Griqua identity
a bibliography
compiled by Allegra Louw
INTRODUCTION

Most scholars acknowledge that the origins of the Griqua people are rooted in the complex relationships between autochthonous KhoeSan, slaves, Africans and European settlers. Coupled with the intricacies that underpin the issue of Griqua identity - and often as equally contested - is the matter of terminology.

Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey describe the Griquas as

Pastoralists of Khoikhoi and mixed descent, initially known as Bastards or Basters, who left the Cape in the late 18th century under their first leader, Adam Kok 1 (c.1710-c.1795).¹

They explain the name 'bastards' as

[The] term used in the 18th century for the offspring of mixed unions of whites with people of colour, most commonly Khoikhoi but also, less frequently, slaves.²

Even in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, issues of identity and ethnicity continue to dominate the literature of the Griqua people. As the South African social anthropologist, Linda Waldman, writes:

The Griqua comprise an extremely diverse category of South Africans. They are defined neither by geographical boundaries nor by cultural practices.³

Waldman goes on to illustrate the complexities surrounding attempts to categorise the Griqua people by explaining how the Griqua have been described by some as a sub-category of the Coloured people,⁴ by others as either constituting a separate ethnic group,⁵ by others as not constituting a separate ethnic group⁶, and by still others as a nation.⁷

² Saunders and Southey, A dictionary of South African history: 22.
⁴ Richard E. van der Ross, 100 questions about Coloured South Africans (Cape Town: University of the Western Cape, 2003): 6.
⁵ D. Morris, “The Griqua of Campbell: questions of history and identity”. Published third year fieldwork project, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town, 1982.
BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GRIQUAS

Adam Kok 1 (c.1710-c.1795), reputed to have been an emancipated slave, acquired grazing rights in the Piketberg area in the 1750s. He attracted a following among the remains of the Khoi tribe of Chaguriqua, escaped slaves and Bastards. The group grew so large, that Adam Kok was recognised as a 'Captain' or Kaptyn by the Dutch East India Company. By the end of the eighteenth century, Adam's son, Cornelius Kok (1746-1820), was living at Kamiesberg in Namaqualand, had established cattle posts on the Orange River and trading and hunting trips were taken across the Transorange.

The Griquas were converted to Christianity by missionaries of the London Missionary Society. While visiting Klaarwater (later renamed Griquatown) in 1813, John Campbell of the London Missionary Society persuaded the Basters of the Kok group to change their name. In Schoeman's words:

They decided to call themselves Griquas, in commemoration of their Khoi (Chaguriqua) origin, while Klaarwater became Griquatown.

By the nineteenth century, the Griquas were established pastoralist farmers, and described by Robert Ross as

More or less fully incorporated into the cash economy of the nineteenth century Southern Africa. They lived on game, milk cattle, vegetables and corn of their own cultivation and on the meat of their own extensive herds of sheep.

The sale of wool, horses and trade in ivory, skin karosses with the Tswana, made them a wealthy people.

Martin Legassick paints a vivid picture of Griqua prosperity:

In terms of wealth, the Kok family was undoubtedly the richest, with Cornelius Kok owning at his different farms perhaps some 45 000 sheep.

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9 Schoeman, Griqua records: the Philippolis captaincy, 1825-1861:xi.
The land occupied by the Griquas was steadily infiltrated by white colonists, leading to the displacement and consequent impoverishment of the Griquas.

Piet Erasmus described the plight of the Griquas:

By the 1830s, white farmers had systematically begun to infiltrate the territory of the Griqua, and to establish themselves on Griqua land. The threat that this held for the survival of the Griqua was a matter of concern to the British government, since the latter regarded a united Griqua state as essential for the maintenance of law and order on its (Cape colonial) northern border.\textsuperscript{13}

They were forced to move in a ‘Great Trek’ in the early 1860s, in which about 3 000 of Adam Kok III’s people relocated from Philippolis to “Nomansland”, later named Griqualand East.\textsuperscript{14} Twenty years later, their dreams of abundant grazing for their cattle and sheep, and an independent existence, free of colonial control, were dashed. From 1874, they came under Cape magisterial rule. The death of Adam Kok III in 1875 signified the effective end of Griqua political independence east of the Drakensberg.

With “annexation” - the word was used from 1874 by British and Cape officials, though the formal process of incorporation within the Cape did not occur until 1897 - came confusion over titles to land, and many Griqua sold in panic or were swindled out of their properties by white speculators.\textsuperscript{15}

The loss of their lands reduced them into rent-paying tenants on white-owned farms. Edgar states that when seventeen year old Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur, future leader of the Griquas, drove his father’s cart into Kokstad in Griqualand East in 1884,

He expected to find a proud people ruling themselves, and was heart-broken when he found the Griqua had ‘no status as a people.’\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16} Edgar and Saunders, “A.A.S. le Fleur and the Griqua trek of 1917: 203.
POST APARTHEID GRIQUA IDENTITY

Griquas regard themselves as representatives of the original inhabitants, or first people, of Southern Africa, since their ancestors were present in South Africa long before the first Europeans and Bantu-speaking people.\(^{17}\)

Post-apartheid democracy paved the way for new thinking about culture and identity for people of colour in South Africa. Claims to ethnic identity were made in an environment of human rights, socio-economic rights and land restitution. According to Michael Besten, the resurgence of Khoe-San identities coincided with international developments involving indigenous peoples. The United Nations declared 1993 as the Year of Indigenous Peoples and 1995-2004 as the International Decade for the World’s Indigenous People.\(^{18}\)

Besten goes into great detail about the evolution of Griqua ethnic identity in his article. “We are the original inhabitants of this land” and in his doctoral thesis.\(^{19}\) The politics of the day clearly dictated which racial classifications were acceptable to the Griquas.

At first, they preferred to be known as “Bastaards” since Bastaard and Christian identities allowed Khoe-San descendants to assert a status that suggested closer proximity to Europeans and Western culture and helped distance them from their Khoe-San heritage. Most Khoe-San descendants were officially classified as coloured and native during the 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\) centuries. As long as the coloured category subsumed the Native category, as was the case for much of the 19\(^{th}\) century when the term ‘coloured’ was used broadly to refer to people not considered European, Bushmen and Hottentots could unproblematically be designated both coloured and Native.\(^{20}\)

In the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Griquas were defined as merely a subgroup of the Coloured people. According to D.Y. Saks, they resented this categorisation since


\(^{18}\) Michael Besten, “‘We are the original inhabitants of this land’: Khoe-San identity in post-apartheid South Africa” in Burdened by race: coloured identities in Southern Africa; edited by Mohamed Adhikari. Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009: 139.


\(^{20}\) Besten, ‘We are the original inhabitants of this land’: 136.
Not only did such a classification give them the unenviable status of a marginal group within a marginal group, but it also threatened to lead to the eventual disappearance of the Griquas, already depleted by assimilation, within the vast melting pot of the country’s mixed race population.\textsuperscript{21}

According to Besten

During apartheid, Griqua were inclined to project themselves as being of mixed Khoekhoe, slave and European descent. They were prepared to acknowledge part ‘Hottentot’ ancestry but did not represent themselves as Khoekhoe. By 1995, however, Griqua were increasingly claiming that they were Khoekhoe. The view that they were of mixed descent was now de-emphasised.\textsuperscript{22}

They sought official recognition of Griqua identity and culture, political representation and restitution of their lost lands.

Since the South African government did not seem sympathetic to their needs, Griqua activists campaigned for First Nation status, both from the United Nations and the ANC government. The Griqua National Conference asked the South African government to recognise them as a First Nation and also to acknowledge their pre-1913 land claims, despite the fact that the Restitution of Land Rights Act no. 22 of 1994 was promulgated to compensate those who had lost their land after 1913.\textsuperscript{23}

The Griqua quest for official recognition under the post-apartheid government met with some success in July 1997 when the Department of Constitutional Development announced that the Griqua had ‘won recognition as a separate ethnic community’. This was followed by an announcement that the United Nations had awarded ‘First Nation’ status to the Griqua which was similar to that granted to the San and the Khoi.\textsuperscript{24}

The Griquas blamed Great Britain for the loss of their lands in East and West Griqualand.

In 1996 the Griekwa Volks Organisasie sued the British government for £1.4 billion for ‘robbing and driving our ancestors off their land and property.’ It also sued De Beers


\textsuperscript{22} Besten, “We are the original inhabitants of this land”: 140.

\textsuperscript{23} Johan Cronje. \textit{The Griqua of the Northern Cape: land ownership, identity and leadership}. Kimberley: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, [2006]: 49.

\textsuperscript{24} Cronje. \textit{The Griqua of the Northern Cape: land ownership, identity and leadership}: 50.
Consolidated Mines for R 8,7 billion for royalties on the mineral rights of the company’s Northern Cape and Free State diamond mines situated on historic Griqua land.25

Henry Bredekamp refers to Le Fleur Griqua revivalism, spearheaded by the grandsons of *die Kneeg* (servant of God) Andrew (Andries) Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur (2 July 1867-11 June 1941).

* A.A.S. le Fleur I, who became endearingly known to his followers as *die Kneeg*, began his career as a revivalist in the mid-1890s, after he had joined the Griqua Independent Church in 1895. Tackling the land issue in various ways and fostering a united Griqua *volks* identity by spiritual means, distinguishes him as the most prominent indigenous Khoisan leader of 20th century South Africa.26

He spent his life campaigning for the restitution of Griqua land lost when the British colonial authorities annexed Griqualand East. He sought to unite people called Griqua, Nama and Coloured in 20th century South Africa under the Griqua banner. This he did by establishing the Griqua Independent Church, as a counter to the European-controlled mission churches, launched over the Easter weekend in 1920, in the Maitland Town Hall, Cape Town. (This church is not to be confused with the Griqua Independent Church established by Rev. William Dower of the London Missionary Society in Kokstad).27 He also founded the Griqua National Conference in 1904, which became the official mouthpiece of the Griqua people,

at the time of his appointment as successor to the Adam Kok Chieftainship and thus Paramount Chief of the Adam Kok III Griquas. (EMS le Fleur Collection 1926: item 4.1).28

Although all his agricultural resettlement schemes failed, with the exception of Kranshoek near Plettenberg Bay, he was instrumental in fostering Griqua pride in their spiritual identity. He promoted a Coloured identity, believing that segregation would be the solution to the economic and political problems of the Griquas, but as Edgar stated

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25 Besten “We are the original inhabitants of this land”: 142.
That his segregationist solutions had an appeal to a people whose origins lay in miscegenation has a special irony of its own, but coming at a time when white domination was being further entrenched and black societies were becoming more impoverished and atomized, his settlement schemes and his promotion of ethnic consciousness and self-pride held out to his followers the promise of an escape from poverty, a means of preserving a cultural cohesiveness, and a way of distancing themselves from Africans, who were being relegated to the lowest strata of South African society.29

After the demise of apartheid, Cecil le Fleur, the grandson of A.A.S. le Fleur, has been active in indigenous forums having to reconceptualise and redefine their Griqua volks identity within the context of contemporary Khoisan revivalism and the current discourse about the complexity of a unifying South African national identity after apartheid.30

Cecil le Fleur is described by Bredekamp as the Chairperson of the Executive Council of the Griqua National Conference and Deputy Chairperson of the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC), founded in 1997. He attended the sessions of the United Nations Working Group for Indigenous People (WGIP) since 1996, and the International Khoisan Conference of 1997, organized by the University of the Western Cape, and participated in the National Khoisan Forum.

Today, the Griqua National Conference is based at Kranshoek, near Plettenberg Bay. Johan Cronje describes the Kranshoek Griqua community, which is under the leadership of Alan Andrew le Fleur:

This community has adopted various symbols to honour its distinct identity. These comprise the proclamation of a number of heritage sites as well as the adoption of a traditional dress and culture, a Griqua flag and a Griqua anthem. Significant events in the Griqua history are commemorated annually by way of special people’s days, such as the birthday of Paramount Chief AAS le Fleur and the celebration of the unveiling of a monument erected in honour of the early Griqua pioneers at Kranshoek in 1942.31

Cronje further reports that several land claims lodged on behalf of the Griquas have been unsuccessful, owing to numerous factors. Some of these are that the Griquas have been classified as Coloured, and also because of

30 Bredekamp, “Khoisan revivalism and the indigenous peoples issue in post-apartheid South Africa”: 196.
The lack of a co-ordinated effort by a group of people that proved to be the victims of their own factionalism particularly on those occasions when unity was most needed.\textsuperscript{32}

Examples of Griqua factionalism, are the divisions within the le Fleur family, as according to a \textit{Sunday Times} report, the inauguration of Paramount Chief Alan Andrew le Fleur as leader of the Griquas in December 2004, was boycotted by rival leader Anthony le Fleur. This leadership battle has been raging for the past 35 years, according to the \textit{Sunday Times}.\textsuperscript{33}

Further reading on Griqua factionalism can be found in Cronje\textsuperscript{34} and Erasmus.\textsuperscript{35}

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\textsuperscript{32} Cronje, \textit{The Griqua of the Northern Cape: land ownership, identity and leadership}: 49.
\textsuperscript{34} Cronje, \textit{The Griqua of the Northern Cape: land ownership, identity and leadership}: 51.
\textsuperscript{35} Piet Erasmus, “‘Vote for real people’: the making of Griqua and Korana identities in Heidedal”. \textit{Anthropology Southern Africa} 33,1 & 2 (2010):65-73.
BOOKS AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS


Belcher, Ronald Kenneth. "From literature to oral tradition and back: the Griqua case history", in *Oral tradition and literacy: changing visions of the world*; edited by Richard Whitaker and E.R. Sienaert. Durban: University of Natal, 1986: 261-269. Abstract: "Hymns were transmitted to the Griqua from their original written form and carried orally by the most non-literate Griqua, and then were transferred back through writing. Hymns had as much as sixty-two distinct tunes. Special hymns were composed for "die Kneg" (the servant of God) Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur. The article tells of a mystic and mythic aspect of Le Fleur's life in which God intervened in his affairs. 'Le Fleur stands out in the oral and written literature of the Griqua as hero of heroes' (p. 265)."


Bredekamp, Henry Charles. "The Le Fleur family: the dead bones of Adam Kok", in *Group portrait South Africa: nine family histories;* edited by Paul Faber. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 203: 132-155. Abstract: “Abraham Le Fleur was a stock farmer in the Orange Free State who served as secretary to Adam Kok III. He accompanied him on the reconnoitering expedition to Nomansland but did not participate in the trek. When he saved the life of the famous Sir Andries Stockenstrom in a battle with the Xhosa, Stockenstrom pressed a 5 pound note in his hand and instructed him to name one of his sons after him. Thus Andries Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur (1867-1941) was baptized and eventually became their revered leader. He married Rachel Kok, the daughter of Adam Muis Kok, the presumed successor to Adam Kok III who died before he could assume office.”


Cape of Good Hope (South Africa). *Proceedings and correspondence regarding arbitration in the matter of certain disputed boundaries between the South African Republic, the Griqua chief Nicholas Waterboer, and others.* [S.l.]: Saul Solomon, 1872.


*Correspondence relating to Griqua Land West presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.* London: Harrison, 1875.


De Bruin, Cornelius George. *Early history of Adam Kok and East Griqualand, 1863-1875.* [S.l: s.n], 1911.


Engelbrecht, Martin L. "The connection between archaeological treasures and the Khoisan people", in The dead and their possessions: repatriation in principle, policy and practice; by Martin L. Engelbrecht. London: Routledge, 2004: 242-244. Abstract: "This short chapter outlines the importance of reinforcing cultural identity through archaeology. The Khoisan culture group suffered greatly at the hands of the apartheid government through the dispossession of their land and identity. The author, himself Khoisan (Griqua), believes archaeology can play an important role in reconciling the past with the present, helping this alienated people to feel included in the country's history. Of primary importance is the repatriation of the remains of historic sovereign leader Cornelius Kok 11, whose grave was excavated between 1961 and 1971. His remains are now kept in a university collection. The author is part of a Griqua campaign to repatriate and ceremonially rebury Cornelius Kok 11, as a step towards reconciling the Khoisan past. The author believes that if this figure's remains are kept in an institution, or reburied in an insensitive or inappropriate way, there is a risk that the leader's importance will be diminished."


Kinsman, Margaret. *Populists and patriarchs: the transformation of the captaincy at Griqua Town, 1804-1822*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1984. Abstract: "Andries Waterboer was elected captain of Griquatown in 1820, the Koks and the Barends having left the vicinity. The primary feat of Waterboer was in strengthening agriculture, including irrigation in a society dominated by pastoral and hunting pursuits. However, his efforts to extend his authority over the old captains provoked civil war, a war that he essentially won. In the long run, however, he 'wrought only an incomplete revolution' at Griquatown."


Nurse, George T. *The origins of the Northern Cape Griqua*. Johannesburg: Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, 1975. Abstract: “A study of blood groups among the Northern Cape Griqua finds no physical difference between them and their neighbours. This was due to inbreeding of non-Griqua groups.”


Penn, Nigel. “The Orange River frontier zone, c.1700-1805”, in *Einqualand: studies of the Orange River frontier*; edited by Andrew Brown Smith. Cape Town: UCT Press, 1995: 21-109. Abstract: “Evidence suggests that Adam Kok 1 was the son of Claas Kok who was a runaway slave who settled among the Griqua in Namaqualand. Kok 1 subsequently went to the Orange River with his son Cornelius. They mainly hunted ivory, but also had a great deal of livestock. Others who went to the Orange River from Namaqualand were the Barends brothers who were of mixed Khoi and slave origin. Great disturbances in the late 18th century led the Koks, Barends, and many others to seek the protection of the missionaries. The success of the Koks and Barendses in gaining colonial recognition was the consequence of their having accepted missionary supervision.”


Ross, Robert. *Griqua government*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1974. Abstract: "'Kaptyns' were elective but in practice mostly hereditary as in the cases of the Waterboers in Griquatown and the Koks at Philipolis. They had the power to diminish sentences and were the ones who had to approve capital punishment. The captain had the sole power of distributing government land. These powers were identical in Philipolis and in Griqualand West. Before the trek to Griqualand East, there was a treaty between Andries Waterboer and Abraham Kok and his successor Adam Kok 111."


Shaw, William, and Thomas Laidman Hodgson. *Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hodgson*: compiled from materials furnished by her husband, the *Rev. T.L. Hodgson: comprising, also,
an account of the commencement and progress of the Wesleyan Mission amongst the Griqua and Bechuana tribes of Southern Africa. London: Sold by J. Mason, 1836.


Snyman, Pieter Hendrik Rudolf. Danielskuil: van Griekwa-buitepos tot dienssentrum. Pretoria: Raad vir Geesteswetenskaplike Navorsing, 1988. Abstract: "This is the history of the town of Danielskuil in current North West Province. The book describes Griqua settlement here and the destructive effects that colonization had on them as a result of the discovery of diamonds. The author provides two maps, one showing the diamond mines in the Orange Free State while the other shows Griqua ownership. Danielskuil is in the Campbell lands, i.e., in the land the author ascribes to the Griqua."


Stow, George William. The native races of South Africa: a history of the intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen, the aborigines of the country. London: Sonnenschein, 1905.


Theal, George McCall. The story of South Africa, the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, South African Republic and all other territories South of the Zambesi. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894.


Thompson, William. The Griquas: as "Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for the Settlement of the Orange River Sovereignty" found them, and as he left them: a chapter for the history of our dealings with weak tribes. Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co., printers, 1854.


Van Rensburg, M. C. J., Project leader. Finale verslag van 'n ondersoek na die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die tagtigerjare, uitgevoer aan die Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat. [Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1984?]


Waldman, Linda. The Griqua conundrum: political and socio-cultural identity in the Northern Cape, South Africa. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007. Abstract: "This book offers a reconceptualisation of indigenous people and their political involvement. It demonstrates the deep intertwining of constructions of indigenousness and identity with national, social and political histories and argues that differences and fractures within the indigenous movement - between leaders, spokespeople and ordinary men and women - shape the nature of indigenous politics both nationally and internationally. South Africa’s resident population of Griqua provide the context for this exploration of indigenous mobilisation, politics and ethnic identity. The Griqua people have long sought, and only recently acquired, official recognition within their country of birth. Using qualitative research methodologies and an anthropological approach, this book documents negotiation between Griqua leaders, organisers and government officials and, in so doing, details a complex process of mediation and interaction generally overlooked in the discourse of indigenous identity. This exploration of identity is essential to understanding post-apartheid South African history, politics and society. In addressing the marginalisation of Griqua followers and examining the meaning of being Griqua for those 'quieter', poorer people who live in the small town of Griquatown, and who are relatively isolated from the Indigenous People’s Forum and the United Nations, the book also examines the 'hidden' dimensions of political and indigenous mobilisation."
Waldman, Linda. 'I've got the dust as well': asbestos disease, litigation and laggers. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 2007.


Beangstrom, Patsy. "Griqua people take on giant." *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 28 September 2007. Abstract: "The Griqua Indigenous House has declared a dispute with De Beers regarding their claim of mineral rights. Griqua Indigenous House representative and facilitator, Xautjie Joe Fletcher, said yesterday the claim was based on the fact that in 1876 the Griqua Sovereign State won their mineral rights back in terms of the Keat Arbitration verdict. ‘However, the British colonials continued with their unlawful annexation processes, robbing the Griqua people of their basic economic base’, he said."


Brink, George W. "Archbishop Daniel James Augustine Kanyiles, a Khoi religious, political and cultural leader". *Nederduitse Gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif* 44, 1/2 , December 2003): 6-19. Abstract: "The very large imposing figure of Archbishop Daniel James Kanyiles has made a significant contribution to the South African religious, cultural and political landscape. From his base in Ritchie, along the Modder River outside Kimberley in the Northern Cape, Kanyiles presides as Patriarch of the Independent African Orthodox Church and life-long Chairperson of the Griekwa Volks Organisasie (sic). Furthermore, he is also Paramount Chief of Griqualand West and the fifteen Khoi groups south of the Gariep(Orange River). Moreover, he has also left his footprints in the political arena."


Carstens, Peter. "Opting out of colonial rule: the brown Voortrekkers of South Africa and their constitutions". *African Studies* 42, 2 (1983): 135-152. Abstract: "Focuses on those Baster frontiersmen who initiated the drawing up of their constitutions in varying degrees, or who participated from the outset in their implementation."
Cloete, A. "Die invloed van die 'Kneg' op die musiek van die le Fleur-Griekwas van Krantzhoek." Ars nova 2, 19 (November-December 1987): 6-29. Abstract: "Focuses on Griqua songs as influenced by Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur I, also known as the Reformer; the Head; and especially the Slave (of God). States he reorganised the Griqua people by means of religion in the early twentieth century and also taught them to sing again by finding choirs to aid in fundraising campaigns after the closure of the O’Kiep copper mines."

Cobbing, Julian. "The Mfecane as alibi: thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo". Journal of African History 29, no. 3 (1988): 487-519. Abstract: "The 'mfecane' is a characteristic product of South African liberal history used by the apartheid state to legitimate South Africa's racially unequal land division. Some astonishingly selective use or actual invention of evidence produced the myth of an internally-induced process of black-on-black destruction centring on Shaka's Zulu. A re-examination of the 'battles' of Dithakong and Mbolompo suggests very different conclusions and enables us to decipher the motives of subsequent historiographical amnesias. After about 1810, the black peoples of southern Africa were caught between intensifying and converging imperialistic thrusts: one to supply the Cape Colony with labour; another, at Delagoa Bay, to supply slaves particularly to the Brazilian sugar plantations. The flight of the Ngwane from the Mzinyathi inland to the Caledon was, it is argued, a response to slaving. But they ran directly into the colonial raiding-grounds north of the Orange. The (missionary-led) raid on the still unidentified 'Mantatees' (not a reference to MaNtatisi) at Dithakong in 1823 was one of innumerable Griqua raids for slaves to counter an acute shortage of labour among Cape settlers after the British expansionist wars of 1811-20. Similar Griqua raids forced the Ngwane south from the Caledon into the Transkei. Here, at Mbolompo in 1828, the Ngwane were attacked yet again, this time by a British army seeking 'free' labour after the reorganisation of the Cape's labour-procurement system in July 1828. The British claim that they were parrying a Zulu invasion is exposed as propaganda, and the connexions between the campaign and the white-instigated murder of Shaka are shown. In short, African societies did not generate the regional violence on their own. Rather, caught within the European net, they were transformed over a lengthy period in reaction to the attentions of external plunderers. The core misrepresentations of 'the mfecane' are thereby revealed: the term, and the concept, should be abandoned."

Coetzee, Anna. "Dialekmerkers in die Afrikaanse literatuur." Journal for language teaching = Tydskrif vir taalonderrig 39, 1 (June 2005): 35-50. Abstract: "Dialect marking in Afrikaans literary works. This paper is based on research on the socio-
linguistic aspects of dialect marking in Afrikaans literature since the 19th century. The ways in which dialect forms are being used in literature can be seen as "acts of identity", as described by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985). In the 19th century some Afrikaans writers only used a few lexical and syntactic markers and Afrikaans-English mixing in caricaturist portrayals of Hottentots. Since about 1930 the representations were sympathetic and with only a few Hottentot dialect markers. It was only since the 1960s that socially stratified Cape dialect forms and Afrikaans-English mixing ('Kaaps') were used in Adam Small’s works. It was only since the 1980s that the so-called liberated ('bevryde') Afrikaans (also called Kaaps), core Griqua dialect forms and the language varieties of whites in the Sandveld, Northern Cape, and Southern Namibia, which were influenced by Griqua forms, were used in literary works. This growth in the use of dialect forms concurs to a certain extent with Adamson and Van Rossem’s (1994) four strands in the use of creole forms by creole writers outside Africa, but differs in this regard that the Afrikaans writers are located in Southern Africa and do not all come from former creole dialect communities. The emergence of extensive socio-linguistic research since the 1980s of the Afrikaans dialects that are creole-based or strongly influenced by creole forms, coincided with the emergence of these kinds of dialect forms in Afrikaans literature. This fact enables researchers to describe the Afrikaans dialect forms in literature within context."

Cornelissen, Scarlett and Steffen Horstmeier. "The social and political construction of identities in the new South Africa: an analysis of the Western Cape Province." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40, no. 1 (March 2002): 55-82. Abstract: "In apartheid South African society, racial and ethnic identities were institutionally imposed. The end of apartheid has brought about the need for new identities to be created among South Africans, and for South Africans to forge a new relationship with their society and country. With this objective in mind, the national government is engaged in a process of nation-building. But in post-apartheid South African society, sub-national identities are also strongly coming to the fore. This is an empirical study of established and emerging identities in the Western Cape province, and the processes whereby these are constructed. The investigation shows two parallel flows of identity construction in the Western Cape: on the one hand, political leaders in the province attempt to foster an autonomous provincial identity; on the other, residents of the province show little evidence of strong political identities linked to the Western Cape. Instead, social identities are being constructed around residents' local neighbourhoods and long-existing ethnic, class and racial identities. Rather than the social cohesion sought
by the post-apartheid South African government, these identities point to persistent social polarisation."

Cross, C. R. "Mythology and mystery tours in land reform: getting some focus on the Southern African debate." Development Southern Africa 7, 3, supplement 1 (October 1990): 535-560. Abstract: "Discusses the following issues: land policy debates; populist alternatives and renovating tenure; alternatives in land reform; freehold and central planning; deriving alternatives to tenure reform; the environment and implications for tenure reform; recommendations relating to land in development."

Dedering, Tilman. "The prophet's 'war against whites': Shepherd Stuurman in Namibia and South Africa, 1904–7." Journal of African History 40, 1 (1999): 1-19. Abstract: "The article focuses on the political activities of a Khoekhoe prophet in the early 1900s. His life story shows that Christian ideas played a crucial role in the resistance of Africans against European rule in Southern Africa. Shepherd Stuurman, alias Hendrik Bekeer, wandered from the Eastern Cape in South Africa to German South West Africa in 1904. His millenarian message of the impending end of white supremacy contributed decisively to the outbreak of the war between the Nama and Germans. The latter believed that Stuurman acted as an 'agent' of the South African Ethiopian movement in order to foment a racial war. The Germans also insinuated that the 'lenient native policy' of the British at the Cape had encouraged African resistance to extend into the German colony and that the British were therefore partly responsible for the war in Namibia. A price was put on Stuurman's head, and an attempt was made to have him killed, even after he had returned to the Cape Colony. The prophet, who had abandoned the struggle in Namibia because his military incompetence, aroused suspicion among the Nama, reappeared in the Northern Cape under the name of Hendrik Bekeer. There he incited several African workers to kill their white foremen in order to unleash all-out 'war against whites'. Before he was sentenced to death, the prophet eloquently defended his actions in court and insisted that he had acted on orders from God, who had 'chosen him from the Hottentot tribe'. Despite his frequent references to his Khoekhoe identity, the prophet formulated ideas of anti-colonial resistance which extended beyond Africa, thus imagining the reversal of the power relations between colonizers and colonized on a global scale."

Dedering, Tilman. "'We are only humble people and poor': A.A.S. le Fleur and the power of petitions." South African historical journal 62, 1 (2010): 121-142. Abstract: "This article analyses the extensive correspondence of the Griqua leader, A.A.S. le Fleur, with representatives of the South African government and the British
Crown. Le Fleur's many self-help schemes often proved to be impracticable, but the author argues that previous studies which placed his struggle for recognition and respectability in the context of millenarian protest against colonial rule, must be re-examined. Because of an early phase of open rebelliousness, government officials never ceased to view his activities with utmost suspicion. This article shows, however, that Le Fleur's vision of coloured socio-economic reconstruction unfolded within the given parameters of the segregationist colonial state. Although he based his influence among his marginalised followers on a loosely defined Griqua identity, he was nevertheless alert to the national and international context within which black and coloured South Africans articulated their aspirations during the turbulent 1920s and 1930s. Instead of relying on strategies of magic or 'mimicry' in order to subvert the colonial order, Le Fleur's communication with government officials and his leadership style reflected a more modern approach to South African politics in the interwar years."

De Jongh, Michael. "No fixed abode: the poorest of the poor and elusive identities in rural South Africa." Journal of Southern African Studies 28, no. 2 (June 2002): 441-460. Abstract: "The itinerant sheep-shearing Karretjie (donkey cart) People of the arid Great Karoo of South Africa are among the poorest of the poor. They represent a rural underclass. Although they trace descent from both the early KhoeKhoen and San, there is no historical continuity between the present-day impoverished foragers and their pre-colonial nomadic forebears. The structural position of the Karretjie People, particularly their asymmetrical relationship with the wider community, was largely shaped by historical events. Their wandering lifestyle was a response to the expansion of commercial agriculture, especially the production of wool, in the region. Although several factors have recently started a trend toward sedentarism, most Karretjie people are still confined to their temporary shelters on the verges of the country roads. They have no land, or even free access to any space or place. Although they have, for generations, rendered an important service to the agricultural economy of the sheep-farming Karoo, they have remained at best, largely socio-economically 'invisible' to the local population or, at worst, strangers in their own land. The recognition that they have received locally has often come in pejorative terms: Boesman (Bushman) or Hotnot (Hottentot). Nationally, 'recognition' came with their being arbitrarily categorised as 'coloured' within the apartheid system, but acknowledgement in terms of poverty relief initiatives from successive governments was either not forthcoming or has still to affect their lives significantly. The Karretjie People are not untouched by coloured and Khoesan identity politics. Opportunistically 'discovered' as citizens by the main political parties for the 1994 election, they
have become increasingly sensitised to the realities of disempowerment and political manoeuvring. They have, however, not yet asserted themselves. Although they are aware of their Khoesan roots, their self-perception is still ill-defined and their autochthonous status not explicitly articulated."


Du Plooy, S. "Griekwa Gert du Plooy en sy mense". *Familia* 46, 2 (August 2009): 81-87. Abstract: "In his book, 'Die romantiese verhaal van die dorpie Ugie', MTR Smith describes a rebellion in October 1880. During this rebellion local community members under the leadership of a Griqua known as Gert du Plooy, murdered some white settlers. Attempts to determine who Gert du Plooy really was. Learns more about him and his descendants."

Edgar, Robert R. and Christopher Saunders. "A.A.S. Le Fleur and the Griqua trek of 1917: segregation, self-help, and ethnic identity." *International journal of African historical studies* 15, no. 2, (1982): 201-220. Abstract: Discusses several of Le Fleur's attempts at resettling the Griqua but emphasizes the trek of 1917 to Touws River. The article notes that Le Fleur was a segregationist who was hoping to find land suitable for Griqua and indeed all of the coloured peoples. He believed that cities corrupted people and land was the only resource necessary for the Griqua."

Fletcher, Xau Joe (Chief). "The Griqua people disregarded again." *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 14 November 2005 (Letters page). Abstract: "Sir- It is with regret that we notice that De Beers has disregarded the Griqua people once more in terms of its BEE Company. De Beers should be reminded that they disenfranchised our indigenous people from land and minerals in Griqualand West. Once again, the annexation processes which have been engineered by the colonial and apartheid governments are still being advocated on a national scale and this disenfranchisement has robbed the indigenous people from their natural habitat and economic base."
Gagiano, Annie. "Adapting the national imaginary: shifting identities in three post-1994 South African novels." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30, 4, Special issue: writing in transition in South Africa: fiction, history, biography (December 2004): 811-824. Abstract: "This article investigates the contribution of imaginative writing (specifically, recent novels by Coetzee, Wicomb, Duiker and Langa) to the formation of notions of national identity, or their rejection, in post-1994 South Africa. Dipesh Chakrabarty has urged writers of history to become aware of the collusion involved in subsuming alternative forms of solidarity to a nationalist master-narrative. His is an apposite expression of some of the pressures - both political and cultural - to which the three texts mainly dealt with here (by Wicomb, Duiker and Langa) are possible, and different, responses. After an introductory section in which contemporary international notions of nationalism are brought to bear on one another, the discussion moves to consider the South African expression of these broad patterns. Specific local literary examples (in recent prose texts) depict fictional South African considerations of the possibility of this society being a postcolonial nation-in-formation 'of a special kind'."


*Griqua and Coloured people’s opinion.* Pretoria: [s.n.], 1900.

"Griqua leader to be buried with dad in Plettenberg Bay." *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 13 July 2005. Abstract: "Alan Jacques Le Fleur, the grandson of the legendary Griqua leader, Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur (1867-1941) passed away on July 9 in the Tygerberg Hospital, after suffering a heart attack. Young Chief Alan, as he was known by 'the people on the ground', was born on May 3 1931 in Cape Town. He was meant to be the successor of his late brother, Paramount Chief Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur 11(1923-2004), but because he was ill, the position was taken up by his nephew, and so on December 31 last year, he upheld the duty of the eldest Le Fleur by inducting the fourth Le Fleur Paramount Chief, Alan Andrew Le Fleur. The funeral will be held at 11 am on Saturday at the Griqua Independent Church, Kranshoek, Plettenberg Bay. The young chief will be laid to rest on a plot by the folk monument, under which his deceased father and great grandmother, Rachel Susanna Le Fleur (nee Kok) are buried."
Hugo, D.J. “Griekwa uitdrukkings: laaste praatjie in die reeks oor Griekwa-Afrikaans. "Dolos 5, 4 (November 1982): 15-16. Abstract: "Is the last in the series on Griqua Afrikaans and now refers to expressions recorded by Van Zyl in his book 'n Griekwa-'ietsigeit' which was also referred to as Griqua Greek."


Humphreys, A.J.B. "The Griqua Mission Church: a reply to David Yuill: rejoinder." Digging stick 14, 1 (April 1997): 11-12. Abstract: "Humphreys replies to the letter by David Yuill on 'Conservation of the Griqua Mission Church: Campbell' (in the same issue). Humphreys argues that restoration would have been a better option than the reconstruction of the Mission Church."


Jassiem, Nurene. "Inheemse volke beskerm: groepe kan grond teruggeis; Verenigde Nasie het laaste se na 20 jaar." Die Burger, 23 Augustus 2007. Abstract: "Na n stryd van langer as 20 jaar, sal die regte van die wereld se eerste inheemse volke uiteindelik deur n deklarasie van die Verenigde Nasies beskerm word. Groepe soos die Khoi-Khoi en Khoisan in Suid-Afrika en die Aborigines in Australie sal, danksy die deklarasie, onder meer hul oorspronklike grond kan teruggeis. Die onderskeie regerings sal ook die eerste nasies moet beskerm teen uitwissing en gedwonge assimilasie met kulture buiten hul eie. Die VN se Deklarasie oor die Regte van Inheemse Mense, wat in Junie verlede jaar deur die VN se Menseregteraad goedgekeur is, le nou by die algemene vergadering van die VN. Volgens Mnr Cecil Le Fleur, voorsitter van die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie, sal die algemene vergadering se goedkering van die deklarasie dit meer gesaghebbend maak."


Plettenberg Bay over a R500 000 plan to inaugurate a little-known Khoisan chief. A lavish party organised by Plettenberg Bay Mayor Euan Wildeman, has re-ignited a bitter feud in the Griqua community, which has been embroiled in a leadership battle for the past 35 years. A large number of the Griquas—descendants of the original Khoi tribes that were the earliest known inhabitants of South Africa—moved to the Garden Route in 1927. As Wildeman plans to inaugurate Alan Le Fleur, living in Kranshoek outside Plett, rival Griqua leader Anthony Le Fleur, who lives 'in exile' in nearby Knysna, insists the mayor is backing the wrong man."

Kallaway, Peter. "Danster and the Xhosa of the Gariep: towards a political economy of the Cape Frontier 1790-1820". *African Studies* 41, no. 1 (1982): 143-160. Abstract: "Challenges an assumption that characterises much of the literature on the Cape Frontier, which implies a congruency between ethnic background and identification with a specific mode of production. Focuses upon those groups and individuals who were first to explore the potential of ivory trade as a solution to their threatened political, economical and military position. Illustrates with diagrams and a map."

"Khoisan groups take genocide complaints to Equality Court." *Legalbrief today*, 13 July 2010. Abstract: "The ANC-led government was persisting with cultural genocide against descendants of the Khoisan, the Congress of First Indigenous Leaders of SA (Confilsa) and the Initiative for the Restoration of Aborigines in SA (Irasa) have claimed in papers before the Cape Town Equality Court. A Cape Times report says the two groups lodged their case against President Jacob Zuma, his Cabinet, the Standing Committee of Traditional Affairs and the National House of Traditional Leaders. Confilsa and Irasa claimed the government had failed to respect and implement a UN protocol on the rights of indigenous people around the world ratified in the 1990s because it refused to recognise the Khoi as a nation or give it the first nation status as aboriginal nations in other countries enjoyed. They said the government should not classify them as generically African, black or coloured as they were a nation with a unique culture, history and religion. Their aboriginal indigenous leadership was not recognised by the government as traditional leadership, they said." (legalbrief@legalbrief.co.za, accessed 13 July 2010).

Kies, C. W. "Die kleurling van Noord-Kaapland: aspekte van volkswording." *South African journal of ethnology* 1, 1 (December 1978): 23-27. Abstract: "Identifies groups that have contributed in a differing measure to the genesis of the Coloureds of the Northern Cape. Maintains that although complex in origin, heterogeneous in biological composition, they recognise their own identity, have a mutual experience
of values and norms of religion and socio economic culture and as such form a distinct people."

Klopper, Dirk. "Uncanny ethnicities: the story of the Griqua in South African travel writing and narrative fiction." *English Academy review* 25, 1 (May 2008): 104-111. Abstract: "The Griqua people of South Africa are recognised by the UNO as having 'first-nation' status. This article argues that, in the context of Griqua identity, the notion of 'first-nation' serves not to determine a prior and singular identity, but rather to problematise the question of origins. Drawing on the concept of an uncanny splitting and doubling of identity, it suggests that if the Griqua people constitute a 'first-nation, then to be first is already to be marked by difference. From the point of view of the uncanny, identity commences not with a singular origin but with division and displacement. Through its readings of works of South African travel writing and narrative fiction, the article endeavours to show that Griqua identity, as a form of the uncanny, is exemplary in exposing the constitutive ambiguities of identity formation as such in the South African context."

Legassick, Martin Chatfield. "The racial division of Gordonia, 1921-1930." *Kronos* 25 (1998/1999): 152-186. Abstract: "In 1921 a petition signed by 259 Baster men from Gordonia was submitted to Parliament. They asked Parliament "to restore our previous rights in the settlement of Gordonia" given by the Imperial government in "perpetual Erfpacht". A demand for restitution of land, the petition became re-interpreted by successive South African governments in line with policies of segregation. It catalysed, in fact, the racial division of the territory of Gordonia."

Legassick, Martin Chatfield. "The will of Abraham and Elizabeth September: the struggle for land in Gordonia, 1898-1995". *Journal of African history* 37, no. 3 (1996): 371-418. Abstract: "This article is concerned with the loss of their land to the whites by the September family and their struggle to regain it. Abraham ('Holbors') September, an exslave, was a member of the Baster community of the Gordonia settlement (1880-89) where he was the first person to lead water from the Orange River to irrigate land. The article traces the establishment of the Gordonia settlement and the granting of land in it, and its government as part of British Bechuanaland (1889-95) and the Cape Colony (1895-). It discusses the historiography of the loss of land by Basters to whites, testing explanations of land loss by subsequent historians against written records and oral tradition, with attention to the role of 'land lawyers'. Abraham September died in 1898. The remainder of the article focuses on the September family as a case-study of land loss. It deals with the administration of his estate - in the course of which his
land was 'sold' to whites - from the different points of view of the official record and of oral tradition. It then outlines correspondence in the archives from 1920 through to the 1960s protesting against this land alienation as a failure to implement the will of Abraham September and his wife Elizabeth. It concludes with some comments on sources. Is the official record or oral tradition a more accurate reflection of what happened to the land of the September family?"

"Litigation: Griqua people consider claiming compensation for use of name." [Online] News24, 16 September 2008. Abstract: "The Griquas, of the Northern Cape, plan to claim compensation from sports teams in the Griqualand West province for abusing their name, according to a Volksblad report. The newly-formed People's Revolutionary Congress has already consulted lawyers on possible claims, says the report. According to their President, Basil Douglas, several sporting codes have 'abused' their name for years to make money through sporting events and sponsorships without giving anything back to the Griqua people. The issue will also be on the agenda of the national Griqua conference. Said Douglas: 'This must come to an end. Griquas is not the name of a sports team, but of a nation.'

Malherbe, Vertrees Canby. "The life and times of Cupido Kakkerlak". Journal of African history 20, 3 (1979): 365-378. Abstract: "Cupido Kakkerlak's story provides a concrete example of Khoi experience under the impact of colonization at the beginning of the nineteenth century. During his first forty years or so he lived on Boer farms, learned a sawyer's skills, accumulated a little property and reared a family. In 1800, probably as a result of frontier disturbances at the time, he went to the village of Graaff-Reinet. There, in 1801, he met missionaries of the London Missionary Society and was converted. Casting his lot with the mission, he moved with his family to Algoa Bay and was based at Bethelsdorp until 1815. During this period he practised his trade as a sawyer at the same time as he gained prominence in mission work. In 1813 he served as John Campbell's 'travelling director' during a trip to the interior that lasted almost nine months. Campbell's proposals - that a number of new stations be established - made heavy demands on mission personnel and other resources. Six 'native assistants' were appointed, one of whom was Cupido. In 1817, after a short sojourn among the Griqua, he undertook a mission to the still nomadic Kora near the Harts River. Six years later, when difficulties both in and outside the mission society had multiplied, his services were abruptly terminated. He was then over sixty years of age. For frontier Khoi, hopeful of a new dispensation in the wake of the 1799-1802 war, the L.M.S. missionaries had provided an undreamt-of opportunity. In the interaction between missionary and Khoi, in the first stages of the mission project, Cupido played a leading part."
Marks, Shula. "Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." *Journal of African History* 13, 1 (1972): 55-80. Abstract: The responses of the Khoisan peoples to the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have generally been dismissed summarily by historians. This article attempts to place their reactions into the broader framework of the receptivity of Late Stone Age society in South Africa to cultural innovation, and suggests that the usual dichotomy drawn between the rapid disintegration of the pastoral Khoi in the face of the Dutch settlers and the fierce resistance of the San hunter-gatherers is an oversimplification. There was little to distinguish cattleless Khoi from San, or San who had acquired cattle from Khoi, and both processes were at work both during and before the Dutch period in South Africa. The belief that the Khoi 'willingly' bartered away their cattle for 'mere baubles' is challenged, and it is maintained that the violence which punctuated every decade of the eighteenth century, and which culminated in the so-called 'Bushman Wars', were in large measure the Khoisan response to their prior dispossession by the Boers. On the other hand, the readiness of the Khoisan to acculturate to both the Dutch and the Bantu-speaking intruders, their relatively small population and loose social organization, meant that their ethnic identity virtually disappeared. Nevertheless their responses were more complex than is generally realized and resemble those of other colonized peoples. They were also to have a profound influence on the attitudes towards whites of Bantu-speakers on the Cape's eastern and northern frontiers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.


Mochwanaesi, Desmond, Steyn, Hendrik, Van der Walt, Johannes. "Education for minority groups: a case study." *South African Journal of Education* 25, 4 (2005): 287-291. Abstract: "Minority group interests have resurfaced since the middle of the 20th century. Minorities are re-discovering their identities. In South Africa the question has arisen whether government can provide in the educational needs of minorities in terms of own schools and own languages as media of instruction, especially as there appears to be global recognition of the rights of minorities."
The problem of how the educational needs of a minority group could be met was investigated by focusing on the characteristics and the (educational) needs of the Griqua community in South Africa. It was found that, although the members of this group insisted on the preservation of their cultural identity, they did not wish to be isolated from broader South African civil society. Three scenarios are put forward, in terms of which their educational needs could be accommodated and provided for, within the existing constitutional and legislative framework.

Morris, Alan Gregory. "The Griqua and the Khoikhoi: biology, ethnicity and the construction of identity." *Kronos* 4, 24 (November 1997): 106-118. Abstract: "Is concerned with two claims of the Griqua National Conference: that the living Griqua are truly an aboriginal group and therefore are in a position to make claims for the return of land and reparations for past genocide; and, that the living Griqua are the last vestige of uninterrupted Khoikhoi heritage and can therefore claim a status of equal partnership as a 'first nation' in dealing with the new South African government."

Moshoeshoe, Andikle. "Kokstad: name change proposal upsets Griqua community." *Witness*, 12 February 2010. Abstract: "The issue of whether the name of Kokstad should be changed is again on the agenda and creating tension between the local municipality and the Griqua tribe. The Greater Kokstad Municipality has called upon local communities and councillors to take part in a meeting today to discuss the naming of the town. But a representative of the Griqua tribe says the issue is not a priority and a change will not be entertained. Kokstad was named after the Griqua leader, Adam Kok, who arrived in the area in 1862. The Mpondo in the Eastern Cape claim Kokstad was their land before Kok arrived."


Olaussen, Maria. "Generation and complicity in Zoe Wicomb's Playing in the light". *Social dynamics* 35, no. 1 (2009): 149. Abstract: "Zoë Wicomb's novel *Playing in the light* (2006) continues to address a central concern in Wicomb's earlier fiction, that of conflict between generations where the racist complicity of an older generation is addressed from the point of view of their children. Generation is, in Wicomb's work, not simply a concern for individual families but deeply connected to and reflective of the political legacy of coloured identities. 'Playing white' gains its particular meaning within the question of complicity - the association of whiteness with superiority, and the very real privilege granted to persons classified as white under the Population Registration Act. In the"
aesthetic theory of the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer the concept of 'play' is used to address the function of the work of art. The opposition between play and seriousness is, according to Gadamer, a result of a one-sided focus on the player rather than the play itself as subject. The metaphorical use of play in the expression 'play-whites' also suggests that the game itself is what has primacy, not the players. By addressing the issue of 'playing white' through a depiction of conflicts between generations, Wicomb’s novel approaches history in a manner that evokes Gadamer's concept of gleichzeitigkeit (contemporaneity) whereby history becomes present in its enactment through the work of art."

Pinnock, Don. "The trek to Nomansland: the Griquas." Getaway 18, 8 (November 2006): 58-59, 63-64. Abstract: "Provides information on the Griquas, including their origin, the reasons for their long trek from Piketberg to Nomansland and events that followed and that led to their present situation. Describes a trip along the route followed by the Griquas, during which information on their lives was obtained."

Rainier, Margaret. “Andries Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur and the Griquas of Kranshoek.” Quarterly bulletin of the South African Library 52, 2 (December 1997): 55-59. Abstract: "Comments on an article by D.Y. Saks in the Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, 'Remembering Adam Kok', which provides an able resume of the way in which this small community contrived to preserve and perpetuate their ethnic identity distinct from other so-called coloured people during the apartheid years".

"Rights of Khoe, San addressed." Express, 1 September 2006. Abstract:” The leader of the National Khoe-San Consultative Conference and member of the executive management of the National Khoe-San Council, Mr Cecil Le Fleur, has called for a national policy to protect the human rights and special needs of indigenous people in South Africa. Le Fleur appealed for this when delivering the 38th CR Swart memorial lecture on the Khoe and San at the University of the Free State (UFS)...Le Fleur also proposed that the principles of unique first-nation status should be applied in the construction of the framework of the constitutional accommodation for the Khoe and San.”

successful 1999 Khomani San land claim in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. The study investigates local responses to state, NGO and donor discourses on indigenous identity and 'cultural survival'. It shows how strategic narratives of community solidarity, social cohesion and cultural continuity, were produced by claimants and their lawyers during this process."


Sharp, John and Emile Boonzaier. "Ethnic identity as performance: lessons fromNamaqualand". *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 20, 3 (1994):405-415. Abstract: "Some of the present-day descendants of the precolonial Nama-speaking Khoikhoi pastoralists of the north-west Cape have recently begun to assert a Nama ethnic identity. Since the people involved were officially regarded as 'coloured' people, their assertion of Nama identity is, clearly, part of the current, widespread debate about the meaning and significance of 'coloured' identity in a future South Africa. But it also has an important local dynamic, in that it was closely linked to the establishment of the Richtersveld National Park in Namaqualand in 1991. The main aim of this paper is to unravel the local dynamic of Nama identity. We believe, for reasons set out below, that this statement of
Nama ethnic identity is a carefully controlled performance. It is role-play, a highly self-conscious statement of ‘who we are’ that is being formulated collectively through dialogue, and modified according to context. It seems to us that the manner in which Nama identity is being performed contrasts sharply with the way in which Zulu identity is currently portrayed by Inkatha. In this paper, we attempt to explain the notion of ethnic identity as controlled performance, to show why Nama ethnic identity should take this form, and to explore the contrast between the way in which people in the north-west Cape interpret their ‘Namaness’ and Inkatha’s interpretation of ‘Zuluness’. We argue, in relation to the third of these goals, that comparative analysis has the potential to provide important insights in the complex field of ethnic identity formation and ethnic mobilisation, and suggest that too little of this kind of analysis takes place in South Africa.”

Sonjica, Nomahlubi. “Historic meeting in PE of Griqua royal family.” Eastern Province Herald, 22 September 2006. Abstract: “The Griqua royal family is holding its inaugural family gathering today and tomorrow, when the direct descendants of the Le Fleur and Kok families reunite in Port Elizabeth for the first time in more than 100 years. Spokesman for the two families, Cecil le Fleur, said the gathering aimed to rekindle an identity, which had been weakened through many historical processes.”


Visagie, Nadine. “Long wait finally over for Griqua people.” Diamond Fields Advertiser, 14 September 2007. Abstract: “As part of Heritage Month celebrations, a reburial ceremony of Griqua leader, Captain Cornelis Kok 11(1778 to 1868) and 34 other people will be held in Campbell next week. Hendrik Jaars (65), who represents the Balie family, said yesterday that Kok’s remains were currently held at the
University of the Witwatersrand and would be brought to the town on Wednesday."


Waldman, Linda. "Community, family and intimate relationships: an exploration of domestic violence in Griquatown, South Africa." Anthropology Southern Africa 29, 3/4 (2006): 84-95. Abstract: "This paper explores domestic violence in the rural location of Griquatown, South Africa. Although academics have long recognised that structural and cultural factors influence people’s experience of domestic violence, not much has been written about the manner in which this happens. This paper explores how personal relationships intersect with broader cultural and structural forces and, in so doing, shape people’s experience of domestic violence. This paper focuses on the life of one individual in order to demonstrate the multi-faceted context in which domestic violence takes shape. By bringing together individual choices, self-representation, personal relations, ethnic identity and societal demands, this paper illustrates how domestic violence is contingent upon, or mitigated by, broader societal processes that impinge on or moderate the behaviour of individuals and their spouses. It argues that domestic violence is an on-going process which results at the intersection between men’s and women’s personal quests to establish autonomy and collective processes that encourage conformity to ‘ideal’ ethnic categories and gendered social roles."

Waldman, Linda. "Conference: ‘An apartheid of souls’ - Christian souls and Griqua boorlings: religious and political identity in Griquatown". Itinerario 28, 3 (2004): 205. Abstract: "The London Missionary Society was influential in the early days of the Griqua. When the Dutch Reformed Church came along, it strongly influenced apartheid. The Dutch Reformed Mission Church provided a separate church for the Griqua after the LMS withdrew from Griquatown. In 1960 Captain Nicholas Waterboer 11, originally appointed by A.A.S. Le Fleur, established the Griqua People’s Organization, but he died in 1962. In the 1980s and 1990s, Pentecostal churches made inroads in Griquatown. Boorlings (those born in Griquatown) identified themselves as poor, having unruly hair and were Griqua. Inkommers (those coming from outside Griquatown) were wealthy and could not identify themselves as Griqua. Griqua identity and Christianity as well as the social
distinction between *boorlings* and *inkommers* make the dynamics of social class and religion extremely problematical.”

Waldman, Linda. "Houses and the ritual construction of gendered homes in South Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9, 4 (28 November 2003): 657-679. Abstract: "This article examines Griqua women's association with houses in historic, economic, and ritual contexts during the twentieth century. Using archival data, I argue that the connection between women and houses in South Africa stems from a complex interaction between their pre-colonial Khoi origins, Christian missionary activity, and apartheid government housing policy. Ethnographic research demonstrates how, during the second half of the twentieth century, women ritually stressed their association with houses, but were unable to sustain this dominance in everyday life. An examination of ritual, gender, and housing, in relation to material objects and space, provides insights into how a series of rituals performed in Griquatown facilitates both the expression of an unambiguous Griqua identity and daily multi-ethnic interactions."

Waldman, Linda. "Klaar gesnap as Kleurling: the attempted making and remaking of the Griqua people". *African Studies* 65, 2 (December 2006): 175-200. Abstract: "The 1996 South African census made provision for people to be white, African, Coloured, or other. Various Griqua organisations challenged this categorisation and demanded the right of their constituencies to identify themselves as Griqua. The government agreed that people could indicate whatever ethnic identity they wished on the census form and that the census counters would take cognisance of it (*Diamond Fields Advertiser* 1996). In Griquatown, many people recalled the census and the young matriculant who had been employed as the census collector. He, however, commented that when people said that they were Griqua he had indicated coloured on the form, in part because there was no Griqua box to tick and in part because, having grown up in the town, it was obvious to him that these people were Coloured."


Wicomb, Zoe and Hein Willemse. "Zoe Wicomb in conversation with Hein Willemse." Research in African Literatures 33, 1 (Spring 2002): 144-152. Abstract: "This conversation with Zoe Wicomb (1948-) took place on the eve of the South African launch of her first novel, David’s Story (Feminist Press /Kwela), on 31 March 2001 in the Rosebank Hotel, Johannesburg, South Africa. She previously published to wide acclaim a collection of short stories, entitled You can’t get lost in Cape Town (1987). David’s story tells the story of the former guerilla fighter David Dirkse: Sally, his wife; the enigmatic and physically powerful Dulcie, David’s comrade and suspected lover. All along, the struggle was his life and now, after the release of Nelson Mandela and the dawn of the freedom Dirkse fought for, the main character finds himself in a difficult situation. His name is circulated on a hit list of uncertain origin. With this imminent threat and in fulfillment of his need for historical representation, he tells his story to an unnamed woman writer. Dirkse and his narrator explore his identity as a coloured person (a person of mixed heritage) and his roots in the Griqua community. The peculiar ideas of Andrew Le Fleur, the founder -- culture broker of Griqua identity, resonate in Dirkse’s search for his place in the new, postapartheid South Africa."

Worden, Nigel. "The changing politics of slave heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa." Journal of African History 50, 1 (March 2009): 23-40. Abstract: "Changes that have taken place in the ways in which the slave past has been remembered and commemorated in the Western Cape region of South Africa provide insight into the politics of identity in this locality. During most of the twentieth century, public awareness of slave heritage was well buried, but the ending of apartheid provided a new impetus to acknowledge and memorialize the slave past. This engagement in public history has been a vexed process, reflecting contested concepts of knowledge and the use of heritage as both a resource and a weapon in contemporary South African identity struggles."
Besten, Michael Paul. "Transformation and reconstitution of Khoe-San identities: A.A.S Le Fleur I, Griqua identities and post-apartheid Khoe-San revivalism (1894-2004)." Thesis (PhD) Universiteit Leiden, 2006. Abstract: "Focussing on A.A.S Le Fleur I (1867-1941), the Griqua, and post-apartheid Khoe-San revivalism, the dissertation examines changes in the articulation of Khoe-San identities in South Africa. It shows the significance of shifting political, cultural and ideological power relations on the articulation of Khoe-San identities, and by extension on the subjectivities of ethno-'racial' underclasses. It shows the complexity of Griqua subjectivities (and socio-political behaviour) generated and reshaped in intercultural environments and subjected to multiple and contending discourses, manifested acutely in A.A.S Le Fleur. Whilst colonial somatic and cultural discrimination engendered distancing from Khoe-Sanness and the assumption of alternative (Christian, Bastaard and Coloured) identities, the emergence of Griqua polities and identities in the early 1800s allowed for the maintenance of an awareness of a Khoekhoe indigenous heritage."


Nissen, Andrew Christoffel. An investigation into the supposed loss of the Khoikhoi traditional religious heritage amongst its descendants, namely the coloured people with specific references to the question of religiosity of the Khoikhoi and their disintegration. Thesis (M.Soc.Sc. (Religious Studies)) University of Cape Town, 1990.


Conference, University of the Western Cape at the South African Museum, Cape Town, 12-16 July 1997.


CARTOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

Great Britain. Army. Field Intelligence Division. Griquatown. Cape Town: Field Intelligence Department, April 1900. Note: "Map shows farm boundaries and fences, farm names, divisional boundaries, roads, telegraph lines, rivers (including the Orange and Vaal Rivers) and railways in the Griquatown, Hopetown, Herbert, Prieska, Campbell and Douglas areas. The map also indicates the Asbestos Mountains, homesteads, hills, pans (often dry), cultivated land and trees."


Map of the territory of the Chief Nicolas Waterboer [with map of] Captain A[dam] Kok's country. [Cape Town: Government Printer], 1870. 1 map: 45 x 28 cm and 45 x 28 cm on 1 sheet, 45 x 56 cm. Note: "Maps to accompany Government notice, no. 379." [Cape of Good Hope, Government Gazette, no. 4269, 27 September 1870]. The maps include detailed notes and references to the various relevant treaties and agreements governing the demarcation of these Griqua territories.

Rogers, F. Carstairs, and A. Sedgwick Woolley. *Plan shewing (sic) the position of the various diamond mines in Griqualand West*. Scale, 100 chains = 1 inch. [With the signatures of F.C. Rogers and A.S. Woolley]. 1896.


**AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL**


Geldenhuiys, Odette. *Grietjie van Garies*. [Johannesburg]: Frank Films, 2004. Abstract: "Grietjie van Garies is a unique documentary that takes us into the world of 77 year old Grietjie Adama. Some say that Grietjie is the mother of all rap. [She] is from Namaqualand, South Africa. Her songs tell stories from South Africa’s history. And she sings in Afrikaans that is poetry. At the age of 76 she made her first CD"--Container."


Key, Liza, and David Kramer. *Karoo kitaar blues, David Kramer’s South African musical journey*. [S.l.]: Key Films, 2004. Abstract: "Karoo kitaar blues follows South African songwriter, David Kramer and slide guitarist, Hannes Coetzee into remote regions of South Africa on their quest to find musicians who play an almost forgotten folk music ... By the end of the journey, nine musicians are invited to Cape Town where they record some of their songs and perform ... at the Baxter Theatre Centre"--Container.


Zola Maseko, is a compelling look at the fascinating story of this Khoisan woman who was taken from South Africa in the early 19th century and exhibited as a freak across Britain. The image and idea of "The Hottentot Venus", especially interest in her sexual anatomy, swept through British popular culture, despite a court battle waged by abolitionists to free her from her exhibitors. Using historical drawings, cartoons, legal documents, and interviews with noted historians and anthropologists, The life and times of Sara Baartman—the Hottentot Venus deconstructs the social, political, scientific and philosophical assumptions which transformed one young African woman into a representation of savage sexuality and racial inferiority." (Angus, Bev, compiler. List of films in the African Studies Library [online resource] http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/asl/info/films2010.pdf (accessed 12 May 2010).


Raimondo, Michael. Johnny Appels: the last strandloper. South Africa, 2006. Mafisa Media in collaboration with K-CAP and IUCN Series: Healing power of nature, Episode 1. Abstract: "Johnny Appels lives in Arniston, a coastal village in the Southern Cape. A descendant of the Khoisan, the original inhabitants of the area, he makes his living from the sea, setting traps for the fish he collects when it is low tide. In this he is assisted by his dogs, who literally help him catch the fish, and gets an additional income from selling bait to fishermen and feeding the fish on display at the Arniston Hotel. His past includes a stint in jail for a stabbing and theft, but after his release following an amnesty, he decided to return to the way of life of his forebears. A truly contented person, he tells of his sadness when he and others were forced to leave the village of Skipskop when it became part of a missile testing site, but is mostly shown interacting with the sea." (Angus, Bev, compiler. List of films in the African Studies Library [online resource] http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/asl/info/films2010.pdf (accessed 12 May 2010).

Richardson, Veronica, and Celia Von Poncet. The Karretjie People of the Karoo = Die Karretjiemense van die Karoo. [Randhart, Alberton, South Africa]: Lectio Publishers, 2006. 2-D image: Graphic: Picture. Abstract: “Depicts history and lifestyle of the Karretjie People of South Africa. At the top, set against a mountainous background, are moving donkey carts with groups of people. On upper right is an empty and cart with a temporary shelter made of corrugated iron and plastic bags. On lower center is a picture of a smiling old woman and a man shearing a sheep. On the lower left is a portrait of two men and, on the lower right a portrait of an old woman next to a church. The rest is text about their history and lifestyle. Poster reproduced on verso with text in Afrikaans.”


Winter, Catherine, and Antoinette Pienaar. *The healing power of nature; the shaman’s apprentice*. Auckland Park: SABC Business Development, 2006. Abstract: "DVD video: English. Abstract: “The shaman’s apprentice recalls actress Antoinette Pienaar’s magical-realist journey of transformation with the 92 year-old Griekwa bush doctor Johannes Willemse. Karoo-born, Antoinette had always wanted to uncover the secrets of this vast and mysterious landscape, seemingly barren, yet teeming with life. It took a life-threatening illness to meet the herbalist who was to become her teacher. As it happens, bossie doktor Johannes Willemse had seen her arrival in a dream some thirty years before... In this lyrical, pertinent film Antoinette Pienaar speaks a universal language and connects on an almost primordial level. She tells of her recovery and growing awareness of nature, guided patiently by her mentor’s firm hand and gentle humour.—Healing Power of Nature Website.”
ONLINE RESOURCES

History of the Griqua Nation and Nomansland [online resource].

The Modern Griquas' Story. [online resource]. http://www.tokencoins.com/lefleur.htm. Note: Contains information on Andrew Stockenstrom le Fleur, the First. Extract taken from the speech of Dr Ronnie Belcher, Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands, University of Natal. 8th January 1984]: "To the Griquas, the tombstone which marks the burial place of their great leader and Prophet, Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom Le Fleur the First, is more than a mere grave or a monument to his memory. It is a living symbol of their past and their aspirations as a nation, which they refer to as their "nasielike bloedsgevoelte" (feeling of nationality) and their "geestelike sielsgevoelte" (religious dedication)."

The Griqua National Anthem [online resource].
http://www.tokencoins.com/griqua5.html#anthem. Note: Features a video of the Griqua community including Paramount Chief Alan le Fleur, singing the Griqua National Anthem, at the launch of Scott Balson' book "Children of the Mist" on 14th October 2007 - the birthday of Adam Kok III.