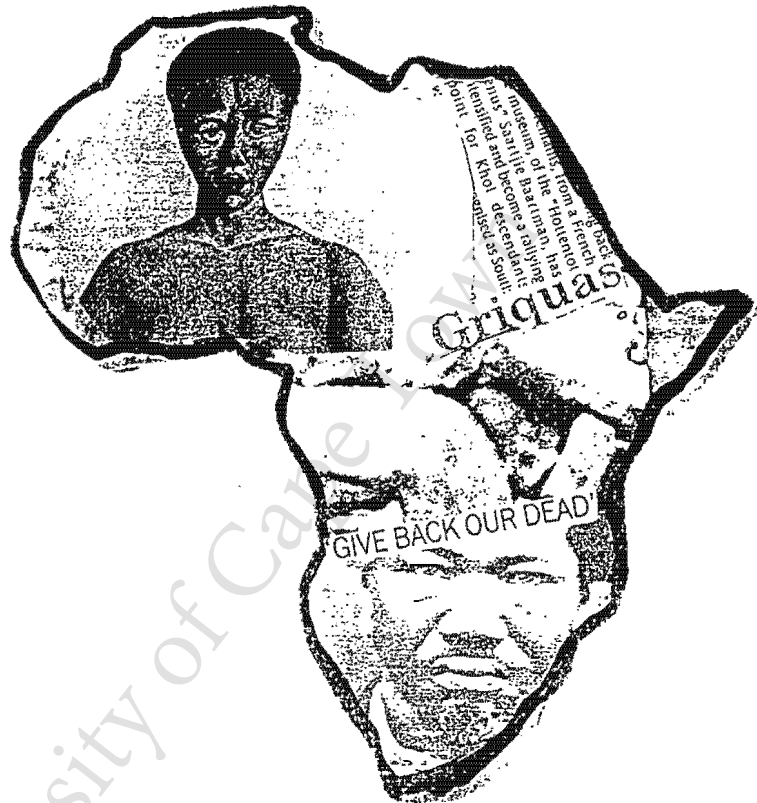

THE POLITICS AND POLICIES OF REPATRIATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SKELETAL MATERIAL:

A CASE STUDY INTO SOUTH AFRICA'S INDIGENOUS PAST

BY

COLETTE PIETERSEN



Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts at the University of Cape Town.
October 1997

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development
(HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby
acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at,
are those of the author and are not necessarily to be
attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

The University of Cape Town
Faculty of Arts
Department of History
Cape Town, South Africa

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

This thesis has two aims. The first is to examine the history of archaeology in southern Africa and to trace the development of calls for the repatriation and return of skeletal material to indigenous groups. The second examines indigenous group claims for the repatriation and return of skeletal material from archaeological institutions in, and outside, South Africa.

Two case studies form the basis for this inquiry. The first focuses on the claim of the Griqua National Conference (GNC) for the repatriation from France of the remains of Saartjie Baartman, a woman of Khoikhoi descent. The second case study examines the claim of Adam Kok V and his family for the return of the remains of their ancestor Cornelius Kok II from the University of the Witwatersrand Anatomy Department.

This thesis also documents the first repatriation ceremony to take place in South Africa. A case study of Native American Indian history during the colonial period and development of the social sciences at that time provides a comparative perspective.

Overall questions posed within the context of the discussion are: what is the position of archaeologists in these

situations; what is their relationship with South Africa's indigenous nations and; what does the future hold for the discipline in this regard?

Several research methods were adopted. Formal interviews, consisting of structured questions, recording and note taking, formed part of the research methodology. Informal interviews were unstructured and consisted of note taking only. I refer to these as primary sources for case studies. Secondary sources comprise information obtained from interviews conducted by others. The interviews consist of material researched and collected in the last two years. Interview material included in the thesis consists of information provided by archaeologists and indigenous group leaders from the Griqua National Conference and the Khoisan Representative Council. Attendances at occasions such as the repatriation ceremony of Cornelius Kok II in September 1996, and the first annual Khoisan Conference in July 1997, were documented through note taking and photographing.

The case studies form the structure around which the discussion is based, but I also discuss several related issues, the most important of which is race. Members of indigenous groups such as the GNC, who are claiming Griqua descent, was classified 'Coloured' under apartheid laws. It is from this stratum of the community that calls for indigenous

re-identification and empowerment have come. As a result the histories of Saartjie Baartman and Cornelius Kok II have political consequences.

Claimants' groups are understood as being regionalist in structure, wanting access to economic and political resources, yet wishing to remain within a unitary state. In reclaiming their 'lost' histories, indigenous groups have claimed 'icons' of Khoikhoi and San history and have challenged the discipline that institutionalised their ancestors bodies as 'objects' of study - archaeology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Martin Hall for his help throughout this research project. I would like to thank the Harry Oppenheimer Institute for African Studies and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for funding parts of the research. To all the post-graduate students in the archaeology department - thank you for your camaraderie and encouragement. To my family - thank you for your continual support.

CONTENTS

	page
ABSTRACT.....	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	4
CONTENTS.....	5
GLOSSARY.....	7
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	8
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	10
CHAPTER TWO: The dynamics of group identity - an anthropological perspective.....	43
CHAPTER THREE: Saartjie Baartman: the claim of the Griqua National Conference.....	58
CHAPTER FOUR: Cornelius Kok II: the claim of the Kok family.....	79
CHAPTER FIVE: A comparative case study abroad: Native American Indians in the United States.....	101

CHAPTER SIX: What archaeologists have to say.....	126
CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion.....	144
APPENDICES.....	155
REFERENCES.....	204

GLOSSARY

- AIM - American Indian Movement
- ANC - African National Congress
- APO - African Political Organisation
- BCM - Black Consciousness Movement
- GNC - Griqua National Conference
- KRC - Khoisan Representative Council
- NAGPRA - Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation
Act
- NP - National Party
- PAC - Pan African Congress
- RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme
- SAA - Society for American Archeologists
- SAGRAD - South African Griqua Research and Development
- SASO - South African Students Organisation
- UDF - United Democratic Front
- UN - United Nations
- US - United States
- WAC - World Archaeology Congress

8

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	page
1. Khoikhoi groups in southern Africa before settler expansion in the sixteenth century.	18
2. A body cast made by James Drury in 1910.	29
3. Cranium of 'Taung child' - <u>Australopithecus africanus</u> .	30
4. 'Mrs Ples' - <u>Australopithecus robustus</u> .	32
5. Location of the Richtersveld in Namaqualand.	50
6. Cross section of a 'matjieshuis'.	51
7. (a) Movement of Griquas into Griqualand West. (b) Geographic location of Kokstad in Griqualand East.	60
8. The Khoisan Representative Council, present at the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, July 1997.	63

Figure	page
9 Saartjie Baartman - the 'Hottentot Venus'.	71
10 'Hottentot Venus' on display. The pose was likened to Sandro Botticelli's 'Birth of Venus'.	72
11. "Love and Beauty vie for the attention as Cupid poses enticingly on the famous rump of the Hottentot Venus" (Skotnes, 1996:351).	73
12. Adam Kok I.	83
13. Genealogical chart of Adam Kok V, explained by Philip Tobias.	85
14 Adam Kok V (left) and Professor Philip Tobias (right).	86
15. Native American Indians groups before settler expansion.	106
16. Settler advancement and expansion of territories in North America.	107

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"... the great anthropological museum collections of Europe and South Africa contain much in the way of skeletal remains of the native populations of the region. The major part of these collections was excavated by archaeologists or amateur naturalists of the last century. The value of the skeletons in teaching us about prehistory is undoubted, and there remains a great deal more that they can teach us. Some of these bones tell us another story, for on the back shelves of some museums lie the last mortal remains of historic San killed in the genocide of the last two centuries in South Africa. Fortunately there are not many, but the tale they tell is one oft heard in the halls of history, from the Judea of Herod's day to the current events in Rwanda. This is the tale of people's inhumanity to one another" (Morris, 1996:67).

Cultural, economic and social dispossession have marked the histories of many people across the world. According to Sharp (1994), it is imperative to explain the socio-cultural relationships between people in order to distinguish the power relations which regulate society's actions. The ability to define oneself independently from another individual or group of individuals allows an authoritative and independent standing within a broader multi-cultural structure. The status in which this kind of autonomy results has been illustrated throughout the history of human society. It is one fraught with domination of one group over another. Such has been the case between oppressors and the oppressed populace, the former possessing the power to define, structure and control the identity of the 'other'.

South Africa's past in this respect has been inherently political in its social, cultural and economic factors. Such an acknowledgement needs to be expressed in the context of this thesis, for the very subject matter I will address in the rest of my discussion rests on a clear understanding of, and examination into, the development of race theory and identity. With two indigenous groups, the Griqua National Conference and the Kok family (as represented by the Khoisan Representative Council) claiming the body of Saartjie Baartman (also known as the 'Hottentot Venus)' and Cornelius Kok II respectively, a serious enquiry needs to be made of these claims. Tracing the

growth of the discipline of archaeology as an academic science within the system of British colonial rule in the nineteenth century, followed by a separatist system of rule during the early 1900s, will show the effects that politics have had on the histories of the indigenous groups of South Africa. One of the major consequences of this political history, discussed in this thesis, is the move by indigenous groups to call for the return of skeletal remains from museum collections.

It is of importance to clarify two key terms that are used in the following chapters. Gulla (1996) makes the distinction between the use of the terms "repatriation" and "return". Repatriation refers to international cases, where for example the body of Saartjie Baartman is claimed for repatriation from France to South Africa. The use of the word 'return' refers to local cases occurring within the country. A case in point would be that of Cornelius Kok II. These definitions will be followed in this dissertation.

The aims of this thesis are therefore as follows:

- To trace the development of archaeology in southern Africa and the ways in which its use of race theory in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shaped present day circumstances, including the call for a democratisation of the discipline (see Nackerdien 1990, Pastor 1990) by empowering those formerly dispossessed, and to return their identity and history.

- To examine the repatriation and return claims put forward by the Griqua National Conference (GNC) and the Kok family. This is imperative if we are to understand the path of empowerment some indigenous groups have chosen to pursue. More importantly, the claimants need to be assessed in terms of their affiliation and histories, for these have broader implications for current claims of other groups towards self determination.

Shifts in the political orientation of archaeology have taken longer in South Africa than elsewhere in the world because of its former non-democratic policies. In the United States and Australia, in contrast, the effects of colonial authority have been dealt with more rapidly. To develop a comparative perspective, I will focus on the Native American experience in the United States and draw out similarities and differences in both continents with regard to the development of indigenous groups' conscious promotion of their histories and identities.

Morris (1996) has stressed the grim reality behind the historical curtain of many countries. One of the paths which I will follow now takes a retrospective look at experiences which affected the socio-cultural identity of the Khoisan people of southern Africa, from the seventeenth century to the present day, and the effects these experiences have generated.

The original inhabitants of southern Africa:

When early European settlers occupied parts of the southwestern Cape in the seventeenth century, groups of people now known as the Khoikhoi and the San were already present in the area. Early works by Theal (1907) and Stow (1905), however claimed that European colonists and the Khoikhoi and San groups settled in the southwestern Cape at about the same time. Such assertions have to be understood within the context of South Africa's political situation at that time. Attempts were made to justify occupation and domination by powers intent on instituting a separatist regime (the effects of the political system in southern Africa are discussed at a later stage of this chapter). More recently, academics (see Mason, 1987; Hall, 1994, Sadr, 1997), have discredited Theal and Stow's historical work. Instead, archaeological evidence suggests that the San were the first people to occupy the land in southern Africa many millennia ago. Smith (1996) suggests contact between San and Khoikhoi first took place about 2000 years ago.

There are, nevertheless several issues surrounding the history of the herder communities who were at the Cape at the time of European colonisation in the seventeenth century that have yet to be explained. These include questions about the migratory movements of domestic stock - how did fat-tailed sheep and cattle (the domestic stock of the Khoikhoi) come to

be at the Cape? It is not my intention to discuss these issues here but the complexity of early indigenous history needs to be taken into account.

Consideration of the use of the terms Khoikhoi and San is, however, necessary, as these distinctions are relevant to present day politics. In Andrew Smith's words:

"The Khoikhoi called themselves 'the real people' to distinguish themselves from other groups such as the San (Soaqua or Sonqua), called Bushmen by the colonists, who were people living off the veld and who had no cattle. Therefore the San was the term denoting lower status. In modern Nama orthography, the spelling of Khoikhoi would be Khoekhoe. Other variations on the name were Kwena, or Khoe-na. The word 'Khoisan' is used as a wider term for the racial stock to which both Khoikhoi and San belong... or for people who are difficult to distinguish, especially during the later colonial period when refugees were moving away from the Cape and mixing with other groups in the hinterland" (Smith, 1996:2).

Recent work by Sadr (1997) on the migratory movements of indigenous Khoikhoi suggests that herders (Khoikhoi) may have arrived at the Cape around the end of the first millenium AD. The argument presented for this conclusion is based on the "Neolithic-by-diffusion" hypothesis. Sadr says: "If "Neolithic-by-diffusion" was indeed the case, and given the

assurance of linguists that a group of Khoe-speakers had to have migrated rapidly from northern Botswana to the Cape ... in order to produce the historically observed spread of Khoe dialects, we ought to find in the archaeological record some evidence for such a migration some time after the early Neolithic" (Sadr, 1997:7).

Two sources of archaeological evidence that have been taken as tests of reliability of this hypothesis were based on (1) a search for a stylistic pattern in Later Stone Age (LSA) pottery from the Cape to Northern Botswana and (2) a marked change in the pottery, showing replacement or domination of pottery styles used at the Cape and Namibia, and coinciding with the arrival of the herders. This evidence from archaeological sites from the first millennium AD, supports the "Neolithic-by-diffusion" hypothesis.

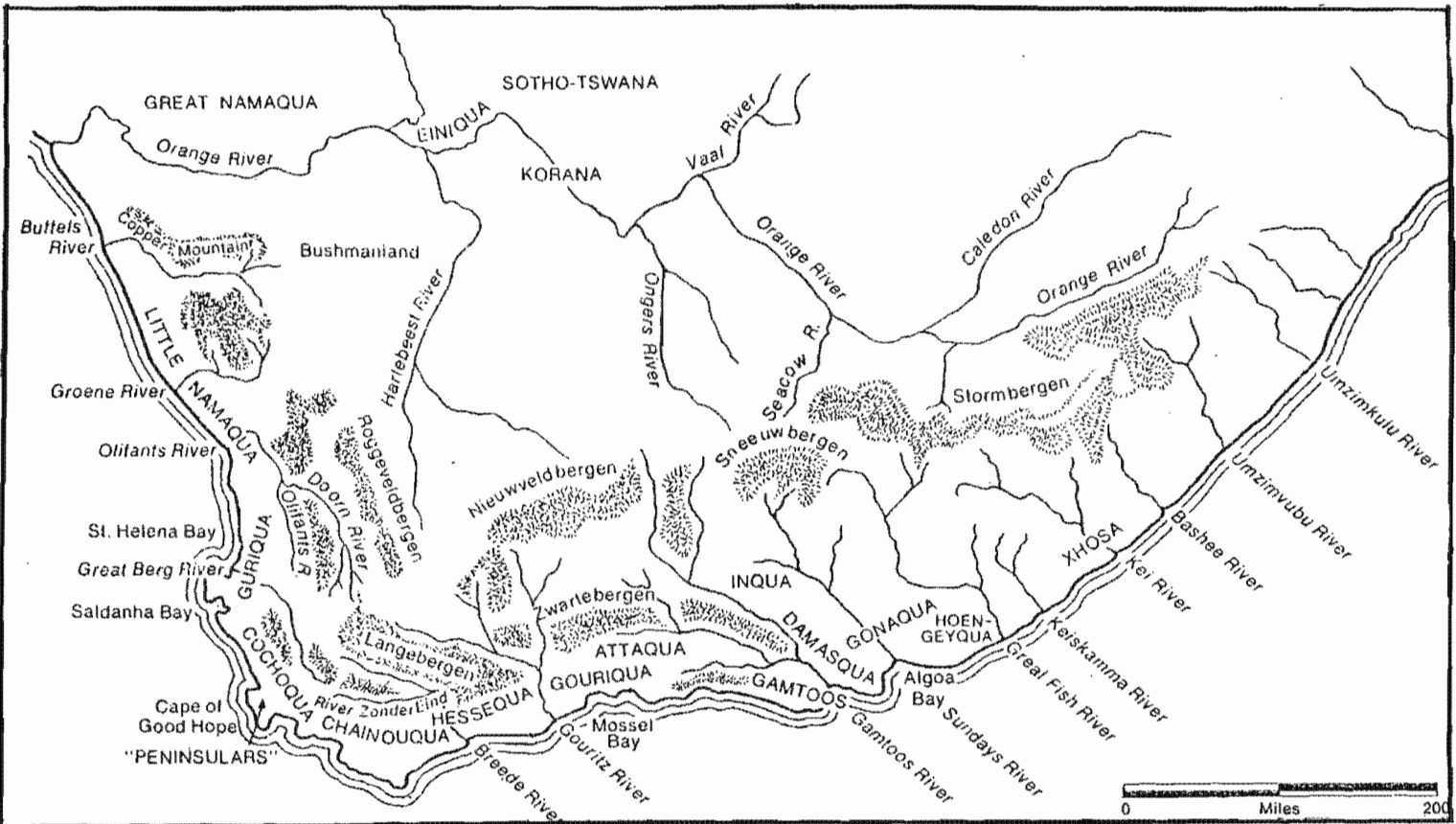
Although early European travellers such as Olof Bergh (1682-3), Peter Kolbe (1719), Andrew Sparrman (1772-76) and John Barrow (1797, 1798) made references to the indigenous groups they met (the Khoi and San), misrepresentation and misinformation, as Smith (1996) says, later become prevalent, providing a basis for the subsequent exploitation of the Khoi and San. Thus, the Khoi and the San have often been described as the same group of people (Elphick, 1985), and in the process of exploitation (Skotnes, 1986), were portrayed as

being one homogenous group, possessing no distinct cultural features from each other. This biased and prejudiced view to be viewed in the context of South Africa's political position, with European influence in the colonies at its height.

Elphick (1985) presents a different, updated, history in which Khoikhoi group divergence is clearly indicated. Four geographical groups are identified; the Cape Khoikhoi, the Einiqua, the Korana and the Namaqua (illustrated in Figure I). My main concern in this thesis is with the Cape Khoikhoi, a category that includes in turn groups identified as Gonaqua, Damasqua and Griqua. The descendants of the Griqua are the particular focus of discussion in the chapters that follow.

Several key events in the Khoikhoi's interaction with European settlers were to have a particularly negative effect. These events have been documented by Elphick (1985) and Smith (1996). Smith makes reference to the conflict between Khoikhoi and settlers over land and cattle in the early seventeenth century. The fluctuation of control over resources such as land, water and cattle put a strain on the Khoikhoi's economic growth and stability. The San also experienced socio-economic pressures during the period of colonial contact. Economically they differed from the Khoikhoi in that they were dependent on hunting animals such as eland, and gathering food

Figure 1
Khoikhoi groups in southern Africa before settler occupation
in the sixteenth century.



Source: Halford, S.J. 1949. The Griquas of Griqualand: a historical narrative of the Griqua people, their rise and decline. Cape Town: Juta Publishing Company.

(usually berries and underground corms), as Parkington (1990) shows. The movement of the San further into the Cape Folded Belt Mountains in the southwestern Cape around this time suggests (see Parkington, 1983) a similar strain on access to their economic resources.

With the establishment of a Dutch outpost at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, a marked decline in Khoikhoi relations with Dutch settlers ensued. It soon became clear that the Dutch settlers had intentions of occupying and dominating the land the Khoikhoi needed for their herds. In February 1657 a few employees of the Dutch East India Company were released as free burghers and given the option of owning land in the Cape colony. The friction caused by this colonial policy resulted in the first Khoikhoi-Dutch war in 1657, the first of many conflict-ridden episodes in southern Africa's colonial history. In the 1700s, the regulations for grazing herds changed constantly, resulting in a devastating effect on Khoikhoi herders at the Cape. In 1703 the Dutch East India Company implemented the 'loan farm system' (see Elphick, 1985), by which farmers could graze their herds in regions outside the Cape colony. Economic and social strains were having adverse effects on Khoikhoi society and, with the smallpox epidemic in 1713, many Khoikhoi were forced to serve as labourers on settler farms in order to survive.

Elphick (1985) notes that commentators began to observe that the number of Khoikhoi people present at the Cape had dwindled. In the nineteenth century, European academics started expressing 'concern' for, and an interest in, the Khoikhoi and San people for the purpose of academic 'preservation' and study. The rise of this interest, which will be discussed later, coincided with the work of Charles Darwin (1859) and others on the origin and evolution of the human species, centering scientific interest on the inhabitants of southern Africa and other 'primitive' parts of the world.

The growth of the natural and social sciences, including archaeology, in the nineteenth century played a significant part in the experiences of the Khoikhoi and San people. Morris (1996), writes about the many skeletal remains still housed in museums and scientific institutions for the purpose of anatomical studies. Some of these skeletal remains are now being reclaimed.

Two groups of indigenous descent have made such claims. The Griqua National Conference has made an appeal to the French government for the repatriation of the skeletal remains of a woman of Khoi descent, known as Saartjie Baartman. The second claim comes from the Kok family and the local Griqua community

at Campbell for the return of the skeletal remains of their ancestor, Cornelius Kok II, from the University of Witwatersrand Department of Anatomical Sciences. These claims have highlighted the changing image of archaeology as a social science, and the close connections with changing political ideologies in South Africa. It is apparent, then, that the key starting point in this discussion is the history of archaeology in Europe, and in the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa.

The colonial past: "the codification of the human body"

"The idea that Africa is an idea has an origin. Knowing what this is must be part of the process by which we understand how Europe reached backwards in time or outwards in space to discover what Europe was not...In their identification of an object called Africa, Europeans experienced a fantasy of fulfilled desire in which the distinction between dream and reality was abolished. As a consequence the dogma emerges that Africa was the epitome of economic, backwardness and the antithesis of European dynamism" (Rowlands, 1989:262).

European colonial expansion in southern Africa during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries played an immense part in reshaping many people's conceptualisation of race theories and culture. This period was marked by European travellers' and

Scholar's need to define non-whites was primarily borne out of a need to justify oppression of non-whites through racist ideology. An ideology which according to Rowlands (1989) was taken from early eighteenth century scholarly works.

According to Hall (1987), these included Linnaeus' typology classification of races.

Carolus (Carl von Linne) Linnaeus (1707 – 1778) was the founder of evolutionary Biology. In his study of human races, in 1735, he made the distinction between three Human "species", based on their geographical locality, and named them Homo Europeus, Homo asiaticus and Homo africanus. Jones (1992) describes Linnaeus' Book *Systema Natura* as "the beginning of taxonomy as a science" (Jones et al, 1992: 451).

Following the work of Linnaeus, Arthur Lovejoy constructed a theory known as the 'Great Chain of Being' (see Dubow, 1995), in which he described the European male as the highest and most intelligent form of being, a theory in which the subservient position of Khoikhoi and San figured strongly.

"This medieval conception, whose origins can be traced back to classical times, came to serve as an all-encompassing philosophical scheme according to which all living matter was assigned a discrete and unchanging place in the universe,

rising in an infinitely graded scale from the lowest form of life to God the supreme being. According to Arthur Lovejoy, the Great Chain of Being was, along with the word 'Nature', the sacred phrase of the eighteenth century, playing a part somewhat analogous to that of the blessed word 'evolution' in the late nineteenth" (Dubow, 1995:21). Thus European superiority was clearly established within a construction of human history.

Over a century after Linnaeus Charles Darwin (1809-82), published the Origins of Species by means of Natural Selection. Jones describes Darwin as the "founder of modern evolutionary biology, and indeed of modern biology. Darwin was greatly influenced by Charles Lyell's idea that, in geology, slow processes such as erosion by rivers could have immense effects over long periods of time, and applied this graduation to changes in living creatures" (Jones et al, 1992: 447). Darwin's work provided the spur for the introduction of new methods of racial study such as craniology and eugenics. It laid the cornerstone for the development of comparative anatomical studies and profoundly influenced the then-emerging discipline of archaeology. Wenke (1990) notes that the quantification of human physical features began to be used as a measure for race difference. With the great influence that European scholars had in academic circles in southern Africa,

the study of its indigenous people became a discipline that was, according to Pastor (1995), gender based and racially exclusive. " The knowledge of these bodies were important because knowledge of their characteristics helped to define what European man was not" (Pastor, 1995:1).

The history of European colonial expansion runs far and deep. Many artifacts and skeletal remains that were sent to Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are still housed in museums and research institutions. The Khoikhoi and San people in southern Africa experienced a similar exploitation - not only of their culture, but of their freedom and their bodies. The Khoikhoi were forced into servitude on white settler farms, whereas the San became the target of bounty hunters, the first recorded occurrence of which Smith (1996) says took place in 1731. The San were labelled, defined and ultimately dispossessed of their culture (symbolically and physically), and their identity. The Khoikhoi, having settled on farms as labourers, were not exterminated, but there is no doubting the effects events such as the Dutch-Khoikhoi war (1657), the introduction of the 'loan farm' system (1703) and ultimately the smallpox epidemic (1713) had on them. Such events dealt devastating blows to the Khoikhoi people in southern africa - from which they never recovered economically or socially.

Central to the problems which the herders faced was their loss of cattle and land, which as Smith (1996) points out, the Dutch settlers never understood. To the Dutch, land and cattle were commodities which could be exchanged or sold. They were of no symbolic importance to them, but served rather as a form of monetary exchange. In contrast, the ownership of cattle in the Khoikhoi community not only served as a means of economic survival, but also served as a means by which they could maintain culturally constructed relationships within their community. Although archaeology does not yet present much information on this aspect of Khoikhoi culture, excavations along the southwest coast at sites such as Kasteelberg (see Figure 2) provide some information on the possible structure of herds.

The socio-economic systems upon which herding communities relied on often took the form of loan systems. Smith (1996) explains;

" Within the herding community stock numbers changed as conditions changed, though numbers were kept within workable limits...Disease and drought were also mechanisms of control influencing herd size. But a major limitation was that of labour, the need for men to manage herds. The usual way for African herdsmen to get round this problem is for them to loan animals out to kinsmen to look after...Through such bond

friendships a man could gain access to breeding stock to recoup losses from whatever cause" (Smith et al, 1996:29,30).

The loss of their livelihood, due to settler advancement into the interior, changed the manner in which Khoikhoi communities related to their social and economic environments. The anxiety to deal with such change became even more prevalent in the twentieth century. The following part of the discussion centres on the development of archaeology in southern Africa during the early part of the century. The presence of political forces in the establishment of the discipline provides strong links with the country's political history and the history of its indigenous people.

South Africa: the development of the social sciences

In 1905 the British Association for the Advancement of Science visited South Africa. The visit was of great importance, causing widespread interest amongst the public and amongst those in state office, particularly General Smuts who "in his influential Rhodes Memorial lectures delivered at Oxford in 1929, referred to Africa as a 'human laboratory' "(Dubow, 1995). By this time the scholarly works of Linnaeus and Darwin were familiar to the scientific community in South Africa, and many of the European theories on the concept of race were deeply rooted in the social and academic perceptions of the

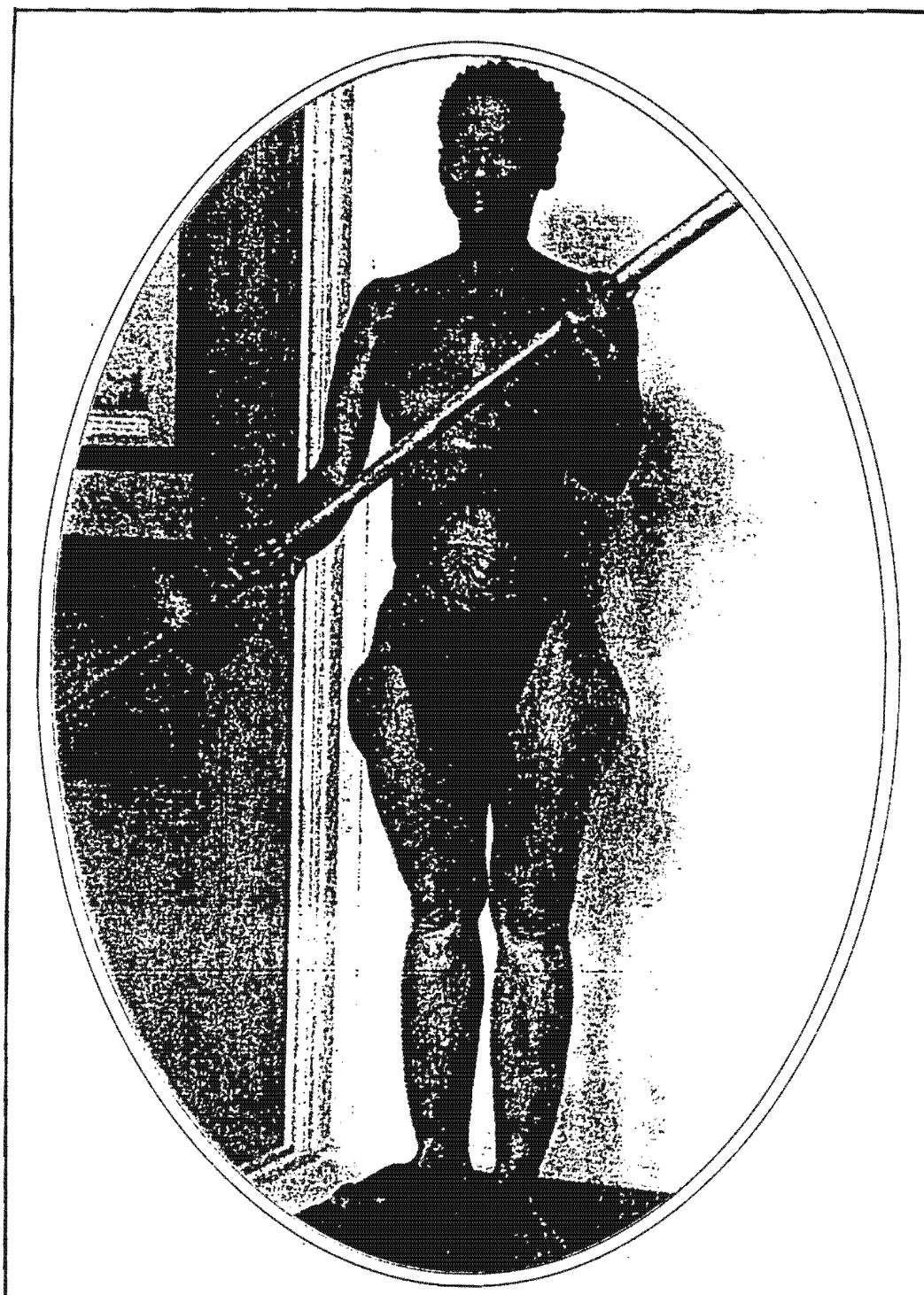
white populace. Nothing expressed this more than the 'scientific' studies performed on Khoikhoi and San people.

In 1906 Louis Peringuey became the director of the South African Museum, in Cape Town. Dubow (1995), shows him to be the most influential archaeologist of his time, and the person who commissioned the 'life casts' of San people. The casts were made by James Drury in 1907 and first displayed in 1913 (see Figure 2). The 'life casts' were viewed as a means of documenting and preserving, as Munzo (1992) states, a 'species' which was close to extinction. The casts became one of the major attractions of the Museum's collections, and are still displayed today, despite objections from modern day Khoikhoi and San descendants.

Raymond Dart, who was Professor of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand between 1923-58, promoted and, as Dubow (1995) points out, excited wider public interest in the origins of modern man. His discovery of an infant australopithecine child, Australopithecus africanus, dubbed the 'Taung child', (see Figure 3) on the fringes of the Kalahari in 1924 caused widespread interest and controversy amongst scientists all over the world. Dart (see Jones, 1992) believed that the origins of human evolutionary development took place in Africa. Robert Broom, curator of the Transvaal

Figure 2

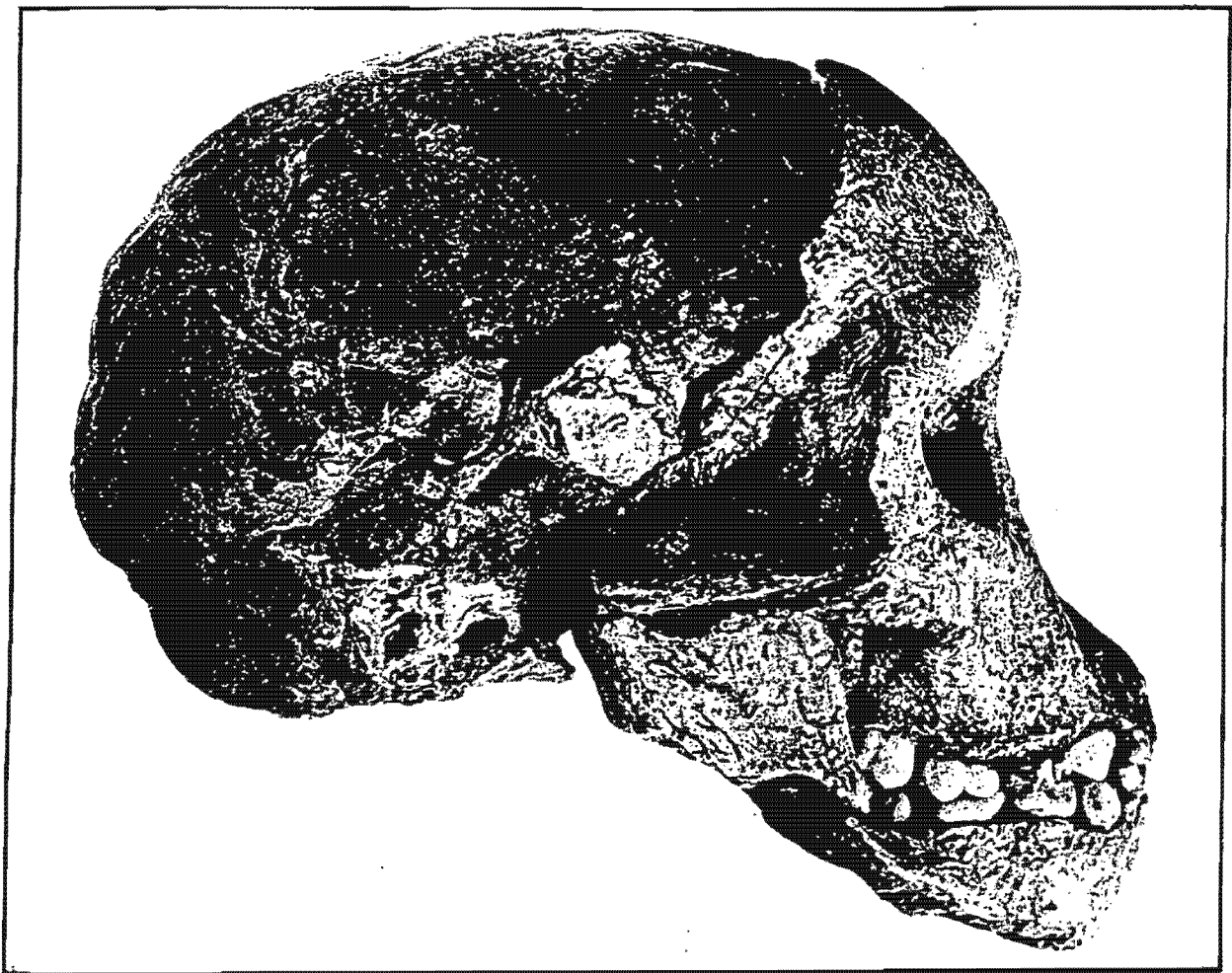
A body cast made by James Drury in 1910.



Source: Skotnes, P. (ed). 1996. Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Figure 3

Cranium of 'Taung child' - Australopithecus Africanus



Source: Brain, C.K. (ed) 1993. A caves's chronicle of early man. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum.

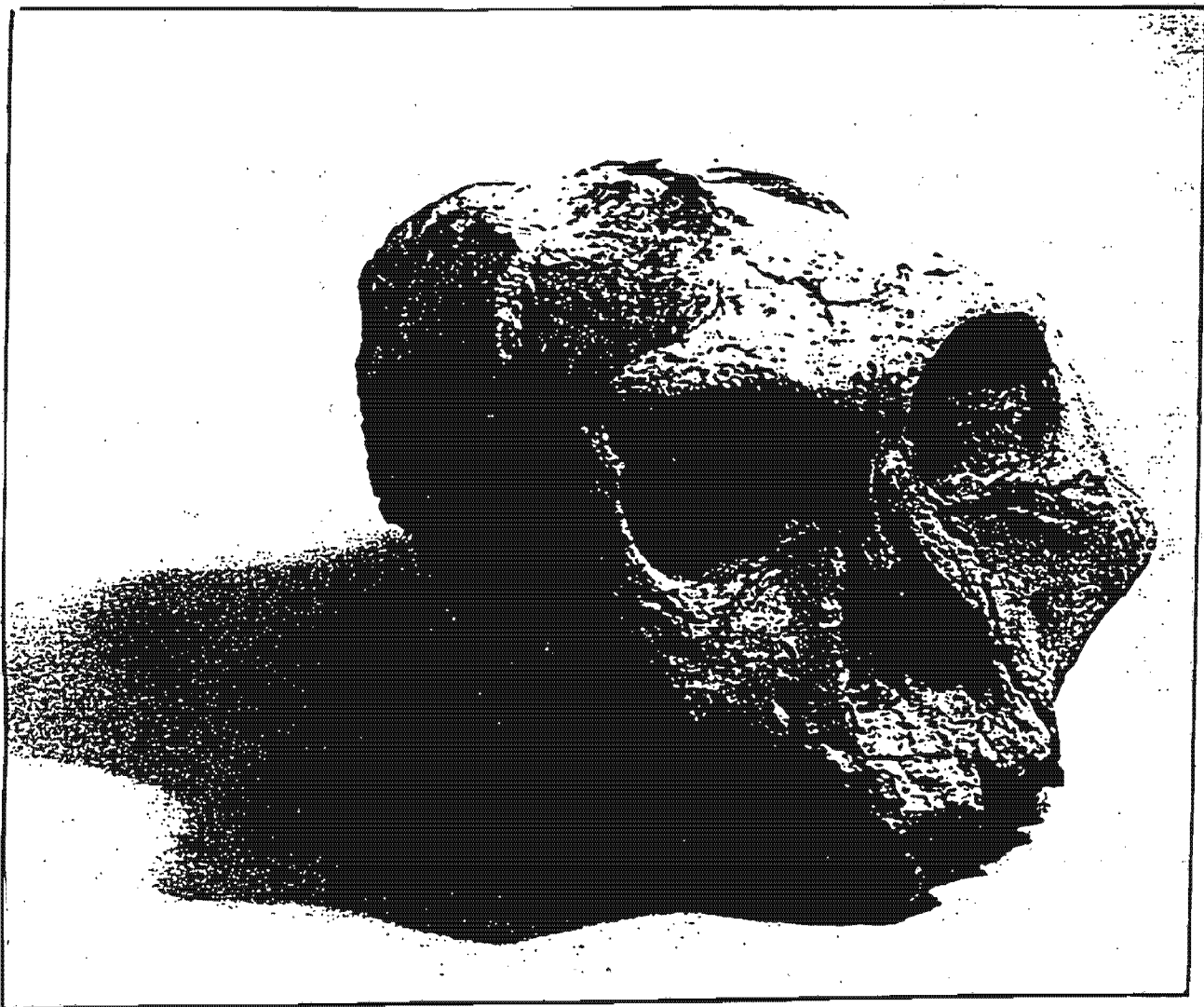
Museum from 1934 – 1936, supported Dart's theories on the origins of modern humans. Broom made several finds in 1937 and 1938 that supported Dart's theory. These included an adult australopithecine, named Australopithecus transvaalensis and later renamed Australopithecus africanus, (better known as 'Mrs Ples') (see Figure 4) and a more robust-type australopithecine named Paranthropus robustus.

Jones (1992) tells how Dart's find was dismissed amongst established figures such as Arthur Keith and Smith Woodard, who rejected the theory that humans developed in Africa, a continent they viewed as inferior to Europe. So desperate was their denial (note Renfrew and Bahn, 1991) that a few scientists in England reconstructed a human skull to look like that of a early palaeolithic specimen. The skull was 'discovered' at around the time of Dart's find and the 'Piltdown man' forgery was only disproved in 1953.

Dubow (1995) refers to the period between 1905 – 1929 as that of "traditional" Physical anthropology in South Africa. Matthew Drennan, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Cape Town argued that the Khoikhoi and San were heading for extinction – a claim made by Wilhelm Bleek more than 50 years prior when he referred to them as a 'dying out race'. Drennan's observation and that of his predecessor, served to justify the making of body casts. Illustrating the need for scientific research to re-establish itself outside the old ideologies, i.e. racist ideology.

Figure 4

'Mrs Ples' - Australopithecus robustus



Source: Brain, C.K. (ed) 1993. A caves's chronicle of early man. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum.

resulted in great dissatisfaction and resulted in defiance:

"This together with the arbitrary and often offensive definition of certain people as 'Coloured' in terms of the Population Registration Act, and the disenfranchisement of Coloured voters in the 1950s and 1960s, made purely Coloured political organisations and political activity increasingly less relevant to many of those classified as Coloured. Already in the early 1950s a range of new organisations emerged, drawing prominently on Coloured support, but subsuming themselves within the broad Congress Alliance headed by the A.N.C." (Lewis, 1987:262).

The ANC launched three major campaigns in which 'Coloured' support developed and strengthened: the Defiance Campaign of 1952-3, the Freedom Charter Campaign of 1955-6 and the Anti-pass Campaigns from 1956-1960. According to Lewis (1987), the Joint Planning Council, which met in 1951, increased the membership of the A.N.C. of both 'Coloured', Black and Indian membership to almost 100 000, making the A.N.C.'s campaign the biggest in protest of the government's laws. The Joint Planning Council of 1951 became known as the Congress Alliance, which was responsible for drawing up the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter, signed on June 26th, 1955, "affirmed that S.A. belonged to all its inhabitants, black or

white and demanded a non-racial, democratic system of government, equal protection for all groups before the law, nationalisation of the banks, mines and heavy industry, land redistribution, equal work and educational opportunities and the removal of restrictions on domestic and family life" (Lewis, 1987:263).

The first real wave of political unrest came in 1976. According to Lewis (1987), Black opposition politics took on a more militant tone, which saw the involvement of many Black and 'Coloured' school pupils and students on the Witwatersrand and in the Western Cape. The establishment of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969, after breaking away from the National Union of South African Students, had centred its policies on the promotion of Black Consciousness, under the leadership of a young medical student named Steve Biko. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), later formed by Biko, "called on Blacks, that is, all non-whites, to resist all value-systems that would alienate them in their own country, encouraging them instead to formulate their own norms and values" (Rogilds, 1994:156). Black Consciousness impacted greatly on 'Coloured' people, especially students' rejection of nationalist theories of racial identity.

The second wave of student unrest, which resulted in the government's declaration of a State of Emergency in July 1985,

was preceded by the founding of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, which lobbied for voting rights for all South Africans. Their demands were in opposition to the government's plans to implement the tricameral parliamentary system, thereby attempting to "urbanise and modernise apartheid" (Lewis, 1987:281). The participation of 'Coloured' people in the defiance movements such as the ANC, BCM and the UDF, indicated their rejection of the racial term 'Coloured', and their identification with 'Black' political movements in South Africa. In 1990 the ANC was unbanned, and South Africa began steadily moving towards a process of democratic government.

In 1994, the country's first democratic elections took place. At this time many 'Coloured' people started to question their identity within this new political environment, and many moved away from their association with Black politics to form political groups within the 'Coloured' community. An example has been the December First Movement (1996), basing its policies on the advancement of 'Coloured' history. The current tendencies of many 'Coloured' people, towards reidentifying with their Khoikhoi ancestry can be explained within the context of the post-1994 elections, which I will discuss briefly.

Post-apartheid: 'multi-racism and ethnic plurism'

The post-apartheid era can be taken as beginning with the

first democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994. With the introduction of the new government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and affirmative action programme in the same year, there has since been a conscious divide amongst people from the 'Coloured' community.

The RDP has been described as: "an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future" (RDP, 1994:1).

One of the aims of government institutions, including non-governmental and community-based organisations, is to promote and contribute to the success of the five key programmes in the RDP. These are proposals and policy programmes which have been linked to one another and which can be summarised as follows:

- meeting basic needs;
- developing our human resources;
- building the economy;
- democratising the state and society; and
- implementing the RDP.

(RDP, 1994:1.4.1:7)

An affirmative action programme was also an integral part of this process of democratisation, whereby people from disadvantaged communities (non-white communities), were able to get better access to the economic market. Although the RDP is no longer running within the government's programmes for developing the country's infrastructure, it has left a lasting effect of dissatisfaction within the 'Coloured' community. Why the dissatisfaction? Many 'Coloured' people feel that they, having suffered equally during the apartheid years, are now at an unfair disadvantage. Many feel that the affirmative action programme was only aimed at empowering the "African" community.

I have also identified the Population Registration Act of 1950 as being one of three important laws in the apartheid government's segregationist system. The Urban Areas Act of 1923, amended in 1952, which implemented the 'pass law' system, and the Group Areas Act of 1950 were two key laws implemented with the purpose of segregating people geographically and controlling the movement of non-whites (particularly blacks) in and out of urban areas. The government's control over 'Coloured' people was centred on racial classification and geographical segregation, institutionalised in the forced removals and resettlement on the Cape Flats in the mid-1960s and early 70s. The response of 'Coloured' people had then been a denial of their racial

classification. But almost forty years later 'Coloured' people are once again seeking to empower themselves by, firstly, supporting the idea of the 'Coloured' community as an ethnic group and, secondly, perusing the identification as 'Coloured' in an historical context. In other words, they are now identifying themselves in terms of their Khoikhoi ancestry, such as Griqua, which they had previously denied.

There are, however, socio-cultural problems in analysing this shift that some 'Coloured' people have made. It is necessary to understand the economic and political context in which they are making statements about identity. Looking at this question of 'Coloured' identity on a social and cultural level, one cannot provide a clear answer as to what makes a person see him or herself as 'Coloured'. Many people formerly classified as 'Coloured' do not consider themselves as such. Those who do, identify with particular aspects of their culture and social standing; for example, particular points of ancestral histories or cultural objects. The two Griqua groups relevant to the case studies to be presented in Chapters Three and Four seem to have strong affiliations with certain aspects of 'Coloured' history and identity, hence their use of archaeology as a tool towards empowerment.

Having chosen the archaeological domain as a platform for group mobilisation, the next step in their process of

empowerment required legitimising their identity. With that came the calls for the repatriation and return of the remains of two of South Africa's most prominent 'Coloured' historical figures - Saartjie Baartman and Cornelius Kok II. Claiming and identifying these figures symbolises the existence of ancestry and descendance, and enforces rights to restitution.

The story unfolding here is one that is very complex. Archaeologists find themselves in the midst of a democratisation process which calls for a clear restructuring of archaeological methodology and practice. It is therefore necessary to look at the issue of group identity within the processes of reclamation of histories as an important key to broadening understanding of the issues at hand. This will be discussed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 2:
THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP IDENTITY -
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Having discussed in brief terms the history of archaeology in southern Africa within the context of recent claims for the return of skeletal remains to indigenous communities, the focus in this chapter will be more anthropological.

Bekker (1993) and Barnard (1997) provide insight into the social structure of groups who define their identity by means of social performance within, and outside, the group. Bekker identifies two dimensions along which South African communities, including those groups that are the subjects of this study, need to be analyzed. The first, which has already been examined in Chapter One, relates to the cause and effect of race theories in southern Africa. The second, which will be the focus of this chapter, has to do with identity-related consequences of these historical events.

More importantly, this chapter will focus on change and survival of factors such as culture, identity, heritage, history and performance. The definition of these factors requires anthropological analysis, and this in turn leads to questions about the dynamics of minority group structures. How

Do groups identify themselves and how are they identified by others? Are the characteristics in identifying behaviour comparable to communities in other parts of the world?

First I will assess the common characteristics of both minority groups making Repatriation and return claims – the Griqua National Conference and the Khoisan Representative Council (a group representing the Kok family). Bekker (1993) suggests that all such groups possess certain characteristics which enable them to assert the socio-economic and political environment to which they aspire. The following discussion centers on Bekker's identification of these characteristics and serves to lay the basis for understanding the dynamics of minority group structuring and re-structuring in this part of South African society.

The GNC and the Kok family share few of the characteristics categorized by Bekker (1993) as "nationalist". Nationalist groups, according to Bekker, challenge the structures of government with the intent of obtaining access to primary resources such as land. The GNC and Kok family, in contrast, are classified as "regionalist". Watson explains: "We recognise that not all parts of every movement, such as individual parties or groups consider themselves out-and-out nationalists, in the sense of demanding an independent state. There is clearly in practice, a continuum between those who will not accept anything less than independence and full

sovereignty and those ready to settle for autonomy within the existing state; these may, indeed, be regarded as regionalists" (Watson, 1990:2).

According to Bekker (1993) nationalist and regionalist groups have similar group structures in that they share:

- a collective name;
- a common descent;
- a shared history;
- a distinctive culture;
- an association with a specific territory and
- a sense of solidarity.

The most significant difference in the two group structures lies in their political and economic goals.

Several theories have been presented by anthropologists to explain the methods groups use in constructing identity.

Barnard (1997) summarises these as primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist. Primordialist theories are "based on deep associations with fellow group members, e.g., through common kinship or attachment to a shared culture or a piece of land", whereas instrumentalists "see ethnicity as a tool of political leaders who might manipulate it for their own advantage or simply of individuals, who use it to push their own cause" (Barnard, 1997:3). The third type of theory is less extreme and is termed the "constructivist"

Approach by Barnard. This theory recognises that understanding the structures which govern identity is not an either/or situation, but rather a matter of incorporating both the primordialist and instrumentalist positions in a common approach.

Anderson (1983) and Richmond (1984), indicates the sequence of stages that groups follow in developing a regionalist or nationalist type approach to identity. The main difference between the two approaches is their goals in terms of self determination. Regionalist groups start by establishing a frame of continuity through time. Identity is constructed with reference to certain events, which provide legitimacy for group endeavours and group cohesion, conferring power and independence, which in turn help groups achieve their desired goals, whether these be social, economic or political. In contrast, nationalist groups claim resources which affect the country's national structures. They aim to take such resources, particularly land, outside the state's authority, and are countered by calls for national unity, characteristic of South Africa since the 1994 elections.

There are, however, inherent problems in using these types of structures as categories. Barnard(1997) sees situations as moving and changing constantly. Thus looking at the

historical events discussed in Chapter One, which affected Khoikhoi and San descendants, there seem to have been constant movements between identities, with 'Coloured' people identifying with 'Black' movements, and then later with Khoikhoi and San ethnicities.

Ethnicity, as Barnard sees it is "constructed around memory, around heritage, and, in Khoisan cases, especially around land and economic cultural symbols, including the presumed traditional means of production" (Barnard, 1997:2).

Consequently, 'Coloured' identity becomes harder to define for anthropologists, historians and archaeologists.

There is some consistency, however, for Barnard identifies a substratum of Khoisan culture which persists within groups. He says: "Khoisan culture persists, certainly among Griqua and Basters and among many classified as 'Cape Coloured'. This is now amplified by an identity, e.g. as 'yellow people' (as applied to urban, 'brown people') among rural groups such as the itinerant kaartjie-mense or Donkey-cart people"

(Barnard, 1997:4). Using a constructivist approach in this instance lends to an understanding of the dynamics involved in group identity.

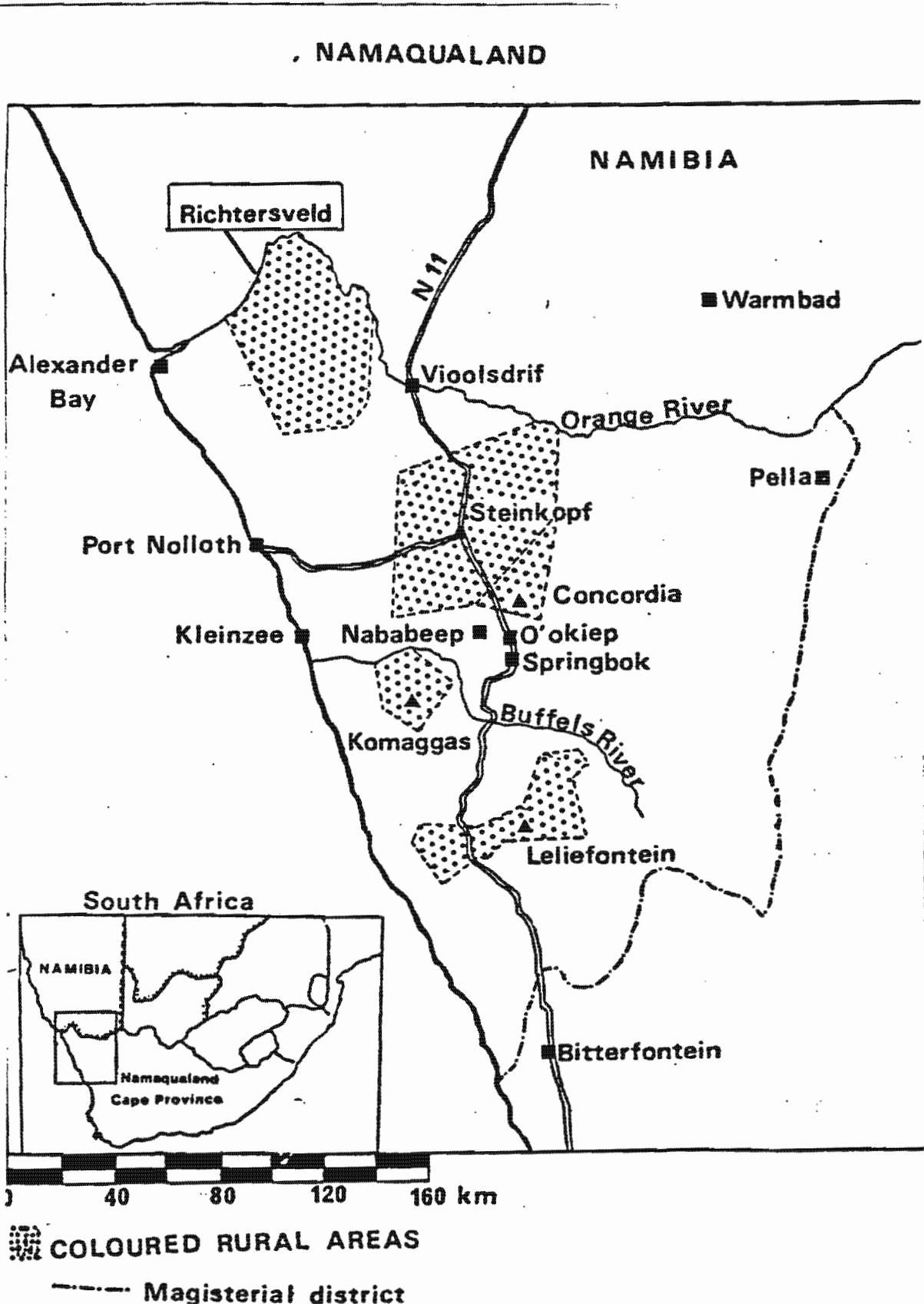
Factors such as culture, history and heritage come into play when groups re-identify and restructure socio-cultural and

political networks. The process which governs this restructuring can be seen as performance - methods of self-identification. I will illustrate what performance is, and where factors such as heritage and history come into play, by using an anthropological case study. This example (see Sharp, 1990) centres on a minority group's battle to maintain land rights in the Namaqualand Richtersveld National Park (Figure 5). Although the Nama of the Richtersveld were claiming land, the resources they utilised in defining and empowering themselves are similar to those used by the GNC and the Khoisan Forum, as well as the Kok family and their allies within the indigenous community.

In 1990, the Namas of the Richtersveld in Namaqualand made a plea for recognition. According to Sharp (1990), their aim was to retain land rights in the Richtersveld National Park where they had been living for many generations. The National Parks Board felt that hunting and foraging activities might have a negative impact on the fauna and flora in the Park. Despite this opposition the Nama were able to retain (in court) their rights to foraging and hunting within the Park, although these were to be regulated. The celebrations, at which many media representatives were present, were centred around performance. Nama wedding songs were sung, and an exhibition of Nama housing structures, known as matjieshuise (see Figure 6), was

Figure 5

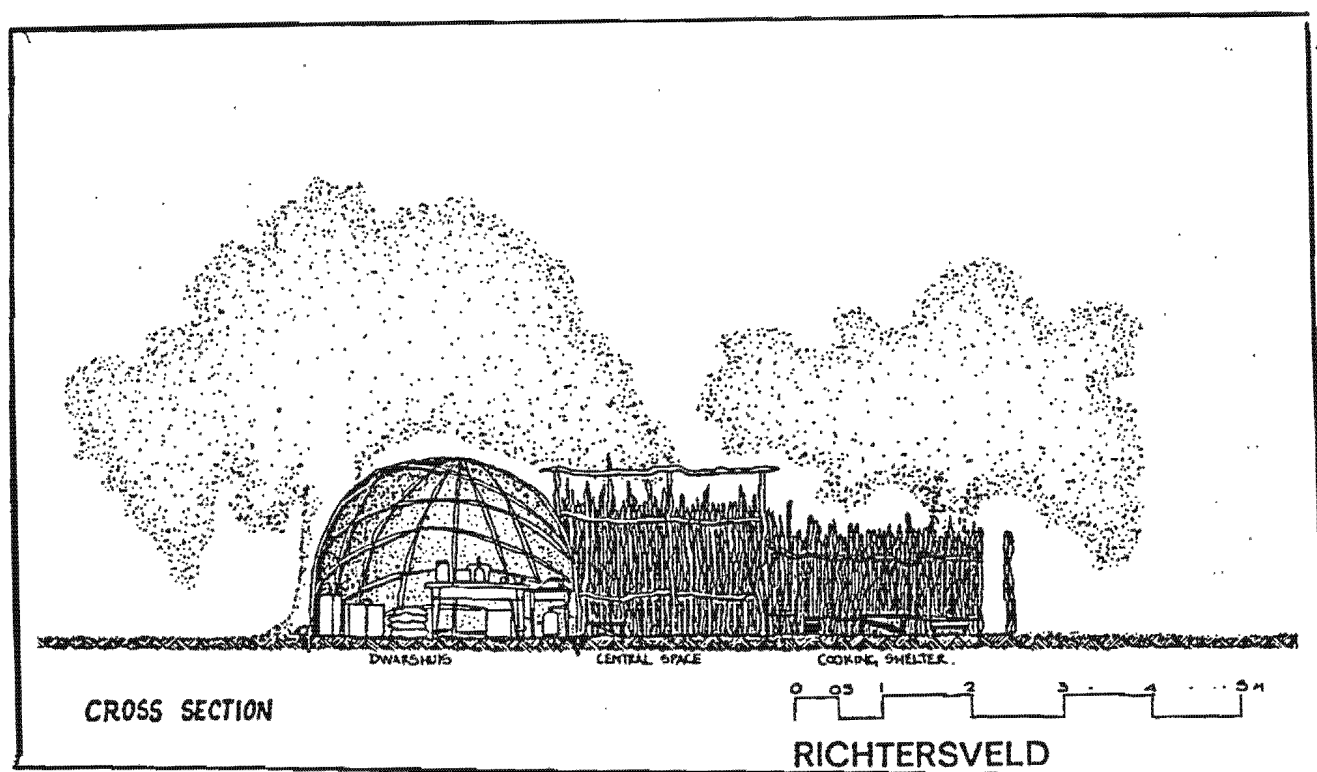
Location of the Richtersveld in Namaqualand.



Source: Boonzaier, E. 1980. Social differentiation in the Richtersveld, a Namaqualand area. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.

Figure 6

Cross section of a matjieshuis. A housing structure used by the Nama of the Richtersveld.



Source: Boonzaier, E. 1980. Social differentiation in the Richtersveld, a Namaqualand area. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.

set up to promote Nama history and heritage. Barnard (1997) identifies heritage, deployed in this way, as aspects of culture which are learned and transmitted (socially) through generations. The Nama were reasserting a legitimate claim to land rights via their heritage, through performance.

Identity expressed in this way is malleable, and is best understood as 'situational' (Sharp and Boonzaaier, 1988). This can be illustrated by reference to Cape 'Coloured' identity. Since 1994, with the introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and with the country's first democratic elections, many 'Coloured' people have voted for the National Party, which in the past had been responsible for the institution of apartheid laws. 'Coloured' association with white rule was focused on their disassociation with a black government and leadership. Many feel that they were being remarginalised under programmes such as the RDP and affirmative action. 'Coloured' people claiming indigenous descent needed access to resources many felt were now afforded to black, hence the return to precolonial and colonial histories in reaffirming their rights.

In identifying oneself with a certain group, an identification with parts of (or the whole of) a specific history must also be undertaken. Some indigenous minority groups in southern

Africa have chosen to re-establish links with archaeological aspects of the country's history. This, for the GNC, was behind the claim of skeletal remains of Saartjie Baartman, while in turn the Kok family claimed their ancestor Cornelius Kok II.

Sharp and Boonzaaier (1988) describe culture as providing continuity to group history. Culture is therefore a resource. An example would be the Nama's celebration of their identity through dances, songs and wedding celebrations. Just as identity changes, so do aspects of culture, for culture, which is a product of social construction and learned behaviour, is malleable. Performance, in this instance, and within the context of the two groups related to this discussion, refers to the actions groups undertake to visually communicate who they are and what their goals are. These are actions that claim independence in identification - a process many groups were denied under apartheid. Cultural performance also reaffirms a stronghold within what these groups believe to be an economically and politically volatile environment, in which disempowerment must be overcome.

Thus many aspects of minority group claims rest on performance, in turn describing who people are and what their goals are. In the example used here, performance addressed issues of the restitution of land that their ancestors

lost many years ago. The issue of returning skeletal remains to indigenous groups should not be viewed as of a different order to such claims for land reclamation.

This use of the discipline of archaeology as a resource is somewhat of an irony, as the means of establishing an identity is here based on that which was used by the previous government to disempower many minority groups of the very identity that they are now seeking to build and reaffirm. Scientists - and this would include physical anthropologists and archaeologists - had earlier predicted the extinction of the indigenous groups in southern African (see Chapter One). It is this very myth of extinction that Khoikhoi and San minority groups today wish to dispel.

White South African society was, in the past, portrayed as advanced, whereas indigenous people and their histories were seen as stagnant, and the evolutionary 'link' between humans and the animal kingdom. Minority groups assert, in reclaiming names, people and places, that Khoikhoi and San histories did not stagnate in this way. In utilising fragments of the archaeological past to restructure aspects of past identity and culture (through performance), minority groups have presented the archaeological community with some of the most complex questions it has yet faced.

In considering claims for the return and repatriation of skeletal material, archaeologists in South Africa have categorised (in a workshop at the South African Natural History Museum in 1996) the types of claims groups may put forward. This has also been done in the United States, with the initiation of the Native Americans Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. This process aims to allow claims to be addressed more efficiently, and to deter the hijacking of historically and archaeologically important objects or skeletal remains.

The 1996 workshop in Cape Town recognised four types of claims. The first category is that of international claims. These claims relate to prehistoric artifacts, such as human fossil remains, which are viewed as a world heritage and can therefore not be claimed by any specific group of people. Second are national claims, in which case a country may request the return of skeletal material from another country. The claim is not made by a specific group of people or individual with the purpose of ownership; rather the claim is made by a body representing the national concerns of a nation. Ownership would therefore be collective (Appendix 2).

The third category of claim includes that made by the GNC and the Kok family. Such group level claims occur when certain archaeologically excavated or researched materials are seen

as belonging to a particular group of people in a country. It is at this level that most indigenous groups have put forward claims for skeletal remains. The last type of claim is an individual claim. This level offers no benefit beyond the individual claimant, and cannot be accepted when it is made for prehistoric artifacts or remains which deal with the progress and development of people on a global level. Examples of individual claims would be when the claimant can accurately trace 'ownership' or descendency to either an artefact or the remains of an individual (Appendix 2).

The remains of the dead often provide a broad range of historical information. The names and identities of ancestors provide indigenous groups with an identity, which they hold in common. It is the commonality, according to Anderson (1983), which brings these groups together, not necessarily in a geographical sense, but rather in the belief that they share the same value systems and heritage. It is this belief in an existing community that enables processes of performance to occur - the belief that other group members would take part, although geographically separated, in the same processes of group identification and mobilisation. This, again, requires a constructivist approach to the analysis of group identity, which rests on a belief in collective values and changes in custom. The thread of commonality is important in understanding the structures which govern indigenous

communities in southern Africa.

Having discussed some of the dynamics involved in minority group identification, the following chapters (Three and Four) will deal with the claims presented by the GNC and Kok family respectively. The two case studies will feature histories of both individuals, as well as an introduction to the claimants and their broader goals and aims for restitution. The aims of the discussion are to contextualise and present the claims in terms of their implications for archaeology in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3:
SAARTJIE BAARTMAN:
THE CLAIM OF THE GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Identity is the cornerstone of indigenous groups' empowerment in southern Africa. Alienation of identity, be it group or individual, nullified resistance on the part of indigenous groups towards apartheid reclassification in the past. Theories on race, and racial classification, served to assimilate a diverse group of Khoikhoi and San people into one derogatory racial classification - that of being termed 'Coloured'. Attempts to control of the indigenous mind served to alienate the people from their sense of history and self.

The Griquas have a unique position within the annals of South African history. Their history is one which tells of a group of people who once prospered in the cultural and economic construction and upkeep of their town, Kokstad. The present efforts of the GNC directed towards re-identifying and reclaiming are to reidentify and reclaim the history of a group who played a significant role in the colonial history of the frontier north of the Orange River.

Many questions may be asked here. Who were the Griqua? What role did they have in the expansion of the northern frontier in the early 1800s? Why don't we know the Griquas today as

they were in the early 1800s? What happened to them? These questions warrant explanations that can also provide insight into a history with which GNC is discovering in restructuring its identity and image.

I begin, then, by giving a brief description of the different Khoikhoi ('Hottentot') groups that were present in and around the Cape colony at the turn of the nineteenth century. Reverend William Dorver (1902), who partook in the founding of the town of Kokstad, provides some information on these groups, and, specifically, the Griquas as does Robert Ross (1976) in his more recent study.

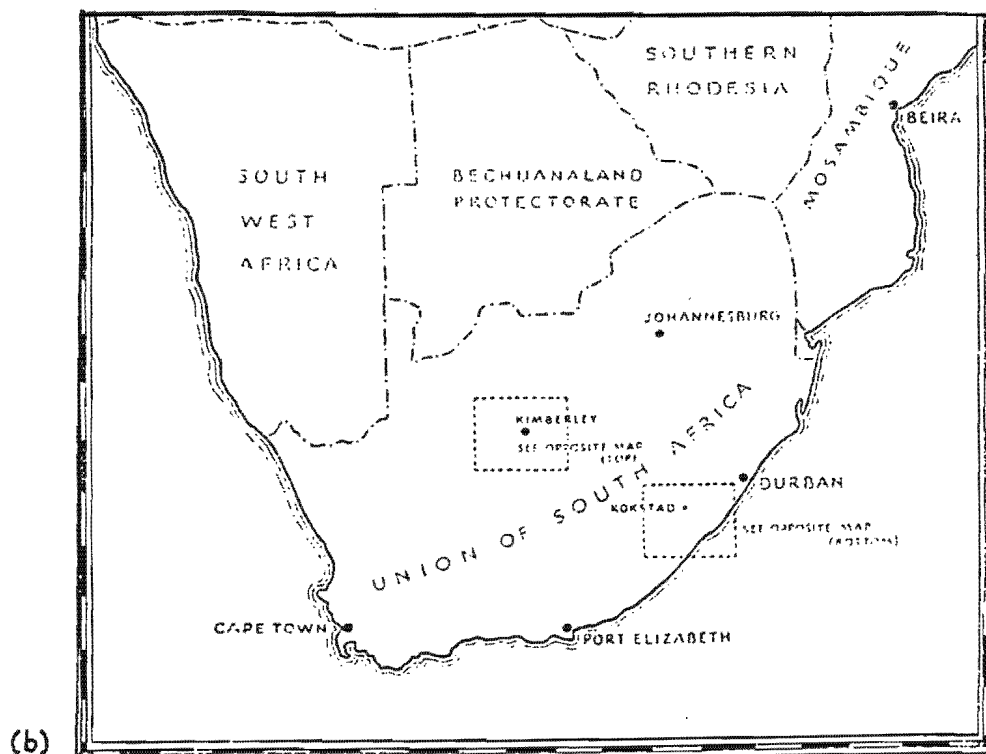
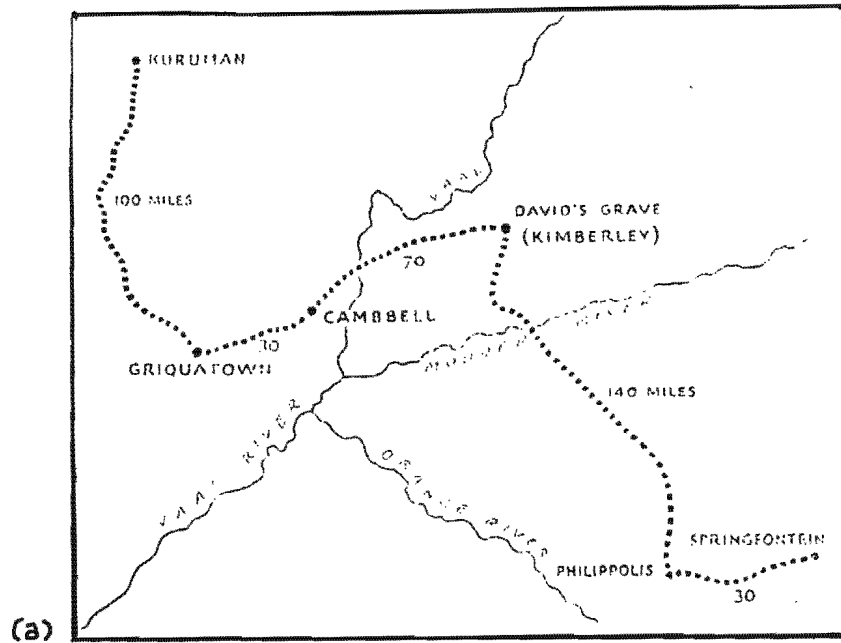
Early nineteenth century Khoikhoi groups included the Damaqua, Hessequa, Gonaqua, Inqua, and Griqua. The Griquas were located on the coast, in an area known today as Malmesbury. With the expansion of the trekboers into the interior of the country, the Griquas were forced to move back north, beyond the Orange River, and later further east into what is known today as Griqualand West (see figure 7.1a & b). It was here that the Griquas settled and established a centre of economic and socio-cultural prosperity. How and why did they lose this great source of political and economic power? I now turn to the historical events that affected the prosperity and power of the Griqua, and which resulted in their dispossession of land, and the loss of their sense of community and self.

Figure 7.

Location of the Griquas in South Africa

(a) Movement of the Griquas into Griqualand West.

(b) Location of Kokstad in Griqualand East.



Source: Halford, S.J. 1949. The Griquas of Griqualand: a historical narrative of the Griqua people. Their rise and decline. Cape Town: Juta Publishing Company.

The prosperity of the district of Griqualand West is attributed to three main factors (see Dorver, 1902 and Ross, 1976). The first was the founding of a mission station in the early 1800s. Second, an influx of slaves from the Cape colony, following emancipation in 1838, brought an increase in knowledge of the economics and culture of the Dutch in the Cape, which the Griquas adopted in their own way. Third, burgher rights were held by some of the Griquas, giving them claim to land for farming and agriculture. These three factors were instrumental in building the economy of Griqualand West.

The community saw a split in leadership in the last 1830s, when the Griquas divided into two factions. The first, which was under the leadership of Andries Waterboer, established Griquatown as its stronghold. The other, under the leadership of Adam, or "Dam" Kok, settled between the Modder River and the Orange River, and founded the town Philipolis in 1825 - named after the late Dr. Philip of Cape Town, a leading figure in the campaign for slave emancipation.

The town of Philipolis prospered under the leadership of Adam Kok II, and had by the mid 1800s become an independent nucleus. But the move of the trekboers further north into the Orange River territory caused problems of land ownership

(which I will discuss in Chapter 4) and as a result many Griquas lost their rights to land ownership in Philipolis. This led to the community's move to Nomansland in the late 1860s. "Granted safe passage by Moshoeshoe, they crossed Basutoland...through the Drankensburg, and descended, after two years, to the territory known as No Man's Land, between the the cape and Natal, in 1862" (Readers Digest, 1994: 190). The move disrupted the community structures which had, by then, become the basis of the town's success.

These pressures from the trekboers and the colonial government resulted in a physical alienation of the Griqua from their land, as well as a mental form of alienation. Such mental alienation is the worst form of dispossession, as Martin Engelbrecht, a member of the Khoisan Representative Council, states:

" We were not resettled as a community such that culture and language remained intact. We were resettled mentally. Reclassified. Name Changed; dispossessed from our land, our children were urbanised. We lost our language and our link with our past" (Engelbrecht, Appendix 1:2).

The Khoisan Representative Council (KRC) (see Figure 11) represented the Kok family in its claim for the return of the remains of its family ancestor Cornelius Kok II in 1996.

Figure 8

Members of the Khoisan Representative Council, present at the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, July, 1997. Martin Engelbrecht features the back row, 2nd from the right.



They like the GNC, have an interest in promoting and reconstructing the image of Griqua identity. Their involvement in the Kok family's repatriation case will be discussed in the following chapter. A commonality which the GNC and KRC share rests on their interest in the identity of the Griqua today. The common political ground they share is the desire to empower the people they represent. They utilise the same resources to highlight their group's social and political needs. Disagreements between the GNC and KRC are borne out of the multivocality which exists between these groups. Each group has its own idea of what Khoikhoi descendants should aspire to. In the case of the GNC it means arguing strong political points such as land restitution and an acknowledgement of the importance of Griqua history to the broader South African community. The latter refers to the GNC's argument (see Upham, appendix 2) that museums need to reconstruct new and empowering displays of Khoikhoi people. The KRC in turn seems to have supported the claim made by Adam Kok V (see appendix 5) arguing for an acknowledgement of Kingship be given to him. Both groups exhibit fierce competition for power within a small political area many minority groups find themselves in.

The implementation of the RDP (a process of assimilation) has caused distress amongst Griqua today. Mancell Upham, legal representative for the GNC, explains why they harbour this concern.

"I don't think the Reconstruction and Development Plan has done anything to reawaken indigenous rights. In fact it served to frustrate it... It serves to divide any kind of indigenous consciousness, because it's a dragnet used by the ANC to say we'll reconstruct and we'll redevelop everybody. Why I say

that the ANC has not, up to now, committed itself to any indigenous rights...We can't even say that we are fully democratised, even now, but despite all that I think there has been a growing freedom amongst people in this country to renegotiate for themselves their own identity - that's the most important part. So I think it's that and not the RDP that has led to a greater flexibility that has allowed people to say, 'but who am I really' " (Upham, Appendix 2:1-4).

Here the GNC is doing what many indigenous groups have done: - claim the symbols of their past history. As an example I will refer to a dispute, as noted by Wearne (1996), in which Hydro-Quebec, in Canada, challenged the legitimacy of the native Cree Indians in a court case which involved indigenous claims to land. The company presented the Cree as having no distinctive culture due to the modernisation of their lifestyle. The Cree successfully proved that, although the material culture of their ancestors had not survived the generations, the linguistic culture of story telling and oral histories had. Often this is the only cord which effectively binds indigenous groups to past generations.

Many archaeologists and anthropologists have questioned indigenous rights claimed on this basis, yet indigenous groups assert the legitimacy of such claims: "Indigenous people in

the Americas are clear that you do not have to wear feathers or body paint to be one of them. Those who see indigenous culture as nothing more than externals will never see the whole" (Wearne, 1996:14). Similarly, Mancell Upham states:

"Now obviously the Griqua have to be realistic. We are in 1996. They don't want to wear loin cloths and go back to the pristine Khoisan culture and drive all the whites and blacks into the sea...The British of 1666 are not the British of 1996 and this applies to all other groupings. So it's a case of how do you restore the past?" (Upham, Appendix 2;7-8).

Indeed, this is true with regard to other indigenous groups in southern Africa. The manner in which they reflect their identity is reflective of South Africa's history of colonisation and apartheid legislation.

The GNC's approach to this historical question has been to claim the remains of Saartjie Baartman, a woman of Khoi descent who was taken to England by a ship's captain, promising her wealth and fame if she was to exhibit her body. But why her and not any of the other remains housed in foreign museums? Mancell Upham (1996) explains:

"We're claiming her first and foremost because we feel that her dignity is the most important thing. That is a non-Griqua,

non-political issue... The second point is she is Khoisan. She was labelled a 'Hottentot', Khoi or Kwena and they've never relinquished that..and they've suffered alot for it and they feel from that basis that Saartjie Baartman is a very important symbol for the dehumanization of the Khoisan people and the Griqua" (Upham, Appendix 2:7).

The role of Saartjie Baartman as an icon for indigenous groups in southern Africa is broader than the Griqua alone. This was clearly expressed in April 1996. On the 14 April 1996 an exhibition produced by Pippa Skotnes, had opened at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town. Skotnes intended the exhibition, "Miscast - Negotiating Khoisan History and Material Culture", as a "critical and visual exploration of the term 'Bushmen' and the various relationships that gave rise to it" (Skotnes, 1996:1). The GNC showed much dissatisfaction with the exhibition, and presented its grievances at a symposium held after the opening. Much was said about the claimed lack of consultation on the part of the producer of the exhibition, raising questions of indigenous rights and violations. In terms of the GNC's case for repatriation, much was said at the symposium with regard to the GNC's claims and future goals. The following forms part of a mandate presented by Mancell Upham:

"The Griqua National Conference of South Africa called on the South African Government of National Unity not to ignore their request at Geneva on 27 July 1995 at the 13th Session of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) for it to comply urgently with the universal standards pertaining to human rights affecting the world's indigenous population, the so-called Fourth World. The Griqua National Conference also initiated calls for the immediate return by the French Government of the remains of the late Miss Saartjie Baartman to the Griqua for burial in her native land, the immediate release by the Anatomy Department of the University of Witwatersraand and burial of the remains of the Griqua chief Cornelius Kok II and the ending of all dehumanised portrayal of the Khoisan ancestors of the Griqua" (Upham, Appendix 2:3).

Several other demands were set out as the basis for Griqua and indigenous group self determination. These included:

- the recognition of aboriginality,
- representation at all levels of government,
- traditional leadership status,
- the restitution of violated treaties,
- the return of all Griqua land usurped by colonial powers but now inherited illegally by the nation-state of South Africa and
- compensation for untold suffering, genocide and ethnocide

inflicted on the Griqua and their Khoisan ancestors as culturally, linguistically, socially, economically and politically disempowered and decimated aboriginal, autochthonous and indigenous people of southern Africa. (Upham, Appendix 3: 2-3).

The GNC, under the leadership of Mr Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur II had, in a separate address at a symposium in the South African National Gallery on the 14 April 1996, made a request to the Government of National Unity to comply with United Nations standards of human rights affecting indigenous groups, as determined by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) at its 13th session. The request made by the GNC, along with the request for the return of the remains of Saartjie Baartman from the Musee de l' Homme in Paris have to date, not been answered. In response,, groups of South Africa's indigenous groups united at a Khoisan Forum in Cape Town on 21 March 1997.

In part this fulfilled the GNC's call for the establishment of such an organisation, and also boosted the groups' efforts to achieve recognition from the government on two issues; first, for the recognition of First Nation status and secondly, to make a concerted effort, on the part of all Griquas, to pressurise both the South African and French governments into action on the issue of returning the remains of Saartjie

Baartman.

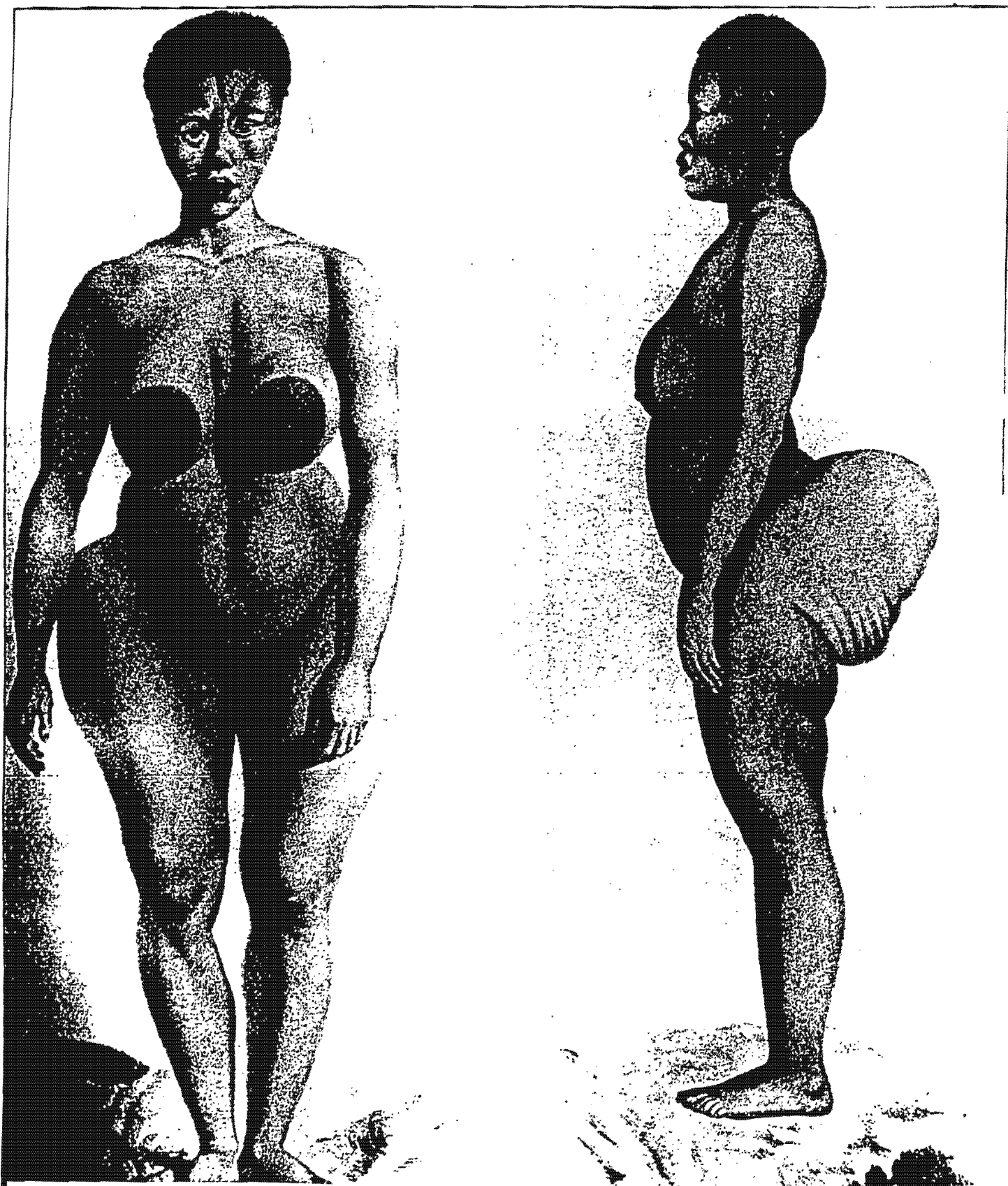
"The forum entitled 'Free Saartjie Baartman: Give Back our Dead'" (Cape Times, March, 24, 1997), was attended by some 600 descendants. On a day which marked a public celebration of human rights (20 March), the descendants of South Africa's first nation chose to acknowledge their rights as indigenous groups by reaffirming their claim for restitution. The significance of Saartjie Baartman cannot be understated, and therefore warrants further discussion.

Saartjie Baartman: The 'Hottentot Venus'

According to Pastor (1995) The early part of Saartjie's life is unknown, except that she came from a clan of the Quena and worked as nurse-maid for Hendrik Cezar before her departure for England. In 1810 she met a ship's doctor, William Dunlop, who enticed her to come to England, promising she would make a fortune showing her body to the Europeans. She was first put on display in a building in Piccadilly to mass crowds (see figures 9, 10, 11). She was made to parade naked along a platform two feet high, led by her keeper and made to sit, walk and stand as ordered. Her treatment caused a scandal - flamed by the issue of the abolition of slavery - but the London courts were unable to close the show as Saartjie was said to be under contract with Dunlop.

Figure 9.2

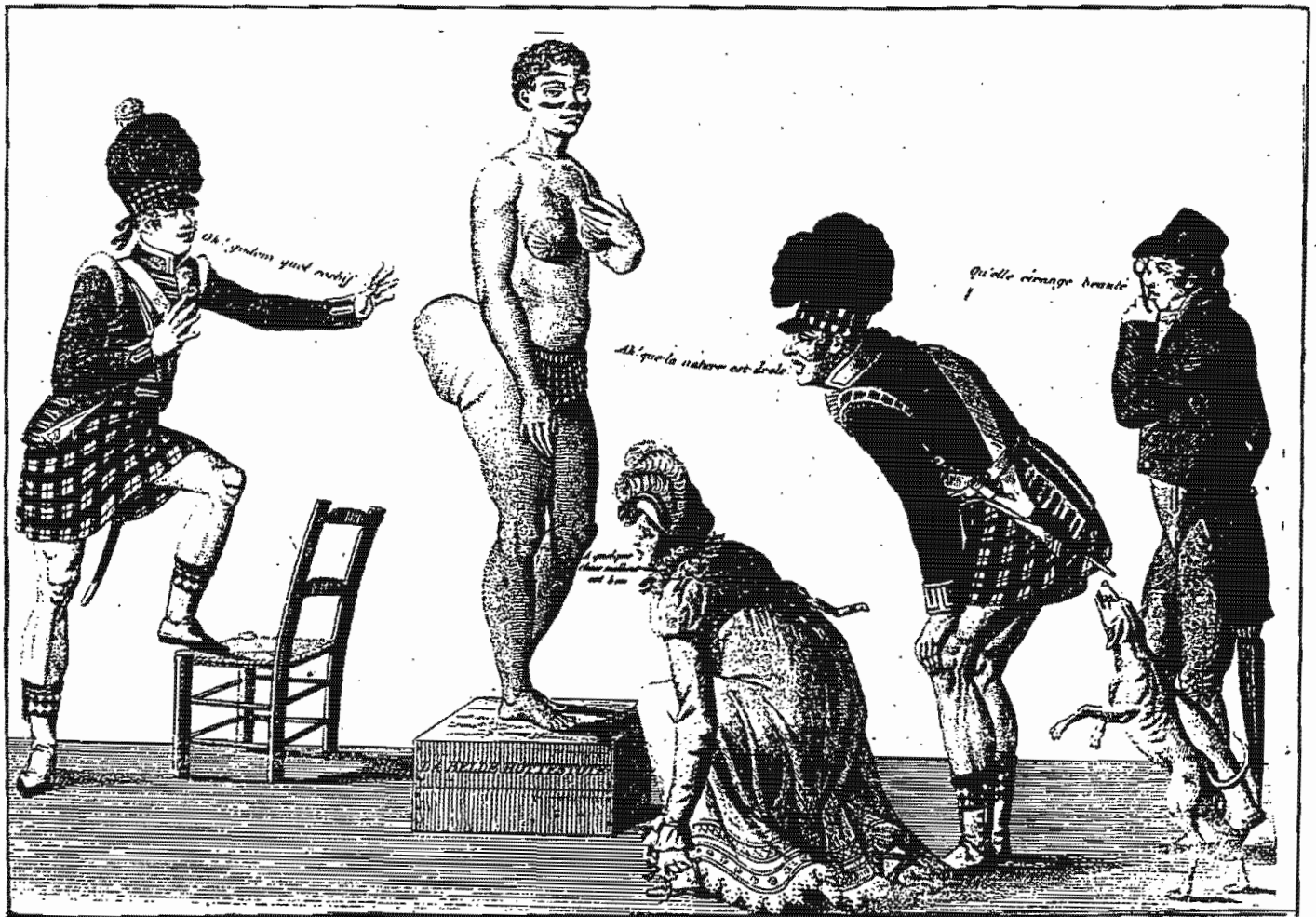
Saartjie Baartman - The 'Hottentot Venus'



Source: Skotnes, P. (ed). 1996. Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape

Figure 10

'Hottentot Venus' on display. The pose was likened to Sandro Boticelli's 'Birth of Venus'.



Source: Skotnes, P. (ed). 1996. Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Figure 11.

"Love and Beauty vie for the attention as Cupid poses enticingly on the famous rump of the Hottentot Venus"
(Skotnes, 1996:351).



Source: Skotnes, P. (ed). 1996. Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Saartjie's pronounced features were seen to be an example of a primitive human. The popular theory of the 'Great Chain of Being' projected Saartjie as the lowest form of development. Here, differentiation was made between Homo europus, Homo asiaticus and Homo africanus - the latter being the lowest on the chain of evolutionary development. Saartjie was seen by many as the 'missing link.' Theories derived from Linnaeus and Darwin portrayed Saartjie Baartman and all non-white indigenous people as 'not fully human'. The myth of Africa as the 'Dark Continent' was reinforced in the treatment and display of non-Europeans as specimens of curiosity.

Saartjie was taken to Paris in 1814. Exhibitions continued until her death on 29 November 1815. The cause of death was attributed to an inflammatory disease, possibly caused by excessive drinking. According to Gould (1982) her body was dissected and studied by two well known pathologists, George Cuvier and St Hilare. Plaster casts were made of her body, and her genitalia were preserved along with her skeleton. These remains now sit on the back shelves of the Musee de l'Homme - relics of a colonial past which many would seemingly shelve to the back of human memory. This, however, is not so easily achieved; if the remains of the dead could speak, they are doing so now. It is the visual, and in terms of indigenous claims today, the verbal cry for restitution that seems to echo the words of those who were dehumanized and disempowered.

The development of museums from the early nineteenth century shaped the conceptions people had about Khoikhoi and San, including the remains that came to be known as the 'Hottentot Venus'. "The museum role of custodian and preservationist served to reify this knowledge over time. Museums played a role in reflecting or promoting a cultural identity which was based on material taken from other cultures" (Pastor, 1995:8). The policies of museums were conducive to the political and economic status quo. Today, these issues are being challenged by the very people these policies disempowered:

"The Griqua have a number of issues that are worrying us. To give you an idea of the issues that are worrying indigenous people; at the symposium an archaeologist stood up and said, 'you want to know why those casts were made of those people? Well because we knew (or they knew) at the time, that the Bushmen were going to be extinct'" (Upham, Appendix 2:5).

Ideas such as these are not consistent with the type of methodology that most archaeologists would advocate. The challenge to adopt democratic practices is clearly expressed by Shepherd (1995), who writes of the choices archaeologists face in terms of the type of archaeology they wish to practice - one which presents the movement and progress of all sections

of South African society through history, or one which presents the stagnation of groups such as the Kkoikhoi and the San.

Conceding to the demands of the GNC would have serious implications in terms of museum policies on repatriation. The Musee de l'Homme, along with other museums, possesses an autonomy which gives it considerable power. The return of Saartjie Baartman is therefore in the hands of the institution which holds possession of her. Returning the remains of Saartjie challenges the future position and autonomy of the museum in France, and all others with similar colonial histories. The return of Saartjie's remains would not only be a victory for indigenous groups here in South Africa, but also for other groups who are also seeking the restitution of skeletal and cultural remains.

There does, however, seem to be little agreement as to what the GNC would do with the body if they were to receive it. This lack of consensus on the part of the GNC and the rest of the Griqua community, as discussed at the Khoisan Forum, is diminishing the pressure on the museum in France to hand over Saartjie's remains. Clear resolution in this regard is essential in order to advance the repatriation case further.

The case of Saartjie Baartman has not come to a conclusion, and indigenous groups are still determined to get her back. "We've been trampled to the bottom of South Africa, but now the downtrodden reed is rising up. If the dead bones of Saartjie Baartman can do this, how much more can we, the living, do?" (Cape Times, 24 March 1997:6). The silence on the part of the French government in response to the request of the GNC has been longstanding, but a response is eventually inevitable. Viewing the case study in retrospect, it becomes clear that the GNC, and other interested Griqua parties, need to establish a general consensus as to their identity as Griqua, not only as part of a Forum, but in their goals and ideologies as well. The process of reclamation is long term. Archaeologists, in the same vein, need to adhere to the requests made by indigenous people, by acknowledging the part archaeology has played in the colonial process as portrayed in the life of Saartjie Baartman.

Shepherd (1995) provides the following insight on this point. "The conjunction between archaeology and society and archaeology and politics in South Africa (must) be discussed within the discipline in open ways. This will mean ending the culture of silence and denial which has prevailed with respect to archaeology and its political contexts. The great debate needs to begin" (Shepherd, 1995:27).

The debate on the role of archaeology in modern society has now begun. The following chapter will focus on the claim of the Kok family for the skeletal remains of their ancestor Cornelius Kok II from the University of Witswatersrand Anatomy Department. The claim is significant in that it is the first repatriation ceremony to take place in South Africa. The discussion that follows centres on the history of the Kok family, their claim, and the processes which led to their success.

CHAPTER 4:
CORNELIUS KOK II - THE CLAIM OF THE KOK FAMILY

On September 20, 1996, the indigenous community in South Africa celebrated a major victory in bringing one repatriation claim to fruition. Although the claim was made by the Kok family, the victory was seen as symbolic by many other indigenous claimants in southern Africa.

The claim for the return to the Kok family of the skeletal remains of Cornelius Kok II from the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand was initiated by the descendants of Adam Kok V, the Khoisan Representative Council (KRC) and South African Griqua Research and Development (SAGRAD). The claim is, then, essentially a group claim made by the Kok family in association with other representative parties with Griqua interests at heart. This type of claim has been placed in context in Chapter Two. However, the histories which surround such requests for the return of cultural property often vary, and need detailed explanation.

The history of the Kok family is complex. Issues include the question of why the Kok family holds such an important status within the current Griqua community, and the issue of why they are making claims for their ancestor's body after nearly thirty years of it being in the custody of a research

institution. Other issues are broader and include the current claim Adam Kok V has made for kingship status, thereby causing a rising tide of discontent among other groups such as the Griqua National Conference. These current tensions and claims for the Griqua 'throne' are part of the struggle by Griqua groupings for Griqua identity. Such factors, as I discussed in Chapter Two, structure and strengthen perceptions of the group itself and broadcast a message of independence and self-identification, and thereby self-determination, to others outside the group. What follows is an examination of the genealogy of which Adam Kok V is a part. Placing the Kok ancestry under examination in this way puts Adam Kok's origin in context.

Cornelius Kok II was a prominent figure in the establishment of the Griqua town, Kokstad. He was a high ranking leader amongst the Griqua of Kokstad and was recognised as a political leader in his town by the British colonial authorities who gave him an almost 'king-like' status. Every 'king', however, needs an established bloodline and Adam Kok V is using his great-great-great-granduncle's past relationship with the British as a means to claiming 'king-like' status. The claim comes at a time when indigenous groups are speaking out more and capitalizing on South Africa's indigenous

history. More needs to be understood about the relationship between Adam Kok V and Cornelius Kok II. The following part of the discussion looks at the family genealogy prior to Adam Kok V and notes those events of historical importance that Adam Kok V is utilising in his 'kingship' campaign.

The Griquas of Cornelius Kok II: a genealogical history

The following information is taken from the accounts by the Reverend Dorver (1902), who was involved in the establishment of the town of Kokstad, as well Ross (1973). Parts of the history of the Griquas have already been discussed (see Chapter Three). These include the founding of the town of Philipolis, under the leadership of Adam, or "Dam", Kok I.

Adam Kok I was born around the year 1710. He was said, according to Dorver (1902), to have held the position of a cook to a Dutch Governor in Cape Town, and also served aboard a ship of the Dutch East India Company, before escaping and moving north to Griqualand. Once there, (see Dorver, 1902 and Ross 1976) Adam Kok soon established himself as a key figure within the Griqua community, and became chief. Adam Kok I had some political contact with the Dutch, in holding a position of office for the Dutch Governor, before his death.

Cornelius Kok I succeeded Adam Kok I. He forged an alliance with the British at the Cape, which later gave the Griqua

access to grazing rights and land. Adam or "Dam" Kok II, was the successor to Cornelius Kok I (see Figure 2.1). He founded the town of Philipolis around 1825. The allegiance that his predecessor, Cornelius Kok I, had forged with the English government allowed the Griquas at Philipolis an independent status. However, the Griquas at Griquatown, under the leadership of Andries Waterboer, did not have the same status as that of their neighbours to the east. Waterboer, unlike Kok, did not hold strong political ties with the British office at the Cape colony. Kok had been granted burgher rights by the British and held more prestige and power than his neighbour Waterboer.

Adam Kok II died in the year 1837, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Cornelius Kok II. During the leadership of Cornelius Kok II the government of the Orange Free State pressurised the Griquas to relinquish ownership of their land on the following assumptions:

1. That C.Kok was an independent chief and owner of the lands on which diamonds were discovered.
2. That Adam Kok, his nephew, was his heir;
3. That Adam Kok sold the land to the Orange Free State.

All these assumptions were disproved" (Dorver, 1902:4).

The discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State contributed to the independent status the Free State government acquired. The Griquas in turn suffered the fate of losing valuable tracts of land to the Free State government, in a manner which Adam Kok V, and many other Griqua descendants today, regard as theft.

Abraham Kok, who was the eldest son of Adam "Dam" Kok I, was not recognised in any formal position of power, and was soon replaced by his brother Adam Kok III. "This is the Kok who by the treaties of '43 '46 and '48 was recognised as a sovereign prince. This is the man who authorised the sale of the residuary estate of the Griqua Government in 1862, on which sale the Orange Free State founded its claim to the Diamond Fields. This is the Adam Kok who trekked from Philipolis to Nomansland, and founded the town of Kokstad there" (Dorver, 1902:4).

Professor Philip Tobias explains the complex genealogical relationship between Adam Kok V and Cornelius Kok II as follows (see Figures 13 & 14): "Cornelius Kok II, the younger, was Captain of Campbell lands and was the younger son of Cornelius Kok I, who had been one of the sons of Adam Kok I... Adam II (son of Cornelius Kok I) begat Abraham III and Adam Kok III and also had Karel and Jan. Now Karel was thus the

GENEALOGY OF ADAM KOK v

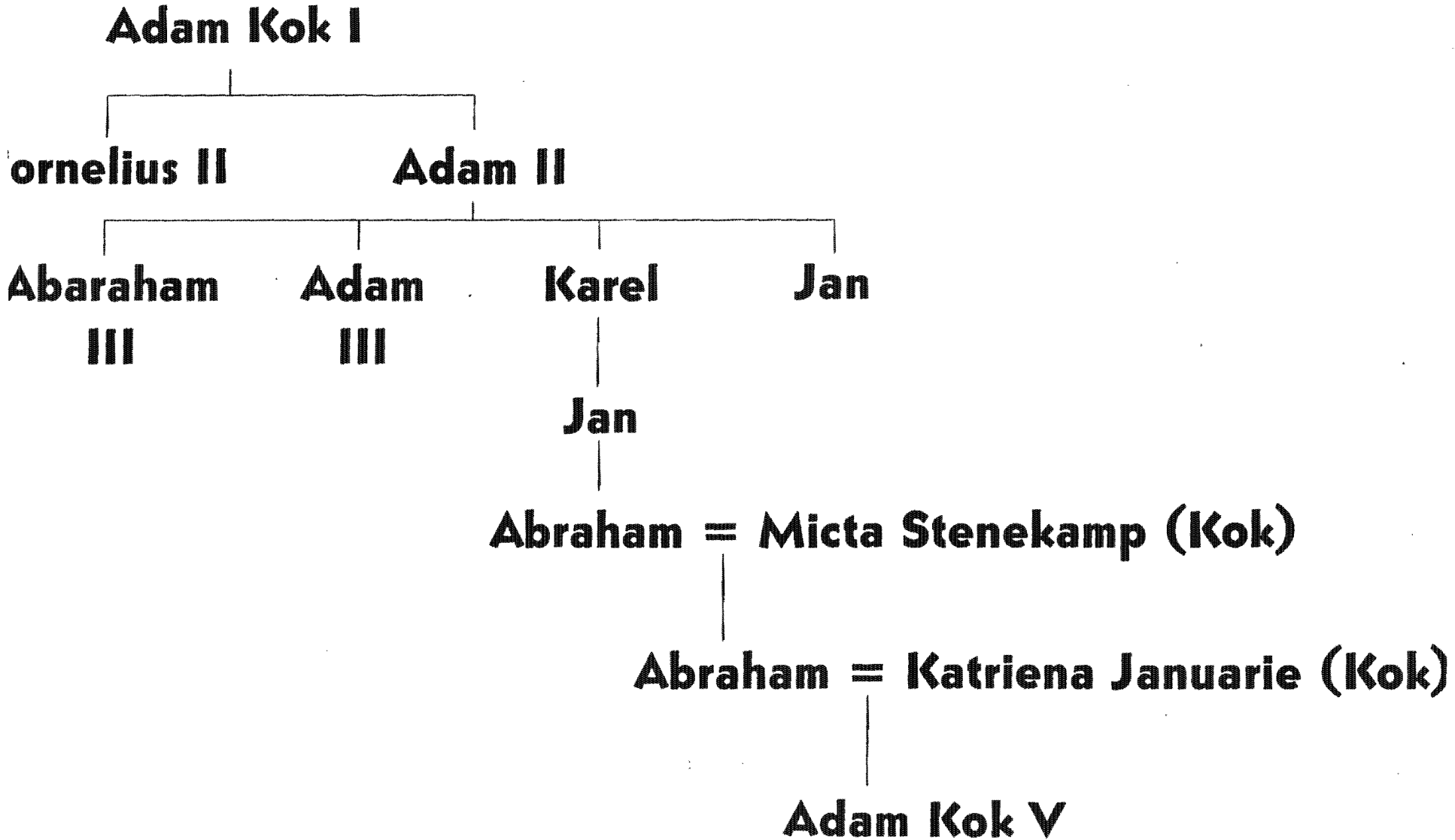


Figure 13
Genealogical chart of Adam Kok V.

Figure 14.

Adam Kok V (left) and Professor Philip Tobias (right).



nephew of Cornelius II and it is from Karel that Adam Kok IV is descendant. Karel's son Jan, begat another Abraham, who lived from 1852-1938, who married Mieta Stenekamp. Abraham and Mieta were the parents of Adam Kok IV...that was the Captain Adam Kok IV, when I was there in the 60s. Abraham was the son of Adam IV and helped us exhume his great, great, great granduncle. Abraham's wife was Katriena Januarie, who are the parents of Adam Kok V, who is the present captain... Adam Kok V being the great, great, great, great grandnephew of Cornelius Kok II. Adam Kok V thus belongs to the sixth generation after Cornelius Kok II and the eight generation after Adam Kok I. From Adam Kok I to Adam Kok V there are nine generations of Griqua, with Adam Kok V's children being the tenth generation since Adam Kok I. The legitimacy of a group claim is therefore well founded, and due to the nature of the body's initial removal in the early 1900s, ensured the Kok family the return of their ancestor's remains" (Tobias, 1998, Appendix 4).

The ten generations of Griqua therefore have a history which, during the leadership of Cornelius Kok II, involved the battle for land ownership with the government of the Orange Free State. The loss and dispossession of their land poses serious questions to the current government. The history surrounding this issue needs to be taken into account in order to

understand recent moves by Adam Kok V to advance a wider knowledge of these aspects of Griqua history. The following section takes a closer look at the events which resulted in the loss of land for many Griquas in the mid-1800s.

The loss of Griqua land

Dorver (1902) points to treaties signed with the British government in the early forties as the root of the Kok family's land problems. The Kok family and the rest of the community at Philipolis were issued individual farm titles on the basis of burgher status, granted to them by the British colonial government. It was during this time that controversy erupted over the definition of boundaries between the land of the Philipolis community, and that of Andries Waterboer to the west. These disputes coincided with the move of many trekboers north of the Orange river, and with the discovery of diamonds. Also, many of the Griqua enjoyed good grazing and agricultural lands which many of the white farmers envied. Many Griqua leased their farms to these emigrant farmers. Sale of land, however, was prohibited by Griqua law, which meant that Griqua were able to retain ownership of lands while getting income through leasing.

The problems involving these leasing arrangements soon became clear. The Griqua owners of the farms would lease their farms

out for a few years, often accepting payment in advance for the transaction. Some tenants leased their farms for more than ten years, and many often proclaimed themselves owners of properties they were leasing. No written contracts existed between tenants and the land owners, they had made verbal agreements as to the duration and cost of the lease. In the absence of concrete proof of ownership, many trekboers were threatening to dispossess Griqua land owners of their properties.

The British government tried to solve the problem by means of the Maitland Treaty, which divided the Kok lands into two sections: 'huurbaar' and 'onhuurbaar' ('alienable and unalienable'). The institution of the former category meant that no Griqua farm could be leased for more than forty years, whereas the latter prohibited lease or sale of a property deemed 'unalienable'. Many Griqua were dissatisfied with the outcome of this treaty, and after the battle of Boom Plaats in 1848, Sir Harry Smith negotiated yet another treaty to settle land disputes. Ross (1976) says the following of this agreement:

"Sir Harry Smith had extorted from Adam Kok and his council the concession that any farms in the alienated territory of Griqualand which had been leased for forty years or more were to be considered as permanently alien. Some 42 farms passed

out of Griqua hands by this arrangement...the Griqua had lost both the empty land and all those farms which they had leased...officialdom took from the Griquas another 88 farms which they had never let" (Ross, 1976:81).

Dorver (1902) recounts the circumstances under which Cornelius Kok II was made to sign the treaty. According to his account, the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, had seen the signing of the treaty as a vital step to achieving peace in the northern frontier and the rest of the country. His anger and vocal threats to Cornelius Kok II prompted the Griqua leader, under much protest, to sign the agreement for fear of reproachment from the Governor.

The injustice done to the Griqua in the loss of their lands, primarily attributed to the discovery of minerals in the area, leads to complex conclusions. The Griqua were dispossessed of their land, and with the community's forced move to Nomansland, of their strong economic and socio-cultural infrastructure. But reclaiming this lost land would not restore the economic stability that the Griqua once had. The value of the land itself is no longer high. With the mining of minerals in the area long completed one sees little benefits in land restitution.

Similar claims for land by indigenous groups in Australia have

been more successful economically, because much of the land, which was state owned, was still mineral rich and used for mining. This, however, is not the case in South Africa.

Adam Kok V seems to have taken another course of action by claiming himself 'king' of the Griquas. The history of Cornelius Kok II therefore holds more importance than restitution of an ancestor's remains, the claim of kingdom marking a move towards individual empowerment. A discussion on the nature of Cornelius Kok II's exhumation and subsequent return follows next.

The exhumation of the body of Cornelius Kok II

The body of Cornelius Kok II was exhumed on April 17, 1961 by Professor Philip Tobias, of the Witwatersrand University, accompanied by Dr. G.J. Fock, archaeologist at the McGregor Museum and Mr P.J. Olmesdahl with Mr Basil Humpreys. The exhumation was conducted in the presence of Captain Adam Kok IV in the valley of Campbell.

What was the attitude of Adam Kok IV towards the exhumation of his late ancestor? Professor Tobias says, "he was very curious to know whether this was his ancestor and was extremely interested in the work of exhumation. He came up everyday from the village and sat on one side watching the activities in

which my students, helped by a couple of the local men, and especially Abraham Kok, were carrying out. He gave us his warm support in all of this work and it was with his blessing and approval that we undertook it"(Tobias, Appendix4: 10).

Tobias gives reasons for his interest in exhuming and studying the body of Cornelius Kok II.

"Firstly, we wanted to know all about the Griqua people. At the time almost nothing was known about who the Griqua people were, apart from historical records which were written in a very prejudiced and biased fashion...Secondly, it was very important for us to see whether our techniques would enable us to confirm that this was Cornelius Kok II. Thirdly, the neighbouring farmer was threatening to have grazing rights in that area, to spread the farming activities onto this graveyard and for him these burials were a nuisance" (Tobias, Appendix 4:11).

Once the skeletal remains of Cornelius Kok II had been located they were removed and taken to the University of the Witwatersrand Anatomy Department, where Tobias later handed them over to a Phd student, Alan Morris, for study. Morris' research interests were Griqua skeletons of the last 200 years and his research areas included the Western Free State, Orange River Valley and Griqualand West. The book 'Skeletons of

Contact', based on his Phd research, was published in 1992 (Morris, 1992).

The body was removed with the understanding that it would be returned once scientific research had been completed. An agreement made nearly thirty years ago was now, in 1996, and at the request of the Kok family, being brought to a close. For the Kok family the request presented more than their claiming their ancestor. According to Adam Kok V (Kok, Appendix 5:1), it presented a chance for Griquas to address historical issues of the loss of Griqua land during the leadership of their ancestor, Cornelius Kok II.

Therefore, the association of the Kok family with their ancestor is more than a statement of their genealogy; it is also part of their legitimate claim for redress for the displacement that followed the treaties signed in 1848. Public awareness of these historical facts seems to be the ambition of the Kok decendancy, thus empowering their group politically and economically. Recent claims of Adam Kok V (Sunday Times Metro, August 17, 1997) to be the "long lost King of the Coloureds" suggests a move on the part of Adam Kok V to advance the interest of his Griqua group economically and politically while also gaining personally.

Mr Cecil le Fleur of the Griqua National Conference has

however repudiated this claim, saying "there is no such thing as a Khoisan King" (Sunday Times Metro, August 17, 1997:2). There are thus clear, underlying tensions between opposing groups claiming Griqua identity; aspects which will be discussed later in this chapter. The following section describes the events that unfolded at the repatriation ceremony of the late Cornelius Kok II. The presence of political figures at the ceremony indicated to the awareness of the government of various Griqua claims. The commitment of the government to addressing these claims (see Upham, Chapter Three) have, however, been questioned by many in the Griqua community. The atmosphere at the ceremony was characterised by expectancy (on the part of the Griquas) and diplomacy (on the part of the government). The roles played by these participants have propelled questions of indigenous rights and heritage into the South African political limelight, which makes a detailed discussion of the ceremony essential.

The repatriation ceremony: the return of a Griqua ancestor
For many, the repatriation ceremony symbolised the end of a struggle for recognition of the right to the restitution of land and of economic and political afflictions suffered. Certainly, these were some of the expectations expressed at the ceremony. However, the slim possibility of such rewards cast a shadow on the benefits which indigenous people

have to reap. Unlike cases in the United States and Canada, much of the land which the Griqua have lost is now privately owned. In the U.S and Canada, Native American Indians were able to reobtain lost land, primarily due to its state-owned status. In South Africa however, complications arise when the government has no ownership of the land. The current demand for recognition by the Griqua also stems from the government's approach to, and policies on, land distribution, which has been to only address land reclamation cases of the apartheid era (post 1948). Issues of earlier, colonial, atrocities, as Upham (Appendix 2) states, have not been addressed as part of this policy. How realistic are the claims of the Griqua, then, for independence? What changes will their claims initiate? The documentation of the repatriation ceremony serves to record representations (on government and grass roots level), and points to implications that the gathering may have had.

Present at the ceremony on September 20, 1996 were the following guests:

- Speaker and host: Professor Philip Tobias, former head of the Department of Anatomy at the Wits Medical school,
- Dr. Lewis Bernado Anwana, South African Representative of UNESCO,
- Ma Ranthard and Mr Joseph, United Nations Development Representatives,

- Mr Themba Wakashe, chief Director of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (in Pretoria), representing Minister Ben Ngubane and the Deputy Minister Mrs Bridgette Mabandla,
- Ms Tina Humat, MEC for Education, Arts and Culture for the Northern Cape,
- Mr Khoisan X of the Gauteng Legislature,
- Adam Kok V and other members of the Kok family and community from Campbell,
- from the McGregor Memorial Museum in Kimberley, the curator Dr Elizabeth Voigt, Dr Fiona Barber and Mr David Morris,
- Mr Martin Engelbrecht, media officer of SAGRAD and representing the Khoisan Representative Council,
- Mr Cecil le Fleur, chairman of the Executive Council of the Griqua National Conference,
- representatives from the University of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, University of South Africa (UNISA), as well as members of the media.

The significance of the ceremony is clear. There seems to have been a general agreement amongst the Griqua present that they were reclaiming a lost legacy, a lost culture and lost land. The presence of various members of the Kok family, such as Katriena Kok, formerly known as Katriena Januarie, wife of the late Abraham IV and mother to Adam V, was a sign of the

community's interest and resolve to improve their position as a community at Campbell. The presence of the Griqua group was a show of not only family interest, but broader group concerns. Adam Kok stated:

"The single significance of the occasion of the day in that we have started a process of restitution of our cultural history and identity. We are returning the skeleton today of our ancestor and rebuilding the nation. Cornelius Kok II was exhumed during the height of apartheid...these remains of our ancestors were kept in total secrecy for more than 30 years and with no report back given to our families of who was said that we gave our blessing to them. We must express our great displeasure with Wits University in that regard. The resting place of our ancestors is regarded as holy ground and Adam Kok IV could not have objected to exhuming the bodily remains of our ancestors, as we had no power over that during the months that followed the banning of the liberation movement and the imprisonment of objectors" (Kok, Appendix 5:1).

United Nations (UN) legislation, as determined by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, has been used to protect the interests of the indigenous community from further violations. The acceptance on the part of the Wits University's Anatomy Department of the need to return the remains of the late Cornelius Kok II constitutes a

recognition of the Campbell community's Griqua history, locally and nationally.

The ceremony has also revealed the intentions and goals of Adam Kok V and his group of Griquas. The first is the re-establishment of the identity of Griqua under the Kok family history and Adam Kok V's 'kingship' claim. The second is their intention to reclaim the land they lost in 1848 when Cornelius Kok II was forced to sign away land owned by Griquas. Martin Engelbrecht, Media Officer of the South African Griqua Research and Development (SAGRAD), has expressed the goals of the family, and the broader Griqua Community:

"The skeletal remains of the hereditary and territorial excellency would definitely finalize the difficulty of the Griquas and Khoisan African to receive their fair share of recognition as traditional natives of South Africa. This will also boost their claims of traditional land dispossession, more especially Campbell lands, territory of the late Cornelius Kok II. The final appeasement of our late leader... would positively advance the realization of the aims of Adam Kok V Griqua, as a landless proletariat and impoverished heirs, to a happy end. It will help redress our history, revisit and expose the sad diamond issue which violated our Griqua heritage "(Engelbrecht, Appendix 1:3).

Much focus has been placed on Griqua identity and heritage of late. Mr Joe Little of the Khoisan Representative Council (KRC) (Cape Argus, 1997), has lobbied for the advancement of Griqua history, saying that Khoikoi and San groups held diverse cultural modes of development which should therefore be explored. Adam Kok V (Sunday Times Metro, August 17, 1997), has also launched his campaign for the advancement of Griquas by claiming 'kingship' of the Griqua. His campaign has included meetings with political and business leaders, including Western Cape Economic Affairs MEC Chris Nissen, and Andrew Noble of the British High Commission. The claim made by Adam Kok V has caused further tension amongst other Griqua parties, who are also vying for primary status in the Griqua 'leadership'. This internal battle has persisted, with groups such as the GNC and others claiming that the exploitation of Kok's Khoisan ancestry as a means to an end (Sunday Times Metro, August 17, 1997:2).

Does one group of people, such as Adam Kok's Griquas, have the right to use Khoikhoi and San history for their own motives? Some groups can be seen as slowly turning their aims and goals into more regionalist and group orientated processes of restructuring. As the needs of the group become more concentrated, the structure of the group alters. Who has the right to claim leadership? Does Griqua leadership exist? Many Griqua groups dispute this issue, which has implications

for archaeologists dealing with claims. Who will they consult or negotiate with on these issues? Will issues such as 'kingship' complicate indigenous claims?

The success of the Kok family in their endeavours with the University of the Witwatersrand has resulted in a focus on this group of people. Can we then expect the same approaches in future from groups such as the GNC? Such questions will depend on changes in South Africa's political structures and economics. Posing these questions is important in creating an awareness of events currently unfolding in indigenous circles, and those to come. What will the limits of restitution be?

There are questions that relate to skeletal remains still housed in museums and academic institutions in South Africa and abroad. An international perspective can help provide answers to some of the questions archaeologists in South Africa are currently considering. The following chapter takes a look at the history of indigenous claims abroad.

Similarities and differences in the colonial history of the Native American Indians of North America and the Khoikhoi and San of Southern Africa will be explored. What I hope to reveal is the commonality indigenous groups have shared in the colonial experience, and in doing so help archaeologists realise that we are not alone in dealing with identity related and heritage issues. These are international concerns.

CHAPTER 5**A COMPARATIVE STUDY ABROAD:
NATIVE AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES**

In Chapter One I discussed aspects of early European exploration, colonisation and expansion in southern Africa, and the ways in which early theories by Linnaeus (1758) and Darwin (1859) took root within the socio-political context of southern Africa, using theories on human evolution as the basis for a system of racial classification. Having focused on the history of southern Africa in terms of the development of the discipline of archaeology, this chapter will take a broader comparative approach towards the subject of current indigenous mobilisation by examining aspects of the colonial history and post-colonial history of the Native American Indians in the United States (1).

This comparison has two purposes. The first is to provide a comparative analysis on the history of indigenous groups outside South Africa. For the purpose of the study I have

(1) The term Indian, as Debo (1970) states, was given by Columbus who encountered indigenous tribes, thinking he had reached India. The term Indian served to collectively label all culturally diverse people in the Americas as homogenous. References to the use of the term Indian is adopted in the discussion when no specific tribe is being referred to.

chosen to examine the history of the Native American Indian. No specific group has been selected, but instead I have chosen to take a collective historical look at the experiences of the indigenous people of the United States. Native American Indians, the indigenous communities, suffered a similar fate to the Khoikhoi and San people of southern Africa, and were subject to European ideologies of race and human development.

The second reason for the study is to examine a current repatriation claim which involves several Native American Indian tribes. I will refer to the case study as that of the 'Kennewick Man'. Prior to my examination of this case study I will discuss (in brief terms) the history of the Native American Indian and the relationship they held with white European colonialists. This relationship, however autocratic on the part of the colonialist powers, needs to be understood as the context of the Native American Indian colonial and post-colonial experience.

The historical parallels between the histories of the Native American Indians and the Khoikhoi and the San will:

- (1) Provide insight as to the magnitude of European influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on indigenous groups across the continents and
- (2) Contextualise the reasons for current mobilisation,

providing a point of reference for South African archaeologists who wish to understand the dynamics of this global issue.

The discussion will begin with a fairly broad overview of the different groupings of Native American Indians present around the time of European settlement in North America. Following this I will look at various events in the colonial history of the United States which were in direct conflict with indigenous group development and freedom. Finally, I will turn to more current events which will include a review of various repatriation calls by various Native American Indian groups. Throughout this section I will, where relevant, make a comparative analysis of the processes which shaped indigenous experiences here in southern Africa.

A brief history of the Indians of the United States

"The vitality of our race still persists. We have not lived for naught. We are the original discoverers of this continent ...The European Nations found us here and were made aware that it was possible for the next man to exist and subsist here. We have given the European people on this continent our thought forces...We have made ourselves an indestructible element in their national history...The race that has rendered this service to the other nations of mankind cannot utterly perish"(Debo, 1970:422).

According to Debo (1970) and Wenke (1990) the Native American tribes on the north American continent can trace their origins back to Asia, where during the last glacial period, part of the Bering Sea formed a land bridge, known as the Beringia , which enabled the ancestors of Native Americans to cross over from Asia to the north American continent. The Native American Indians were the first people to inhabit this continent, some 30 000 years before the arrival of Europeans. The groups of Indians varied, as the groups of Khoikhoi and San varied here in southern Africa (see Chapter Four). There existed a great diversity in language and physical characteristics, in contrast to the stereotype that all Native American Indians have the same type of lifestyle. Debo (1970) shows how classifications of groups were usually carried out by language families:

"Among the most important linguistic stock are the Iroquoian, the Algoquian, the Muskogean, the Siouan, the Caddoan, the Athapascan, the Shoshonean, the Piman, the Yuman, the Salishan, the Shashaptioan, the Lituamian, and the Koluschan... Among the Iroquoian tribe was the powerful League of the Iroquois (widely studied by Lewis Henry Morgan in the eighteenth century) of central and western New York. It consisted of five Nations - Mohawks, Oneidas, Onandagas, Cayugas and Senecas, later.. Tuscaroras of North Carolina ... Hurons, on the upper St Lawrence and the are east of Lake

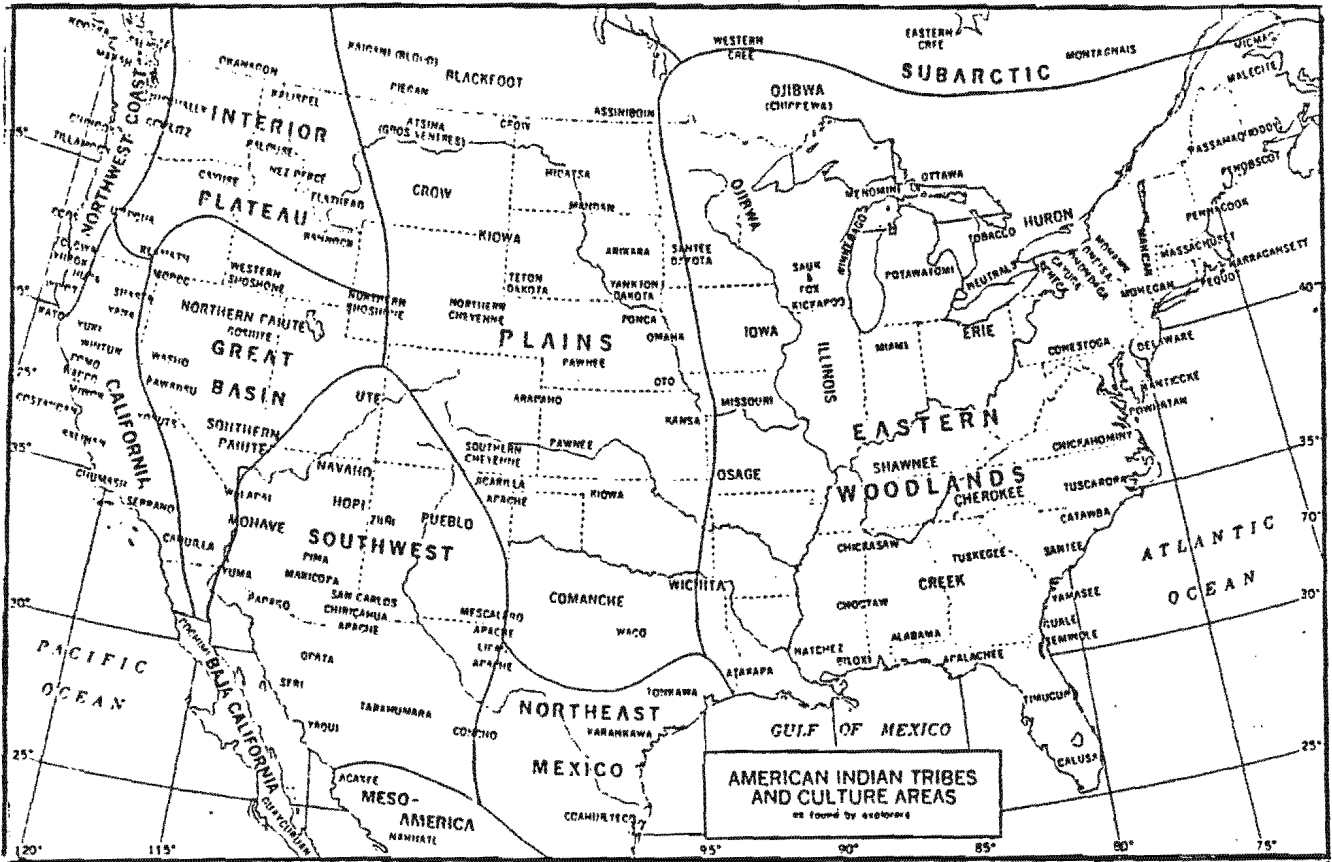
Huron...Cherokees in the southern Appalachian region"
(Debo, 1970:9).

Native American Indians had a complex set of cultural and socio-economic relations structured in, and outside, their groups. Contact with European explorers from the fifteenth century onwards unsettled these structures. European contact, colonisation and settler expansion occurred all across the Americas, but for the purpose of discussion I will look at the history of colonisation in the North American continent. The two maps illustrate the geographic distribution of Native American Indians before settler contact (Figure 5.1), and their subsequent displacement after settler expansion (Figure 6.1). I now present a brief discussion on Native American experiences during European contact, and subsequent settler expansion and its effects on indigenous group structures.

The earliest European trading post was established by the French in 1605, at Post Royal, Nova Scotia (Acadia). The exploration of the areas of New York, the Ottawa River and the Great Lakes saw the French employ the services of Huron guides. This caused friction between Iroquois and Huron groups during this period. The first European settlement came in the year 1607, when the English established a settlement in Jamestown, Virginia (Wearne, 1996).

Figure 15

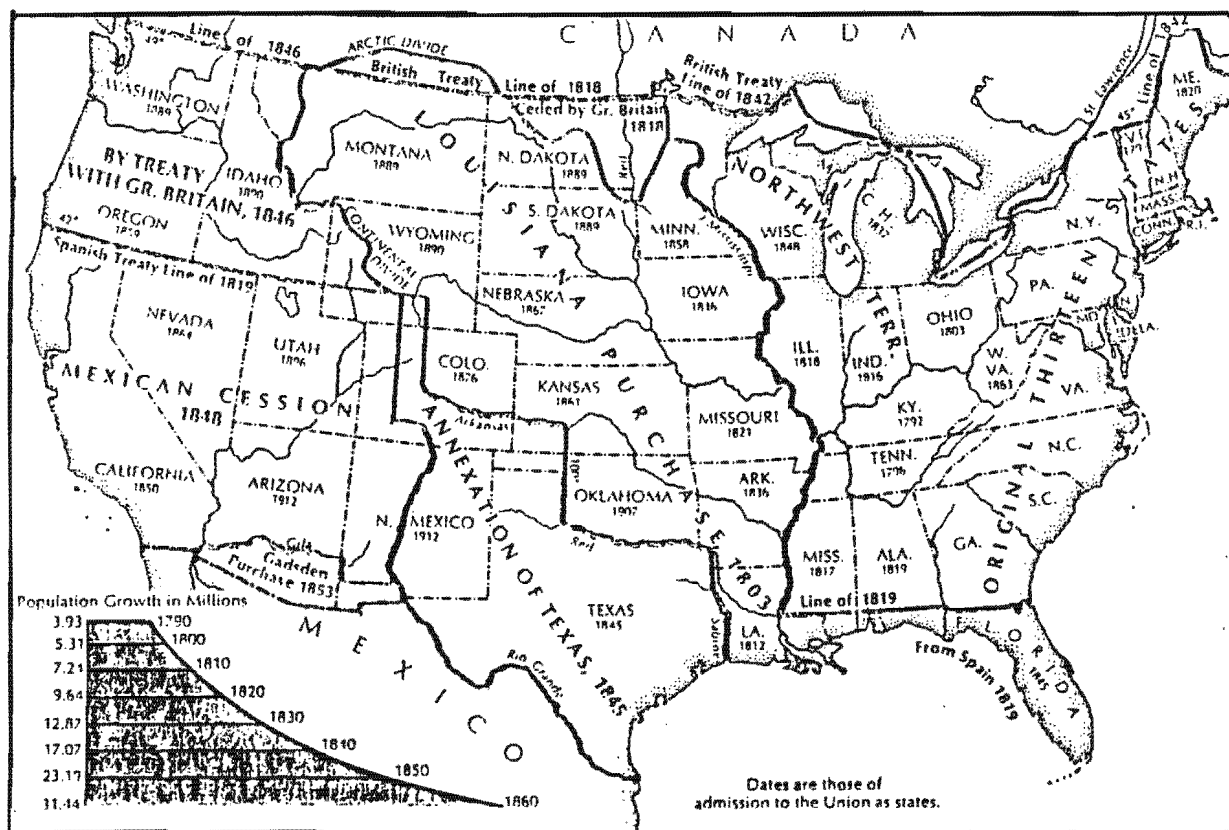
Native American Indian groups before settler expansion.



Source: Lamar, H. and Thompson, L. (eds). 1981. The Frontier in History - North America and Southern Africa compared. New haven: Yale University Press.

Figure 16

Settler advancement and expansion of the territories in North America.



Source: Lamar, H. and Thompson, L. (eds). 1981. The Frontier in History - North America and Southern Africa compared. New haven: Yale University Press.

France and England were not the only two countries infiltrating the continent. The Spanish made early contact with people from the 'new' world, with Columbus reaching the Bahamas in 1492. Their early contacts with Native American Indians were concentrated to the east of the North American continent, and in South America. The Dutch, like the French and English, were also interested in North America, founding the colony of New Amsterdam in 1609.

Like the South African Khoikhoi and San, resistance to the colonial presence started when indigenous American communities realised that the foreigners were going to stay. A power struggle ensued which, like the gradual alienation of indigenous people in southern Africa, extended to economic and political domination. The introduction of epidemics caused many Native American Indians to die. Debo (1970) presents as an example in the founding of the settlement of Plymouth, at Cape Cod, in 1620, which was preceded by the depopulation of the area as a result of the introduction of an epidemic by European traders.

With the hold of settlers becoming stronger within the North American continent, conflict was inevitable. Wearne (1998) points to the year 1763 as having formed the basis for subsequent legislation on indigenous land holdings. A British

proclamation issued in this year restricted the movement of both Native American and settler groups to allocated areas. These restrictions caused problems for indigenous people who had a largely migratory subsistence pattern. With the geographic domination of areas by colonial forces, there were large scale tensions which ultimately erupted in conflict.

The period between 1776-1853 was a period of territorial expansion in North America (see Figure 19). French and English colonial forces were expanding at a fast rate into indigenous territories during this period. Other developments included the establishment of the social sciences. The institutionalisation of disciplines as structures of learning was marked by one of the first published works on the physical anthropology of Native American Indians in 1839 (Boas, 1839). Boas's work, entitled *Crania Americana*, was similar to European works on physical anthropology around that time.

Jones (1992) provides further insight into the development of the social sciences that followed the immigration of Louis Agassiz to North America in 1840. Agassiz founded the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University in 1859, after studying under George Cuvier, the French pathologist who examined the remains of Saartjie Baartman. Darwinian theories were followed by scientists in North America. These theories also affected the relationship between European settlers and

Native American Indians. Aspects of Social Darwinism were also carried over into political thought. President Jackson articulated what many settlers had already begun to accept in social practice - white superiority:

"Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828. He wanted to remove Indians to the west by force. Even before his inauguration, Georgia and Mississippi passed laws extending their jurisdiction over the Indians within their borders, and Alabama followed before the year was over...When the congress convened, he recommended removal legislation, and it was enacted on May 28, 1830" (Debo, 1970:117).

Wearne (1996) provides added insight into the effects which Jackson's legislative move initiated. Many Cherokee and Seminole were removed from their land, and over the period of one decade, over 100 000 Native American Indians were dispossessed.

The position of the Khoikhoi and the San was similar. The story of post-colonial territorial expansion from 1778 in North America was almost identical to southern Africa. In 1838 (Debo, 1970), more than 16 000 Cherokee were dispossessed of land and were forced to move (on foot) from Georgia to Oklahoma. Many people died during the trip due to the cold and

hunger. This trek is historically referred to as the 'trail of tears'.

Wearne (1996) provides the following historical summary of developments in north America to the early 1900s. In 1851 the government attempted to introduce a reservation system by offering payment to Native American Indians if they remained in their located areas. Three years later (1854), war erupted between the Lakota Sioux and the United States Army, which was to last for thirty-five years. In 1862, the Sioux in Minnesota killed hundreds of white settlers as part of their feud with the government. 1864 saw the massacre of 105 Cheyenne and Arapaho women by US soldiers.

Wearne (1996) makes mention of three acts which were of considerable importance to Native Americans: The US Indian Appropriation Act of 1871, the Dawes Act or General Allotment Act of 1887 and the Reorganization Act of 1934. The 1871 US Indian Appropriation Act sets out that "no Indian Nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged and recognised as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract or may treaty" The Dawes Act, or General Allotment Act of 1887, destroyed the system of communal property vital to Indian survival. Indian land was divided into private plots of approximately 160

acres; the 'surplus' was sold off by the federal government to the whites. The Reorganization Act of 1934, in contrast, re-established the sovereignty of Indian tribes and allowed tribal governments the authority to draw up their own judicial laws (Wearne, 1996).

It is at this point, however, that the parallels between southern Africa and North America cease. Up until this point, the continents had shared the same European influences. The theories of Linnaeus and Darwin were carried to Europeans settled on the North American continent. World War II, however, marked a split between the American and European academic fraternities. North America became more independent in its culture and politics. Laws regarding Native American Indian land rights were revoked (Debo, 1970) during this period. In 1943, the Dawes Act of 1887 was repealed. This provided the opportunity for indigenous groups to reestablish their claims to land. This is a campaign that persists today, not only for the restitution of land, but also for the cultural material and skeletal remains of ancestors that early settlers appropriated.

The establishment of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis in 1969 was one of the first groups formed with the purpose of mobilisation for the recognition of Native

American Indian rights. In 1973 two AIM members died at the site of the 1890 Indian massacre at Wounded Knee during a 71-day protest. The trial and conviction of a fellow AIM member, Leonard Peltier, in 1979, ignited a wave of Indian protests that lasted throughout the 1980s. In 1990 the government introduced the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This legislation afforded Native American Indians the opportunity to make legal claims for cultural and skeletal material of which they had been dispossessed during the years before and after colonisation. South Africa does not have any legislation which provides indigenous groups the opportunity of making claims such as those made in the USA. In contrast to South Africa, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) provided a solid legal basis for Native American Indians.

The introduction of NAGPRA caused much debate amongst archaeologists locally and abroad. Before I examine these points, I will briefly discuss the dynamics of the Act by (1) looking at relevant regulation currently influencing the 'Kennewick Man' case and (2) by examining this case study itself.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act NAGPRA was adopted by the US Congress in 1990. Bahn (1996)

describes the Act as providing a basis for communication between archaeologists and Native American Indians and Native Hawaiians. The Act enabled both parties to define ownership of Native American remains and cultural material on federal and tribal land, and required museums to compile inventories of cultural and skeletal material. These lists were made available, by November 16 1993, to Native American Indian and Native Hawaiian groups who had an interest in making claims for cultural material or skeletal remains.

Timothy McKeown (1997), of the National Park Service, assesses two other aspects of NAGPRA. These make reference to the advertent and inadvertent discovery and/ or excavation of an archaeological site. McKeown explains these statutes as follows:

"..the statutes apply to intentional excavation and inadvertent discoveries on federal or tribal lands after November 16, 1990. Intentional excavations and inadvertent discovery provisions are designed to facilitate proper disposition of Native American cultural items that might be intentionally excavated or inadvertently discovered on tribal lands. They generally do not apply to undertakings on private, municipality or state lands pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, although cultural items obtained through

such an undertaking may fall under the summary or inventory provisions once the items come under control of a federal agency or museum" (McKeown, 1997:6).

Communication, Bahn (1996) states, is of vital importance in working towards positive solutions. "Archaeologist working in the Americas have overwhelmingly been of European descent, and antagonism between archaeologists and Native Americans has in the past been common... Since the 1980s, however, there have been encouraging signs of rapprochement between the two groups: archaeologists have realized that prehistoric American remains are more than scientific data, and increasingly acknowledged the right of contemporary Native Americans to participate in the study and disposition of their archaeological heritage"(Bahn, 1996 :358,359).

The recent discovery of prehistoric skeletal remains, named "Kennewick Man", has again opened up an aspect of archaeology many archaeologists wish not to address - politics. Archaeology is inherently part of the political milieu of all countries in which the discipline is currently practised. The following case study presents the pragmatics of this political and legislative milieu. No conclusive decisions have arisen with regards to the case study, but it is the nature of the case which has put into question the important

situation that Bahn (1996) has highlighted. This is of great concern, not only to the archaeological and indigenous communities in North America, but to those in other parts of the world, including South Africa.

'The Kennewick Man'

The origins of Kennewick Man, or "Richmond Man", as he was dubbed by the press, have become a source of contestation between scientists and Native American Indian tribes. Not much is known about the context of this site. Schneider (1997), Moss (1997), and Stapp and Longenecker (1997), however, provide some information on the discovery of the remains and the investigation surrounding its discovery.

The skeleton was discovered on July 28, 1996 near the banks of the Columbia River in Washington State. Radiocarbon dates from a metatarsal sample indicated an age of 8400 years before present. After the discovery the bones were held in the custody of the United States Corps of Engineers. On September 17, 1996 the Corps published a notice stating its intention of repatriating the skeletal remains to the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation. This action sparked controversy about the legal implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). The consequence was the filing of a lawsuit by eight scientists

contesting repatriation; the first legal action taken in contest of the Act (NAGPRA). The scientists making the case saw the action taken by the US Corps of Engineers as an infringement of their First Amendment Rights. They argued that the right to free speech and free thinking could only be pursued if scientists were able to research finds such as Kennewick man, tests of which they felt had been prematurely terminated. Schneider (1997), for example, argues that research was inconclusive in determining the true origins of Kennewick Man. Arguments by Moss (1997), as to the Native American identity of the individual, were in part based on the presence of a stone projectile discovered in the pelvis during a CT scan. Schneider, however, questions the identity of the individual as a PaleoIndian. He questions the application of term 'Native American', as defined in NAGRPRRA statutes.

Kodack (1997), in turn, presents this answer in opposition to Schneider's case:

"The most relevant legislative history and statutory language applicable to the Kennewick case is not the definition of 'Native American', but 'cultural affiliation'...The definition of cultural affiliation references both historic and prehistoric Indian groups. While Schneider wants us to accept Kennewick Man as a social isolate, he was in fact a functioning member of a larger social group. Schneider has to

demonstrate that the group to which Kennewick Man belonged became extinct, thus breaking a connection to any modern-day Native Americans" (Kodack, 1997:2).

For its part, the indigenous community involved in the case was dissatisfied with the lack of consultation prior to the media announcement by the US Corp of Engineers. At this stage partial tests (radiocarbon dating) had already been run which, according to the Native American representatives, were in conflict with Umatilla traditional rites. Such contrasting views have been presented throughout the case, with Native Americans claiming lack of consultation, and scientists claiming First Amendment rights. There has clearly been a lack of communication between the two opposing groups as to the aims and purposes of the legislation.

NAGPRA was clearly not introduced as a means of enforcing power by one group over another. It was aimed at reidentifying and redefining the ways in which Native American Indians can become acquainted with, and take responsibility for, the advancement of their history. Many other communities have been afforded this opportunity, yet scientists seem to deny this right to descendants of the First Nations of North America. The challenge that lies ahead in resolving the case relies on communication. The lack thereof is clearly what has sparked the animosity between the two camps.

The Act calls for understanding between the two groups on more than one level. Often archaeologists neglect to examine the sociological influences that their studies may have, as was the case in the early nineteenth century. Tessie Naranjo, who is a committee member involved in the application of NAGPRA, explains the relationship Native American Indians hold to the land and living objects:

"Traditional Native Americans believe that everyone and everything exists in an integrated and pervasive system of relationships between humans and the objects they create. A pot is not just a pot. In our community, the pots we create are seen as vital, breathing entities that must be respected as all other living beings. Respect of all life elements - rocks, trees, clay - is necessary because we understand our inseparable relationship with every part of our world. This is why we honour our ancestors and the objects they created. This honouring allows us to remember our past and the natural process of transformation - of breathing, living, dying, and becoming one with the natural world. Not even in death are we unrelated" (Naranjo, 1995:1).

The relationship which the Khoikhoi and the San held to the land is similar to that of the Native American Indian. This is not to say that indigenous people have a pristine

'mythical' connection with their natural environment, but rather that their livelihood depended on their use or abuse of their natural surroundings. Khoikhoi and San systems of subsistence not only provided economic stability, but also social stability. The settlers, in both the North American continent and in southern Africa, did not understand this relationship.

Francis P. Macmanaman (1997), consulting archaeologist at the Department of the Interior and Chief of the National Parks Service in the US, lists four steps which contribute towards fostering much needed understanding between groups:

- (1) Improving communication,
- (2) valuing different approaches,
- (3) fostering a relationship that is neither patronising nor timid, and
- (4) making a long term commitment towards this endeavour.

The colonial history of the Native American Indians holds many parallels with the experiences of the Khoikhoi and San in South Africa. Current and future relations are also of the utmost importance, and with NAGPRA currently the legislation in the US, there remain many questions concerning the future of the discipline of archaeology. The following part of the

discussion explores the development of southern Africa and the United States as post-industrial countries.

Post-industrialization and modernisation: a revival of indigenous group ideologies.

Having discussed the politics of land annexation by colonists in North America and South Africa in the nineteenth century, comparative studies (Wearne, 1996) suggest that modernisation prompted separatist policies of indigenous group control over land and natural resources.

In South Africa, 1948 marked the beginning of legislative systems of apartheid. But in the US the repeal of the 1887 Dawes Act in 1934 brought a change in government policies on Native American Indians. These were now aimed at a process of acculturation. The impact of modernization had its effects, in that many Native American Indians were forced to blend into the changing American culture. South Africa, as Mancell Upham has stated (see Chapter Three) seems to be involved in a similar process of acculturation today. South African indigenous groups, he states, are forced to blend into the 'rainbow nation' melting pot, thereby being denied, yet again, their status as the First Nation of South Africa. If the North American example is anything to go by, it would seem that the current actions by indigenous groups in southern Africa will, in future, lead to pressure for legislative changes.

•

Underlining factors are the processes of post-industrialization and modernisation. Richmond (1984) connects the effects of post-industrialisation and the growth of minority group consciousness and self-determination:

"The emergence of post-industrialism has profound implications for the future of ethnic consciousness, ethnic organization ... By ethnic nationalism, in this context, is meant the struggle for recognition, higher economic and social status, and political power by minorities" (Richmond, 1984:11).

This needs to be understood within the context of archaeology. Throughout the period of post-industrialisation and modernisation, the knowledge of what constitutes history has placed indigenous groups at a disadvantage. Their histories were prescribed for them. This is one of the problems archaeologists need to understand in their dealings with minority groups. Many indigenous groups have disassociated themselves from their histories because these histories denied them access to resources of development. With powerful political organisations such as the United Nations declaring their commitment to promoting cultural and economic development of indigenous groups world wide in 1995 (the declaration of "the Indigenous Decade") many indigenous groups feel that returning to their roots may give them the cultural and socio-economic revival they seek. The global move towards

addressing the needs of indigenous groups has unearthed one important question: who owns the past?

Who owns the past?

Indigenous groups accuse archaeologists of direct complicity in the processes of colonisation. Mancell Upham quotes an archaeologist at the opening of an exhibition on Khoikhoi and San people at the National Gallery in Cape Town (April 20, 1996), "to give an idea of the issues that are worrying indigenous people. At the symposium an archaeologist stood up and said, 'you want to know why those casts were made of those people, well because we knew (or they knew) at the time that the Bushmen were going to be extinct'" (Upham, Appendix 2:5).

It is evident that archaeologists need to view themselves as part of the social landscape and, in doing so, recognise an indigenous interpretation of the landscape in contrast to a Eurocentric analysis. Rosita Whorl, a Native American by descent, explains the relationship that Native American Indians hold to the skeletal remains of their ancestors.

"Indians contend that appropriating human remains violates the sanctity of the dead as well as the civil rights of the living. Indians also maintain that alienating a tribe from its culture undermines its integrity and ability to survive "

(Whorl, 1995:1).

In response, many archaeologists have referred to indigenous protests as academic censorship. The solution to this dilemma would be to examine and categorise claims, as suggested by Gulla (1996). Identifying if claims are individual, group, national or international, and reviewing the relation between claimants and the material they are claiming, may provide a systematic approach in dealing with these issues. Many groups have rejected the idea of establishing absolute group affinity, pointing out that assimilation and acculturation of tribes in North America was a process that sought to wipe out traces of cultural diversity amongst indigenous groups.

What avenue of resolution does these issues present for archaeologists and indigenous groups? Much will be determined by archaeologists themselves. We are part of the fabric which shaped South Africa's history and need to address our role as educators within the context of indigenous groups' experiences. This would require consultation and negotiation - a process in which both parties would benefit in the long term.

Archaeologists and indigenous groups are both subject to the consequences of history. Undermining people's rights undermines the right of people to define broader aspects of their lives, such as their history. Such is the right of all

people striving for growth and progress. This is what has been challenged by Native American Indians and South African Khoikhoi and San descendants. It is also a challenge which archaeologists have to start addressing uniformly. The following chapter addresses this question by looking at archaeologists' views on repatriation and indigenous history.

CHAPTER 6WHAT SOME ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE TO SAY

"As South Africa changes, its history is being reviewed. Old emphases are giving way to new interests. Old explanations and evaluations of the past are being questioned. Old stereotypes of indigenous people and, indeed, of the whole sweep of African history are being challenged as a new history is constructed. The nature of this new southern African history implicates archaeology; it also poses a fundamental question: what is archaeology? (Lewis-Williams, 1990:45).

The discussion I have presented thus far requires me to address the attitude of archaeologists to repatriation. Lewis-Williams (1990) states that there are no real conclusive answers to questions such as that posed above, because the dynamics of the discipline are such that it is constantly changing, influenced by factors which were discussed in Chapter One. Suffice to say that the dominant factor in archaeology's history in Southern Africa has been colonialism and, more recently, apartheid.

Lewis-Williams (1990) argues that archaeology should be incorporated into 'social sciences' such as anthropology, history and sociology. The division of the social sciences into categories such as history and archaeology, Lewis-

Williams argues, has assisted in the colonial domination of indigenous histories. "Most of the country's population were educated in colonial and Christian National education, and has absorbed their unquestioning ethic and their foci of significance. As a result, many people do not consider the pre-1652 past to be of much interest" (Lewis-Williams, 1990:50). The effects of this "colonial hegemony", as Lewis-Williams describes it, are currently being challenged by South Africa's indigenous people. Re-evaluation of archaeology as an integrated learning system within the 'social sciences' leads to a question: what approach is required to see archaeology go forward in a positive and constructive manner?

The questions that are asked in this chapter are aimed at establishing the present position, and the future possibilities, of archaeology in Southern Africa. The challenges the discipline is currently facing in reflecting on its role in a post-apartheid society have brought to light many related problems. One of these, in the context of recent repatriation claims, is the question of the type of archaeology currently practised. Is it an archaeology aimed at democratising its resources, as Ritchie (1990) and Shepherd (1995) suggest it should be, or is it one apposed to the greater involvement of the public in issues of archaeological importance.

Shepherd (1990) makes a strong case for the move towards an alternative archaeology: "one that would meet the criteria of a truly post-apartheid archaeology" (Shepherd, 1990:2). This presupposes the existence of an apartheid archaeology which, as Shepherd indicates, is not so much an adoption of apartheid legislation within the discourse of the discipline, as a reflection of the establishment and institutionalisation of archaeology at the time when the National Party government started instituting its policies on race. In Chapter One, I discussed the effect apartheid policies had on issues such as 'Coloured' identity. The following discussion, in this chapter, aims to establish the relationship between the state and archaeological institutions in southern Africa.

I will also focus on the museum in Southern Africa, the bastion of institutionalised public learning in the early 1900s. The growth of the museum has been linked with the development of the disciplines it represents. The challenges presented to archaeologists extend, therefore, to museums in Southern Africa. The birth of these public learning institutions coincided with the development of the 'social sciences' in South Africa during the early 1900s, and the representation of indigenous histories is linked with the development of the discipline of archaeology.

Shepherd (1995) presents the political background within which archaeology developed. " The point is that South African archaeology has acquired its character under apartheid. As an institution it has little historical existence outside of the apartheid state, which has not always been its principal sponsor, but has provided the intellectual, social and political milieu in which South African archaeology has acquired its distinctive features"(Shepherd, 1995:4).

Shepherd (1995) identifies two key events which served to define the nature of the discipline of archaeology. Firstly, A.J.H Goodwin, a research assistant in Ethnology at the University of Cape Town, and Peter van Riet Lowe, published 'The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa' in 1929. Secondly, in June 1945 the South African Archaeological Society held its first meeting, and published the first edition of the South African Archaeological Bulletin later in that same year.

The establishment of the Archaeological Society was one indication of the growth of the discipline in South Africa. Due to the influence of European scholars, the state, under the presidency of Prime Minister General Smuts, showed an interest in the development of the discipline. One of Smuts' last official acts was to offer an Air Force plane to transport South African delegates to the Pan African Congress

of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, held in Nairobi in 1947. With the election of the National Party leadership in 1948, the state revoked the invitation made by Smuts to hold the next meeting in South Africa. The institution of apartheid laws from 1948 onwards dealt a serious blow to the international character of archaeology in South Africa.

A later Pan African Congress, held in Nairobi in 1977 is a case in point. Protests from Mozambique and Zambia about South Africa's invitation, given many people considered complicity in the government's laws and practices, caused the Congress to withdraw its invitation to delegates from South Africa. The academic isolation which South African archaeologists experienced at the time is an example of the dominating influence the National Party had on all aspects of South African institutions of learning.

However, archaeology's growth and development was also marked by defiance of the institutionalisation of state apartheid control of knowledge. Shepherd notes Andrew Smith's critique of text book histories, while other archaeologists such as Hall (1987, 1996) and Mazel (1989), also challenged state interpretations of early Iron Age histories, and indigenous histories in general. Overt political challenge was, however, not the norm, for the academic survival of the discipline was

dependant on state funding; institutions such as public museums and universities received most of their money from the government.

Following the 1994 elections, the emphasis has changed to grass roots empowerment, and communities have now been given the opportunity of examining pre-1652 histories. The shift in political milieu has presented new choices for archaeologists.

Shepherd (1995) had identified two alternatives. The first is to remain orientated towards the professional archaeological community only, and subject to critique from peers. The alternative form of archaeology will be more popular and community orientated, with a consultative form of research, thereby being accountable to the community whose history is being researched. This latter approach to research seems to be one towards which archaeologists are currently steering.

This move towards a more 'popular' archaeology has been experienced by archaeological communities elsewhere. Archaeology globally has been greatly influenced by the changing political status of indigenous people over the past few years. The United Nations declaration of an 'Indigenous Decade' in 1995 has been instrumental in international

government responses to indigenous demands, one of which is the democratisation of archaeological institutions. Some museums in South Africa have been institutions at the forefront of reconstruction. Pastor (1995) contrasts their earlier role:

"It is well documented that the museum has played a specific role in perpetuating dominant power relations between the industrialised West and the former colonies....The museum did this by reifying various images of colonised peoples and representing always as 'excluded other'. This appropriation of the image of the colonised reinforced European imperial superiority. Like other colonised peoples, Africans were subjected to stereotypes of inferiority; stereotypes which paralleled the development of the museum's public role and responsibility" (Pastor, 1995:8).

Museums in South Africa, like those abroad, collected physical specimens of Khoikhoi and San ancestors. Morris (1987), in his study of these skeletal collections, listed South African museums that possess such remains:

- the McGregor Memorial Museum, Kimberley;
- the National Museum, Bloemfontein;
- Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

Other local archaeological institutions are also listed in his study:

- Department of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand and
- the Department of Anatomy, University of Cape Town.

International archaeological institutions which house Khoikhoi and San skeletal remains have also been listed, although these do not include North American institutions:

- the Institut fur Humanbiologie, University of Vienna;
- the Musee de l'Homme, Paris;
- the Department of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge;
- the Royal College of Surgeons, London; and
- the British Museum of Natural History, London.

The nature of these collections, and their numbers of specimens, reflect museum collection policies during the 1900s. The methodological policies that existed in museums from the 1920s are largely reflective of the influence of European academics at the time. This influence is further represented in the vast collections of skeletal remains many European archaeological institutions currently house. Ethical questions have arisen regarding the means of appropriation of such skeletal remains, such as those of Saartjie Baartman, and more locally, that of Cornelius Kok II. The histories of these

two figures (see Chapters Three and Four) are historically significant, but the appropriation of their remains is reflective of the practices of that time. Changes have occurred in archaeological practises but the power structure which controls access to archaeological resources has been fairly consistent until recent years. The collection policies of archaeological institutions "tells more about the collector than the collected" (Morris,1987:20). The following part of the discussion aims to examine current reactions from local and international archaeologists to issues such as collection and return of skeletal remains.

The view point of the archaeologist:

The research procedure for this chapter was based on informal interviews with archaeologists that were conducted in 1996.

This is considered the primary source of information.

Secondary sources comprise already-published interviews and recent works by archaeologists that address questions of the repatriation and return of skeletal material.

The interviews served as a mechanism by which archaeologists could express their visions of the future of the discipline. The involvement of archaeologists and members of indigenous groups as part of the study is essential in establishing communication. Gulla talks about a mechanism needed to open

avenues of policy making. This, I believe, could be achieved through communicating with both archaeologists and indigenous groups, which is what I have aimed to do by means of the interviews.

"Repatriation demands are a powerful mechanism for opening broader policy and strategies to make museums more open and relevant to society as a whole.... Communities have a living heritage and store of knowledge that is invaluable for anthropologists and archaeologists... Repatriation can accelerate a long term evolution of relations between indigenous people, archaeologists and museum staff. Shifts in political power accelerate this as community groups are no longer token representatives and become empowered to enter into real negotiations" (Galla, Appendix 7).

These negotiations are what Philip Tobias (Appendix 6) regards as essential to the positive movement of the discipline of archaeology, and in turn of the well-being of indigenous people in southern Africa. His comments on repatriation emphasise negotiation:

"If the indigenous people in question are emphatic that the remains under consideration should be interred, what procedures should be followed in such a case? In the interests

of scientific, anthropological and medical research, it may be most valuable if, before the remains are handed over to the appropriate authority of the indigenous people, photographs, casts and detailed observations (including measurements) were made of the remains, with the approval of the people concerned (at least it would be important for the scholars to obtain the blessing of the people for photographs and casts to be made, as there may be some indigenous beliefs and practices which would forbid the representation of the dead by photos or casts). Such records could be permanently deposited in the museum or university department concerned, if the people agreed (Tobias, Appendix 6).

Many archaeologists, including Gulla, who is head of the National Centre for National Heritage and Science Studies at Canberra University in Australia, and Professor Philip Tobias, former head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, agree on the need for future methodologies to be proactive rather than reactive in approach. Such a proactive approach would include adequate consultation with relevant indigenous groups before specific steps are taken regarding skeletal collections. A case in point is that of 'Kennewick Man' described in Chapter Five. Reactive solutions often result in conflict between archaeologists and indigenous groups. In not assessing repatriation cases to their fullest

extent, misinformed choices may be made. Communication is therefore vital.

Communication between archaeologists and indigenous groups relieves the grievances of both parties. There is a misconception that consultation only benefits the indigenous party. However, the purpose of consultation is not to enforce an authoritative power over the discipline of archaeology, reproducing the domination of education by the South African apartheid government. Although archaeologists have an obligation to consult indigenous groups, such consultation provides the basis for communication in which indigenous groups and archaeologists can make their feelings and opinions known. Opinions such as those expressed by Dr Alan Morris point to the openness with which archaeologists have begun to express their views.

Morris, a physical anthropologist in the Anatomy Department at the University of Cape Town, has strong feelings on the repatriation of skeletal material to indigenous groups in South Africa. The following extract is from an interview conducted by Eddie Koch of the Mail and Guardian newspaper.

"Q: Are you unhappy about the specimens being reburied?

A: In principle I am not unhappy to see them reburied, but I would still like to see full and wide-ranging analyses done before reburial takes place. This could certainly be done in consultation with the descendants.

Q: What if they reburied everything?

A: It would be a major disaster.

Q: Why?

A: Because the few specimens that have been studied were examined in the 1920s and 1930s in a racial paradigm. New approaches (since the 1970s) are population based; looking at regions and how they change with time, diet and health, variation, etc. But these approaches have not yet been applied to most skeletons in South African museums - such studies have barely been started" (Appendix 7).

Clearly, then, aspects of archaeological methodology need added attention. In an interview, Abrahams-Willis (Appendix 8) briefly outlined three models of interaction open to museums. Firstly, museums can make decisions on their own - without consulting relevant indigenous groups. Secondly museums may inform indigenous people about skeletal remains and cultural artifacts, but may make the final decision. A third model involves communities in relevant projects, to sustain ongoing communication between museums and indigenous groups.

Community orientated models are based on two-way liaising and could go as far as addressing some of the problems Morris (Appendix 7) refers to in his interview: a lack of research time and samples. Pastor (1995) suggests taking small quantities of bone and teeth samples from skeletal material when indigenous groups object to certain research methodologies:

"One solution to the problem of scientific research is to utilise the advances of scientific technology. Scientists no longer need whole skeletons to do their tests. They need only keep a tooth or a sample of bone. In 1992 the body of a slave woman was found by archaeological excavation on the farm Vergelegen. Only the tooth was retained by archaeologists and the rest of the body was reburied. Enough information was researched by using just one tooth to say much about the woman's diet and probable way of life" (Pastor, 1995:14).

Gulla (Appendix 7), speaking at a workshop in Kimberly, listed guidelines relevant to the methodologies practised by archaeologists in research and its relevance to interaction with indigenous groups. Gulla argues that archaeologists need to address repatriation issues in a more serious light. Many universities and museums have no specific person responsible for the administration of issues such as repatriation.

Although the infrastructures of these research and academic institutions in South Africa do not cater for these specific needs as yet, future development of their administration is crucial.

This is one way in which archaeologists can become more open to their public responsibilities. Another would be an added openness about the role they played in indigenous histories, particularly their study of indigenous ancestral remains. In addressing issues of past unethical practices, archaeologists need to identify indigenous bodies and other relevant organisations with whom they can consult. In establishing such communication, shared codes of ethics and conduct need to be negotiated around repatriation issues. Improved communication would allow for the creation of databases listing all indigenous groups with relevant interests in the return of skeletal remains or cultural material. Archaeological institutions in South Africa have no formal processes by which to return skeletal remains or cultural material. The National Parks Board in the United States has developed a structured de-accession process in returning skeletal remains or cultural material to relevant Native American Indian groups. Such procedures could assist South African archaeologists in formulating suitable de-accession processes.

The involvement of relevant government departments in such processes as the negotiation of disputes and return of skeletal remains is vital. The structuring of de-accession processes rely on the institution of relevant legislation, such as NAGPRA in the United States. Gulla (Appendix 7) presents these processes in terms of long term and short term goals. Long term goals involve legislation-making. In the short term development, archaeologists need to establish forums for public debate, where issues such as accountability towards the people whose history they are studying needs to be addressed. This forum would be aimed at public involvement, including indigenous group involvement in establishing certain research practices. In this way, Gulla sees archaeologists as opening up the discipline to new methodologies, offering indigenous groups and the rest of the South African community new insights into past histories:

"New relations of trust offer opportunities for a whole new area of study to be negotiated. This involves the destruction of the anthropological 'other'...Presenting people as equals opens trust and creates increased respect for archaeology and history" (Appendix 7).

Gulla (Appendix 7) comments on the guidelines needed to facilitate the changes necessary for repatriation processes

to be successful. Nackerdien (1994), Shepherd (1995) and Bahn (1996) also refer to the development of such new methodologies. Bahn maintains that the roots of the discipline, "it's unique emphasis on material culture and long time depth", will remain the same (Bahn, 1996:373). He describes the future of the discipline as one that "will continue to entertain highly divergent and often contradictory ways of studying the past, remaining true to its disciplinary roots and continuing to be part anthropology, part history, part science" (Bahn, 1996:373).

Archaeology is part of the socio-political milieu of many countries and its change is thus reflective of the changes in its society. The movement of archaeology to an approach which is, as Shepherd (1995) indicates, truly post-colonial, is one model of change archaeologists such as Ritchie (1990), Nackerdien (1994) and Pastor (1993, 1995) have promoted. All archaeologists and indigenous groups face challenges and compromises. The re-evaluation the discipline of archaeology requires a re-evaluation of our goals as archaeologists. The case studies presented in the previous chapters have provided South African archaeologists with the framework to achieve this. Highlighting relevant issues provides some further insight into very complex and dynamic issues. The future of archaeology can in most circumstances be determined by

archaeologists' desire to pursue and understand issues related to repatriation. This desire will ultimately determine the way ahead.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

THE WAY FORWARD

"Nowhere is the illusion that archaeologists can write a 'scientific' and unbiased history of past societies shattered more poignantly than in the story of archaeology in Africa. Perhaps more than any other part of the world, Africa emphasizes the fact that archaeology is a critical contemporary discussion of the past. Absolute objectivity is impossible, because all archaeologists, either implicitly or explicitly, draw on their own backgrounds in their work" (Jones, 1992: 362).

Events, be they historical or current, become subjective once they are written on paper. In my work, I have to some extent drawn on my experiences within a racial group classified as 'Coloured'. There were events in the early 1980s and 1990s, such as the involvement of 'Coloureds' in black politics and the 1994 general elections, in which many 'Coloureds' in the Western Cape disassociated themselves from blacks. My purpose here is not to deliver commentary on the rights and wrongs of political governance, but rather to point to the changing identity of many 'Coloured' people, the most direct change being their identification with a Khoikhoi and San ancestry many had previously denied, and their claims for the

repatriation and return of the skeletal remains of their indigenous ancestors, such as Saartjie Baartman and Cornelius Kok II. Such claims have demonstrated a move towards political assertion.

The thesis has centred on examining the dynamics of this issue. Two aims have been behind the arguments developed in the course of the chapters. One aim has been to trace the history of archaeology in southern Africa through into the present day. I have argued that the development of the discipline is not separate from the political development of South Africa. The histories of Saartjie Baartman and Cornelius Kok II are specially important as these skeletal remains have been researched by scientists in the past. The reasons presented for repatriation and return of their skeletal remains to the Griqua National Conference and Adam Kok V and his family respectively, hold implications for the discipline of archaeology in South Africa.

I do not presume to have answers for this complex situation, but the discipline of archaeology, of which I am part, needs to address these circumstances. This would include examining the motives of not only archaeologists involved in this process, but those of indigenous groups as well. The discussions in the chapters have been geared towards not only

local interests, but have also served to present a fairly broad overview of indigenous Khoikhoi and San histories within the context of archaeology's birth and development and current indigenous claims for repatriation and return of skeletal material.

The early 1900s stand out as the period in which archaeology found its footing as an independent branch from other social science disciplines such as anthropology and palaeontology. These disciplines, although incorporating different methods of study in their research on past communities, are not distinctly different in their aims; hence my use of anthropological methods of study in Chapter Two. The visit of scientists to South Africa in 1905 took place at time when theories on social Darwinism were taking root, not only in academic thought, but amongst the (white) public. The establishment of museums became an important means of expressing such perspectives.

A good example of this would be the making of body casts of San people in 1913. These casts continue to be on display in the South African Natural History Museum and continue to cause tension amongst present day descendants active in promoting past Khoikhoi and San histories and archaeologists. Recent criticism for the display of these casts came from President

Mandela (Cape Times, 25 September 1997) who remarked on the inappropriateness of housing human figures in a natural history museum. Casts at the museum also include other cultural groups such as Tswana and Sotho whom, President Mandela remarked, deserve to have their cultural histories portrayed within a proper environment and not one which is still politically oppressive in its representation of people's histories in southern Africa.

Repatriation, be it of land or skeletal remains, addresses the lives of indigenous people for their histories. In Chapter One I discussed the precolonial circumstances of Khoikhoi and San in southern Africa before the time of European contact. The loss of land and resources such as cattle compelled the Khoikhoi to go into servitude, whereas the San suffered the fate of being pursued by bounty hunters (see Morris, 1992; Penn, 1992).

The nature of the claims indigenous groups are now making relates to both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Discontent has been shown with the government's response to restitution when it only addresses apartheid-era atrocities. Groups such as the GNC have shown their dissatisfaction with this response and have in turn mobilised themselves politically through the use of their pre-colonial and colonial histories. The importance of addressing these time periods in

considering restitution is obvious. 'Coloured' groups have shown their anger by turning their support away from the government. I have illustrated this, in the case of the GNC and the Kok family, in Chapters Three and Four.

The Griqua National Conference claimed the remains of Saartjie Baartman, a woman of Khoikhoi descent. Her history is tragic, and the memory of her sparks an icon-like enthusiasm amongst indigenous groups in southern Africa. The struggle between groups, such as the GNC and the KRC, for the 'rights' to Saartjie Baartman's legacy has come across as politically motivated. Groups such as the GNC could surely not claim innocence to the political potential that success might hold for them. Regionalist-type groups have to move towards this process of political mobilisation, recognition and empowerment if they are to succeed. I have discussed the processes which affect groups of this nature. Aspects such as history remain a vital key to obtaining many of their goals.

Similarly the Kok family, under the leadership of Adam Kok V, has followed a regionalist-type approach. Adam Kok V's claim to 'kingship' rests on the history of his ancestor Cornelius Kok II. The status of Cornelius II has been discussed in Chapter Four, as well as his involvement in the Griquas' loss of land to the Orange Free State government. Cornelius Kok

II's relationship with the British afforded him many privileges, more so than other men of colour. His status as a chief of the town Kokstad was recognised by the British Colonial Office at the Cape. British royal approval of Cornelius Kok II's position as chief at Kokstad did not confer upon him status as king, but Adam Kok V makes claim to this link. The position of kings is recognised in the South African constitution and has led to many groups, such as the Zulus, becoming politically strong in South Africa. Personal, but largely political motivation seems to be the reason for Adam Kok V's support of Cornelius Kok II's repatriation.

The claims of the GNC and Adam Kok V present other issues not fully discussed in the chapters. Legislation requires a more in-depth discussion, but the limitations of this thesis do not permit this. I will, however, take a look at guidelines set by archaeologists at two international gatherings in response to the lack of government legislation world wide. Also, I will briefly examine the effect repatriation may have on certain sections of the South African community, other than the indigenous groups and archaeologists. This is important because history affects socio-economic and political structures within all societies. It's effects are very social, in that they may reconstitute relationships in and outside a group. The following traces the

pragmatics of these relationships.

Beyond the colour line

Morris (1998) questions the extent to which sensitivity and ethics need to be extended in return and repatriation cases. He identifies a group of people who fall outside scientific circles - land owners. The problem lies in the types of ownership under which large percentages of land in South Africa fall. Unlike the United States, Canada and Australia, where large proportions of land are state owned, in South Africa most land falls under private ownership. Indigenous groups in other countries have been able to receive land as part of their country's restitution process. This has not been the case in South Africa. Land disputes, such as that of the Griquas over the loss of diamond fields to the Orange Free State, now involve private land owners. Be it individual or corporate ownership, the problem remains the same - in what position does it place the owner? Should land-owners also be part of consultation forums?

Codes of ethics, such as those set up during the World Archaeological Congress meeting in Venezuela in 1990, stress consultation, arguing that it is important to involve those implicated in repatriation cases in consultative forums of discussion. Consultation is not limited to the interests of

archaeologists or indigenous groups, but also includes the broader South African community. Present day land ownership has its roots in the colonial history in South Africa. What then are the guidelines to which archaeologists need to adhere in order to advance public understanding of the discipline?

The following guidelines were presented at the World Archaeological Congress meeting held in August 1989 in South Dakota, USA, and at a later meeting in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, in September of 1990.

The Vermillion Accord: (World Archaeology Congress 1989)

"This accord was passed unanimously at the World Archaeological Congress' first intercongress on Archaeological Ethics and the Treatment of the Dead...

- 1) Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all irrespective of origin, race, nationality, custom and tradition.
- 2) Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be known or can be reasonably inferred
- 3) Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
- 4) Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil

hominid) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.

- 5) Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education
- 6) The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science, are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured" (Appendix 6).

The code of ethics established by the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) rests on eight principles. These are similar to those listed in the Vermillion Accord. Two principles not dealt with in the 1989 meeting are included amongst the eight.

These are:

- "- To acknowledge and recognise indigenous methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing and protecting indigenous cultural heritage.
- To seek, whenever possible representation of indigenous peoples in agencies funding or authorising research to be certain their view is considered s critically important in setting research standards, questions, priorities and goals" (Appendix 6).

The World Archeological Congress (WAC) incorporates both professional and non-professional archaeologists. It is a forum which has, over the past few years dealt with many indigenous issues, particularly repatriation. The next WAC is scheduled to be held in South Africa in 1999 and, with the issue of indigenous restitution mounting in this country, particular attention will have to be given to the dynamics of such case studies as Saartjie Baartman and Cornelius Kok II, and the future course of archaeology in South Africa.

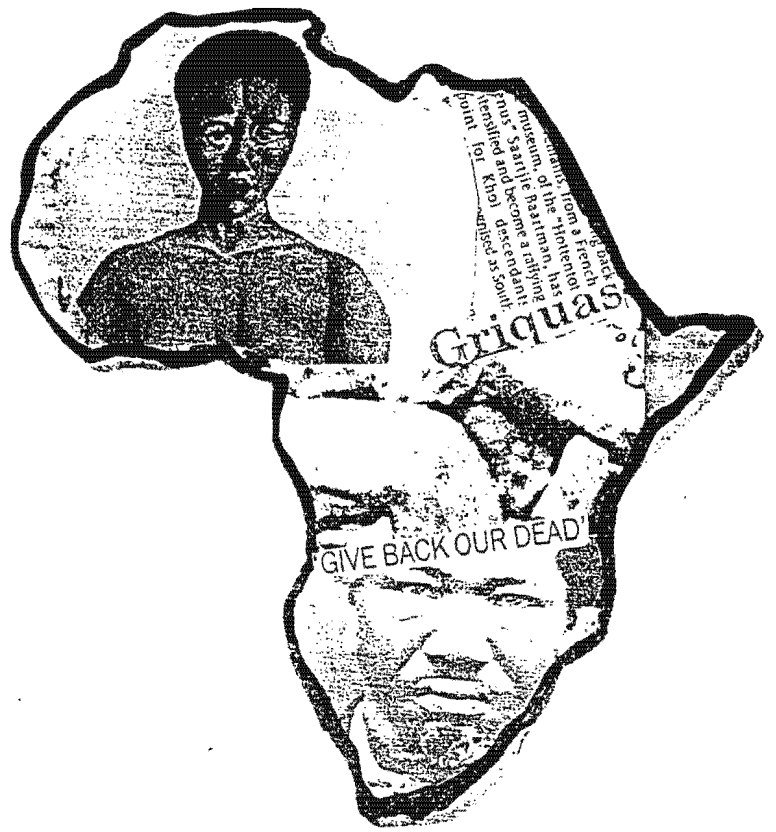
The Society for American Archaeologists (SAA) is another organization involved in the debate of repatriation having recently established a 'code of ethics'. Klesert and Powell (1993) sees the main concern in the debate between American archaeologists and Native American Indians is the possible desecration of human remains and on the part of archaeologists, an infringement of academic freedom.

One could argue, as does Klesert and Powell (1993), that academic freedom does not involve actions, but "the freedom to think, to inquire, and espouse diverse philosophies... Excavating, analysing, studying details of indigenous cultures, and curating human remains are actions not thoughts and are therefore subject to ethical constraints" (Klesert and Powell, 1993: 350).

A 'code of ethics' such as that established by the SAA and organisations such as WAC, should examine the right of access archaeologists have to human remains and artefacts. More importantly (Klesert and Powell, 1993) they should work towards a consistent work ethic in the treatment of indigenous people.

WAC and organisations such as SAA provide international exposure of these developing issues. I believe this issue is one that will feature strongly in the next few years. It requires archaeologists to take stock of events (precolonial, post – colonial, and apartheid era and post – apartheid) which have shaped the histories of indigenous people such as the Khoikhoi and the San. If archaeologists are to continue to be part of a moving and changing society, their role in the annals of South African history must be examined and understood, as I have argued in this thesis.

This thesis not only explored the history of those indigenous San and Khoikhoi bodies collected by scientists, but of the histories of the scientists who collected them. It was, as Morris (1996) states, a tale that tells us more about the collector than the collected.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1 consists of interviews and research done by a news correspondent 'Eddie' Koch. The text is brief and somewhat abbreviated. The original text of the interview was not available, but extracts from the interview are included. For the purposes of this reference note the comments made by Martin Englebrecht. The interview was on the Skotnes exhibition, 'Miscast'.

Martin Engelbrecht - Khoisan Representative Council:

Other members of the KRC include Adam Kok V, Mario Mahango, Paul de Wet Joia Kats. The Council was formed in October 1995.

Martin Engelbrecht:

We were not resettled as a community such that culture and language remained intact. We were resettled mentally.

Reclassified. Name changed; dispossessed from land. Our children were urbanised. We lost our language and our link with the past. We're endangered, but not extinct.

(Engelbrecht talks about Cornelius Kok II)

It is humiliation. We didn't have control. We haven't been informed of scientific value. There are more dignitaries of Griqua that were exhumed - a full graveyard. We pain for the removal of Cornelius Kok II and for his body to lay in state. Where memory of Kok and Griqua people will be renewed and retold. A period where people can come and visualise and pay

respect. After this period, we would reinter. Our people are in a state of amnesia - they need to be reidentified and their memory re-awakened. There are more remains and we're going to look for them.

APPENDIX 2

Interview: Mancel Upham - spokesperson for the Griqua National Congress (GNC).

Date: 18/4/96

Venue: Historical Archaeology Resource Rm. 3.04, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town.

In starting off the interview I talk about my project and the interests I have raised in the introductory chapter to this thesis.

Mancel Upham : M

Colette Pietersen: C

C: The Reconstruction and Development Programme. Do you think it has made indigenous groups more aware of their rights? The RDP has just been buried as you know.

M: I don't think the RDP has done anything to reawaken indigenous rights. It's a dragnet used by the ANC to say, well we'll reconstruct and develop everybody. Why I say this is that the ANC has not, up to now, committed itself to any indigenous rights.

M: You say that archaeologists and anthropologists, etc. have been made aware of this. Have they really?

C: Well there are many issues that archaeologists don't want to address, but now they are basically forced to do so.

M: Do you think this is a world wide thing or just in South Africa?

C: The issue of repatriation is a world wide thing , but it might die down in South Africa after the Baartman case.

At this point in the conversation, Mancel Upham makes reference to the controversy surrounding chief Hinsa's skull. He explains the case from his perspective.

M: As soon as the Saartjie Baartman campaign was launched and I started that, what last year March/April. So when we look again chief Galeka was going off with funding, Mandela giving his official support. He got personal chaperoning. He came back with the skull in his baggage. Nobody's asking, how did it get through customs? How did it get there? Now there's a huge controversy, because the paramount chief of the Xhosa said this is a bit of a chancer. Now they want to do DNA testing on the skull. All the reports that have come out from the historians show that it is impossible that the skull could have been taken to Scotland. We'll there's alot to talk about. There was a front page picture of chief Galeka holding the skull and the sad thing is that it eclipsed the whole Saartjie Baartman thing. Without trying to sound paranoid or trying to see a conspiracy around the corner but it was as if this whole thing has been engineered to steer attention away from the Saartjie Baartman issue to a black issue. It was

done because it was already claimed by people pushing for an indigenous state. It was already driving a wedge into this indigenous stance. It was already driving a wedge into this so-called 'national unity' they're so desperately trying to force on everybody.

C: I would have thought the ANC would be pro-Saartjie Baartman, especially with the elections coming up.

M: I think they have tried to hijack it, politically in that they had the chance to speak out, they didn't. That's the sad thing because all they needed to do was to say the woman's humanity needed to be respected. She's important because she's a symbol of any kind of dismemberment or dehumanization of gender, of indigenous people, of non-European people, of African people. Obviously I think the ANC are using highly contentious terminology by using the word 'African', obviously referring to black. Then they are saying coloured and white people (who are of Khoisan heritage too) are not African and that is unacceptable. That is exactly what the Afrikaner Nationalists and everybody did in 1948. they started saying we're Afrikaners and everybody who happened to speak Afrikaans, who even share our blood and culture, are not. So for me that's going back to square one because I have Khoisan blood too. I have traceable ancestry.

C: So the GNC, do they specifically look at issues like the Saartjie Baartman case?

M: Well, how much do you know of Griqua history?

C: Most of it comes from the history I was taught in school.

M: That of course, as you know, is highly contentious, but all history is contentious. When it's put to print by someone it become subjective. Griqua history as it's been written and obviously by non-Griqua, is obviously contentious. The Griquas have been trying for centuries to have a place in the sun. They are not trying to break away and have their own Volkstaat. They are basically saying, we had rights, we existed, why can't we be respected for that? Despite all their attempts to the time when they lost their land, to the people were broken up, to the time the colonial borders came into place, all their pleas have fallen on deaf ears. The final constitution is not yet in place . Whether it will be democratic in empowering everybody is also debateable. I don't think it will, unless the indigenous people have been included. By the time we have full majority rule in place, whether it will be democratic in empowering everybody, is also debateable. We don't even have that yet. So we can't even say that we are fully democratised. Even now, despite all that I think, there has been a growing freedom amongst people in this country to renegotiate for themselves their own identity. That's the

most important part. So I think it's that and not the RDP that has led to a greater flexibility and fluidity that has allowed people to say, but who am I really? So also today if you are told you are non-African (particularly if you have indigenous blood), it is serious stuff.

This is also where the problem in, in that the government, granted because it is it's highest priority, only looks at imbalances in terms of the apartheid government, but it wants to put a lid on the past when it comes to colonial atrocities. Also in terms of the exhibition. When you look at Auschwitz, Jews have strong position in this world. It is a symbol in the minds of the people, but the genocide in Rwanda or Burundi, which just happened the other day, and whether it happened in South America or with the Australian aborigines...it almost seems that if more people got exterminated there's less outrage and it's disturbing.

If I look at apartheid, I think it was devastating and immoral. It was unacceptable, but still say to myself, Mandela can be president. There can be majority rule. There are still people as much as they've been brutalised, who still have their land. They haven't lost their language. They haven't lost their culture entirely. Culture changes too. It's not permanent, but they have a network, a foundation which is still there, which indigenous people have lost. Who's situation is more precarious? Now we come

to reconstruction and development. How can we have reconstruction and development on the part of the black majority and then other people who have been dispossessed in a much more dramatic way, are ignored again. We are having a remarginilisation of people who have been marginalised for centuries. This is very problematic.

The GNC is the largest group and the paramount chief is the head. They have kept the whole identity alive of the Griquas and they been consistently asked the nation-state government, hey what about us? We've lost our land. We've never been compensated . We've never been recognised. Now we are told we're coloureds, but we reject that. We are Griqua. We have a right to that identity and it's falling on deaf ears it would appear, but now it would, very obliquely that Mandela actually cares but obviously it's not the case. Unless he come out and says something and he's not prepared to do that because he's got the Western Province to deal with. He's got the coloured vote. He's got a government of national unity, which is not very unified. He's got Kwazulu-Natal, plus he's been pedestalised to the point that it is problematic. So we are dealing with all these terrible issues which compound the marginalisation of people who have been brutalised and dispossessed in ways which I said, go beyond apartheid, as far as I'm concerned. I'm not suggesting that black South African's suffered

less. I mean how do you quantify? How do you decide which is worse? I think generally speaking in terms of principles, you can at least say that Mandela can go back to the Thembu and go and join a cultural framework which still exists in spite of everything that happened. In spite of all the cattle killing. there is still something - a bit more.

The Griqua have a number of issues that are worrying us. To give you an idea of the issues that are worrying indigenous people. At the symposium an archaeologist stood up and said, 'you want to know why those casts were made of those people? Well because we knew (or they knew) at the time, that the Bushmen were going to be extinct'. My reaction is and the reaction of alot of Griqua is that is you knew of this why didn't you do anything to stop the extinction? Do you stop the extinction by making casts? That was self-interest. I mean it's like saying let's preserve them while they die and I have a problem with that and the exhibition again is a self-inflicted wound which everyone has to gasp at and say oh look at what we did, go home and drink a glass of wine and then go to bed. Nobody's saying well what about the people who have been left behind, that are still suffering from this? What has been done about that? Nothing. So one again the emphasis is wrong and it boils down to the basic principles like consultation.

C: Do you think that various indigenous groups should have been consulted regarding the exhibition?

M: Yes

C: Were they consulted?

M: They were consulted, but in a kind of after thought way because in our statement on Sunday, we said that we felt that the symposium to be merely a tokenist after thought and patronising attempt that pretends to give indigenous people ostensible, albeit belated, participatory, consultative and even severely restricted empowerment. We perceive a retrenchment of academic and intellectual hegemony, self-aggrandizement and re-appropriation and recolonisation of our material culture and history.

The point I made to Pippa Skotnes, the curator. I saw Pippa before the exhibition. I tried to alert her to the fact that there are indigenous rights at issue. So do you damage control before hand. So she says, 'well you can come to the preview', but that's not enough. The exhibition was already in place. So she wasn't saying well this is the content and this is why we're doing it? That was never discussed, and of course we went to the preview and we found that it was not suitable. So we told the paramount chief not to be there because it would be inappropriate. Then we decided

well since the symposium is only after the exhibit, we decided to take part. It's a valuable platform to make known our feelings. The symposium was wonderful. It was a very historic moment for the indigenous debate or indigenous consciousness in South Africa. Having a preview working consultation group is one thing and having a symposium is another, but can't have that after the event because then indigenous people are still fairly powerless to actually change the substance. Not that they want full exclusive rights. They want to be consulted and then the sensitivity coming from the organisers would be o.k. we're in charge of this establishment and we're in control of everything, but we are sensitive to the indigenous people and the descendants of all atrocities. Or lets at least do something that is sensitive towards your situation and that is not excusable.

This debate has gone on since the 1920s. There have been indigenous groups in Australia and Canada and South America that have been pushed into this type of ending for decades. we are not in isolation and we can't claim ignorance. It's inexcusable and this is what is very sad. The West is known for its wonderful sense of inquiry, which is its strength and which has led to the dehumanization of non-Western people. Nevertheless when you have an inquiry to go beyond eurocentrism, especially if we know that eurocentricity is

a discredited concept. South Africa is now supposedly a leading country. I mean we had to transcend so much compared to the rest of the world and yet the sensitivity was not displayed by the organisers of the exhibition. They are saying we'll do what we're doing even though you exist. that brings us back to colonisation.

C: I'm also interested in the attitude of curators and directors of museums, and I'm planning on talking to Gabeba Abrahams.

M: You must talk to Dr. Avery from the South African Museum. they control their resources, everything.

C: You see this is what the problem is in archaeology, because many archaeologists are still not ready to communicate with indigenous people.

M: You see now they're saying, who should we talk to? Who's in charge? they have a very Western way of thinking because they are still thinking there should be an elected king or ruler. There are ways of ascertaining who the indigenous groups spokespersons are. There are ways of ascertaining what their cultural needs are and what their standings are. They all cross-cultural interaction, which in this country I think is appalling. This is a multi-cultural country, but we don't know how to communicate. the academic and scientific world are exclusive they don't have explain what they do.

Some scientists and academics assume that indigenous groups are against science or exhibition. It's an assumption that comes across very often, which is not true. the Griqua for instance are quite happy with scientific inquiry under which exhibitions take place, as long as it's done in a responsible way. It's the empowerment and recognition and the Griqua as you now have a mixed ancestry, which is part of their dehumanization, part of their colonial past. they are inclusive, not exclusive. They can't afford to be exclusive.

C: Looking at the Baartman case. Is there any chance that you'll get her back? What has been the response from the French museum?

M: I think our chances are quite good, except that we're looking at this whole power dynamic on a much bigger scale. Here we have two nation-state governments who will have to negotiate with each other. Here you've got a former colonial power that has been instrumental in dispossessing people world wide, because the French government of course was a major empire and they've got lots of booty and loot in their museums from the non-European world. Obviously they're terrified that if they make one concession they would have to open the flood gates.

In the case of Saartjie Baartman and this is very important, we don't see her as Cleopatra's needle. She's

not an artefact. She's is not a bundle of bones that is prehistoric and anonymous. She is Saartjie Baartman. She was baptised. She has an identity. She is recent. She has never been buried. All these things. This of course raises a host of questions of her right of dignity after death, human rights issues, postmortem issues. The question as to why the French didn't feel the need to bury her when the law actually provides for burial of anybody that dies there. It raises the question as to what extent the French government is sensitive to these issues. It raises the question as to what extent is the South Africa government sensitive to these issues?

We don't have a policy on indigenous people's rights at the moment, which is very disturbing. I know that because I was there in the foreign office trying to formulate one and I was blocked. then the other problem. It raises issues back home as to who is Saartjie Baartman? How did she get to be in London and then Paris? Was she Hottentot? What happened to the Hottentots? What happened to the Bushmen? Why are the Griqua now asking for her? Who are the Griqua? It raises all these issues and then if she comes back again, should she be buried? How should she be buried? Will she be hijacked by the national government because she's a symbol of all dehumanization of the people.

C: What is the intentions of the GNC if they get her?

M: The intention, even now, I don't think will change necessarily. They've made it clear that they are against all dehumanized portrayal of their Khoisan ancestry. This raises the other issue. If she comes back will she be displayed again before she's buried? Some people say she shouldn't be buried at all because she's tangible evidence of this country's colonial past. They say that if we bury her, we bury the evidence, which is nonsense. Lots of famous people have been buried and we still remember them.

The Griqua have actually thought about this very carefully. We've had workshops. we've asked ourselves very serious questions as to what we are doing and why we're claiming her. We're claiming her first and foremost because we feel that her dignity is the most important thing. That is a non-Griqua, non-political issue almost. We're saying we're outraged that someone could be treated in that way. Even if she were non-Griqua, the Griqua would not find it acceptable. That is point number one.

The second point is she is Khoisan. She was labelled a Hottentot. They are clinging desperately to an identity that they are Hottentot, Khoi or Qwena and they've never relinquished that. They've suffered a lot for it and they feel from the basis that Saartjie baartman is a very important symbol for the dehumanization of the Khoisan

people and the Griqua. The fact that they are living in disarray pockets and groups of people all across the country. Now obviously the Griqua have to be realistic. We are back in 1996. They don't want to wear loin cloths and go back to the pristine Khoisan culture and drive all the whites and blacks into the sea, or whatever. This is not what it's all about. The Bushmen are saying that they can be accommodative. Even Bushmen today can operate laptop computers and they can still be themselves. Everybody has done this. The British of 1666 are not the British of 1996 and that applies to all other groupings. So its a case of how do you restore the past? Do you turn the clock back? This is the issue in the Australian land case where it was ruled that Australia was not empty when the colonials arrived. That sort of thing. That whole of Australia hasn't given back the land. That's physically impossible. Obviously the Griqua say to themselves, even if we get a little back of what we had before, that's better than nothing. If we can get more it's obviously better. If we can keep our ancestry alive through re-empowerment, so much the better. So looking at the question of Saartjie Baartman we have to ask how realistic is it?

Saartjie Baartman is a very powerful symbol. We realise that many other people identify with her. Many women, many marginalised minorities and there are gay South Africans

that see her as an important icon. that's their prerogative. That's wonderful, but is it also abusing the poor woman again? That's debateable,. People have written plays about her. they've painted her, repainted her. They've written poems about her. People want to bury her completely, others want to put her in a museum. The Griqua say fine, they are satisfied that she is such an important symbol of the dehumanization of human beings, of indigenous people, that is she is allowed to come back she gets the rightful respect that is due to her. Then the Griqua will be more than happy to endorse any kind of joint consulted decision as to what should happen. I think the Griqua will go along with that. They do not see themselves as hijacking the poor woman for their own purposes, exclusively. It would be selfish and the Griqua don't see themselves as that. They realise that Saartjie Baartman is very important, but they also realise that nobody else has been doing anything to get her back. This is of course where I come in. I started the campaign before I presented the Griqua. As an individual I was up against the whole world who was saying, who do you think you are? When I sought legal advice in France as to how I could get the French government to surrender her, it was clear that the best way would be through an indigenous group who was most likely linked to her. I'm still doing research on her descendants and the

descendants of her siblings. Which is also crucial as to how she came to leave South Africa.

What the Griqua is saying is that as long as they are recognised for their role in bringing her back and in doing something about it, which a lot of other people pretend to do, then they'll be happy. Saartjie Baartman has been exposed as a political issue - but there's no discussion. People are not saying what is fundamentally wrong with this? I've been very disheartened by the responses of the government. We had a debate on Radio South Africa with Pippa Skotnes and the Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture. The Department minister said that he is not aware of having received any formal requests for the return Saartjie Baartman. I couldn't believe it. I know we've been faxing Mandela's office, sending him hard copies, but there's been no response. In the case of chief hinsa and his skull, which is a case which is highly contentious, the president has given his blessing. These are disturbing aspects.

C: What has been the response from the French government?

M: He hasn't responded. we have never had a comment or response from the French government or the French ambassador. The Griqua are saying that they want to be recognised for the role they played in initiating the campaign for her return.

APPENDIX 3

GRIEKWA NASIONALE KONFERENSIE
VAN SUID-AFRIKA



POSBUS 458 PLETTENBERGBAAI 6600 TEL NO. 04457 - 34552
FAKS NO. 04457 - 31573

ADDRESS BY ADV MANSELL UPHAM IN HIS CAPACITY AS
MANDATED LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GRIQUA NATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA AT THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES'
SYMPOSIUM HELD AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY, CAPE TOWN 14
APRIL 1996

Ladies and Gentlemen

It is already common knowledge that the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA has been instrumental in challenging the South African *Government of National Unity* in terms of human rights to comply with international standards and indigenous peoples' rights concerning the *First Nations* who find themselves as colonial victims confined within the artificial and colonially-induced borders of the *nation-state* of South Africa.

On 14 December 1995 a Memorandum setting out the consensually negotiated aspirations, constitutional and otherwise, of all the GRIQUA communities of South Africa and their legitimate representatives, was formally handed to President Mandela's representative, Mr Jakes Gerwel.

The President declined to receive the Memorandum in person, despite the fact that it had been drawn up and presented to him at his own request. We are still waiting for an official acknowledgement of receipt, let alone an answer.

A copy of the Memorandum was also recently submitted on 5 March 1996 to the Constitutional Assembly with the admonition that without any participation, consultation and endorsement by the *First Nations*, the final constitution can never have any legitimacy.

The drafters of the proposed final constitution and the *Government of National Unity* were reminded that the sovereignty of the colonially-contrived *nation-state* of South Africa is limited, restricted and subject to international law and universal standards pertaining to human rights, indigenous peoples' rights and self-determination.

The Memorandum sets out the basis of GRIQUA self-determination. This involves:

- * recognition of aboriginality
- * representation at all levels of government,
- * traditional leadership-status
- * the restitution of violated treaties
- * the return of all GRIQUA land usurped by colonial powers but now inherited illegally by the *nation-state* of South Africa and
- * compensation for untold suffering, genocide and ethnocide inflicted on the GRIQUA and their KHOISAN ancestors as culturally, linguistically, socially, economically and politically deprived, disempowered and decimated aboriginal, autochthonous and indigenous people of southern Africa.

THE GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA reiterated unequivocally that the basis of all future re-empowerment of the GRIQUA as a vulnerable indigenous minority in accordance with the United Nations and universal standards, transcends political party politics and excludes alignment with any such parties and that all negotiations with the South African *Government of National Unity* and future governments would only be on the basis of equal partnership in keeping with the theme of the UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous People and the fact that the GRIQUA, given their historical continuity and as the last vestige of unbroken and uninterrupted Khoi heritage and identity, have never relinquished their sovereign rights as an indigenous nation recognised by International Law.

THE GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA called on the South African Government of National Unity not to ignore the request at Geneva on 27 July 1995 at the 13th Session of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) for it to comply urgently with the universal standards pertaining to human rights affecting the world's indigenous people, the so-called *FOURTH WORLD*.

The GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA also initiated calls for:

- * the immediate surrender by the French Government and the return of the remains of the late Miss Saartje Baartman to the GRIQUA for burial in her native land;
- * the immediate release by the Anatomy Department of the University of Witswatersrand and reburial of the remains of the GRIQUA chief Cornelis Kok II; and
- * the ending of all dehumanised portrayal of the Khoisan ancestors of the GRIQUA.

It is hoped that the other *First Nations* will avail themselves of the opportunity of joining forces with the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA and to use the legal framework that has already been devised for negotiation with the colonially-descended *nation-state* - governments of southern Africa.

Concerning the exhibition, the launching of the book and the symposium, the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA wishes to comment as follows:

* We fail to see any real commitment to the human rights and democratic re-empowerment of Indigenous Peoples and those of the *First Nations* of southern Africa - which rights are being currently codified in terms of the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People at the United Nations in terms of International Law and universal standards.

* We note, predictably, an unwillingness by non-indigenous and official monolithic institutions to participate in the UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) which has as its theme: *Indigenous People a new relationship - partnership in action*.

* We know this symposium to be merely a tokenist after-thought and patronising attempt that pretends to give Indigenous People ostensible, albeit belated, participatory, consultative and even severely restricted empowerment.

* We perceive a re-entrenchment of academic and intellectual hegemony, self-aggrandisement and re-appropriation and re-colonisation of our material culture and history.

* We deplore any attempts by non-indigenous intelligentsia to absolve themselves in terms of their own special and newly entrenched brand of *political correctness*. Such exposition of domestic ethnocide in a manner reminiscent of Auschwitz is an insufficient and intellectually dishonest vehicle for hijacking the moral high ground.

* We wish to know what will happen to the proceeds of this non-indigenous controlled capitalisation of our indigenous material culture.

* We note that, despite attempts to expose the devastating and grossly dehumanising impact of depicting all the autochthonous, aboriginal and indigenous *First Nations* of southern Africa as being *BUSHMAN*, the exhibition and the book fails to explore and explain satisfactorily the systematic, but not entirely successful, *negation* of the *First Nations* of southern Africa

* Notwithstanding the major historically continuous role played by the GRIQUA throughout southern Africa's tragic colonial history and in consistently resisting - right up to the present - the *bushmanisation*, dispossession and ethnocide of the GRIQUA and their aboriginal KHOISAN ancestors, the GRIQUA are mostly ignored in the exhibition and the book.

* With the exception of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, we note the non-participation and absence of representatives from colonial *nation-states* that have been instrumental in advancing ethnocide in the past, some of whom still countenance the dehumanised portrayal and exhibition of the KHOISAN ancestors of the GRIQUA.

* We note the absence of President Mandela and of any substantial official/nation-state representation at the official opening of the exhibition.

* It is clear to us that whatever authentic moral outrage that might ensue from the exhibition, is doomed to be short-lived and to be colonially and officially suppressed and repressed and that such a state of affairs will continue to exist while the *First Nations* of southern Africa remain undemocratically disempowered.

For the reasons set out above and following the preview arranged on Friday, the attendance of the Paramount Chief of the Griqua, His Excellency, *Andrew Abraham Stockenström le Fleur II*, at the official opening, was deemed to be inappropriate.

The GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA will not cease to secure the ending of all dehumanised portrayal of the KHOISAN ancestors of the GRIQUA and calls on the organisers of this exhibition to reconsider its questionable and active contribution to furthering the marginalisation of the *First Nations* of southern Africa.

reserving the past, not facing the future

ADDRESS BY ADV MANSELL UPHAM IN HIS CAPACITY AS
MANDATED LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GRIQUA NATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA AT THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES'
SYMPOSIUM FOR THE EXHIBITION *MISCAST: NEGOTIATING
KHOISAN HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE* HELD AT THE
NATIONAL GALLERY, CAPE TOWN
14 APRIL 1996

RESPONSE: GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN 17 April 1996

At no point did Pippa Skotnes consult the GRIQUA concerning the actual content of her self-chosen exhibits.

Although alerted by the GRIQUA to the indigenous people's rights movement, notwithstanding her fearless resistance to censorship out of fear, she has failed to include this vital dimension to her self-proclaimed desire to expose the "horrific truth" which she somehow thinks that without her exhibition, will remain "hidden forever". Ignoring the universal quest by indigenous peoples worldwide (known as the FOURTH WORLD) for their democratic accommodation and re-empowerment in terms of human rights following centuries of colonially-engineered genocide, is inexcusable. We cannot accept the usual tokenist and limited moral outrage on the part of non-indigenous and colonially-entrenched groups.

The absence of sufficient consultation concerning the *make-up* of the exhibition, the book and the symposium and the self-appropriation by Pippa Skotnes and non-indigenous academic/intellectual hegemonist cliques of an exclusive right to custodianship and academic interpretation, cannot be condoned by the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

We welcome all attempts to help expose the genocidally-devastating colonial impact on the KHOISAN - we are even most impressed with the superb outlay of her book, but we are saddened that non-indigenous institutions persist in hijacking and exposing our past for their own absolution. After much awareness-raising on the part of the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA, still nothing is being done to actually address or redress the horrific historical imbalances that continue to exist and to impact disastrously on the non-extinct Khoisan-descended GRIQUA.

We look forward to the day when non-indigenous institutions will actively and constructively assist in ending the marginalisation of the *First Nations* of southern Africa.

GRIEKWA NASIONALE KONFERENSIE

VAN SUID-AFRIKA



POSBUS 458 PLETTENBERGBAAI 6600 TEL NO: 04457 - 34552
 FAKS NO: 04457 - 31573

PRESS STATEMENT: MEETING AT SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM ON THURSDAY 20 JUNE 1996 AT 14h15 CONCERNING WHAT WOULD CONSTITUTE APPROPRIATE ACTION IN THE EVENT OF THE REMAINS OF SAARTJE BAARTMAN BEING RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA [sic]

We wish to clarify our presence at this meeting:

At no stage did the South African Museum approach and consult the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA in terms of convening such a meeting.

It was the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA that first brought the whole sordid and tragic case of *the late Saartje Baartman* to the attention of the world in terms of actually calling for her return and the ending of all dehumanised portrayals (domestically and internationally) of the KHOISAN ancestors of the GRIQUA.

It has been the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA that first took the matter out of the self-serving domain of the self-appointed, non-indigenous and institutionalised *cognoscente*.

Given the history of the late Saartje Baartman's tragic dismemberment, incarceration and undignified display in limbo - what we have termed: *incarcasserration* - and the continuing abuse and denial of her human rights to dignity and burial;

Given the insensitive and dismal role played by the *Musée de l'Homme* - an institution not any different to the South African Museum;

Given that the South African Museum is an arm of the *nation-state* government of a colonially-created South Africa which has yet to conform to and recognise international standards pertaining to disempowered indigenous groups;

Given the recent SA Museums's Association resolution to support calls for the return of the remains from France but the failure to acknowledge the GRIQUA and the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA's involvement;

Given the non-acknowledgement thus far by Government of the GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA's endeavours to redress the colonially disadvantaged indigenous GRIQUA and other KHOISAN *First Nations* of South Africa;

GIVEN the questionable and over-zealous attention paid to the purported skull of Chief Hintsá by Government and the media coinciding with muted calls for the late Saartje Baartman's return by these same organisations; and

Given the fact that the bones of the GRIQUA chief Cornelis Kok II and others remain shelved at the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand:

* we fail to see why the whole question of the late Saartje Baartman and even this particular meeting should be organised and co-ordinated by the SA Museum.

* we fail to see how the SA Museum can contribute to addressing the entire issue of dehumanised portrayals of the KHOISAN ancestors of the GRIQUA

UNLESS THE SA MUSEUM COMMITS ITSELF TO RETURNING FOR REBURIAL ALL THE KHOISAN REMAINS IT HAS IN ITS ILLEGAL CUSTODY

UNLESS THE SA MUSEUM COMMITS ITSELF TO ACTS OF REPARATION AND TO BURYING THE REST OF ITS ANTHROPOLOGICAL COLLECTION

At this stage the museums are the last institutions that should be involving themselves in such a campaign as the late Saartje Baartman's return for burial.

We have attended this meeting under protest because of our sincere desire to restore the dignity of the late Saartje Baartman who embodies the colonial and *nation-state* dismemberment of the indigenous GRIQUA and their KHOISAN ancestors.

For the reasons mentioned above, however, we are not prepared to participate any further in a meeting which is being hijacked by questionable monolithic, paternalistic, tokenist and indigenous-insensitive structures, - all wanting a piece of our action and bandying together with a lot of *other belatedly and expediently 'concerned' bandwaggoners* - who have not even had the decency to recognise our dignified struggle and the importance of indigenous empowerment in this country of questionable colonial borders.

THE GRIQUA NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA is more than willing to co-operate with any *bona fide* attempts to have the remains in question returned and will continue its current self-initiated negotiations with the French and South African and *nation-state* governments to end all dehumanised portrayals of the KHOISAN.

DATED AT CAPE TOWN THIS 20TH DAY OF JUNE 1996

APPENDIX 4

Opening speech delivered by Professor Philip Tobias.

Occasion: return of the skeletal remains of Cornelius Kok II
to Adam Kok V and his descendants.

Venue: Department of Anatomical Sciences, Witwatersrand
University.

Date: 20 September 1996

Professor P.V Tobias:

I'd like to welcome you to the medical school on behalf of the Dean of the faculty of Medical Sciences Professor Magnus Thuys and the Deputy Dean, Professor Graham Mitchell. I'd also like to welcome you to the Department of anatomical Sciences on behalf of the head of the department Professor David Lee Kramer. I have a message of good wishes and warm greetings from president Nelson Mandela, who because of activities in Cape Town related to the opening of parliament, is not able to be here with us today and so he sends us his best wishes for a successful ceremony.

I should like at this time to greet:

- Dr. Lewis Bernado Anwana, who is the S.A. representative of UNESCO;
- The United Nations Development representatives, Ms Ranthardt and Mr Joseph;

To introduce myself, I'm Philip Tobias, the former head of the department of Anatomy at Wits Medical school and the founder-chairman of the former Kalahari Research Committee, which for about 15 years from 1956 - 1971 carried out research on Khoisan people in Botswana.

Ladies and gentlemen this is a very memorable event in the history of South Africa. Just in the time when there are moves a foot to return to south Africa such sensitive material as the remains of Saartjie Baartman from Paris, and the skull of supposedly king Hinza. Just at this time the skeleton of the great Griqua leader Cornelius Kok II, which I exhumed in the Griqua burial ground near Campbell 35 years ago, is to be returned to the present day descendant of Cornelius Kok II, namely Adam Kok Vand his family of present day Campbell.

(Talk proceeds with a slide show Tobias' previous visits to Campbell in the 1960s.)

I can't here give a detailed history of the Griqua people. detailed histories have been published such as Samuel Alfred's, 'The Griquas of Griqualand', J.S Marais' book called, 'the Cape Coloured People 1652 - 1937', Robert Ross' work entitled, 'Adam Kok's Griquas: a study in the development of racial stratification in South Africa', Richard Elphick's, 'Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa'.

Most of these books and numerous earlier works including missionary papers, have been written from a white settler perspective.

Perhaps one of the most serious gaps in the annals of S.A. scholarship is the fact that we lack major works about the Khoisan in general and the Griqua people in particular, by representatives of the people themselves so that the history may be seen from the view point of the communities themselves.

In a few minutes I'll be handing over the skeleton of Cornelius Kok II, who lived from about 17778 - 1858, to his descendant Adam Kok V, who was born I believe in 1954. What is the family relationship between these two people?

Cornelius Kok II, the younger, who had been one of the sons of Adam Kok I - generally looked to as the founder of the Griqua people. Adam II begat Abraham III and Adam Kok III and also Karel and Jan. Now Karel was thus the nephew of Cornelius II and it is from Karel that Adam Kok IV is descendant. Karel's son Jan, begat another Abraham who lived from 1852 - 1938, who married Mieta Stenekamp. Abraham and Mieta were the parents of Adam Kok IV and I seem to remember when I was there in the 1960s a very old lady was still alive in the village of Campbell, and I think possibly it was Mieta Kok, who had been Mieta Stenekamp (mother of Adam Kok IV). So that was the

captain (Adam Kok IV) when I was there in the 60s.

Adam Kok IV married Cornelia Visagie and I'm proud to tell you that we have Mrs Kok , who was Ms Visagie, here with us this morning. This is the lady who is the widow of Adam Kok IV. So Adam Kok IV was the great, great, grandnephew of Cornelius II. Now it gets more involved. Abraham was the son of Adam IV, and he helped us to exhume his great, great, great, granduncle. Abraham's wife was Katriena Januarie and Abrahams son, Adam, who is the present ccaptain, Adam Kok V. So Adam Kok V is the great, great, great, great, grandnephew of Cornelius Kok II. That's four greats followed by a grand. So Adam Kok V belongs to the sixth generation after Cornelius Kok II and the eight generation after Adam Kok I. So from Adam Kok I to Adam Kok V we have nine generations of Griqua and Adam Kok V's children they are the tenth generation since Adam I.

The search for the body of Cornelius Kok II went on from 1958 - 1961. In 1958 it was a hundred years since Cornelius Kok had been dead. Basil Humphreys of the Farm Klein Salmansfontein at Campbell, assisted by Dr Gerard Fock of the McGregor Memorial Museum in Kimberely, made many searches. How did they come to know that this was the grave of Cornelius Kok II of the hundred graves in the vacinity?

Firstly, they spoke to all the elderly people of Campbell and of the surrounding districts and all of their memories of

where Cornelius Kok II was buried, converged on this particular grave. Secondly' of all the graves from the graveyard a couple of kilometers from Campbell, it was the only one that had a large Karree boom (Karree tree) growing over the grave. Thirdly, the pile of stones over the grave, the kern, was very large and what's more it had not been plundered. All the other graves had their gravestones removed by the farmer to make a threshing floor and so we had the problem of a threshing floor buildt from kern stones.

Fourthly, this one had been respected whereas the others had not been and the kern was large and intact. All of the old people of Campbell had remembered that there was something special about the shape of the headstone of Cornelius Kok II's grave. The headstone was not just an ordinary stone, but a very special shaped one. Fifth, the burial ground had not been used in living memory. It was an old burial ground. Sixth, it was said by word of mouth in them community that this was a graveyard of important people. So for those six reasons Mr Humphreys and Mr Fock converged on one particular grave and said this must have been Cornelius Kok's grave. On excavation wee were able to find another five lines of evidence which supported the idea that this was Cornelius Kok II's grave.

Firstly, unlike other burials in that vacinity, which were Khoikhoi traditional burials, this one was a christian coffin

burial. Secondly, the bones were of a male, not of a female. Thirdly, a rather tall man. Fourthly, a very old individual was represented by the skeleton, from the joints on the surface of the skull. From the loss, along time before death, of all his teeth from ageing changes in the spinal column, which was very severe in the small of the back so that he had a severe degenerative disease of the vertebral column. From all of this we could confirm that this was the skeleton which one could associate with the man who died at about 80 years of age.

There were two buttons found near the shoulder in the burial, suggesting he had been buried in clothes or at least in a shroud with two buttons. there was the copper ring on one finger of the left hand. I brought it back to Johannesburg to let out examiners examine it and confirm that it was copper, and they did. Then I gave it shortly afterwards to Ms Fiona Barber who was on a visit to Johannesburg and asked her to take it back to Campbell. She handed it over to Basil Humphreys I think when he was visiting the museum. Basil wrote to me on the third of March 1963 to say the ring has been logged in a place of honour in the church at Campbell. So that copper ring should still be, to this day, in a place of safe keeping in the church at Campbell,

Just an interesting point. A few of the skeletons had green discolouration on the bones, but not this one. That green is

from copper earrings. As the flesh on the ear becomes eaten away the earring must have fallen to the side of the skull and on to the shoulder and we found green discolouration in that area and also from bangles around the forearms there was green discolouration on the bones of some of the skeletons.

Well with those six lines of evidence and the earlier six lines of evidence, we are most confident that this is the grave and that this the skeleton of Cornelius Kok II, which had laid buried for a hundred and three years, up to the time when we started the exhumation in April 1961. So let's have a look at that stage of the story.

(Slide show continues...)

As I draw to a close, what were our objectives in exhuming the body of Cornelius Kok II? I was approached by the Kimberley museum, the McGregor museum, whose director then was Dr Rudy Begalki and Dr Gerhard Fock, on his staff, to uncover and salvage the skeleton. I started a series of talks by myself and some of my staff members at Hewitt. Firstly, we wanted to know all about the Griqua people. At that time almost nothing was written about who the Griqua people were, apart from historical records which were written in a very prejudiced and biased fashion and a few studies that have been made by Vernon Brink and then some skeletons, supposedly of Griqua people, from David's Graf (David's Grave) in Kimberley and from other

places. These were sent over to Switzerland (Geneva) and there they studied by Eugene Picard, a very distinguished physical anthropologist. A large number of papers were published from there, but apart from that very little was known about the Griqua people and we wanted to know more about them

Secondly, it was very important for us to see whether our techniques would enable us to confirm that this was Cornelius Kok II. Thirdly, the Neighbouring farmer was threatening to have grazing rights in that area to spread the farming activities onto this graveyard and for him these burials were a nuisance. We were afraid that if we did not step in that there would be goats grazing all over the graveyards and adding further desecration which had already occurred with the removal of stones to make a threshing floor.

I gave these Griqua remains, including Cornelius Kok, to a Phd student of mine, a young Canadian called Alan Morris, who had come out from Canada to do a Master of Science degree with me and who later upgraded to a Phd thesis and devoted his studies for doctoral purposes, to skeletons of the last 200 years. His thesis eventually was finished in 1984. The book on his work, published by the Witwatersrand university, is not only on Cornelius Kok II or only on the Griqua, but on all these skeletons who were not Griqua, and this was called the 'Skeletons of Contact', published by the Witwatersrand

university press in 1992. Here is a copy of the book to be presented to the family and it is inscribed, 'presented to Adam Kok V on the occasion of the return to the Kok family, of the skeleton of Cornelius Kok II (1778 - 1861), by the University of the Witwatersrand Department of Anatomical Sciences, Johannesburg, 20 August 1996. I would be very glad captain, if you would accept this small gift as a token of what happened with the skeleton of Cornelius Kok II.

(Professor Tobias hands book over to captain Adam Kok V)

What was the attitude of Adam Kok IV to all of this activity? He was very curious to know whether this was his ancestor and was extremely interested in the work of exhumation. He came up everyday from the village and sat on one side watching the activities in which my students, helped by a couple of local men, especially Abraham Kok, was carrying on. He gave us very warm support in all of this work and it was with his full blessing and approval that we undertook it. I also gave, at the time, an undertaking to captain Adam Kok IV. I said when we had finished studying and publishing our investigations of the skeleton, we shall return the bones of Cornelius Kok II to Adam Kok V and the time has come for me to honour my promise. It wasn't in writing, it was a by word-of-mouth promise from me to the captain.

I was approached, not so long ago, by Mr Martin Engelbracht of Kimberely, on behalf of SAGRAD and the Khoisan Representatine Council and on behalf of captain Kok's family to proceed with the arrangements of a ceremony for the handing over of the materials to the family and that is how we come to be here this morning ladies and gentlemen. the momentt has now arrived for me to hand over the skeleton of Cornelius Kok II to captain Adam Kok V.

(Adam Kok V steps foward to accept the remains of his ancestor).

APPENDIX 5

Speech delivered by captain Adam Kok V.

Occasion: return of the skeletal remains of his ancestor
Cornelius Kok II.

Venue: Department of Anatomical Sciences, Witwatersrand
University.

Date: 20 September 1996

Ladies and gentlemen. this is a very special occasion. It is when the remains of my grandfather is being returned to his people. A special word of thanks goes to those who I had sent to negotiate this occasion, namely Martin Engelbrecht and the honourable Khoisan X. According to reports which I received, they were treated with the utmost respect and cooperative spirit by professor Philip Tobias and his colleagues and staff.

Now to look at today. The single significance of the occasion of the day, in that we have started a process of restitution of our cultural history and identity. We are returning the skeleton today of our ancestor and rebuilding the nation. Cornelius Kok II was exhumed during the height of apartheid of the Royal House and other highly regarded Griqua citizens. these remains of our ancestors were kept in total secrecy for more than 30 years and with no report back given to the families of who was said that we gave our blessing to them. We

must express our great displeasure with Wits university in that regard. The resting place of our ancestors is regarded as holy ground and Adam Kok IV could not have objected to the activities of exhuming the bodily remains of our ancestors, as we had no power over that during the months which followed the banning of the liberation movement and the imprisonment of objectors.

They would never allow me to say the following. The Griqua heritage left by Cornelius Kok II was proven by the Langley Diamond Field court case of 1870 - 1876. Even the Waterboer-missionary conspiracy could not argue this fact. The union of S.A. (1942) denied our right, and the Diamond field district Council had finally disposed of land.

The resting place of the remains of Cornelius Kok II will not be culturally dignified if this does not take place on land which we can call our own. I want to make it clear that I will not allow the continued humiliation and impoverishment of our people at Campbell. Repatriation without justice is not good enough. We demand full compensation and return of our land. We appreciate the positive spirit with which Wits university agreed to return the remains of our ancestor, but we do not appreciate the humiliation and blasphemous act of interfering with the remains of our royal forebearers. We appreciate the

need of scientific investigation and to allow the research without the humiliation of our late ancestors.

The way forward for all the Khoisan Africans: I wish to announce a conferring of a national conference of all Khoisan Africans that has been agreed upon by the paramount chiefs of the different Khoisan groups. We will formalise a Khoisan representative council as well as a unified structure representing Griquas. We will approach the government with one strong voice with regards to our common land dispossession problem. This occasion today is the first step towards the building of the nation where justice, empowerment and dignity will reign supreme. Thank you.

APPENDIX 6

Alan Morris re reburial issues/ SA

1. Cornelius Kok II was a leader of the Northern Cape Griqua in the 1830s-1850s (region near Kimberly). Died about 1858.

In 1961 Tobias was informed that there was a cemetery at the side of the town of Campbell. At the time he was planning a project into the human biology of Griqua people. Went and excavated three graves in 1961; subsequent excavations in 1965 & 1967.

Among graves was one purported to be that of Cornelius.

On the scientific value of specimens:

"The specimens are important for understanding the genesis of 19th century Cape groups. For one thing the dynamics of population change when differing populations meet. For another, analyses of skeletons are one of the best ways to study the health and growth in rural

Many different San groups here today.

This exhibition has brought many different tribes of San pop. together

Important to see what happened in the past

Why is it here in Cape Town - it should be shown where San live: so that they can see what happened in the past.

My feelings (personal feelings) about the exhibition:

I am SHOCKED at way it has been done.

It is good to have exhibition so people can see it, but

some people we RECOGNIZE from pictures on FLOORS and walls.

How can educated people do this?

We have the right to cry for our freedom: the past is past; this is now the future.

My feelings:

It is against our culture to stand on somebody's picture.

It is against our culture to stand on bodies.

It is against our culture for men and women to walk together around exposed bodies.

The exhibition shows our bodies without respect. To show these things is JUST AS BAD as the people who did it long ago - it is continuing bad things.

I do not want to walk on this floor; on our own people. Their suffering is too important.

I would be ashamed to walk on it. I feel like I myself am lying there.

What we have seen is very bad. We have so much pain in our heart/anger as well.

We are angry with the people who have done this to us - it is still happening today.

If these people had been of our culture, they would NOT be allowed to do this.

We cannot even tell our people at home what we have seen. This is an insult.

It's good to have this - so the whole world will know - IS THIS REALLY CIVILIZATION??

This is true for us SAN to stand up and cry for freedom.

I would like to respond: the next exhibition must show the struggle of the San population.

APPENDIX 6

Andy here's the notes from Tobias. If you look in the last version of the story you will see some comments from Robin Cocks at the Natural History Museum in London.

Comments on human skeletal remains

My comments refer only to the more recent remains that have been exhumed from graveyards and other sites dating back for only a relatively short period of time. By this I mean centuries or at most thousands of years. Before that time it is difficult to determine to which living group such prehistoric remains are related. If we go back far enough in time, such as to the time of the australopithecine ape-men that lived in Africa at least between 4.5 and 1.5 million years ago, we find ourselves handling remains that are derived from the ancestors of all living humanity. They are the common heritage of the living human species. As far as personal identity is concerned, they are anonymous: at the most we can identify the species and usually also the gender and the personal age of each such fossil. The fact that such fossils may be found, say, in Spain or Italy or South Africa does not make them necessarily the first Spaniards or Italians or South Africans.

There have been such movements of peoples over the face of the earth in the last million years that there are no clearly discernible lines of descent from any group of ancient fossils to any particular modern human population. What is of special concern is relatively recent human remains which may, in some cases, be unequivocally related to a living human group of people; and, most important of all, recent human remains of specific known individuals (such as Cornelis Kok).

- 1) If the indigenous people in question is emphatic that the remains under consideration should be reinterred, what procedures should be followed in such a case? In the interests of scientific, anthropological and medical research, it may be most valuable if, before the remains are handed over to the appropriate authority of the indigenous people, photographs, casts and detailed observations (including measurements) were made of the remains, with the approval of the people concerned (at least it would be important for the scholars to obtain the blessing of the people for photographs and casts to be made, as there may be some indigenous beliefs and practices which would forbid the representation of the dead by photos or casts). Such records could be permanently reposed in the museum or university department concerned, if the people agreed.
- 2) In the event that a specific skeleton/s could be identified as member/s of a particular family (e.g. the case of Kok family), then I believe it should be the family who should be consulted on the disposal of the remains of their forbear/s. This does not necessarily mean - only the family, as tribal or indigenous custom may prescribe that the clan or group as a whole should also be consulted.
- 3) In all cases, the feelings and sensitivities of the living descendants, or congeners, of the deceased, should be respected, and consultation and negotiation should be entered into with reverence and a spirit of reconciliation between the mores of the people and the interests of scientific enquiry.
- 4) Wherever possible, the negotiations should be directed towards custodianship of the remains being handed over to the indigenous people. Various ways in which they may choose to exercise their custodianship are:
 - (a) outright burial of the remains, but wherever it proves agreeable, these

should first have been studied and measured, photographed and casts made. The repository of such permanent records should be subject of separate negotiations with the people: either in the institution where the remains had previously been housed; or in a new repository under the charge of the people.

(b) the people may be content not to bury the remains, but to curate them in a new museum or mausoleum or ossuary, to be kept under the charge and care of the people: reputable scholars could then be given permission by the people as custodians to study or to re-study the remains under conditions to be determined by the people.

(c) the people may decide that, while they assume responsibility and custodianship for the remains, they are willing for them to remain in one or other academic institution, but the people would retain the rights of inspection, curation, determination of the conditions under which scientists may be allowed to study the remains; representatives of the people concerned would retain "visiting rights" to the collection at all times and could reserve the right to negotiate to change the agreed conditions if the people felt that there were unsatisfactory elements in the original agreement.

5) Of the various patterns set out above, (b) and (c) would clearly be the best for the interests of research on the remains. An important point is that new techniques arise from time to time for the study of remains. One example is the extraction of DNA from tiny samples of bone which may enable the DNA to be sequenced and the affinities to any claimed relatives to be determined with some precision. (This may need to be invoked, for example, in the case of the claimed but disputed head/skull of King Hintsa, just as it was in the identification of the remains of the Russian royal family.) Another example is the application of new isotope methods to the analysis of the enamel of the teeth with a view to finding out something about the diet of the dead subject/s. If the bones had been re-buried, or cremated, such valuable researches would not be possible.

6) The involvement of local groups in the curating and custodianship of remains may repay some dividends such as the sense of spiritual well-being, social satisfaction and conformity with the traditional ethos of the group. Now and again results of the scientific study of disinterred remains may prove to be of value, in a more material sense, to the people concerned. For instance, if the size of the bodies of the individuals represented by the skeletons buried, say, 100 years ago, is compared with those of their present-day descendants, it could be determined whether today's people are nutritionally better off, or not, than their ancestors of 5 generations ago.

Whilst a rising curve of physical well-being may give cause for reasonable satisfaction, a falling curve - or even a condition of no change - may give cause for concern and this would establish the case for nutritional needs of the present-day people to be examined carefully and a programme of amelioration set in place. Similarly a lower or higher incidence of some medical conditions that affect bones may suggest whether conditions of life have been deteriorating or improving. Examples are lines of defective bone development in, for instance, the shin-bone (tibia), undue thickening of the middle layer (diploe) of the bone of the skull vault such as occurs in certain blood disorders, and defective development of the enamel of the teeth (Hypoplasia). In all such cases it would be important to establish whether there were changes between the earlier population and the present-day descendants and, if so, the direction of such changes - towards an improvement or deterioration. If the latter, steps could be taken to improve the lot of the people.

7) Thus, the scientific, anthropological and medical study of the remains disinterred from earlier burials may produce material benefits for the physical welfare of the people; while the people's involvement in the caring for the skeletal remains may provide some sense of spiritual well-being.

This would argue strongly for the indigenous group's being willing to leave the remains in scientific institutions, such as universities and museums, whilst, at the same time, the people assume a supervisory role. Their representatives could become caretakers of the remains, even though these continue to be housed in research institutions.

8) On an alternative model, the indigenous people concerned could be helped to establish a small local repository or museum, which the people on the spot would carefully tend, and which may find it useful to function under the aegis of the nearest established museum or university where the necessary expertise exists to curate such collections of bones - or cultural objects to which essentially the same kind of arrangements could apply.

I believe that, with goodwill and understanding and sensitivity, it should prove possible to negotiate arrangements in each such case, whereby the rights and feelings of the indigenous peoples are protected and advanced, and the importance of scientific study of the remains is recognised and respected, in the interests of the indigenous peoples, scientific and medical research and of the country as a whole.

Where an indigenous people has a clear-cut claim to a particular set of remains, and where burial is seen by them as obligatory in terms of the lore and custom of them and their forefathers, the re-burial of such remains should not be resisted. However every effort should be made for the indigenous people concerned to be persuaded to allow a detailed photographic and descriptive record of the remains to be completed, before the remains are handed over for re-burial. To establish whether or not there is a clear-cut claim in any specific instance, it may be advisable for a commission drawn from the indigenous group concerned and from academic scholars (such as historians, archaeologists, physical anthropologists) to be set up and asked to investigate each such claim.

Phillip V. Tobias
Florence, Italy
27th April 1996

The Vermillion Accord

This accord was passed unanimously at the World Archaeological Congress' first intercongress on Archaeological Ethics and the Treatment of the Dead, held in August 1989 in Vermillion, South Dakota, USA

1 Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.

2 Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.

3 Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.

4 Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.

5 Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.

6 The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science, are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

 APPENDIX 7

2. AMARESWAR GULLA

(Heads National Centre for National Heritage and Science Studies at University of Canberra and is VP of Commonwealth Association of Museums)

His talk was very long and much more nuanced than above and he is preparing a written version so the following is highly abbreviated:

The talk was a brief summary of international experience and a outline of South Africa's potential to adopt "international best practise". Stressed that museum policy always reflected shifts in political power and the amount of muscle that indigenous groups could exercise over policy governing management of cultural heritage (he doesn't like the word 'resources' as this suggests a utilitarian approach to collections).

"Who manages who's heritage is a political agenda about power and control... At the end of the day what we want to work out is a sharing of that power."

History of struggle over museum collections, starting with the Santiago Declaration. Overview of community cultural centres in Canada and Australia which reflects the declaration's suggestion that museums act in the service of society as a whole. "Based on a realisation that it is no use managing heritage based on your own whims and fancies. You have to consult with the people whose heritage you are looking after."

Mentioned new techniques that make it difficult to predict how long a collection should be kept for eg isotopes that allow for study of diet patterns.

Touched on the difficulties surrounding the definition of indigenous people in South Africa.

Two years ago the UN working group on indigenous people sent a draft document to the UN G Assembly -- likely to result in a permanent forum for indigenous peoples at the UN.

"The ultimate violation of any peoples rights is denial of respect to ancestors and ancestors remains...

This is the ultimate symbol of colonialism and dispossession...

Summary of crisis that emerged in Australia when University of Australia refused to return collection of 26 000-year-old (mid-pleistocene) bones which he says were vital to understand human evolution in that part of the world. As a result of no policy and adversarial environment, politicians intervened and the collection was returned.

Galla stepped in and arranged a big consultative conference where communicative policies began to be worked out

Summarised Nagpra and policies in NZ and Canada. Noted British museums have adopted a defensive policy mainly because there is no strong indigenous lobby that affects balance of power there. Noted a major limitation of Nagpra is lack of resources -- act required US\$23-million for first three years, in fact got 2.1 million from congress.

But Nagpra did force museums to make inventories eg Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnography at Harvard found their collection of human remains increased from 7000 to 100 000 and cultural items from 800 000 to 8

million.

"If you do that in South Africa, however, there will be serious problems. In Canada, United States and Australia demands were made by people at the margins. In South Africa there are majority groups. These people and their organisations have come to the centre of political power and will have to be heard."

Africa holds the world's heritage. Pleistocene remains that hold the key to the evolution of mankind. "If you are not careful to come up with policies you could lose an invaluable international heritage. It is better to be proactive and address these issues to avoid the kind of disaster that occurred in Australia." (He also refers to the three most important collections of the earliest remains of homo sapiens that have been lost in Australia because no systems were in place to deal with repatriation demands -- I need to get more details of these)

Constitution entrenches cultural values and rights to justice and equity. Real possibility organisations using constitutional court to entrench demands.

In addressing sensitivities need a fairly sophisticated category of types of remains ranging from

pleistocene to

modified human remains"

as each category needs to be treated differently.

The main conflict is between those who believe "The appropriation of human remains violates the sanctity of the dead as well as the civil rights of the living and those who stress the academic, scientific and educational value of museum collections"

Repatriation demands are a powerful mechanism for opening broader policy and strategies to make museums more open and relevant to society as a whole.

Opens opportunities for communities and scientists to work together --

"communities have a living heritage and store of knowledge that is invaluable for anthropologists and archeologists".

"Repatriation can accelerate a long term evolution of relations between indigenous people, archeologists and museum staff. Shifts in political power accelerate this as community groups are no longer token representatives and become empowered to enter into real negotiations." -- Should be seen as an opportunity rather than a threat.

Offers chance for a methodology that breaks down the division between professionals and the people. Guidelines that have emerged about how to do this

1. Need to be honest about unethical practices in collection of bones even if these are gruesome and sordid. (Engelbrecht says Pippa's exhibition was valuable in this respect -- "it was our truth commission")

2. Universities and museums need to make staff available to deal with collections and demands. Currently most probably have at best an assistant curator. This reflects the professional hierarchy which gives more emphasis to pure research than practical matters.

3. Need to collect a community contact database and a national archeological

database (that includes an account of how collections were constructed, permits, agreements etc) -- these will facilitate negotiations and new partnerships.

4. Procedures for deaccessing need to be developed -- will take stress and improvisation out of situations that develop spontaneously.
5. Mediation mechanisms need to be developed by relevant government department -- for disputes between professionals and people and also between rival claimants. Land restitution mechanisms mentioned here as a potential institutional base and/or model to be followed. Never assume communities are homogenous -- this is a stereotype we perpetuate. marginal communities are usually fragmented due to colonialism etc.
6. Management of transformation needed -- stress management for curators and institutional support for individual academics who come under pressure from restitution demands.
7. Open forums for debating policy around access and exhibitions. "Is open access fair or does it perpetuate a colonial legacy in a neo colonial context. These are not things you can talk about in your boardrooms. They have to be dealt with in public forums." (Can compare to various participatory policy-making processes in water, land, energy, forestry, environment, labour etc in SA)
8. Compromise arrangements for storage of collections. NZ maoris created an tomb inside the national museum. Strict regulations exist about how to access the collections. In Australia repatriated remains are held in special keeping places and access has to be negotiated with community elders - satuyd has to be explained and its value for expanding understanding of the past. Usually requires a community report-back and generates intense community interest rather than hostility. Repatriation with community terms of reference (that can include scientific needs) needs to be worked out -- "need two hands to clap".
9. Make up for past failures. Build trust is the critical issue
10. Outcomes oriented budgetary policy needed. Public institutions have to budget for access, equity and restitution subject to negotiations with community groups.
11. Support community research projects. This opens possibilities for collaborations instead of conflict and innovative solutions of the type mentioned above. Again land claims a model for this.
12. Can be very traumatic for communities to deal with remains of long-dead ancestors (as illustrated in Hints case). Need for state to provide community liason officers who provide support, guidelines and peer group support in cases of reburial.
13. New scientific methods could mean that excavation of graves and burial goods offers new insights into a community's past. New relations of trust offer opportunities for a whole new area of study to be negotiated. "This involves the deconstruction of the anthropological other... Presenting people as equals opens trust and creates increased respect for archeology and history." These kind of research programmes can bring divided communities together and allow them to reclaim dignity and renewal.

14. There is an increased demand for research and cultural heritage management skills from communities. "These need to be catered for as they provide a common agenda for redissecting the past and preserving the remains related to this."

15. "A shared negotiated code of ethics and professional conduct needs to be developed." Negotiations around repatriation is the first step in a real partnership and can lead to highly productive systems of joint management of heritage.

16. Resources are critical to do all of the above. It was proposed the a joint subcommittee representing SAMA and the cultural ministers of national and provincial government sit to permanently address management of human remains and culturally sensitive materials in museums. Politicians have to be convinced that as this is a national heritage the process has to be supported by a national budget.

Mentioned an Indian community in USA that negotiated a cultural centre and keeping place for remains that were disturbed by highway development -- based on understanding that if burials can tell about the past then they can help the community understand its own history.

In question time he noted communities were surprisingly flexible about renegotiating burial traditions to accommodate scientific interest -- although there are cases where tradition just has to be accepted because it doesn't allow for the kinds of compromises mentioned above. Basic point though is that tradition is ever being renegotiated and sensitive curatorial/research approaches can be just one of the many factors that affect this natural process.

APPENDIX 8

The following consists of notes taken during an interview (informal) with Gabeba Abrahams-Willis. The discussion is based on a workshop Abrahams-Willis attended, in which the topic of sensitive materials were discussed.

Date: 6 May 1996

Venue: South African Cultural History Museum

Terminology : Repatriation - return to a different country.

: Return - return of material remains from natural museums in S.A. or institutions in S.A., to indigenous groups here.

Policy on communication :

Issues also discussed was empowerment of communities.

Accessibility to material (museums). "If we don't communicate with one another (institutions to communities), that barrier of insensitivity will always remain" (Abrahams-Willis).

Acts that deal with archaeological material in South Africa: National Monuments Act, which covers cultural material, and the Soft Tissue Act, which covers human remains.

Issues also discussed: The myths of consultation. Three models were suggested.

1) The museum makes decisions on its own.

2) The museum informs people about remains and artifacts.

Consultation takes place but the museum makes the final decision.

3) The museum runs projects with the help of relevant people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- African National Congress, 1994. The Reconstruction and Development Programme - a policy framework. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- Anderson, B.R.O'G. 1983. Imagined Communities: reflections and spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.
- Bahn, P. 1996. Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnard, A. 1997. Problems in the construction of Khoisan ethnicities. Paper presented at the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, Cape Town, July. 1997.
- Barrow, J. 1801. An Account of Travels in the Interior of southern Africa in the year 1797 and 1798. London: Johnson Reprint Company Ltd.
- Bekker, S. 1993. Ethnicity in Focus - The South African Case. University of Natal: Centre for Social and Development Studies.
- Boonzaier, E. 1980. Social differentiation in the Richtersveld, a Namaqualand area. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Brain, C.K. (ed) 1993. A cave's chronicle of early man. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum.
- Chatters, J.C. 1997. Response from Chatters. Anthropology Newsletter May: 6-7.
- Darwin, C. 1968. The Origin of Species. London: Penguin Books Limited.

- bo, A. 1995. History of the Indians of the US. London: Pimlico Publications.
- erver, W. 1902. The early annals of Kokstad and Griqualand East (with 27 illustrations). Port Elizabeth: JAS Kemsley and Co.
- ow, S. 1995. Illicit Union - Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa. Johannesburg: Davis Philip.
- hick, R. 1977 Kraal and Castle: Khoikhoi and the founding of white South Africa. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- odwin, A.J.H. and Van Riet Lowe, C. 1929. The Stone Age cultures of South Africa. Annals of the South African Museum 271-289.
- ld, S.J. 1988. Mismeasure of Man. Johannesburg: Penguin Books.
- la, A. 1996. Shifting the Paradigm - a Plan to Diversify Heritage Practice in South Africa (discussion document). Cape Town: South African Museum and the South African Museums Association.
- ford, S.J. 1949. The Griquas of Griqualand: a historical narrative of the Griqua people. Their rise and decline. Cape Town: Juta Publishing Company.
- l, M. 1987. The Changing Past - Farmers, Kings and Traders in southern Africa 200 - 1860. Cape Town: David Philip.
- l, M. 1996. Africa Archaeology. Cape Town: David Philip.
- es, S., Martin, R. and Pilbeam, D. (eds). 1992. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Evolution. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , A and Powell, S. 1993. A perspective on Ethics and the Reburial controversy. American Antiquity 58: 348 - 354.
- ack, M. 1997. Kennewick Man's Day in Court. Anthropology Newsletter May: 5.

- Kolb, P. 1968. The Present state of the Cape of Good Hope.
New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation.
- Lamar, H. and Thompson, L. (eds). 1981. The Frontier in History
- North America and Southern Africa compared.
New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lewis, G. 1987. Between the wire and the wall - A history of
South African 'Coloured' politics. Cape Town:
Davis Philip.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. 1993. South African Archaeology in the
1990s. South African Archaeological Bulletin
48: 45 - 50.
- Manamon, F.P. 1995. The reality of repatriation - reaching out to Native Americans. Federal
Archeology Fall/Winter: 2
- Mazel, A.D. 1989. The changing social relations in the Thukela
Basin, Natal 7000 - 2000 BP. South African
Archaeological Society Goodwin Series 6:33-41.
- Keown, C.T. 1997. Excavations and Discoveries under NAGPRA. ...
Anthropology Newsletter May :6-7.
- Morris, A. 19 . Skeletons of Contact: a study of
protohistoric burials from the lower Orange
River valley, South Africa. Johannesburg:
- Morris, A. 1996. Trophy, Skulls, Museums and the San. In
Skotnes, P. (ed). Miscast - Negotiating the
Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University
of Cape Town Press.
- Ross, M.L. 1997. Challenge to NAGPRA. Anthropology
Newsletter May :6.
- Rossop, E.E. 1931. Journals of the Expeditions of the
Honourable Ensign Olof Bergh (1682 - 1683)
and the Ensign Isaac Schrijver (1689). Cape
Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

- Munzo, K.A. 1992. Domination, Resistance and Social change in South Africa. - The local effects of global power. Connecticut: Praeger Publications.
- Nackerdien, R. 1994. Archaeology and education in S.A.: towards a people's archaeology. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Naranjo, T. 1995. 'Thoughts of Two worldviews. Federal Archaeology, Fall/Winter :8
- Pastor, J. 1995. Power Knowledge and museums: The cast of Saartjie Baartman. Paper adapted from research done in fulfilment of MA dissertation, University of Leicester.
- Penn, N. 1996. Fated to perish: The Destruction of the Cape San. In: Skotnes, P. (ed). Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Readers Digest. 1994. Illustrated History of South Africa - The Real Story. Cape Town: Readers Digest.
- Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. 1991. Archaeology - Theories, Methods and Practice. United States: Thames and Hudson.
- Richmond, A.H. 1984. Ethnic Nationalism and postindustrialism. Ethnic and Racial Studies. 7:
- Ritchie, G. 1990. Dig the Herders/Display the Hottentots - the production and presentation of knowledge about the past. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Ross, R. 1976. Adam Kok's Griquas: a study in the development of stratification in South Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- lands, M. 1989. The archaeology of colonialism and constituting the African peasantry. In Miller, D., Rowlands, M. and Tilley, (eds). Domination and Resistance. London: Unwin Hyman.
- r, K. 1997. The Firts Herders in Southern Africa. Paper presented at the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, Cape Town, July 1997.
- neider, A.L. 1997. Why Kennewick man is in Court. Anthropology Newsletter February : 17-18.
- o, J. 1994. Multicultural South Africa: The past revisited or a new beginning. Notes: association for anthropology in Southern Africa, Annual Conference, 7-10 September, UD
- p, J. and Boonzsier, E. (eds). 1988. South African keywords. The uses and abuses of political concepts. Cape Town: David Philip.
- herd. N.J. 1995. Archaeology after apartheid: choices, challenges, alternative futures. Paper presented at a seminar. University of Cape Town: Centre for African Studies.
- nes, P. (ed). 1996. Miscast - Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- h, A.B. 1983. The Hottentot syndrome: myth-making in South African school textbooks. Social Dynamics 9:37-49.
- h, A.B. 1992. Pastoralism in Africa - Origins and Development Ecology. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- h, A.B., Boonzaier, E., Malherbe, C. and Berens, P. 1996. The Cape Herders - A history of the Khoikhoi of southern Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

- parrman, A. 1975. Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.
Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- app, D.C. and Longenecker, J.G. 1997. Questions for the
Profession. Anthropology Newsletter May: 5-6.
- ow, G.W. 1905. The Native Races of South Africa. London:
Swan Sonnenschein.
- al, G.M. 1907. History and ethnography of Africa, south of
the Zambezi. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
- atson, M. 1990. Contemporary Minority Nationalism. London:
Routledge.
- earne, P. 1996. Return of the Indian - Conquest and Revival
in the Americas. London: Cassell.
- nke, R.J. 1990. Patterns in Prehistory - Humankind's First
Three Million Years. Oxford: Oxford University
Press.
- orl. R 1995. NAGPRA: Symbol of a New Treaty. Federal Archeology Fall\Winter: 28-29.
- es, R., Parkington, J and Manhire, T. 1990. Pictures from
the Past: a history of the interpretation of
rock paintings and engravings of southern
Africa. Pietermaritzburg: Centaur.