europe. Among the Spanish missions in the Americas, missionaries often married indigenous women, facilitating the transfer between indigenous and Spanish culture. Graham (1998:34) points out that indigenous material culture is most strongly reflected in the domestic areas of such missions, areas that are traditionally thought of as the female domain where the indigenous wives and/or cooks of the missionaries would have spent much of their time. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Cape missions, particularly amongst the Moravian missionaries, wives were not selected from amongst the indigenous converts. George Schmidt remained unmarried while he was at the Cape, and although there were rumours of immoral relations with the women of his mission, these allegations were never substantiated and could very well have been part of the efforts of the Dutch Reform Church ministers to discredit him and have him recalled to Europe. Schmidt, however, in his diaries mentioned on several occasions that indigenous women cooked for him (Bredenkamp & Hattingh 1981). Schwinn, Marsveld and Kühnel, too, did not marry local women, but had

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

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

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

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

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

grazing land was converted to private farmland. It is also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the first mission to the Khoekhoen was established in the Overberg.

The seeming absence of evidence dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the Overberg frontier once again emphasises the archaeological invisibility not only of the Khoekhoen, but also the migrant stock farmers who for all intents and purposes mimicked the life ways of the Khoekhoen, moving around in the landscape in search of grazing for their herds and maintaining a material life that was adapted to mobility. Furthermore, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Overberg Khoekhoen had already been materially extensively impoverished and marginalized.

In 1854, one Overberg farmer noted that it was mostly on the mission stations that people of Khoekhoen and slave descent tended to accumulate property, and then mostly oxen, wagons, horses, cattle, sheep and a few pieces of good furniture (van Ryneveld 1983:39). Amongst the Spanish missions in the Americas, it was found that indigenous culture was most strongly reflected in the domestic domain, confirming that Spanish men often married indigenous women. At Genadendal there is little evidence to suggest co-habitation between missionaries and women from the congregation. It is documented, however, that at any given time, women and children formed the largest proportion of the inhabitants of the mission as able-bodied men were often away from the mission, working on farms, as wagon drivers and cattle herds. The question then arises about who determines the continuity in material culture within a society undergoing change?

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

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

be compared in order to gauge the difference in material expression of mobility vs permanent settlement within a group with the same background and cosmology.

Finally, the archaeology of the missions of the Cape Colony needs to be placed with in the context of global mission endeavours, with attention given to the different approaches and expressions of Catholic missions contrasted to Protestant missions and then also to the variety within the Protestant missions themselves. It will only be with this comparative base that we will be able to more readily interpret the material signatures at specific missions.

## **Appendix 1: Genadendal Archaeology Project**

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

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

well as promoting consultation with, and greater feedback between, academic researchers and local communities (Bank 1997:1).

During the foot survey of the village of Genadendal during March 1998, time was allocated to consulting with some of the older inhabitants of the village to find out whether any stories had survived of the people living in the area before the missionaries arrived. There seemed to be a great reluctance to speak about things that might be interpreted as being 'non-Christian'. An elderly woman who makes her living collecting indigenous plants and domestic herbs to make remedies assured us that she had learnt her craft from her mother, who in turn had been taught by the 'white people'. When pressed, she later said that she didn't know where her mother had learnt her craft. Another elderly gentleman felt that 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' and their histories were best forgotten as "people have evolved since then".

Amongst a certain sector of the village there was a great enthusiasm about the pre-mission history of the area and the Khoisan heritage of some of the inhabitants. However, this enthusiasm seemed to be largely limited to those people who either had tertiary education or who had intellectual ties with the Historical Research Institute of the University of the Western Cape, under the direction of Professor Henry Bredekamp. Still, there seemed to be a general lack of information about the pre-mission history of the region, reflected both in the local museum as well as in the school syllabus and the teaching material available to the educators. Although it would be presumptuous to assume that the present inhabitants of Genadendal acknowledge or want to acknowledge a

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

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

### **1.1. Public archaeology in South Africa**

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

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

to demonstrate and apply within their own life settings (Pretorius 1998). In many ways Outcomes-Based Education provides an opportunity for greater interaction between academic institutions and schools. Patrice Jeppson (2000) rightly observes that archaeology finds a willing partner in educators, as they are always hungry for new ways to grip the attention and enthusiasm of learners.

Patrice Jeppson (1997) distinguishes between two types of archaeology outreach; Public archaeology and People's archaeology. Public archaeology entails the popularisation of archaeological knowledge, while People's archaeology aims at demystifying the processes through which archaeological knowledge is gained. In the process of redressing the inequalities in historical representation and mis-information promoted by the official history supported by the Afrikaner Nationalist education system (Gawe & Meli 1990:98, Esterhuysen *in press*), archaeologists dealing with the public need to apply both archaeological outreach approaches. Learners need not only to be informed about the archaeological past, but they also need to be able to understand how those interpretations were made so that they are able to critically evaluate the historical process. Interpretations of the past are informed opinion, not historical fact written in stone, and it is important that learners understand that historical interpretations exist and are created within specific socio-political systems and can be manipulated for particular aims.

Prior to 1994, archaeological subject matter (human evolution and the pre-colonial history of Africa and Southern Africa) was largely excluded from the Afrikaner Nationalist education system as being irrelevant and unsuitable (Esterhuysen *in press*). The Apartheid Government maintained that Black people arrived in South Africa at the same

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

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

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

communities they work in featured strongly at this conference. As Sven Ouzman (1997) put it; public archaeology in South Africa is an “imperative rather than a fashion”.

Archaeological programmes for learners have been implemented with success both locally and abroad (Broekman pers comm., Carroll 1987, Clift 1996, Esterhuysen pers comm., Sentelle 1986, Shepherd 1999, Smardz 1990, WAC 4 Workshop for Grade 7 Teachers 1999). Archaeological programmes are by nature practical and hands-on, providing educators with teaching aids (artefacts) that make history ‘come alive’. A series of teacher’s guides brought out by English Heritage highlight the potential of using artefacts and archaeological approaches to teaching learners about history by using every day objects and places (David 1996; Copeland 1993; Purkis 1993; Durbin *et al* 1990). But experience has shown that unless a public programme is driven and supported by local initiative, it tends to be ‘once-off’ with no real meaning and contribution to increasing people’s awareness and interest in local history and the sustainable conservation of its cultural heritage. Individuals or even academic groups engaged in public archaeology part-time often lack resources in terms of contacts and funding to offer long-term sustainable programmes.

Another common problem lies in presenting material that is accessible to educators and useable in the classroom (Jeppson 2000). This problem is easily enough overcome by the co-operation of the educator and the archaeologist in the development and presentation of the archaeological material and activities (Smardz 1999; Jeppson 2000). Despite the fact that the solution is painfully simple, it seems to be the one thing that is most often neglected. Archaeologists taking part in public archaeological programmes need to step

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

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

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

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

possible cultural, religious and ethical sensitivity to what is being taught during the programme (Smardz 1999).

Finally the importance of evaluating the programme cannot be over-emphasised (Smardz 1999). It is only through evaluation that the archaeologist can assess how successfully the aims of the programme were achieved and how much the learners and educators were able to absorb. Weakness in the programme can also be detected through evaluation and improved on in the future.

### **1.2. Genadendal Archaeology Project**

The Genadendal Archaeology Project was proposed as a partnership between the Genadendal Mission Museum, representatives from the Emil Weder High School, Caledon Secondary School and representatives of the Archaeology Department, University of Cape Town. A strong emphasis was placed on local initiative and drive. The project came into being after nearly two years of negotiation with the interested parties.

Contact was made with teachers from the LR Schmidt Primary School and the Emil Weder High School, Genadendal in April 1998. At the end of 1998 a proposal was submitted to Dr Balie, the director of the Genadendal Mission Museum. The proposed venture would promote a greater co-operation between academic institutions and local schools and museums. It was suggested that the Genadendal Mission Museum act as driving force for the project in partnership with the teachers. The proposal was brought before the Museum Management Council in February 1999 and was favourably received.

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

### **1.2.1. Aims of the project**

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

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

remains, tools, decorations, skeletons, as well as documents, photographs, maps and even the testimonies of old people. The further back in time one goes, the fewer sources are available. Some things simply do not preserve. In societies that had no tradition of leaving written records, all that archaeologists have to study are those things that were thrown away, broken or lost. By introducing children to the processes of research, they are given the opportunity to develop critical thinking and can start to evaluate the evidence and ultimately draw their own conclusions. The active involvement in researching their past also instils a sense of continuity and ownership of the past and develops a future generation who are interested and sensitive to the cultural history of not only their own community but also the communities around them.

A secondary aim of this venture was to provide support material for the teachers in the Genadendal/Caledon region. Housing the support centre at the Genadendal Mission Museum has the added bonus of drawing people from the greater Caledon area to Genadendal, and the museum in particular. This would promote interaction and co-operation between different schools in the area, allowing teachers to benefit from each other's experiences. The museum will also then be actively involved with the community at large, providing a necessary service to its own people. It must be stressed that this venture could only be successful with the full co-operation and support of all the interested parties.

It was proposed that the venture be launched by an archaeological exercise in which representatives of the schools in the area took part. The follow up to this exercise is a temporary exhibit which will be open to the general public and which is produced by the

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

### **1.2.2. The site and preliminary preparation**

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

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

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

3) The third site was a group of cottages in Berg Street, Genadendal. These cottages are shown on the 1816 and 1901 maps. Today only one of these cottages is still standing. This site could be used to calculate scale and demonstrate different methods of site survey. The aim of this exercise would be to try and locate the position of the cottages on the map and to show learners how to make measured drawings of buildings using the standardised architectural symbols and terms.

At the meeting of February 1999, a resource pack containing copies of the three historical maps; extracts from published historical travel journals and descriptions of Genadendal; images and artistic renditions of the village and its people, were given to the educators and the education officer of the museum. Included in the resource pack were suggestions to how these materials could be used following the OBE guidelines as laid out in the National Department of Education Policy Document. The purpose of the resource pack was to introduce the educators to the information and resources available and to encourage them to source local resources and means of incorporating them into the project.

### **1.2.3. Participants**

A core group of 30 learners from Emil Weder High School, Genadendal, were selected by Magda Hans (History) and Johan Duminy (Geography) to take part in this project.

#### **Educators**

#### **Learners**

Hienrich Adonis

Anoesjka Alexander

Allan October

Johan Duminy

Marshanette Benjamin

Kathy October

Magda Hans

Jeunnessa Bosch

Magdalene Oerson

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

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

<b>Educators</b>	<b>Learners</b>
Connell Balie	Cheryldine Appel
Theo Pieters	Ruiwayda Bredekamp
Ranita Wessels	Janine Henn

Berene Sauls

Eugene Smith

Tyron v.d. Heyde

Samuel Baatjies, Museum Education Officer, represented the Genadendal Mission Museum. Dr Antonia Malan, Emma Sealy, Anton Malan, Wesley Roberts and myself represented the Archaeology Department, UCT. Emma Sealy was involved in recording the programme in order to link it up with the Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town's online classroom (<http://www/archafrica.uct.ac.za>). The initial plan was to have a live link-up so that interested parties could follow the programme as it happened, but due to technological restraints this was not possible.

#### **1.2.4. Funding**

The Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town provided funding for the production and processing of materials for the programme as well as for accommodation and provisions for the period 11-15 October 1999.

#### **1.2.5. Programme**

The programme ran from 11h00 to 13h30 for the duration of the week 11-15 October 1999, with an open day on the morning of Saturday 16 October 1999.

The two school groups were divided into two teams. Learners from both schools were present in each group. The programme kicked off with a general introduction to the project as a whole in which the aims of the projects were laid out and the participating

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

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

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

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

### 1.2.6. Learning areas and specific outcomes

#### 1.2.6.1. Arts and culture:

- Apply knowledge, techniques and skills to create and be critically involved in arts and culture processes and products
- Reflect on and engage critically with arts experience and works

#### 1.2.6.2. Language, literacy and communication

- Access, process and use information from a variety of sources and situations
- Make and negotiate meaning and understanding

To demonstrate the use of historical documents (in this case an image drawn of the church square by Lady Anne Barnard in 1799) in the process of historical investigation, learners were asked to find the spot from which the sketch was made. Armed with a photocopy of the image, the group walked up the hill opposite the church square, using the mountain in the background of the sketch (Grootkop) as a point of reference. Learners were asked to evaluate the image in terms of photo-realism as well as in terms of what the artist wished to portray; e.g. the ‘overpowering’ presence of nature in the form of the looming mountain behind the church could be discussed in terms of Lady Anne Barnard’s education in the classical Romantic arts. Learners also discussed the ways in which the church square and the village had changed through time and how artistic licence influenced what was portrayed. Learners drew their own views of the church square and surrounds. It was interesting to see that the school hostel, where most of the learners lived, featured in very prominently.

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

#### 1.2.6.3. Mathematical literacy and mathematics

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

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

can tags and bottles found were not the same as those presently used. They were typical of those used in the mid 1980s.

The shape of the tin cans gave clues as to what they had contained; the shape of a can of sardines is very different to that of a can of 'Bully beef', which in turn differed from a regular round can. Learners found that by the simple skill of observation that they could actually deduce quite a lot from lumps of rusted tin can. Although the site produced modern remains, learners were still able to participate in the process of archaeological excavation, analysis and interpretation of finds. As Kathryn Smardz (1990) pointed out, it is not what learners find, but that they find something.

According to Samuel Baatjies, the house had become part of the museum complex in the early 1980s and prior to that it was used as part of the hostel. The consensus was that the food remains and the wire and nails were probably left there by the thatchers and builders who renovated the structure in the 1980s when the building was incorporated into the museum complex.

Prior to the survey of the cottage in Berg Street, learners were given an introduction to the standard methods used in architectural survey and the symbols used in drawing plans and elevations of structures.

Using the historical maps, learners were also asked to estimate the location of the three cottages adjacent to the Berg Street cottage. These cottages appear of the 1816 and the 1901 maps, but not on the 1799 diagram. The scale on all three historical maps differed.

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

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

#### 1.2.6.4. Human and social sciences

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

#### 1.2.6.5. Life orientation

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

- Demonstrate the values and attitudes necessary for a healthy and balanced lifestyle

#### 1.2.6.6. Economical and management studies

- Demonstrate the principals of supply and demand and the practises of production
- Critically analyse economical and financial data to make decisions
- Evaluate different economic systems from various perspectives
- Demonstrate actions which advance sustained economic growth, reconstruction and development in South Africa

The ‘walk through history’ creates the opportunity for a wide range of issues to be discussed. The different modes of production of hunters, herders and farmers can be discussed and assessed in terms of their productivity and impact of the natural environment. The interaction between these different groups can also be discussed, while analysing the reasons for historical conflict and possible ways in which that conflict could have been resolved.

The spatial layout of the huts in the replica Khoekhoe village and the position of door openings were investigated and learners were asked to infer what they thought these arrangements meant in terms of how people were interacting with each other. Learners were also asked to discuss how the display differed from a real life representation.

From the replica village the learners walked down Klippiess Street, one of the streets running parallel to the main route into Genadendal. Past conservation studies have concentrated strongly on the historical core, having little impact on the rest of the village.

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

#### **1.2.7. Open Day**

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

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

digital camera. It was possible to process and print the images using our own computer equipment and have them ready for display the next morning. Laminated copies of the historical maps were also on display as well as an aerial photograph of the village and a 1:50 000 topographical map. These copies were donated to the school for continued use in the future.

The learners made a model of the excavation at Kühnel house, showing the position of the grid as well as small paper models of learners digging, sifting and sorting. The artefacts from the excavation were also on display. The presentation of the history of Kühnel house has been suggested as a potential future project. The measured drawings of the cottage in Berg Street, together with photographs of the cottage were also on display.

The exhibit was housed in an unused classroom at the LR Schmidt Primary School, situated next to Kühnel house. The teachers decided that the display would remain at this venue for a few days giving other learners the opportunity to view it during school time. The material excavated from Kühnel house is to be curated by Samuel Baatjies and presented in the museum. One of the aims of the Genadendal Archaeology project was to encourage a greater interaction between the museum and the community it served. Many of the learners never went to the museum, as they did not relate to the content and exhibits. The purpose of displaying the results of the Project in the museum was to draw learners to the museum. The future research topics undertaken by the Genadendal Archaeology Project would focus on local interest topics that would be used by the educators as a teaching resource and future database.

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

### **1.3. Evaluation of the Genadendal archaeology project**

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

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

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

artefacts and interpret their finds. The survey exercise was also performed with skill, enthusiasm and determination. The educators participating in the programme organised a video recording of the programme. This footage can be used by the learners to develop media skills as well as being used by the educators as a teaching resource.

The setting up of an information database and teaching resource centre is a long-term goal that can only be fulfilled if there is sufficient drive from the part of the Genadendal participants. It is also necessary to workshop the activities and results of the programme with the educators to develop and design standardised worksheets that can be used by the educators in the classroom (Jepson 2000, Smardz 1999).

Learners and educators were asked to evaluate the programme. The learners responded very enthusiastically and without fail wanted to repeat the programme in the future. External factors such as heat adversely affected the learners and they did not enjoy activities that entailed walking around in the sun. The daily programme was too long and could possibly be reduced from two and a half hours to one and a half hours. The programme took place during school hours and learners came from and were expected to return to school after the programme was completed.

Although the teachers were involved in the setting up of the programme, it would have been useful and productive to hold a workshop to plan the programme and develop useable worksheets and information sheets. Kathryn Smardz (1999) suggests that information that the learners can take home with them should be produced so that they

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

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

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

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

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

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

Learners complained about the heat and the rain and activities which took place under those conditions generally were not well received.

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Laws respecting Hottentots and Bastards at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-c1823.  
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CAL1.1 SG B62/1857      Survey diagram attached to the grant of Genadendal to the  
Moravian Mission in 1857.

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