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The Silence of Colonial Melancholy:

The Fourie Collection of Khoisan Ethnologica

by

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Volume 1

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Abstract

Between 1916 and 1928 Dr Louis Fourie, Medical Officer for the Protectorate of South West Africa and amateur anthropologist, amassed a collection of some three and a half thousand artefacts, three hundred photographs and diverse documents originating from or concerned with numerous Khoisan groups living in the Protectorate. He gathered this material in the context of a complex process of colonisation of the area, in which he himself was an important player, both in his official capacity and in an unofficial role as anthropological adviser to the Administration. During this period South African legislation and administration continued the process of deprivation and dehumanisation of the Khoisan that had begun during the German occupation of the country. Simultaneously, anthropologists were constructing an identity for the Khoisan which foregrounded their primitiveness. The tensions engendered in those whose work involved a combination of civil service and anthropology were difficult to reconcile, leading to a form of melancholia. The thesis examines the ways in which Fourie's collection was a response to, and a part of the consolidation of, these parallel paradigms.

Fourie moved to King William's Town in South Africa in 1930, taking the collection with him, removing the objects still further from their original habitats, and minimising the possibility that the archive would one day rest in an institution in the country of its origin. The different parts of the collection moved between the University of the Witwatersrand and a number of museums, at certain times becoming an academic teaching tool for social anthropology and at others being used to provide evidence for a popular view of the Khoisan as the last practitioners of a dying cultural pattern with direct links to the Stone Age. The collection, with its emphasis on artefacts made in the "traditional" way, formed a part of the archive upon which anthropologists and others drew to refine this version of Khoisan identity in subsequent years. At the same time the collection itself was reshaped and re-characterised to fit the dynamics of those archetypes and models. The dissertation establishes the recursive manner in which the collection and colonial constructs of Khoisan identity modified and informed each other as they changed shape and emphasis. It does this through an analysis of the shape and structure of the collection itself. In order to understand better the processes which underlay the making of the Fourie Collection there is a focus on the collector himself and an examination of the long tradition of collecting which legitimised and underpinned his avocation. Fourie used the opportunities offered by his position as Medical Officer and the many contacts he made in the process of his work to gather artefacts, photographs and information. The collection became a colonial artefact in itself.

The thesis questions the role played by Fourie's work in the production of knowledge concerning the Bushmen (as he termed this group). Concomitant with that it explores the recursive nature of the ways in which this collection formed a part of the evidentiary basis for Khoisan identities over a period of decades in the twentieth century as it, in turn, was shaped by prevailing understandings of those identities.

A combination of methodologies is used to read the finer points of the processes of the production of knowledge. First the collection is historicised in the biographies of the collector himself and of the collection, following them through the twentieth century as they interact with the worlds of South West African administrative politics, anthropological developments in South Africa and Britain, and the Khoisan of the Protectorate. It then moves to do an ethnography of the collection by dividing it into three components. This allows the use of three different methodologies and bodies of literature that theorise documentary archives, photographs, and collections of objects. A classically ethnographic move is to examine the assemblage in its own terms, expressed in the methods of collecting and ordering the material, to see what it tells us about how Fourie and the subsequent curators of the collections perceived the Khoisan. In order to do so it is necessary to outline the history of the discourses of anthropologists in the first third of the twentieth century, as well as museum practice and

discourse in the mid to late twentieth century, questioning them as knowledge and reading them as cultural constructs.

Finally, the thesis brings an archival lens to bear on the collection, and explores the implications of processing the collection as a historical archive as opposed to an ethnographic record of material culture. In order to do this I establish at the outset that the entire collection formed an archive. All its components hold knowledge and need to be read in relation to each other, so that it is important not to isolate, for example, the artefacts from the documents and the photographs because any interpretation of the collection would then be incomplete. Archive theories help problematise the assumption that museum ethnographic collections serve as simple records of a vanished or vanishing lifestyle. These methodologies provide the materials and insights which enable readings of the collection both along and across the grain, processes which draw attention to the cultures of collecting and categorising which lie at the base of many ethnographic collections found in museums today.

In addition to being an expression of his melancholy, Fourie's avocation was very much a part of the process of creating an identity for himself and his fellow colonists. A close reading of the documents reveals that he was constantly confronted with the disastrous effects of colonisation on the Khoisan, but did not do anything about the fundamental cause. On the contrary, he took part in the Administration's policy-making processes. The thesis tentatively suggests that his avocation became an act of redemption. If he could not save the people (medically or politically), he would create a collection that would save them metonymically. Ironically those who encountered the collection after it left his hands used it to screen out what few hints there were of colonisation. Finally the study leads to the conclusion that the processes of making and institutionalising this archive formed an important part of the creation of the body of ethnography upon which academic and popular perceptions of Khoisan identity have been based over a period of many decades.

Key Words

≠Ao-//ein
Archives
Collecting
Colonial History
Fourie, Dr Louis
Hei-//om
Khoisan identity
Knowledge Production
Material Culture
Museum Collections
Namibia
Naron
Photography
Physical Anthropology
South West Africa Protectorate

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university. Nor does it contain, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any material published or written by another person except as acknowledged in the text.

Barbara Ann Wanless

Johannesburg

15th April 2007

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Preface

My first encounter with the Louis Fourie Collection of artefacts, photographs and documents concerning the Khoisan of South West Africa was in 1979. It was in that year that I was appointed as assistant ethnologist at the Africana Museum in Johannesburg. I had a library qualification but no formal training in the discipline of anthropology. One of the first exhibitions in the Museum's newly acquired premises - the Africana Museum In Progress at the old Newtown Fresh Produce Market building (AMIP) - was a "Bushman" display. Life casts of members of a Khoisan group from the Lake Chrissie area, inherited from the Museum of Man and Science (MMS), were displayed together with objects and photographs from the Louis Fourie Collection. It portrayed an image of the Khoisan which sat very comfortably with my own romantic notions, culled from reading such authors as Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1959), Laurens van der Post (1958, 1972 and 1974), and P.V. Tobias (1978). I gave tours of that exhibition and in 1984 curated another that interpreted the Khoisan as ecologists.

Romantic interpretations such as these had developed after Fourie's heyday, but his collection, at first glance, did not contradict them, and in some cases was drawn upon to support them. His physiological studies of a wide range of subjects, for example, were being used to flag a "unique" set of anatomical characteristics. These set the Khoisan apart from the rest of the human race, and marked them as being perfectly adapted to the hunter-gatherer existence which, it was posited, a few isolated, and therefore "pure", communities were still following. The photographs of lined and wrinkled faces, which Fourie had made to show eyelid folds, the shape of the nostrils and the angles of the cheekbones, were exhibited by MMS and the Africana Museum for the same reasons. They selected images and used them to convey, over and above the "scientific" information, another, more romantic image, which included an imputed childlike physiology for the Khoisan, and a somewhat mystical connection with nature (Museum of Man and Science 1975).

My next encounter with the Fourie Collection occurred when the basement in which the vast majority of the objects were stored was flooded in. I wrapped and packed arrows, necklets, karosses, bags and more to move them to AMIP, there to begin to rearrange and re-store them. I moved the collection three more times before it came back to the Old Market which had become the newly-named and designed Museum Africa. The act of handling the artefacts was profoundly moving and when I began to catalogue the collection the process of description, involving careful scrutiny of each item, evoked a response in me that involved my senses, my intellect and my emotions. I began to feel something of the appeal they must have had for their collector, but I found that there was very little in the literature at that time which explored the topic of collecting and the search for meaning in objects. Reading through the files I encountered the personality of Louis Fourie and began to glimpse his understanding of the Khoisan in South West Africa. At the same time my romantic vision of the Khoisan was changing as I found new and different readings of the standard sources, and began to ask my own questions about the relevance of this mass of artefacts, photographs and papers. I resolved that one day I would delve deeper into this issue but other projects were more urgent. In 1994, after almost fifteen years, I resigned from the Museum and soon afterwards began to focus an academic lens on Fourie's collection. This dissertation is the result.

Terminology

Bushman/Khoisan/San

The controversy over the use of the terms Bushmen, San, and Khoisan began long before 1930 when Isaac Schapera's *The Khoisan People of South Africa* synthesised all published material on these groups to date, and explained that L. Schultze had coined the term Khoisan in 1928 "to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and Hottentots belong" (Schapera 1930:31). It continues to vex scholars and writers to this day. The term "San" was used by the Khoekhoe and was first noted in 1870 (Gordon 1992:5), but its meaning has been difficult to clarify. It could have been derogatory, or it could have simply meant "to be located, to dwell, to be settled, to be quiet" (T. Hahn 1881:3). Robert Gordon describes an authoritative discussion of the origins and multiple meanings of the words Bushman and San by G.S. Nienaber in 1950, both of which hold the potential for glosses of a derogatory nature, which did nothing to settle the uncertainty (Gordon 1992:5-6). Since then cogent arguments have been used for and against the use of both Bushman and San in the many publications on this group of groups. Alan Barnard, in his detailed discussion of this problem, points out that "the problem is further complicated because the distinction between Khoe and San, or Khoekhoe and Bushman, is by no means clear. The edges of the anatomical, linguistic and cultural distinctions between the two groups blur under scrutiny, he continues, but "the concept of 'hunter-gatherers who live in small bands' is a helpful one", and some sort of term is needed to distinguish this category from the Khoekhoe who "all speak closely related languages and whose cultures and social organizations are relatively uniform". The groups in the former category "speak a variety of languages, which are only very distantly related, or even unrelated" and "are also more culturally diverse" (Barnard 1992:10-11). Ultimately, it seems that writers are forced to choose the word they find to be the least insulting for there is no satisfactory way to describe these groups as one unit.

The fundamental problem is that those who we choose to fit into the category of Bushmen or San do not identify themselves in the same way, and so do not have a name for this construct, or this "alien culture" created by ethnographers, as Wilmsen describes it (1989:xv). Whatever word we choose is an imposition, and signifies the cultural category we have created for our own purposes. As Gordon says, our objections mirror our own socialisations and prejudices.

Louis Fourie used the terms Bushmen and Hottentots when speaking generally, but was careful to use more specific group names (such as Naron, Hei-//om) whenever possible. The museums that received and catalogued and labelled his collection used the same terms as Fourie, following his lead and the conventions of the time. Fourie's (and the museums') use of the terms Bushman and Hottentot signal to us today that they favoured the idea of a group of people who embodied pure physical, cultural, and linguistic entities, in spite of the fact that Fourie commented that identities were not fixed and origins were complex. The languages spoken by the groups he studied combined Khoekhoe and San with other influences such as Ambo, German and Afrikaans. In addition their customs and economies accommodated the presence of colonisers and other neighbours who encroached on their food and water sources. Fourie's two published works focus on the Hei-//om, a group whose culture and language approached most closely those of the Khoekhoe, but who were categorised as Bushmen. Taking that into account, and following Barnard's finding that the distinctions between groups are/were hazy, I have chosen to use the term Khoisan when describing generally the people studied by Fourie. I use the term Bushmen in an historic sense (so to speak) when describing the entity conceptualised and described as such by Fourie and his contemporaries.

South West Africa/Namibia

When Fourie arrived there in 1916 the country was known as German South West Africa, then at the end of World War I it became a Protectorate of South Africa when it was known as South West Africa. I use the name South West Africa when discussing the country in the

period before its independence. For variation I also call it the Territory and the Protectorate (names commonly used in South Africa and South West Africa in Fourie's time). I use the term Namibia when discussing the period after 1986.

Abbreviations

AM	Africana Museum
AMIP	Africana Museum In Progress
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
MMS	Museum of Man and Science
MA	Museum Africa
RAI	Royal Anthropological Institute
SAM	South African Museum
SAMC	South African Medical Corps
SWA	South West Africa
UCT	University of Cape Town
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Acknowledgements

Reading others' mail, my mother always told me, is intruding on their privacy and is very rude. And now I have written a thesis based on the letters and private papers of Louis Fourie. I hope I have not offended by this intrusion, and I apologise to the Fourie family for any misinterpretations they may find in my assumptions about their grandfather and great-grandfather. I acknowledge here my gratitude to the late Bob Fourie for the insights into his father's work, and for the loyalty and respect that inspired him to care for and champion this archive. Without his careful custodianship the collection would have been sold to an institution in the United States of America, and it is most likely that the artefacts, photographs and documents would have been separated from each other, thus depriving them of a multiple layers of meaning. I am very sorry that this dissertation was completed too late for him to be able to see it. I thank Andy Fourie for generously transporting his grandfather's papers and books from his father to me and for his helpful suggestions and comments on the biographical chapter**.**

The staff at Museum Africa, past and present, have always treated me with cheerful kindness, and I have to thank them for making access to the Fourie Collection so easy. Helen Domleo spent hours with me as we went through the collections of glass negatives and arrows. She offered her usual incisive comments, many of which I have incorporated into my analysis. Helen's unwavering and enthusiastic passion for the collection has always been an inspiration to me. I know of no one else who would have so happily shared the joys of discovering detailed images of ostrich eggshell beads in the negatives or different consistencies of arrow poison. Diana Wall and Jonathan Frost both helped with information about Fourie's camera and the general state of photographic technology in the 1920s. Sandra de Wet patiently copied the images and added the captions, and allowed endless visits to the records office to examine the documents. Kathy Brooks took the photographs out of storage and put them back so many times she must have lost count, but she always greeted me with a smile. I know that Hilary Bruce, retired Acting Director of the Museum, for many years harboured a desire to work with the Fourie Collection, and I have to thank her for the magnanimity of spirit which allowed her to always be enthusiastic about my work. She provided the link between the Museum of Man and Science, the Africana Museum and Museum Africa. I truly appreciate her prodigious memory, and her willingness to talk about the details of the transition of the collection from one museum to the other, and about the policies that moulded the Museum's procedures.

The staff at the National Archives in Windhoek helped to find information on Fourie's activities as a civil servant in South West Africa. Dr Johnny van Schalkwyk of the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria opened up a large collection of Khoisan arrows for comparative purposes. Marian Wallace very kindly supplied copies of correspondence from the national archives in Windhoek, and her publication on the medical history of Windhoek has provided some important insights into Fourie's work. Nicci Shear created the map of South West Africa. Dr Heather Jones Petersen offered a sounding board for me to discuss the progress of this thesis, and particularly notions of colonial melancholy. I thank them all.

Thanks, too, to Dr Patricia Hayes of the University of the Western Cape, whose incisive comments on the version of this thesis which was originally submitted as a dissertation for a Master of Arts degree, together with her pioneering works on the history of South West Africa in the inter-war years and on Cockie Hahn and photography, now form a critical part of the scaffolding of the finished work.

Two authors provided vital contextual information about the Khoisan and sophisticated theoretical frameworks for historical anthropology. They are frequently quoted throughout the dissertation. I was privileged to have the opportunity to meet and talk to both Robert

Gordon and Edwin Wilmsen, both of whom were more than generous in the advice and wisdom they imparted. I thank them for taking the time to talk to me.

Rochelle Keene, museologist extraordinaire, and Roger Wanless, lawyer and author, both applied their considerable editorial expertise and experience to the almost final version of this thesis, and polished its many rough edges. I feel deeply privileged to have two people who I trust so completely, to share this work with. Allan Jeffrey is the Master Binder who put the final touches to this work with impeccable taste and skill. I thank them all.

When I took the idea for writing a dissertation based on Fourie's collection to Dr Carolyn Hamilton I was uncertain that it would work. Her immediate acknowledgement that it was a fitting subject for study was only the first of a series of encouragements she gave me during the production of this work. She has been the perfect supervisor for such an imperfect student. I thank her for her endless patience as she waited for me to catch on, the skills with which she shared her own extensive knowledge and experience, and her diplomacy as she steered me into the finer points of formulating and expressing the ideas which make up this dissertation. It was she who set up the dissertation discussion group in which Oren Kaplan, Graeme Reid and I shared our work and I am grateful for their willingness to participate in my attempts to make sense of Fourie's life and work. Staff and students of the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand offered useful advice at seminars on some chapters of this dissertation.

All of the above are, of course, not responsible for any shortcomings and errors in this thesis. Those are entirely my own.

And finally I don't know how to begin to express my wonder at the patient support and help I have received from Roger and Sarah Wanless. They have paid in time, attention, hot meals and many other ways for this dissertation to come into being and I am deeply grateful for their gracious generosity.

Chapter 1

Introduction

> This collection of over 4 000 exhibits is of major scientific importance being ably documented ... in his notebooks, diary and letters and supported by 270 glass negatives, all of these sources dating back to his fieldwork in the 1920s. ... I shall call it the Louis Fourie Collection if you prefer me not to be more specific. I can assure you that your collection will be preserved here in perpetuity for students of the future to see and study (Letter to Bob Fourie from Louise de Wet, Curator of the Africana Museum:October 1978).

> Da liked to say you can send a message "down into time". But you can't send one back up. He never explained to me how you could send *any* message in *any* direction, and expect it to reach its mark. For even if the message arrives intact, everything it speaks about will have already changed (Powers 2003:355).

Dr Louis Fourie's collection had already tantalised many a museologist before I began to move it out of the Africana Museum's flooded satellite storeroom in Loveday Street in Johannesburg in 1980. As I packed away such treasures as bags of carefully cured leather, decorated ostrich egg shell water holders, running sandals and multitudes of woven bead headbands, the variety and extent of the collection seemed to promise privileged insights into the lives of the Khoisan groups of Namibia. What messages had Fourie sent down into time through the medium of his collection? The sheer mass of numbers of objects, more than any other in a single collection of Khoisan material in southern Africa, combined with many files of documentation and photographs would, I was sure, provide a rich source for an historical anthropological study. On reading the three different media together, I found that there were many disjunctures and intrusions in the collection that disrupted attempts to compose a detailed image of the lives of the Khoisan in Namibia in the 1920s. The challenge became how to read the irregularities in the collection in ways other than historical anthropology, and particularly to see if the order combined with the content had something significant to say about the production and nature of knowledge about the Khoisan, not only in Fourie's time, but also in the times since then.

In 1916, at the age of thirty-eight, Fourie began to study the Khoisan of South West Africa in his spare time, and to collect items of their material culture. His dedication to the task was such that, as an amateur anthropologist and unofficial advisor to the Administration on matters concerning anthropology and the Bushmen, as they were then called, he made a significant contribution to the body of ethnography growing up around the Khoisan. At the same time, however, in his full-time position as Medical Officer, he was responsible both for the health of the Khoisan and for the creation and enforcement of the legislation of the Territory which systematically made them non-people, depriving them of their land and their

rights to subsist on it, or even be on it or on any other land in the country. Particularly in the early years, his official work and his avocation connected with and informed each other at so many points that at times they could not be distinguished. The results of Fourie's avocation are to be seen in the sprawling mass of documents, photographs and artefacts now known as the Fourie Collection and housed at Museum Africa in Johannesburg. As it moved through a series of exhibitions and museums the collection formed part of the body of information, the archive, which supported and illustrated successive ideas and perceptions of the Khoisan. Willumsun's analogy of the vapour trail that marks the trajectory of photographs as they move "through time and across our cultural horizon, manifesting themselves at different moments and in diverse places" is particularly apt in this regard. The ways in which its trajectory has left its mark on the collection itself and on Khoisan studies is addressed in Chapter 7.

In 1978 the Africana Museum (now known as Museum Africa)[1] received the Fourie Collection, together with a number of other collections, from the Museum of Man and Science (MMS). The collection had been sought after by other museums both at that time and in previous years and its profile had been boosted considerably by the MMS's exhibition and the considerable publicity it had generated in the 1970s. These circumstances encouraged the Africana Museum to copy the MMS display immediately, using the same labels, photographs and objects. The display was taken down ten years later when the building was gutted in readiness for major alterations in 1989. By then over three thousand people were visiting the Museum each month and portions of the Fourie Collection had been exposed to the public for an almost unbroken period of more than fifteen years. A combination of circumstances has meant that the collection has not been exhibited since. The year 1988, therefore, constitutes the cut-off date for this study. Since that time the collection has been, to all intents and purposes, in a state of limbo.

Today the Fourie Collection consists of around 3 500 artefacts, 300 photographs, and numerous files of written material. The most conspicuous part of the entire collection, if only because of the amount of space it occupies, is the artefacts. They cover the spectrum of what was regarded as traditional Khoisan culture available in the 1920s, from digging sticks and nets for carrying ostrich egg shell water bottles used by women, to poisoned arrows and ropes for snares used by men. Like the artefacts, the photographs represent a wide range of subjects, including dancing, the making of rope, methods of shooting with a bow and arrow

[1] The Africana Museum began as an offshoot of the Africana collections of the Johannesburg Public Library in 1936. In 1994 it moved out of the Library's building and into the newly altered Old Market building in Newtown. At that time it changed its name to Museum Africa.

and throwing a spear. The greater portion of the images, however, is concerned with recording physical anthropology.

The care and presentation of *objects* and *pictures* formed the basis of the Africana Museum's *raison d'être*, but policy dictated that collections of *documents* be handed on to libraries or archival institutions. When the Museum took over the collections from the MMS, however, they kept the documents that accompanied them for a number of reasons. It was fortuitous that they were not separated from the rest of the collection, even though the letters, field notes, maps, reports and memos languished with little attention in the administrative files. In this thesis the documents have been used to provide context, provenance, history and clues to the motivation of the collector. In addition they support and are supported in turn by the other elements of the collection. Although they are, indeed, one of the elements of the collection, the documents differ from the other materials in that they were conceived of as explanatory notes created and saved, more or less haphazardly, as an adjunct to Fourie's research, while the latter were purposefully assembled by Fourie *as collection*.

Collections are not made in isolation: their makers are influenced by their own circumstances (including their personalities, and the paradigms in which they work), and, in the case of ethnographic collections, by the circumstances of the people they are studying. In order to uncover these circumstances and to provide a framework for this quest, this study narrates a history of the making and the utilisation of the collection. The first task in the process is to provide a biography of the maker in order to discern how this influenced the shape of the collection. The dilemma here is that the primary sources for this task are to be found in the collection itself and finding ways to read it becomes an important part of the methodology of this thesis. In order to establish the salient points of Fourie's life and work a brief overview is given later in this introduction, but Chapter 2 provides a more detailed biography.

What follows is a combined ethnography and a biography of the collection as a whole, which opens it up for study in ways different from those that museum practice has, so far, supported. Chapters 4 and 5 detail how the photographs and the objects have been stored, classified and catalogued in isolation from each other and the documents, and how this conventional museum procedure has both deprived them of many layers of meaning, and artificially marked the Khoisan as being separate from all other white and black groups in the sub-continent. Additionally these chapters discuss the polysemous nature of the collection, in terms of the meanings inherent in its individual components, many of which cannot be

accessed at present because of the ways in which the Museum has processed the three elements.[2]

From its inception the collection has changed, moved and mutated. Fourie continued to add to it up until 1928 when he left Windhoek, and possibly even after that He also gave some items away. The institutions that cared for it have lost and found or borrowed and loaned items, and have added copies of photographs and interpretive documentation. They have also separated the different elements for various purposes. Fourie collected a selection of skeletal material, particularly skulls, which he donated to the Medical School at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Wits) in 1936, and they were never housed with the rest of the collection again. The Fourie Collection found at Museum Africa today, therefore, is a complex artefact formed over eighty years.

In 1978 the Africana Museum became the last in a string of institutions to take the collection into its care. I arrived one year later as a junior ethnologist. As I began to process the items of material culture - sketching, cataloguing, wrapping and storing them - I found that the collector himself constantly intruded. His register of the collection was the first and most important document I referred to, and his small green tags, for example, labelled and numbered the objects. Both systems used his own system of nomenclature. Further intrusions came from the Museum of Man and Science, which had been the previous caretaker. Their notes, labels and methods of arranging the objects added yet another layer to the collection, but were scattered and disorganised.

It became increasingly obvious that this collection was not only about the Khoisan. The message had been changed by the times through which it had been sent down. Other voices had been added to the original ones, telling, not more about the Khoisan, but something of the meanings they held for their other, those colonial/settler/civil servant/anthropologists who had appropriated their bodies, possessions, languages and customs for projects of their own. This growing chorus threatened to drown out the voices of the Khoisan.

The main question of this dissertation concerns the extent to which Fourie's collection became an archive that shaped, and has been shaped by, perceptions of Khoisan identity over the past eighty years in a recursive mode. The study views Fourie's collecting activities as, in essence, a mission to salvage all the information he could find on what his peers perceived to be the rapidly disappearing cultures of the Khoisan groups in South West Africa. This

[2] This is not to say that the Museum has been negligent or derelict in its duty. As the thesis unfolds it will be obvious that conventional museum practice inherently limits readings of meaning to some extent, and that historical circumstances prevented the staff at the Africana Museum from fully processing all the elements of the collection.

perception was one of the factors that induced a melancholy best likened to the romantic tradition in which sadness was induced by the contemplation of the demise of nature as a result of industrialisation. Preservation could only be possible if, as Fourie and his contemporaries assumed, there were still available remnants of a cultural pattern. It would take a discerning anthropologist to distinguish these remnants from behaviours that were influenced by contact with western and other African cultures.

Fourie supplemented his observations with interviews with a range of informants, and by reading older works on the Khoisan of the Territory, many of which are to be found in the collection. I suggest that all the assorted elements of the collection were intended to fulfil the same purpose, to store concrete forms of these cultural remnants for later interpretation. Subsidiary themes in the dissertation deal with the notions that treating the combined collection of artefacts, photographs, bones and documents as an "archive" opens it up to new readings, and that museum practice and archival practice materially affect the shaping and the availability of such knowledge.

As this study tackles the place of Fourie in the history of Khoisan studies and the nature of the knowledge he created, it is useful to consider Foucault's theorising on histories of science, and the ways in which status and meaning come to be ascribed to certain documents (extended in my study to all the materials in Fourie's collection). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault opens up possibilities of reading documents by transforming them into what he terms "monuments". In this respect he moves away from conventional historical approaches, which, he says, attempt to establish the veracity of sources in order to reconstitute the past. Instead he advocates working from within and "organising the document, dividing it up, arranging it in levels, ordering it, distinguishing between what is relevant and what is not, discovering elements, unities and relations…" (Foucault 1972:6).[3] Focus, therefore, shifts from content to the document itself. Further, he says, an important part of any history *is* the development of the mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked, and which will be used to interpret that history in the future (Foucault 1972:7). This thesis attempts to open up the possibilities of reading a mixed media collection as a document (or monument, or archive), and to tease out the relationship between the creation (and later uses) of the "document" and the creation (and some of the uses) of Khoisan identity. In Foucault's terms, the two entities (document and the history of the formation of Khoisan identity) are inseparable. The thesis tests such a speculation.

[3] Foucault's terminology in this work goes against commonly accepted definitions of the terms "archive" and "document", which he uses to encompass more than a single work, and to resemble more closely the commonly accepted notion of an archive as a collection of related documents.

Foucault's method, he proposes, reveals a "proliferation of discontinuities" and disrupts the possibility of one uninterrupted "chronology of reason" (Foucault 1972:7-8). For Foucault these discontinuities can be arranged in a number of series or sequences, and the historians' task is to examine the interconnections and relationships they form. Thus, it would not be helpful to see Fourie's work as part of a series of statements or events that lead ineluctably onward to the present state of affairs. Rather, it should be seen as one of the sequences that could be drawn upon by those who wished (and wish) to enter a particular discourse. The task then is to trace the ways in which this sequence interconnects with others, particularly those that appeared chronologically before and during Fourie's time.

In order to perform this task it is necessary to tackle "a coherent and homogeneous *corpora* of documents" and to decide on the method of approach to these sources (sampling as in statistics, exhaustive examination, and so on) (Foucault 1972:10). The Fourie document presents a seemingly ready-made *corpora*, but one which extends beyond the materials to be found in the storerooms of Museum Africa. In the section "Introducing the collection" I lay out the limits I have set in order to form the document I wish to examine for the purposes of this study. The thesis is thus an exploration of the way in which our view of the Khoisan past is structured by the way in which documents and objects from the past are ordered, arranged and given status in relation to one another.

Here, however, it is necessary to be cautious. Foucault warns of the problems connected with the concept of an *oeuvre* which he defines as "a collection of texts that can be designated by the sign of a proper name" (Foucault 1972:23), and which I extend to include objects and photographs which combine with texts to form an entity designated "The Fourie Collection". He questions the notion that, as an *oeuvre* is conjured, there is a tendency to assume that every part of it, down to the smallest fragment, expresses "the thought, the experience, the imagination, or the unconscious of the author, or, indeed, of the historical determinations that operated upon him" (Foucault 1972:24). Such an assumption must be seen as an interpretation by the author who is writing about the *oeuvre*. Foucault is not rejecting the task of interpreting an *oeuvre*, but rather attempting to eliminate any complacency about the self-evidence of the unities implied in the term. My assumptions in this interpretation of Fourie's collection (which fits very comfortably the notion of an *oeuvre*) are expressed as part of the argument of the thesis, which, in essence, describes and deconstructs the unity of the collection in a number of ways.

In this consideration of Foucault, too, it is important to point out that my assertion that the Fourie Collection forms an archive in its own right is based upon an understanding of archive

that more closely resembles Foucault's definition of the terms "document" and "*oeuvre*", than it does his characterisation of the term "archive". He uses "archive" to refer to the set of discourses, or "the system of enunciability", that defines the level "of a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated" and that "reveals the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification" (Foucault 1972:129-30). In Foucauldian terms, therefore, this study examines the document for what it reveals about the archive or that set of discourses that governed what could be said about the Khoisan.

As an extension of this, the thesis examines the degree to which the collection was part of the process by which the European colonising powers articulated an image of the Khoisan in order to justify their continuing domination. As Medical Officer for South West Africa Fourie held substantial authority within the Administration, an authority which he did not hesitate to use in his avocation as amateur anthropologist. At the same time he made the results of his ethnographic work available for official use. This leads to the questions: how deeply was his work rooted in the political processes of the time; at what levels and intensities did his work impact on those political processes; and how do these processes influence our readings of the collection today?

If, as I assert, Fourie chose to archive ethnography and the memories of a past in which Bushman culture was intact, rather than the depressing reminders of the terrible effects of colonisation, it becomes necessary to gain an understanding of the impacts of colonisation on the bodies and the health of the Khoisan. Knowing, for example, whether the Khoisan were disappearing in body as well as in culture, and linking the former with health, would have particular resonance in the case of Fourie. However, while there are some sources that refer to his duties as Medical Officer there are only a few small clues to point to his consequent knowledge of the health of the Khoisan. It is likely that, professionally, he neglected the Khoisan in favour of the white settlers, but it is difficult to find examples in the collection to support either case. The collection contains nothing to show what his responses were, for example, to the effects of venereal infections, malaria, tuberculosis and the lethal influenza virus of 1918/1919 on the people he was studying. Although Marian Wallace's study of the health system in Windhoek in the 1920s and 1930s highlights evidence that hints obliquely that Fourie did show such a bias, research in the National Archives of Namibia and South Africa failed to provide substantial evidence to this effect.

Like many passionate collectors, Fourie used all the resources at his disposal to pursue his hobby, which meant tracking the Khoisan in Namibia for twelve years from 1916 to 1928.

As the collection grew, so did Fourie's knowledge of the Khoisan of the area, and the man together with his collection became a reference point for researchers and students from all over the world in spite of the fact that he published only two short papers on the Khoisan (1926, 1928). Artefacts from Fourie's collection were exhibited together with some of his photographs at the Wembley Empire Exhibition in 1924 and later on in museums in various towns in South Africa. Select photographs were published in important books on the Khoisan in the 1920s and 1930s and in a popular booklet issued by the Museum of Man and Science in Johannesburg in 1970 (Fourie 1928; Schapera 1930; Museum of Man and Science 1975). His collection of skeletal material was studied by anatomy students and experts on the physical anthropology of the Later Stone Age. His field notes containing information on the social structure, material culture and history of the Naron, ≠Ao-//Ein and Hei-//om supplied information for his publications which were quoted extensively by the anthropologist Isaac Schapera in what became a standard reference work on the Khoisan.[4]

Tom Griffiths describes the ways in which archives and collections of Australian aboriginal material culture omitted references to past conflicts between colonists and Aborigines. Popular histories and ethnographies constructed a "narrative of avoidance". These "silences", echoed in popular perceptions of a vast landscape, bare of all human occupation and awaiting the arrival of the British settlers, reflect a "colonial melancholy" caused by the repression of memories of violence and greed (Griffiths 1996:4-5). Such silences are encountered in even a cursory examination of the Fourie Collection. Fourie worked with Khoisan prisoners and yet his collection of artefacts holds no reference to them. He wrote for a government blue book about the ways in which the German Administration maltreated and abused prisoners and he sent a set of manacles of the type used on Khoisan prisoners to the South African Museum in Cape Town, and yet his own collection bears no trace of these cruelties. Fourie's biography shows him to be a man with a highly developed sense of integrity, a doctor who went the extra mile, an employer who was kind and caring and a man of principle. He could not have avoided observing the sad plight of the majority of the Khoisan of South West Africa, yet he excised much of it from the record with which he presented them to the world. If the collection is an important point at which the West met the Khoisan, then it holds in those silences a world of sadness for both participants. In reading between the lines of the collection, this dissertation seeks to tap those silences for some insight into the processes that created a Khoisan identity which was so powerfully attractive to Western thought that it persevered it for almost a century.

[4] For example Schapera 1930:103, 110, 111, 115, 120, 132, 133, 140.

Introducing the collector[5]

Louis Fourie was born in the Oudtshoorn district of the Cape Colony in South Africa in 1878. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University, and worked as a general practitioner in South Africa from 1911 until 1916, when he joined the army to serve with the National Medical Corps in South West Africa. During his service he earned an MBE for his work in establishing a Health Department for the new Administration, and for his efforts during the epidemic of Spanish Influenza in 1918-1919. After the War he was asked to stay on in South West Africa and was part of the civil administration of the Territory until 1928, when he returned to South Africa (where he continued in the civil service). Fourie was a gregarious man and made friends with a group of fellow civil servants with whom he was to remain in contact for the rest of his life. Among these men were the District Commissioners for the area to the north of the Etosha Pan which fell outside what was known as the "Police Zone".[6]

On 1 April 1920 Louis Fourie was appointed Medical Officer to the Administration, and became a member of the South African civil service. He was a loyal and hard worker and he moved comfortably within the world of the Administration, learning to make the most of it, and to use it to aid the research which both he and other scholars carried out in the natural and social sciences. His training in medicine had given him the tools to observe and analyse, and he applied these not only to his work in public health and to all aspects of his working life but also to his hobby. He obtained permits for the collection of animals for museums, provided maps for expeditions and arranged introductions to headmen and chiefs. As a *quid pro quo* he made the results of his hobby available to the Administration which made use of it in many ways, particularly as a tool to bolster South Africa's presence in South West Africa.

Fourie arrived in Windhoek at a time when the country's Khoisan groups were fighting their last battles against colonial domination. South Africa, and the rest of the western world, had already begun to discuss the Khoisan as if they were on the verge of extinction (Gordon 1992:148, 151-154). Fourie's interest in the Khoisan was first fired by an encounter with their material culture. The ingenuity and craftsmanship they exhibited intrigued him and he began to be interested in the culture which produced them. This interest was encouraged and refined by his contact with the Director of the South African Museum, Dr Louis Péringuey, whose own particular interest in physical anthropology prompted him to motivate Fourie to take photographs and measurements whenever he could. Fourie corresponded continuously with other museum curators and scholars in order to make his studies as professional as possible, and he began to gather together a comprehensive collection of notes, objects,

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[5] A detailed biography of Fourie follows in Chapter Two. This section provides only a brief summary in order to introduce Fourie and to frame the thesis question.

[6] The Police Zone was the name given to the area which was settled by German and South African colonists and over which the Administration had greater control.

photographs and bones. His intentions were never stated openly, but, as I will show, his correspondence suggests that he believed himself to be conducting something of a rescue operation, saving the "evidence" of the culture and the physical form of the Khoisan before it disappeared forever (Fourie 1926:49). An important part of this evidence came in the form of material culture, which Fourie believed would yield, among other things, knowledge about the different groups and their relationships with each other. The need for ethnographic classification was one of the major motivations, for example, for his collection of almost one thousand arrows, accompanied by notes, sketches, and photographs of the methods of carrying and using bows and arrows. The notes, objects, and pictures were demonstrably all part of a single project and formed a repository of knowledge.

Fourie was in contact with many of the leading South African anthropologists of the day, some of whom had stayed with him at his home in Windhoek, or had travelled with him in the field. He corresponded with the likes of Winifred Hoernlé and Raymond Dart - then only at the beginning of his career in palaeoanthropology - both at the University of the Witwatersrand, with Dorothea Bleek who was working with the South African Museum and with Péringuey and many of his staff at the South African Museum.

Although he was an amateur anthropologist Fourie's work was considered by his contemporaries to be of a professional standard. James Clifford has described a generation of "intermediates", anthropologists whose work fell between that of the armchair ethnologists who took information collected by others and moulded it into works such as *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1890) and the full-time professional anthropologists whose work was based on intensive participant observation such as Bronislaw Malinowski.

> The "intermediate generation" of ethnographers did not typically live in a single locale for a year or more, mastering the vernacular and undergoing a personal learning experience comparable to an initiation. They did not speak as cultural insiders but retained the natural scientist's documentary, observational stance (Clifford 1988:28).

This intermediacy is characteristic of Fourie's work. His field trip to the Sandfontein area, which provided the core of his collection, took place three years before Malinowski published his first work on the Trobriand Islanders. In between this and other, shorter, forays into the field he collected information and objects wherever he could find them, from conversations with prisoners, magistrates, informants who visited him at his home, literature, and correspondence with farmers and native commissioners. Even as the profession of anthropology was growing, in southern Africa (as in many colonial territories) the "intermediate generation" continued to operate well into the middle of the twentieth century.

Fourie's collection entered the public domain by degrees. Although the artefacts and photographs were displayed and stored at his home in Windhoek, after only a few years they had been exposed to a wide range of visitors including local and foreign friends, colleagues, and researchers. In 1924 a large consignment of artefacts was sent to be exhibited on the South West Africa stall at the Empire Exhibition at Wembley in London. Initially Fourie had high hopes that a national museum would be created in Windhoek (Fourie 40/69/BoxF: 1925.6.2) and, although he never specifically said so, it can be surmised that he foresaw that his collection would finally remain there. However, by the time he came to leave the country at the end of 1928 no museum had been built and he had become disillusioned with the Administration. As a consequence of the removal of the collection from its country of origin Fourie's collection suffered a degree of obscurity for many decades.

When he left South West Africa Fourie worked in the Public Health Department in South Africa, dealing with plague prevention and epidemics in the Eastern Cape and Johannesburg, and with the elimination of malaria in Natal. In both areas of work he pioneered new methods and approaches to epidemiology. Fourie spent his retirement years in Plettenberg Bay (apart from a brief stint in Windhoek during World War II) where he worked hard to have the Robberg Peninsula declared a Nature Reserve. He was invited to chair a Commission on the Bushmen for the South Africa government, but became ill and resigned before he had even begun. He died in 1953.

Fourie took the collection with him as he moved around South Africa. It was displayed in the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town[7] for one year in 1930, and three years later parts of it went to the museum in the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. The University displayed some of the objects and photographs for "teaching purposes" (Letter Hoernlé to Fourie, August 1932, MMS40/69/BoxG/1932/3) but the written archive did not accompany them then, and only became part of the collection when it was taken into the MMS in 1969. After his death in 1953 Fourie's widow considered selling the entire collection, but was persuaded against it by her son, Bob, who inherited it in 1965. In 1969 Bob loaned the collection to the MMS, which was disbanded in 1977, and a year later he donated it to the Africana Museum, where it has since remained.

At the time when he assembled his collection Fourie was located in an environment of multi-layered colonialism. South Africa, recently semi-released from the overlordship of Britain, was in the process of attempting to take German South West Africa for itself, at first as a spoil of war, later, as Smuts argued, as a logical extension of the Union - a fifth Province, so to speak (Haarhoff 1991:91). At the same time Fourie himself, born and brought up as an

[7] Renamed the Amathole Museum in 1999.

Afrikaner**,** had been "colonised" by the British. He attended Edinburgh University, and then lived in Britain for some years where he met and married an Irish woman who never learned to speak Afrikaans. Once he arrived in Windhoek Fourie established a network of relationships with the English-speaking members of the Administration which helped define his own identity, and which endured after he moved back to South Africa in 1930 and right up until his death twenty-three years later (Fourie 1985:36). I argue in this dissertation that his "hobby" of studying the Khoisan played a vital role in positioning him solidly in the camp of a group of colonial men who were romantically considered to be an elite circle distinguished by their abilities to survive in, and indeed tame, the wilderness - a wilderness which included "savages" such as the Ovambo and the Khoisan.[8] This iconic identity was particularly potent in the psyche of occidental colonists at that time. Fourie's archive was shaped by his membership both of the Administration of the new colony and of this extremely masculine clique whose models were British colonial administrators**.**

Introducing the Collection

The defining edges of museum collections are often somewhat amorphous, for collections do not always retain all their component parts. So it is with the Fourie Collection. Various elements have been stored and documented in different places and different ways and classificatory attributions shift and change the relationships between them. At first glance the criterion for belonging to the Fourie Collection would seem to be that the item once belonged to Louis Fourie. On closer inspection, however, the definition should be extended to include copies and attempts to categorise and interpret those same items. In 2006 the Fourie Collection consisted of the following:

i Several files of **written material** housed with the documents of Museum Africa and cared for by the Museum's Registrar;

ii approximately 3 400 **artefacts,** most of which are housed in the ethnology stores at Museum Africa , with others being held by the University Art Galleries at the University of the Witwatersrand;

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[8] See, for example, *The Last Frontier* by Lawrence Green, in which he describes Namibia as a wild and dangerous land. In speaking of Cockie Hahn, one of Fourie's closest friends, he writes:

> To appreciate Hahn's life work you must visualize Ovamboland as it was before the white man came - a land of unspeakable cruelty. Well within living memory the Ovambo chiefs killed for the sake of killing. Their blood lust can be compared only with the Zulu massacres and the human sacrifices observed by early white travellers in West Africa (Green 1952:230).

He goes on to describe how Hahn lived and worked in a remote settlement among wild animals and wild people, with little in the way of water, food, and other comforts, where most officials could only remain for six months at a time.

See also Dorian Haarhof's "The Evolution of the Frontier Theme in the Literature of the South West Africa Protectorate (1915-1920)" (1991:101, 111, 134-137).

iii over 350 **photographs** (with some copies made by the MMS) and 200 **glass negatives** housed and curated with Museum Africa's photographic collection.

In addition, although it is not officially recognised as a part of the "Louis Fourie Collection" held by Museum Africa and was never discussed by the MMS, there was a fourth part to the collection. It is not examined in great detail in this dissertation but its existence is important for an understanding of Fourie's project and his position *vis a vis* the Khoisan, and so I add here:

iv a collection of **bones** donated to the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand.

In 1969 Fourie's son invited the staff at the MMS to go through his father's papers and to select all the items they thought related to his anthropological work. The remaining documents included material from before and after Fourie's time in the Protectorate, and were donated to the Adler Museum of Medicine at the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) by Fourie's grandson in 2001. The written records taken by the MMS include correspondence, field notes, sketch maps, rough notes for reports and drafts of the two papers written by Fourie. Fourie was an inveterate hoarder, keeping even tiny little scraps of paper with notes about such topics as his expenses or his mileage on field trips to all corners of the Protectorate. The two collections of papers in Johannesburg are complemented by collections in the National Archives of Namibia in Windhoek, which hold official correspondence from Fourie and reports relating to his employment and his work, the South African Archive in Pretoria, and the papers of Cockie Hahn, Native Commissioner for Ovamboland and a close friend of Fourie.

Fourie's writings on the Khoisan are fragmented and disjointed, consisting, for the most part, of field notes placed randomly in a number of notebooks, and numerous scraps of paper with cryptic jottings. If it were not for these fragments, however, it is possible that the collection of photographs and objects would have become little more than the silent remnants of the hobby of a doctor in the desert. Accompanying the texts at the Museum is an unpublished biography of Louis Fourie written by his son at the request of the Museum of Man and Science and completed in 1985. It provides important insights into the life of the family in Windhoek, and Fourie's work during his stay in Namibia, as well as details of his achievements in the field of medical research and public health.

The artefacts consist of a wide range of objects manufactured by the Khoisan, mostly from materials which would have been found in their natural environment, although there are some ornaments made with glass beads, two or three "tinder boxes" made with old brass cartridge

cases, and a large number of arrows with heads made out of fencing wire. The largest category of objects is hunting equipment, including approximately one thousand arrows, and roughly one hundred bows and quivers, and the second largest category is ornaments of which a large part are made of or decorated with ostrich egg shell beads. There are no examples of items which were manufactured in factories and traded in the area, such as guns, knives, western-style clothing, or tin plates and cans used for cooking or for water, although it is known that these were used widely among the Khoisan (Howell quoted in Wilmsen 1989:35). The collection, therefore, reflects a different reality from that which Fourie would have encountered in the field, and offers a concrete example of the filtering process which occurred when anthropologists wrote about their observations of the Khoisan in the field.

The photographic collection consists of glass negatives and sepia prints made by Fourie, together with a miscellany of images made by a handful of other photographers. A large number of the pictures were made to illustrate the physical anthropology of the Khoisan, giving front, side, three-quarter and back views of numerous individuals. Others illustrate: the technology of ostrich egg shell bead-making; rope- and arrow-making; architecture and the spatial organisation of settlements; dancing; hunting; and artefacts arranged in categories and pinned onto boards. Having used photography as a tool in his medical work (AMLFOU 2.109), Fourie went on to construct images as anthropological records, making few, if any, attempts to introduce a self-conscious aesthetic to his work. He sought to make each photograph contain as accurate a representation as possible of the information he wished to preserve.

Literature Overview

In general, literature relating to the theoretical bases of this dissertation is abundant. In this chapter I will deal with the literatures in general and will engage in detail with recent works on material culture, museums, photographs used in historical and physical anthropology, archive theory, Khoisan identity, and a cultural understanding of collecting in the appropriate chapters. In order to carry out a critical reading of Fourie's archive I make reference to histories of the Administration and the Protectorate but, although there is a growing interest in this field, writings on the history of Namibia at this period, and biographies of the chief characters and institutions connected with Fourie and his collection are scarce.

Namibia Under South African Rule: Mobility and Containment 1915-1946 (Hayes, Silvester and Wallace 1998) makes a number of important contributions in this area, both on the grounds of content and of theory. In particular the introductory chapter: "Trees Never Meet…" provides an extremely useful synthesis and overview of the remaining chapters in

the book (Silvester, Wallace and Hayes 1998). Chapters by Gordon, Wallace and Hayes cover the work and structure of the Administration and the ways in which these were influenced by South African racist policies. The history of the Khoisan is not addressed in any of the chapters. Marion Wallace's *Health, Power and Politics in Windhoek, Namibia 1915-1945* (2002) gives very useful medical information, and helps to place Fourie's professional life in context. This work provided the most important source for the section on Fourie's work as Medical Officer discussed in Chapter Two. The subject matter is, however, confined to Windhoek for the most part, however, and the health of the Khoisan is therefore not included. Wallace's study engages strongly with themes of racism, and discourses of power within the arena of health care facilities. Although the period she has chosen covers Fourie's term of office, there are few specific references to the role he played, and those deal, for the most part with his role in objectifying the bodies of black South West Africans (Wallace 2002:86, 165-7). I deal with these perceptions in Chapter Two.

There are very few references to the personality and policies of Colonel Charles Manning, the first Chief Native Commissioner appointed by the Administration in the Protectorate and close friend of Fourie, or to the structure and practices of his Department. In an intensive reading of the legislation and bureaucracy which dispossessed the Khoisan in Namibia over that period, Gordon does not mention Manning at all (Gordon 1992). Patricia Hayes, in her study of Cockie Hahn, who succeeded Manning as Native Commissioner of Ovamboland, mentions the importance of Manning's influence on the people who served under him in the area north of the Police Zone in the years prior to his appointment as Chief Native Commissioner, but is vague when it comes to his service after he left the area (Hayes 1998).[9] Fourie himself is rarely mentioned in historical works, and when he is, it is in passing.[10]

Dealing with the documents in the collection entailed research into, and critical engagement with, archival practice, even though this had not been applied at Museum Africa. Verne Harris's handbook: *Exploring Archives: An introduction to archival ideas and practice in South Africa* (1997) provided a good basic background in this regard. Works on the

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[9] There is some confusion over the spelling of the name "Cockie/Cocky". Lawrence Green spells it "Cocky" (in inverted commas) in his *Lords of the Last Frontier* (1952:230) and it seems to have been spelt that way in most subsequent publications. All the authors in the book *The Colonising Camera* (Hartmann, *et al* 1998:21, 64, 65, 68, 92, 104, 143, 151, 159, 165, 171), for example, spell it that way, as does Patricia Hayes in her paper "Blood in our eyes ..." (2000:76). However, wherever the name appears in the Fourie archive, it is spelt "Cockie", including in Hahn's own signatures at the ends of letters. Bob Fourie spells it that way in his biography of his father as do Hahn's letters in the National Archives of Namibia at A450 1/29. Wherever I use it here I adhere to the spelling found in the Fourie archive.

[10] See Hayes, Silvester and Hartmann 1998:7; Silvester, Hayes and Hartmann 1998:16-17; Gordon 1992:144 & 1998:112, Hayes 1998:174, 182; Rohde 1998:191.

importance and meaning of archives in general include chapters from *Refiguring the Archive* (Hamilton *et al* eds. 2002). Harris's chapter on "The Archival Sliver" discusses the fact that "the documentary record provides just a sliver of a window into the event", and because the documentary record is not preserved in its entirety, archives contain traces that form only a "sliver of a sliver of a window" into any experience (Harris 2002:135-136). Such a concept resonates with the fractured nature of the Fourie Collection.

Harris's work is at the forefront of archival theorising in South Africa, and is strongly influenced by the philosophy of Jacques Derrida, whose contribution to *Refiguring the Archive* is found in the transcript of a seminar called "Archive Fever" (Derrida 2002:38-80 - the yellow pages). Derrida's book of the same name (published in 1996) is critiqued in essays by both Harris (2002:61-81) and Susan van Zyl (2002:39-59). These chapters concern a deconstruction of the notion of archives to reveal the complexities of their origins and the open-endedness of future interpretations. For the purposes of my thesis I find, in the density of this debate, important references to political power, authority and the selectiveness of memory and forgetting. These impetuses shape the sliver of the sliver of the window onto the colonial experience of the Khoisan in South West Africa provided by Fourie's archive.

Brien Brothman's "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice" uses a Foucauldian linguistic approach to examine the terms used in archive practice in the west and how they relate to the reliability of the contents of archives as evidence. (Brothman 1991:78). Of special importance in this article is his discussion of a long quote from Foucault's *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* which suggests that archives are not only collections of documents, but are also "unencumbered spaces in which things are juxtaposed: herbariums, collections, gardens …" (Brothman 1991:82). This is what gives rise to the concept that Fourie's collection as a whole can be studied as an archive.

Writings that deal more specifically with colonial archives, their formation and their uses, include articles by Nicholas Dirks, Thomas Richards, and Ann Stoler (Dirks 1992; Richards 1993; Stoler 2002). Dirks deals with the question of archives and orientalism raised by Edward Said, who claims that the colonial powers erased histories of conquests and of the conquered once their rule was securely in place. Dirks claims that a reading of the archives, and of the history of the archives, reveals contradictions to the official version of history, and allows scholars to "read the history back in" (Dirks 1992:279-281). He examines the collections of Colin Mackenzie, surveyor for the British East India Company, which form an interesting comparative example for the Fourie Collection for a number of reasons. Both men were employed by colonial administrations, were avid (it could even be said that they were

obsessive) collectors and both used local informants to gather information and objects for them (albeit on very different scales). Dirks, and indeed Stoler, show how the careful examination of an archive and the circumstances of its construction can penetrate monolithic histories and ethnographies of colonial projects by illuminating idiosyncrasies, inconsistencies, private agendas, failures and successes. They also show how the passion and commitment of one individual can give shape to a body of knowledge.

Stoler makes telling use of the granular metaphor in her studies of the archives of the Dutch governments in the East Indies. She speaks of a strong school of history in which reading "against the grain" or "reading the upper class sources upside down … reveal[ed] the language of rule and the biases inherent in statist perceptions" (2002:92) but warns that it is important to first understand the grain. In order to do so it is necessary to perform an ethnography of the archive, to read along the grain, so to speak (2002:93), and in the process we need to understand the institutions that the archive served (2002:98). Working with the grain is an important part of my methodology, and, although I extend the metaphor somewhat further than Stoler, her studies are important in this process.

Archiving institutions focus on provenance when they order their collections, whereas ethnographic collections in museums are ordered according to cultural categories in which provenance is of lesser significance. Patricia Davison's PhD thesis: *Material Culture, Context and Meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum* (1991) contains a useful section in this regard, in which she explores the role played by museum practice on the production of meaning in ethnographic collections. She argues that the contextual histories of the manufacture, collection, classification and research, and reception of the exhibition give rise to different interpretations of the objects. These shifts of context are relevant to the meanings we find in ethnographic collections (1991:120-1). Davison goes on to explore such shifting contexts in the case of a collection of Lobedu items made in the 1930s by two social anthropologists, J.D. and E.J. Krige, in the course of fieldwork. Her approach is that "the Krige Collection can be regarded as an artefact of anthropological practice in the 1930s and that it embodies a theoretical position rather than being neutral or unbiased" (1991:120). Such an approach is central to this study of Fourie's collection, although I see his collection as an artefact of colonial practice more than of anthropological practice. Davison's thesis also investigates "material culture within the diverse contexts of museum practice" (1991:2), but does not delve deeply into the relationships between objects and the photographs and documents that accompany them, and the meanings that these relationships can unlock.

While Davison was Head of the Department of Ethnology of the South African Museum when she wrote a thesis that has many other useful reference points for this study. In "undertaking a critical investigation of museum practice from the inside" she dealt with the place of material culture in social anthropology in general and in South Africa in particular (1991:11-24). One chapter, in particular, concentrates on a collection of casts and photographs of the Khoisan that was made in the early twentieth century (1991:140-152). These casts were used in the Bushman Diorama at that Museum, and her visitor survey shows the extent of the impact this had on South Africans in 1990. Fourie made a significant contribution to this collection

Theories concerning the activity of collecting, which extends beyond written material to objects and pictures, make an important contribution to an analysis of Fourie's work. Baudrillard, for example, believed that it is the passion of the collector which gives the objects s/he collects their meaning and in turn gives meaning to the life of the collector. Taking this argument to its logical conclusion "... we can only guess at its [the passion's] fundamental role in keeping the lives of the individual or of the collectivity on an even footing, and in supporting our project of survival" (Baudrillard 1994:7).

Fourie's identity was intimately connected with his collection, and, through that, with the subjects of his study. As we will see, this connection extended beyond his private life and into the public domain through his professional life and his connections with the broader world of the Administration of South West Africa and the intelligentsia of southern Africa.

Griffiths proposes that collecting became a way of controlling the history of a colony in order to take hold of the land emotionally and spiritually. In his *Hunters and Collector: The antiquarian imagination in Australia* he studies the ways in which collectors in Australia created a "popular" history which wielded a powerful influence on the perception of the public, shaping the ways in which the colonists perceived themselves as Australians. He explores the paradox in which one finds two opposing views of the Aboriginal people co-existing within settler society. One approach sees them as the 'enemy' and has the effect of dispossessing them of their land, their culture, and, sometimes, their very lives. The other approach tends to romanticise by essentialising (or Orientalising in the Said-ian sense) a way of life that involves living in close harmony with the natural world. Both attitudes have the effect of depriving the Aborigines of their humanity, of removing them from history and denying them any form of agency, and resonate strongly with attitudes toward the Khoisan in the twentieth century.

Griffiths goes further to place the creation of collections of material culture and of archives within this context, identifying them as collective constructions that ultimately belong to the public. Many of the settlers in South West Africa contributed artefacts, photographs or information to Fourie's collection in just such a context. Griffiths believes that collections such as these had the capacity to support the functions of both orientalising and demonising for the colonial society which created and curated them, and the history of Fourie's collection and its use is an interesting example of just such a project. Griffiths does not, however, tackle the questions that arise about the ways in which history and anthropology overlap and collide in these enterprises, and he does not see these collections as being part of the archive available to the colonists and academics of Australia (Griffiths 1996).

Susan Pearce's *On collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* draws together theories of collecting, consumption, the meaning of objects, and archaeological assumptions about the significance of artefacts. She also draws on a large body of work to place collecting in an historical and cultural context, creating a number of historically related categories: the Early Modernist collectors, the Classic Modernists and Post-Modernists. I use this periodisation to place Fourie firmly in the Classic Modernist tradition, but also to understand the roots of this tradition in collections from earlier times. The chapter on "Collecting Ourselves", explores the nature of the relationship between the individual and the material world, in the broad sense of a western cultural pattern, and then goes on to show how collections help their makers/keepers to articulate their own identities. The examples and ideas she draws upon are all from Western centres of learning. The scope of this work does not cover the developments of these ideas in settler societies in the colonies, but they provide a useful base for a discussion of the articulation of Fourie's identity within the context of colonial South West Africa (Pearce 1995).

The works on collecting described above are of particular interest in the contemplation of the artefacts in the collection. The study of the photographs is based on a growing body of literature on anthropological photography, and the reading of photographs made in colonial contexts. The use of photographs as mnemonics and "evidence" by anthropologists has been common almost since the invention of the camera. Studies of collections of images from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are to be found in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920,* edited by Elizabeth Edwards (Edwards 1992), which includes a number of relevant studies. "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography" by Christopher Pinney shows how the two began at almost exactly the same time, and how photography was used in different ways within the discipline of anthropology. "Some Notes on the Attempt to apply Photography to Anthropometry ..." by Frank Spencer discusses the ways in which photographs were used to record the physical anthropology of various groups

for comparative purposes, and describes the techniques and conventions which were developed in an attempt to standardise the images so that scientifically acceptable comparisons could be made. "The Photographic Document: Photographs as Primary Data in Anthropological Enquiry" by Joanna C. Scherer posits that "photographs as a body are reliable evidence open to analysis and interpretation as seen through the interrelationship of photographer, subject and viewer" (Scherer 1992:32).

Edwards' *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Edwards 2001) examines the intersections of history and anthropology in photographs with a particularly useful analysis that shows how scientific paradigms informed anthropological image-making in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The works of Allan Sekula, Roslyn Poignant and Patricia Hayes are of particular importance for the methodology used in the analysis of Fourie's photographs. By describing the political and social contexts and the power relationships between the photographers and their subjects these authors try to recreate the meanings, both overt and implied, which the images would have held for their makers and their viewers. Sekula's work, together with that of Spencer (mentioned above) also offers insights into the place of photographs of physical anthropology and anthropometry in the ethos of the turn of the century. Hayes's work was also consulted because of its concentration on the South West African context; the historical content is invaluable given the scarcity of sources in that area.

A contemplation of "materiality" has recently provided fresh impetus for studies of both material culture and photographs. Two important volumes in this regard are: *Materiality*, edited by Daniel Miller (2005) and *Photographs Objects Histories: On the materiality of images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (2004). In both of these works there is an attempt to grapple with the significance of the material in our attempts to make sense of life. Miller, for example claims that we cannot comprehend anything unless we can grasp its form, body or category, and that we make and are made by material things (Miller 2005:8). This dialectical approach is at the heart of the thinking in *Materiality*. Pinney argues that a theorising of materiality will allow scholars to move on from a preoccupation with the relationships of objects and images with power and politics and to transcend the assumption that "objects and culture are sutured together in national time-space" (Pinney 2005:262). His section on "The Recursive Archive" used by Indian graphic artists in ways which "establish new narratives … that may be quite disjunct from the familiar stories of a nonvisual history" provides a useful contemplation on the role played by Fourie's artefacts and images in the recursive play of Khoisan studies. Edwards, in her introduction to *Photographs Objects Histories* points out that "an object cannot be fully understood at any single point in its existence but should be understood as belonging in a continuing process of production,

exchange, usage and meaning" (Edwards 2004:4): an important consideration in following the histories of Fourie's photographs. Previous ways of writing about photographs focused on the indexical (or image content), or on the causal history of their making and their roles in state or imperial control (which affected the style and content of the image). These studies add another layer to those interpretations by exploring the performative nature of the tactile and visual elements of photographs, reading for intent and meaning the methods, materials and framing mechanisms used in the production of photographs (Edwards 2004:4).

Comparative bodies of photographs of Khoisan groups, taken around the same period and using similar equipment, were published by Dorothea Bleek, Raymond Dart, S.S. Dornan, E.J. Dunn and Robert Gordon (Bleek 1928; Dart 1937; Dornan 1975; Dunn 1931; Gordon 1997). While the first four use photographs as illustrations for ethnographic descriptions, Gordon's book: *Picturing Bushmen: The Denver African Expedition of 1925* reproduces photographs taken by Paul Hoefler for popular consumption during an expedition through Namibia - a very different motive from that of Louis Fourie. The book is more a history of the expedition than a detailed analysis of the photographs, however. Works describing photographs taken of other African groups include those by Michael Godby on the works of W.P.F. Burton in the Congo, Christraud Geary on German colonial photographers at the court of King Njoya in Cameroon and John Mack on Emil Torday's photographs of the Kuba in the Congo (Godby 1993; Geary 1988; Mack 1990).

My examination of the anthropometric work carried out by Fourie contains reference to his collection of skeletal material and his role in supplying bodies to the South African Museum and the University of the Witwatersrand. This is an area of study which has recently attracted attention in South Africa. Alan Morris has compiled lists of the holdings of skeletal material in institutions in South Africa, and reflects briefly and perhaps a little defensively, on the intellectual climate that prompted the accumulation of body parts. His work, however, remains descriptive and does not theorise on the social and political dimensions of these collections (Morris 1987; 1992 and 1996). Saul Dubow places physical anthropology in the context of racial policies and racist politics in South Africa in the twentieth century, and Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool's *Skeletons in the Closet* examines the history of the methods used in collecting Khoisan bones in the earlier part of this century (Dubow 1995; Legassick and Rassool 2000). The theoretical base for analysing collections of physical anthropology tends to situate them within a history of racism and the paradigm of social evolutionism which continued to dominate in certain areas of academic and public life in southern Africa long after it was superceded by other paradigms in Europe and North America.

The publications described above have in common the fact that they place their topics of discussion in particular cultural and historical contexts in order to explain their existence and understand their original meanings. The result of this labour is often that readings of the collections themselves, both with and against the grain, help us to uncover the subtleties of the cultures in which they originated. The details within the collections reveal slippages within broad generalisations, and the internal contradictions and tensions in the fashionable paradigms of the time. They give us glimpses into the existence of the 'archive', which, in the Foucauldian sense, constitutes the cultural matrix within which we move without being conscious of it, or the knowledge which gives rise to the assumptions about meaning which underlie any discourse (Foucault 1972:129-130). More important, the authors refer to the collections they are discussing as if they were primary sources, in the same ways that historians draw upon archives.

Fourie's work reverberated with the methods and instructions given in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (hereinafter abbreviated to *Notes and Queries*), a manual issued at first by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and later by the Royal Anthropological Institute. This book clearly advocated the collection of anthropological material to be stored as records which could be called upon for later use.

> The First Edition of NOTES AND QUERIES ON ANTHROPOLOGY was published in 1874 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science "to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers, and to enable those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply the information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home".
>
> The present Fifth Edition ... is designed for the use of those who have had no special training in anthropology, or who may not have had the opportunity to read widely, as well as for the use of trained observers. ... Thus, to some extent, the book is ... a guide for the acquisition of precise information.
>
> The object of this book is to enable all those who have opportunities for research to make the most of them and to ensure that inquiries are made with some attempt at scientific method so as to be of use to themselves and to students at home. As far as possible theoretical matters have been avoided, as well as the wider problems of distributions and migrations of cultures. These are undoubtedly of great importance, but the immediate duty of an observer is to observe, and the mingling of theories with ascertained facts should be carefully avoided. Naturally the observer should obtain all possible information concerning the known or legendary introduction of material objects or cultural traits, and such should be carefully recorded in their appropriate places (*Notes and Queries* Fifth edition 1929:vii-ix).

While there is no evidence that Fourie had read the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries*, which was published in 1912, this book articulates the established principles and outlook on the discipline at that time, and the ways in which he collected information can be seen to echo

the advice given in its pages. It is interesting to note that the writers believed that the gathering of information could be divorced entirely from "theoretical matters".

Anthropology, Museums and the Study of Material Culture

Academic anthropologists have had an uneasy relationship with museum collections for almost a hundred years. At the turn of the twentieth century material culture was grist to the mill of evolutionary anthropologists, who argued that developments in technology were important markers in advancements in human progress towards the ultimate civilised state manifested by western European cultures.[11] The Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University is an oft-quoted example of a collection which was made and arranged in order to illustrate precisely that paradigm. Cultural anthropologists in Germany, including those of the *Kulturkreis* school of evolutionism, similarly included technology and material culture in their research, and continued to do so well into the twentieth century (De Waal Malefijt 1979:166-180). Fourie's first encounters with anthropological writings were, in all likelihood, with German writers of this school, since that was where he would have found information on the Khoisan of South West Africa. His initial interest in the artefacts and technology of the Khoisan fitted comfortably into the paradigms contained in these works.

But as time went on Fourie read more English works on the theory and practice of anthropology. In the second decade of the twentieth century in Britain a new order of anthropology began to be practised, and, as a part of their struggle to debunk the old order, the new breed of professional anthropologists, which included Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, de-emphasised material culture to the extent that from about 1950 to 1990 it was barely referred to at all.[12] The transition was not seamless, however, and in southern Africa in the 1920s there could be found English-speaking anthropologists who were evolutionists (such as Dart and Péringuey), and, during the same period, the founder of the school of social anthropology, Radcliffe-Brown, taught at the University of Cape Town for a time, and his highly respected colleague, Hoernlé, taught at the University of the

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[11] I recognise that this is a generalisation. There were many contesting lines of argument within this paradigm, and not every anthropologist was necessarily comfortable with it. Franz Boas, for example, began to challenge the methods used by evolutionists at the turn of the century and after that moved away from evolutionism altogether (De Waal Malefijt 1979:228, 231). Emile Durkheim's sociology, while set in the evolutionist paradigm, began to lay the foundations for functionalism in the 1890s (De Waal Malefijt 1979:181) and Radcliffe-Brown, the father of functionalism had "seriously begun to engage Durkheimian thought sometime in 1909-10" (Tomas 1991:98).

[12] This is not to say that museum anthropologists were under-employed during the mid 1900s. Many descriptions of material culture were published in South Africa, particularly by the South African Museum in Cape Town (see for example Bruce 1976, Davison 1984, De Lange 1973, Hooper 1981, Shaw 1935 and 1938, Wanless 1985-1990), and much collecting and organising of collections took place. But debates about collections and material were muted and mostly overlooked by academic anthropologists.

Witwatersrand. Fourie's intellectual *milieu* was such that many of his peers could accord equal value to his collecting of material culture and to his research into social structure.

By the mid-1920s Fourie was inclining increasingly towards the paradigm of social anthropology. His own publications dealt for the most part with social structure and he developed a strong and lasting relationship with Hoernlé, a prime mover in the founding of the school of social anthropology in South Africa. The conflict set up by Fourie's eventual adherence to a school of thought which was beginning to reject the relevance of material culture may go some way to explaining why he did not publish anything on the collection of artefacts, or on the physical anthropology of the Khoisan. This study of Fourie's work, however, illustrates that the growth of this paradigm was not a homogeneous process, and that slippages and personal propensities created niches which allowed for apparent anomalies such as Hoernlé's requests for the loan of the collection to the University of the Witwatersrand for teaching purposes in the 1930s.

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, when ethnographic museums began to be subjected to scrutiny by anthropologists and historians influenced by aspects of deconstructionism and post-modernism, there has been a resurgence of interest in material culture (Karp, Kreamer and Lavine 1992; Coombes 1994). At first their studies probed the motivations behind the creations of ethnographic exhibitions - and pointed to the roles they played in legitimising social imperialism and in maintaining the ideologies of the ruling class. Coombes, for example, showed how ethnographic exhibits in museums in the early 1900s functioned primarily as signifiers of British sovereignty. These displays, reflecting the paradigms of cultural evolutionism, "served as a direct means of promoting support for that concept of class unity which was so essential to the ideology of social imperialism". Museums in the first world prided themselves, from very early on, on the fact that they were democratic and socially responsible (within their own societies) because they actively embraced the role of popular educator. In this role they conveyed to the working classes the superiority of European cultures, and thus the necessity of their assuming a leading role in the less developed parts of the world. The working classes would, of course, be supplying the manpower needed to grow and maintain the Empire (Coombes 1988:61, 64-5).

One of the earliest South African critiques in this vein is by John Wright and Aron Mazel who discussed museums of history in KwaZulu-Natal in 1987. In a survey of the museums of the Province they noted the paucity of displays showing the long pre-colonial history of the area, and the repetitions of exhibits from the white colonial landed gentry and the ruling Zulu hierarchy. They noted that black people were represented for the most part in ethnographic displays which removed them from history, thus symbolising that power was in the hands of

the white ruling class. They posed the interesting view that while publications fixed ideas about the past in the written word, museums did the same thing by "visually symbolizing in a standardized and simplified way" the official version of the past "in the form of displays" (Wright and Mazel 1991:60). Museums were revealed as institutions of power and as perpetuators and sometimes even shapers of the *status quo*.

Davison shows how ethnographic displays (and by extension the collections from which they were made) reified evolutionary classificatory systems which created "arbitrary categor[ies] of convenience adopted by linguists and ethnologists" (Davison 1991:108-110). Objects were frequently chosen to represent whole categories of material culture (such as pottery, or wooden fence poles) not only in displays but in the collection process. Museums' emphasis on ethnicity helped bolster a sense of otherness and concepts of time and space were distorted by the physical arrangement of displays (Davison 1991:126-8, 194).

In the late 1980s art historians also took up the challenge of examining the historical and cultural circumstances that had produced those artefacts which had been labelled as African Art (for example Hammond-Tooke and Nettleton 1989, Klopper 1989, Levy 1990, Nettleton 1984 and 1988, Nettleton and Hammond-Tooke 1989, Schneider 1987). Today there is a substantial body of work which deals with material culture in a variety of ways, with contributions from historians, art historians, archaeologists, archivists, linguists and psychologists as well as anthropologists. These studies look at the ways in which human beings relate to their material world, the reasons why they collect, select and reject individual items, the meanings that those items take on, and the ways in which they confer values on those objects.[13]

Two exhibitions illustrate the importance of the crossing of disciplinary lines at this time. In 1990 *Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo 1900-1909* was curated by John Mack for the British Museum's Department of Ethnography at the Museum of Mankind, and *'Of course you would not want a canoe ...': The Collection of W.F.P. Burton* was mounted by a group of academics for the University of the Witwatersrand Art Galleries in 1992. A comparison of the two shows a blurring of the distinction between art exhibition and anthropological display. The Torday exhibition displayed carefully selected 'prize' pieces of the collection in halls which were underlit so that the spotlit objects stood out like works of art, while the focus of the Wits exhibition was on Burton's work of gathering anthropological and archaeological information. The emphasis in the catalogues of both exhibitions is on the collections of

[13] See Stocking (ed.) 1985, *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, for essays on this range of approaches; also: Bennett 1992, Coombes 1994, Crimp 1995, Davison 1991, Deacon 1991, Hodder 1986, 1987, 1990, Kirschenblatt Gimblett 1991, Simpson 1996.

objects, but the latter has a chapter on the photographs of Burton (Becker 1992:39), and both of them recognised that the collections did not stand alone, but were accompanied by illustrative material and extensive written information. The former is written by an anthropologist, the latter mainly by art historians. Crucially, both highlight the collector and the processes of collecting.

Creating The Bushman

In spite of the fact that paradigms of cultural evolution had been convincingly challenged by the early twentieth century, they persisted for several decades in a variety of disciplines and forms both in academia and in the minds of the public. In South Africa cultural evolution was linked with physical anthropology and it tinged the work of archaeologists and palaeontologists beyond the 1920s when Fourie was working. This was because some academics had a project of their own,[14] which involved, in part, establishing southern Africa as the cradle of humankind and linking it with the earliest manifestations of *homo sapiens* and cultural behaviour. The Khoisan were of fundamental importance to this evolutionary scheme. Their life ways were seen to be the epitome of the most primitive levels of culture, with the San being possibly only slightly more advanced than the extinct and elusive Strandlooper, and the Khoekhoe having evolved another step with the introduction of cattle-keeping, and the perceived concomitant social, political and economic developments which this required. The project to define and distinguish the three groups was close to the heart of some highly respected scholars both locally and abroad, two of whom, Péringuey and Dart, at that time lecturer in the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, had worked closely with Fourie.

During the inter-war period (and, indeed, for a long time after that) anthropologists frequently prefaced their works on the Khoisan by stressing the fact that the culture and very often the people themselves were rapidly disappearing. The salvage paradigm, in which all traces of the traditional and primitive - including evidence of the anatomy - were gleaned and stored, was prominent. The template for the original primitive was written into the ethnography and became a self-fulfilling prophecy at the same time as it obscured the evidence of the suffering caused by the experiences of colonisation.

After World War II a group of writers and anthropologists set out to find the unspoiled, quintessential Khoisan, basing their criteria on this template. They fine-tuned the image,

[14] That this project was seldom overtly expressed nor seamless goes without saying. Its subtleties and complexities are best described by Saul Dubow in his book: *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (1995).

creating a group identity, the primitiveness of which was romanticised to be devoid of the vices of the West which had led to the horrors of the War and the proliferation of nuclear arms. The archetype they created exerted a powerful attraction, and is to be found in a wide range of popular literature, film, and imagery from advertising to postcards.

> Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned ... . Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature ... and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly (Marshall Thomas 1959:6-7).

This description was written by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, the author of one of the earliest and most romantic of these post-war accounts of the Khoisan: *The Harmless People*. Shortly after the end of World War II Thomas, then a teenager, travelled to the Kalahari in an expedition with her brother, John, and her mother, Lorna Marshall, "[t]o find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way. ... we observed a way of life that had not changed radically in ages".[15] In 1958, three years after their last field trip, and one year after Lorna Marshall's first publication on the !Kung (1957), Laurens van der Post published *The Lost World of the Kalahari* - an account of his government-sponsored expeditions to the Kalahari in 1950 and 1955. Later, in the 1960s groups of researchers from Harvard University in the United States of America continued the work of the Marshalls and travelled to the Kalahari to find populations of Khoisan who were isolated enough to be able to retain a lifestyle which could profitably be examined for evidence of traces of the earliest forms of the "human condition" (Wilmsen 1989:8-9).

It is sadly the case that, in the process of writing this romantic ethnography of The Bushmen, anthropologists wrote the Khoisan out of history. The reasons why this was so are complex. Wilmsen has written that it may have been because of a supposed lack of historical sources (Wilmsen 1989:7-9). Gordon shows how he searched in vain for evidence of the "Bushman voice" as an historical source, probably because, he suggests, history is concerned mainly with the exercising of power and with success stories told by those who "have the loudest voices" (Gordon 1992:8). The act of romanticising the Khoisan made them into creatures of fiction where they could only "speak softly" or not at all, and thus denied them their existence in historical reality.

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[15] The Marshall family made three expeditions to the northern Kalahari, in 1951, 1952 and 1955 (see dust jacket for Marshall Thomas 1959).

The Kalahari Debate is a series of arguments and rebuttals which began in 1989 with the publication of Edwin Wilmsen's book: *Land Filled with Flies* in which he explored critically the neo-evolutionist roots of the work of the Marshalls and of the Harvard researchers. His later works in this field include a critique on the work of Laurens Van der Post (Barnard 1996). Wilmsen's argument was that the search for groups of Khoisan who were uncontaminated in culture and in genes was based on the premise that they were believed to have descended directly from the inhabitants of the Stone Age in isolation from other African groups. Their culture and social structure would therefore provide evidence of the ways in which humans lived before they began the process of evolving which finally led to the nuclear age. Researchers concluded hopefully that the Khoisan had survived the harsh elements of the desert by living in harmony with each other and with nature, and thus proved that humans, as a species, had the capacity to do the same. With painstakingly detailed research, Wilmsen argued that the Khoisan had been affected by contact with other cultures for centuries, if not millenia, and that the Marshalls, Van der Post, and the Harvard Group so desired to find the opposite that they were blinded to the facts which proved that there was no such thing as a Bushman. He quotes Nancy Howell:

> "Here are the hunter-gatherers of the dreams of someone who wants to go to the living source for illumination of the archaeological remains of Early Man". She then catalogs machine-sewn cloth clothing, store-bought implements and utensils, familiarity with trucks and guns, wage labor, and multilingual people (Howell 1986, quoted in Wilmsen 1989:35).

Underlying the work of the "traditionalists" were a number of characteristics assigned to The Bushmen (Barnard 1996:239). Based partly on hard evidence gained from months, if not years of fieldwork and partly on broad generalisations, these characteristics were hard to refute. They included: direct descent from the Later Stone Age peoples of the sub-continent; their relationship with the artists who had made the rock paintings and rock engravings in southern Africa; the antiquity of the hunter-gatherer lifestyle, which includes the use of bows and arrows; a continued adherence to this lifestyle by the Khoisan over a long period of time; the absence of the keeping of livestock; an almost mystical understanding of the natural world around them; a unique physical anatomy; an absence of greed for material possessions; and a language filled with clicks (Jolly 1996:198). The degrees to which these characteristics were highlighted and romanticised differed from writer to writer, but the most seductive accounts were those of Marshall Thomas (see the quote above) and Van der Post, whose fictions mythologised the Khoisan into a Jungian archetype of primordial man - the hunter who lives on in our subconscious, and whose instinctive empathy with the natural world is available even now to jaded western minds.

Wilmsen, the principal "revisionist" in this argument, challenged the description of Khoisan culture as unchanging and untouched (Barnard 1996:239). He attempted to write the history back into the narrative of the Khoisan, and proposed that "Bushman society is not a relevant unit of analysis" because the people being described were very much a part of the political economy of the Kalahari, had had access to livestock and other means of livelihood for centuries, and, far from being isolated, had been interacting with colonists and other residents of the Kalahari for over a millennium. Richard Borshay Lee was one of the chief defenders of the work of the traditionalists and led the argument that the cultures described by himself and others were discrete entities with their own integrity and that the revisionists' line deprived the Ju/'hoan speakers of identity and independent agency as they described them in the larger cultural and politico-economic structures of Botswana. Alan Barnard provides a summary of the publications and the intricacies of this drawn-out debate in his "Laurens van der Post and the Kalahari Debate" ending with the claim that: "Neither view is necessarily at all close to the Bushman's own view of the world" (Barnard 1996:243-247).

In fact a single "Bushman's view of the world" does not exist. When, for example, we are confronted by the recent claims to autochthony by a number of diverse Khoisan groups in southern Africa, we see by their different strategies that their world views and their understandings of their own identity vary enormously. Some refer to their pasts by wearing skin clothing and carrying quivers and bows, while others, covering their heads with veils and hats and holding bibles, refer to genealogies, history and land ownership.[16]

Over the last fifteen or so years the public persona of The Bushmen, as described in the academy, has undergone a number of changes. The Kalahari Debate paved the way for a new paradigm in Khoisan studies. Works by Wilmsen, Gordon, and Biesele and Weinberg discuss the broader social and political contexts within which the Khoisan lived, including the fact that many men from South West Africa and Angola were recruited into the South African Defence Force and, after South Africa had withdrawn from the Territory, were relocated together with their families to an area just outside Kimberley, in South Africa. These writers have shown how the Khoisan have been active participants in the socio-economic lives of the countries in which they lived, working and trading together with all members of the communities around them for centuries (Wilmsen 1989; Gordon 1990 and 1995; Biesele and Weinberg 1990). A number of recent conferences and exhibitions, such as the controversial *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* exhibition (held at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town in 1996) and its accompanying workshops and conferences, have been attended by representatives of a wide range of Khoisan groups from South Africa,

[16] See for example *Cape Times* 11 July 1997:9; *Mail & Guardian* 31 August 2001:14; *Rapport* (Metro) 6 July 1997:6; *Sunday Argus* 13 July 1997:3; and *The Star* 15 February 2001:11 and 28 November 2002:29.

Namibia and Botswana, many of whom drew upon representations of Khoisan groups in literature and in exhibitions such as the one at the South African Museum, to support their claims to autochthonous identity. Academics presenting papers at these same conferences were called upon to answer difficult questions in attempts to reconcile recent studies and old images of "Bushmen" and "Hottentots" with recent claims to identity, land and compensation arising out of a newly emerging sense of history and identity among descendants of the Khoisan.

The exhibition *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushman* was coordinated by Pippa Skotnes and supported by a wide range of scholars including anthropologists, archaeologists, palaeoanthropologists and historians from the South African Museum and University of Cape Town. Skotnes mined a number of collections for life-casts, photographs, objects, documents and publications referring to the histories and cultures of Khoisan groups which she displayed in several adjacent halls, thus drawing attention to the many different forms that contain knowledge, and that have been used in the creation of Khoisan identities. Although she was accused of nullifying Khoisan voices in her display, by posing the objects together in new groupings, and using contemporary and more recent texts without regard to temporal correctness, she claimed she was trying to open a space for the voices of the Khoisan to be heard (Skotnes ed. 1996). The exhibition was accompanied by an important catalogue that contained contributions from a broad range of scholars of the Khoisan from all over the world. A series of images and documents from a wide range of sources was reproduced at the edges of almost all the pages in the book, creating an exhibition-in-print (Skotnes ed. 1996).

In the light of the debates around Khoisan identity, both in the academic and in the public arena where political and economic power are at stake, the focus on Khoisan culture and material culture has been intensified. In July 1997 many of the Khoisan delegates to the third Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, held at the South African Museum in Cape Town, arrived wearing animal skins (or animal print fabrics), ostrich feathers and beads in reference to their cultural heritage and identity. For one of the opening ceremonies a small grass hut was built at the South African Cultural History Museum and a sheep was slaughtered as part of an initiation ceremony for a young woman as a symbol of "the coming of age of the Khoisan" (*Sunday Argus* 13 July 1999:3).

The girl who "came of age" and thus represented "the Khoisan" was dressed in skin clothing and beads, and used implements made of clay and gourds. Shortly after this conference a delegation of Khoisan representatives travelled to Geneva to appeal to the United Nations for "help in achieving First Nation Status" (*Cape Times* 14 July 1997:1). By achieving such a status they have gained much legitimacy in claims to land, rights to intellectual property, and

political positions. The process has not, however, been a smooth one. The conflating of Khoekhoe and San cultures and histories and the struggles for power within the groups which support the movement underscore the tensions within the broader movement, and the slippery nature of "culture". However, there can be no doubt that the opening ceremonies referred to above were a vivid manifestation of a need to draw upon what was perceived to be traditional material culture to express identity.

The thesis question

In the light of the arguments put forward in recent studies of museums and Khoisan identity it would be very easy to dismiss the Fourie Collection as yet another ethnographic record of a fabricated Khoisan culture. At first glance the profile of the collection shows a strong emphasis on hunting, anatomical features, and subsistence in the wilderness, all the trappings of traditionalist Khoisan ethnographies. The scarcity of references to the severe stress caused by colonisation flags a record that is to be approached with caution, to say the least (Gordon 1992; Wilmsen 1989). And yet such a large accumulation of material, supported by so much carefully preserved documentation, cannot be ignored; not least because it is collections such as this one which "determine to a great extent what kind of historical consciousness emerges" (Carruthers 1996:261).

This dissertation is very much part of the "archival turn" which questions, "the making of colonial knowledge and the privileged social categories it produced" (Stoler 2002:84). The central purpose of it is to interrogate Fourie's work in order to establish the role he and his collection played in the establishment of an evidentiary base for articulating Khoisan identity over a period of decades in the twentieth century, and the degree to which the collection was in turn shaped by different perceptions of that role. The focus, then, is on the production and the uses of knowledge and the extent to which that knowledge is shaped by political and social agendas. In the course of this activity I explore the recursive relationship between knowledge production and the social forces that give rise to it, in the context of the history of the Fourie Collection. There are two secondary, but important, questions that support this study. One revolves around the practices of museums and archives in the processing and uses of their collections. It asks whether the Fourie Collection, by virtue of its mixed composition, might usefully be conceptualised as an archive, and, if so, whether the focusing of an archival lens on the collections releases new kinds of insights, and adds to the body of knowledge which we can expect to gain from such a collection. The second question involves a search through this archive for the ways in which Fourie's response to the tensions that arose from his participation in the colonising project shaped the archive.

Following archival practice I establish a provenance for the collection by historicising its points of origin: South West Africa in the early years of South African rule; Louis Fourie as a senior civil servant with an obsession to study and collect the Bushmen; and the state of anthropological theorising in southern Africa in the 1920s. Using a critical approach to museum practice I go on to deconstruct the collection to find how and why it starts to stand for a whole, to symbolise both memory and amnesia, and careful observation together with strenuous ignorance. In an exploration of the organisation, shape and texture of the collection it becomes clear how the holdings (the survivors) efface the uncollected. The character of the collection, as a whole, when read along the grain, creates white sound which silences the small signs of that which has been excluded. The archive becomes a site not of retrieval but of production and of obliteration.

Fourie's collection holds only fractions of the worlds of some groups of the Khoisan of the 1920s, but has been made to symbolise all Khoisan of all times. The archive holds these tensions, paradoxes and ambivalences for twenty-first century readers because the paradigms within which we now work include a desire to write the history back into ethnographies *and* to perform ethnographies of our archives. The result is the loss "of a secure, progressive narrative that too easily separates a colonial past and a liberal present" (Thomas 1994:16-17), and we can no longer criticise the past without recognising our own role in the production of history. The challenge this poses to museums and archives is to find other ways to represent, record, name and classify information. "We need to create descriptive systems that are more permeable ... to create holes that allow in the voices of other users" (Duff and Harris 2002:279). This thesis attempts to begin that process. As Khoisan descendants draw upon material culture in their struggle to establish their own identity, they become "other users" of the archives, and their needs are different from those of the academic researchers.

Museum Africa sees the Fourie Collection as an important asset, and has been planning to create an exhibition using its material for some time. It has been delayed, in part by a chronic lack of funding, but also by anxieties over how to handle material perceived to be tainted by its colonial and racist genesis. A study of the form and the content of the collection itself, placing both it and Fourie in historical context, may help future curators to find ways to exhibit the collection that avoid the old ethnographic stereotypes. This approach suggests new ways of theorising museum collections because it frames and describes the collection as an archive and proceeds to interrogate it as an historical record rather than reading it as an ethnographic text.

The survival and employment of the collection after its creator's death was, and still is, contingent upon the role of museums in South Africa and their methods of caring for and

classifying their objects. In attempting to find ways in which the collection can be comprehended as a whole it is useful to question the premises upon which museums base the organisation of their collections. At Museum Africa these organisational systems vary according to the medium, so that the artefacts are arranged according to racial categories and then to the material used, the photographs to racial categories and then to subject matter, and the documents are kept in a quasi-archival manner arranged first according to provenance and then in what is known as "original order". While recent works on museums and material culture have provided important insights into the nature of collecting and the meanings of objects, there have been few attempts at the analysis of the *contents* in relation to the *form* of collections, and the meanings which can be read in the omissions and the repetitions which make up its shape.

The role of interlocutor in a case like Fourie's was a delicate and difficult one. The generally accepted definition of an interlocutor is one who partakes in a dialogue. However, in colonial studies it is a loaded term. Said summarises two "fundamentally discrepant meanings". The first is that of a member of a colonised group who tries to communicate with the colonisers in one of a variety of ways. The second is someone in what he calls an academic or theoretical environment who

> ... is a laboratory creation, with suppressed, and therefore falsified, connections to the urgent situation of crisis and conflict that brought him or her to attention in the first place (Said 1989:210).

The degree to which Fourie fits this description is to be found in the tensions which arose as a result of his relationships with both the Administration of the Protectorate and with the Khoisan themselves; tensions which he was unable to articulate because he could not apprehend the colonial culture within which he lived and moved: "a culture by the way with a whole history of exterminism and incorporation behind it" (Said 1989:217). While the documentation makes it clear that he often spoke *about* them it is debatable whether Fourie attempted to speak overtly *for* or *on behalf of* the Khoisan of South West Africa. As it progressed through museums in South Africa, however, the collection seems to have been intended to stand for, or speak about the Khoisan; the thesis questions whether this was Fourie's intention. Nevertheless, in his absence museums have, in a sense, sought to fashion a Khoisan voice from the collections of artefacts and photographs, at the same time adding to, or subtracting from, those collections to mould them to a workable fit. Such actions have become so much a part of museum practice (or culture) that they are often performed without real explanation. An elucidation of the relationships of Fourie and his collection with the Khoisan, the Administration, and the academy, can begin to probe the thunderous silences within the Fourie Collection.

New ways of reading archives make it possible to explore new uses of material culture and photography and to tease out the relationship between Fourie's collection and constructions of Khoisan identities over the past eighty years. By establishing the grain of the collection, then reading with, across and against it, I find that there is a complex and recursive interplay between the two. The collection was shaped by contemporary perceptions of the Khoisan, and by Fourie's experiences and insights. It was used in exhibitions to indicate a perception of Khoisan identity, and was later modified, moulded and remoulded to fit the refinements and changes of that perception.

The uses of the collection, first by Fourie and then in a number of exhibitions and museums, speak of the perception that it was a source of ethnographic information on the so-called Bushmen as a generic entity. A reading of the collection, however, shows that, while there is much ethnographic information stored within it, many other kinds of knowledge are held not only in the content, but also in the *form*. The question of what constituted knowledge then, and what qualifies as knowledge now, and the exploration of the circumstances of the making of this knowledge, reveal details of the creation of the epistemology which gave rise to a distinctive Khoisan identity. They also reveal the political character of this epistemology - an easily recognised point in the case of Fourie, whose identity as a civil servant was enmeshed with his anthropological avocation.

Although many scholars have proclaimed the importance of Fourie's work, and have referred to it in various ways, the collection, as a collection, has remained largely unexplored. This reading of it seeks ways to describe it in its entirety, outlining the form and going on to read the contours for the richness, hollows, strengths and weaknesses that make its character or its unique grain. In the process the size and complexity of the Fourie Collection has demanded some form of categorisation. To reveal the substance of the grain I have tackled the artefacts, the photographs and the documents in different sections, always bearing in mind that they are part of a greater whole. This division is supported by recent studies on the various media even though the different approaches have many things in common. It is further motivated by the fact that Fourie himself organised and listed the contents of the artefacts and the photographs separately.

Collections like Fourie's are remarkable, but not uncommon. Many other collectors have gathered together representations of the people they encountered in the course of their work. As such they were combining the roles of observer, collector and interlocutor - a complex combination of activities, all of which were coloured by their own personal circumstances and the cultures of the organisations with which, or in which, they worked. Said notes that the problem of anthropological observers is that they examine and speak for others, but do not

analyse their own position in the process. "This silence is thunderous" for him, and he believes that questions need to be asked about the identity and the culture of the observer (Said 1989:212).

Methodology

In order to approach the main question of the thesis I have employed three methodological tactics which are: to write the biographies of, and thereby to historicise the collector and his collection by examining the contexts in which they functioned; to perform a descriptive ethnography of the collection and the processes which formed and ordered it; and to read the biographies and the collection through an archival lens in order to arrive at an understanding of the roles played by Fourie and his collection in the production of knowledge about the Khoisan. In the process of describing the collection I treat it in its entirety as an archive, arguing that all of its contents are manifestations of knowledge or information that can be consulted by researchers, and that they inform and support each other in a myriad of ways. This study is not an historical anthropology of the Khoisan.

The reader should be aware that a fundamental element of any ethnography is a dense description of the subject group, and, therefore, since this thesis performs an ethnography of Fourie's collection, it includes an immense amount of explanatory and illustrative narrative. It is within this dense description that the grain of the collection is to be found, and that the disjunctures, discontinuities, ruptures, regularities and irregularities begin to manifest themselves.

I examine the main points of the origin of this collection by placing the collection in its social and academic contexts. These include: Fourie's personal and professional histories; the events that brought him to South West Africa; the policies of rule and the ways in which he fitted into the structure of the Administration; the political status of the Khoisan; and finally the growth of anthropology as an academic discipline in the relevant period. These points are not always distinct from each other, often overlapping and intersecting in circumstances related to Fourie's work and his hobby. It is the relationships between the fragments which comprise Fourie's archive and the fields made up of the worlds from which they came which pose the greatest analytic challenge and which this dissertation explores. These linkages provide insights into the role played by the collection, and the collecting processes, and which form the basis for the recursive pattern that has continued until today. The nature of collecting, the motives which drive collectors and the meanings that are ascribed to the objects of their desire, form another part of the background to Fourie's project.

Scrutinising the collection for the factors that influenced Fourie and his work involves an understanding of the forces that shaped the character, the distinctive "grain", which is to be found in the form and substance of the collection as a whole. As we have seen, this metaphor is used by Stoler to describe two methods of analysing archives - one going with and the other going against the grain. In a description of the later poems of Robert Frost, his biographer writes of the ways in which they were shaped by Frost's experiences of farming life in the village of Derry in New England.

> But it was not until *North of Boston* that one really began to see and hear the results of the Derry years, those after-echoes and effects that continued for decades, shaping Frost's vision, giving a **grain** to his voice (Parini 1998:91).

For Fourie, the "Derry years" were the years he spent in South West Africa. This time was pivotal in the shaping of his methods of studying and recording the Khoisan. The equivalent to the farming life that so deeply affected Frost was the colonial lifestyle that facilitated the growth of his reputation as an expert on the Khoisan, and simultaneously shaped Fourie's identity and self-esteem.

Reading along the grain and against the grain is an important methodology in this interpretation of Fourie's work, and it is useful to clarify my understanding of the metaphor. In its original context of describing wood a helpful definition of the term grain is that it "refers to the alignment of the fibres relative to the long axis of the log" which has been produced by "successive growth increments", and which are fundamentally formed by "the size, form and distribution of different types of cell [that] are distinctive for each variety of wood". These "account for many of the characteristic physical and mechanical properties of woods and make it possible to identify and classify the thousands of different wood species" (Bramwell n.d.:225, 228). The grain is affected by the patterns of growth of a tree and events in its life. Knots reflect the number of branches it has grown and scars occur if it is cut deeply, or has grown over stones or wire, for example. The grain of the Fourie Collection, therefore, is constituted first by its component parts, its wide range of different forms of knowledge, shaped and created by himself (his photographs, field notes and other writings), and many others (Khoisan craft-makers, civil service report-writers, donors of objects and photographs, correspondents and museum researchers and exhibition makers). The arrangement of these components is directly related to Fourie's methods of collecting and the paradigms in which he and his contributors worked, and forms the second element that gives the grain its character.

Texture is "the evenness of the wood surface" and may be coarse or fine in varying degrees, and may vary according to the ways in which the grain is stroked (or planed or sanded). It

may feel smooth, for example, if one is stroking with the grain, or coarse if one is stroking against it. Grain is not the same as the growth rings which range around the short axis of a log, and which record the life history of the tree, giving the number of years it has lived (Bramwell n.d.: 14, 225). Reading Fourie's collection *along* the grain we get a feel for what the collection can tell us about Khoisan and colonial culture. In this process we can see the constitutive elements that made up Fourie's (and his peers') perception of the identity of those who they named Bushmen, and what constituted "knowledge" at the time. As Stoler puts it: "We need to read for its regularities, for its logic of recall, for its densities and distributions, for its consistencies of misinformation, omission and mistake, along the archival grain" (Stoler 2002:92). This process reveals much about the processes involved in producing knowledge about the Khoisan. Reading *against* the grain, however, involves searching the collections for the rough edges caused by the inconsistencies, the small traces of opposition and contradiction, the anomalies and the traces of indifference. In this way we look for some sense of how the Khoisan became "objects of colonial discipline as subaltern subjects" but "who made - albeit constrained - choices of their own" (Stoler 2002:91). This is an important counterbalance because it is necessary to acknowledge that the Khoisan may well have had some agency in the making of the collection. At the same time we seek, in the interstices of the collection, traces of difference in settler opinion and attitude, and try to place Fourie within that society.

The biography of the Fourie Collection establishes the extent to which the collection was used as "evidence". I describe its development (and sometimes its stagnation and even decline) while it remained in Fourie's hands. I look at the uses, both direct and indirect, which were made of it after it left Windhoek, and later when it moved out of the family's domain, and I find references made to it in publications, and the placing of parts of it in the public eye through exhibition.

Igor Kopytoff in an exploration of the "cultural biography of things" describes the ways in which the cultural contexts of objects both pre- and pro-scribe the course of the life cycles of individual objects. He suggests that the anthropological approach to biography, which is that this is "one way to understand a culture is to see what sort of biography it regards as embodying a successful social career"could be useful in this regard (Kopytoff 1986:66). Very few biographies of collections (as opposed to individual objects) have been made, and so this study can only hint at possible ways to measure the "success" of the social career of collections or archives, and therefore to understand the cultures which created and nurtured them. Kopytoff goes on to list a number of useful questions which can be asked in this regard, but these are somewhat too simplistic for the life history of a composite collection such as Fourie's (Kopytoff 1986:66-7).

Performing an ethnography of the collection involves a description of its shape and grain, paying attention to the "cellular arrangement" by examining the contents of the collection and the ways in which they interlock with each other, seeking the scaffolding that holds things together. In order to do so I "pause at … those conventions that make up its unspoken order, its rubrics of organisation, its rules of placement and reference" (Stoler 2002:94), first as they were applied by Fourie who was both obsessive collector and civil servant, and then as they formed a part of museum practice and discourse. In making these conventions strange it is possible to read them as cultural constructs, and to situate them in the processes of knowledge production. In some respects this thesis can be conceptualised as a methodological precursor study to any attempt to use the Fourie archive. The reader will find a density of engagement with the collection in the following chapters, especially the descriptive ethnography of the collection, which will doubtless be arduous to read. It is a contention of the thesis, however, that a descriptive ethnography must present its materials, and not simply rely on the authoritative voice of the ethnographer.

I begin by reading the content of the documents, in the context of the history of their production, both at face value and between the lines. These words, which Fourie hoarded for so many years, both support and are supported by the other elements of the collection. They give names and descriptions and they provide much of the basis for the discussions in the following chapters. Reading along the grain and against the grain I try to isolate the silences, and the pauses between the words that say something about the history of the collection, and the ways in which it speaks about the relationships between Fourie and those people he encountered in South West Africa.

The skeletal material was separated from the rest of the collection relatively early on, when Fourie donated it to the Department of Anatomy at the Medical School at Wits, and has been lost or discarded since, leaving only traces in the written archive. A study of the tables of intricate measurements of living subjects, and numerous images of the anatomies and physiognomies of the Naron, ≠Ao-//ein and Hei-//om are used to give some substance to those traces. These are viewed as testaments to Fourie's participation in the project to classify the Khoisan, but a detailed reading exposes flaws, hesitancies, and disjunctures in the conventions and paradigms of physical anthropology in southern Africa.

The photographs are examined to show both how they support the collections of artefacts and skeletal material and also as having a significance of their own. They reflect Fourie's interest

in other aspects of culture, as manifested in his field notes. Over the past two decades historical anthropologists have extracted from photographs a range of insights into the cultural processes which arose as a result of colonisation. Using these perceptions I explore the images made and collected by Fourie, looking at the content, and at the overall distribution of content within the collection.

A similar approach occurs at the beginning of the study of artefacts. Having established the shape of this part of the collection I proceed to isolate three categories (arrows, miniature hunting kits and body ornaments) to explore in detail, reading them both along and against the grain, and it is here that the voices of the Khoisan come through most clearly. The polysemous, symbolic nature of objects is an important underlying theme in this section.

As an extension of the ethnography I bring an archival lens to bear on the collections because, as Stoler says: "the 'archival turn' registers a rethinking of the materiality and imaginary of collections and what kinds of truth-claims lie in documentation", and "it signals a new grappling with the production of history, what accounts get authorised and what procedures were required, and what about the past it is possible to know" (Stoler 2002:87). Stoler is dealing here with the documentary collections commonly associated with the term "archive", but her methodology has relevance for readings of other kinds of collections. In this case we are looking at collections, not necessarily only of documents, which are part of the production of ethnography, and anthropological theory. "All are concerned with the legitimising social coordinates of epistemologies: how people imagine they know what they know and what institutions validate that knowledge. None treat the conventions and categories of analysis (statistics, facts, truths, probability and footnotes) as innocuous or benign" (Stoler 2002:88).

Museum practice in the case of ethnographic collections privileges the classification of artefacts and images first by the people of origin, and then by function and form. Provenance holds very different meanings for museums and archives. For the former it refers to details of the makers and users of the artefacts, and information regarding the collector, period and circumstances of collecting is secondary (and sometimes non-existent at Museum Africa). For archivists, what is considered secondary for museums is privileged above all other factors when arranging records. Recent historical anthropological studies, when utilising archives, have worked to marry provenance with form to gain new insights into the processes by which colonists incorporated the colonised into their administrations and into their consciousness. While it uses museum practice to describe and analyse the various elements in depth, the thrust of the dissertation is to show that the collection, when taken in its entirety, becomes an archive.

A part of this study is a historical ethnography of an ethnographic collection and its historical context. The method has some links with what Comaroff and Comaroff call "neo-modernist anthropology" which:

> … seeks to construct imaginative sociologies of terrains both near and far, more or less complex, familiar and strange, local and global - accounts at once social and cultural, both imaginative in their grasp of interior worlds of others and yet ... respectful of the real (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:ix).

The Comaroffs argue that the past is another country in which people did things differently, and that historical anthropologists seek to interpret events according to the "culture" of that time. So cultural histories, often of seemingly insignificant others, "challenge the very categories through which colonial pasts have been made". Fourie was simultaneously constructing an archive and an "imaginative sociology" of the Khoisan. The multi-layered collection is such that, fragmentary though it may seem, it goes beyond the "established canons of documentary evidence", and as such demands something other than a conventional ethnographic reading, providing clues which can only be read in the light of the historical and cultural context of its time. In this thesis I do not perform an historical anthropology of the Khoisan but am alive to the potential of that approach in the performance of the ethnography of the collection.

Chapter Two is a biography of Louis Fourie's life, placing him and his anthropological work in the context of the colonisation of SWA by South Africa and outlining his professional duties and responsibilities as Medical Officer. In some ways his anthropological activities helped him shape his own identity, but at the same time the collection reflects changing notions of Khoisan identity. This chapter considers the methods used to gather information, and the many personalities who made up the community within which Fourie performed this work. It shows how he was firmly placed within the academic *milieu* of the time, helping and being helped by particular contemporary academics.

Chapter 3 analyses the collection of writings which form the paper archive for the collection, and which form a crucial source for this study. Fourie created the paper archive partly as a support for the other parts of his collection, and there is a sense of randomness and a lack of structure, which is not encountered in the other parts of the collection. For these reasons it is dealt with at the beginning of the thesis. Archive theory is explored in this chapter, and links are made between the writings and the rest of the collection. In a reading of the field notes, the correspondence and the publications I interrogate Fourie's standing within the Administration and the ways in which he used his contacts there to facilitate his work, but in return allowed his expertise to be used for official and semi-official work - demonstrating the intimate relationship between the operation of power and the gathering of information.

Chapter 4 deals with Fourie's work as a physical anthropologist, the activities surrounding the gathering of information for the study of the physical anthropology of the Khoisan, and with the photographic collection, of which a large portion images the bodies of the Khoisan, looking at the possibilities and limits of visual anthropology. Here the selectivity involved in depicting the 'pure Bushman' is made starkly real. The evidence is in charts and tables of measurements found in the written records, a proportion of the photographs, and the collection of bones that were donated to the Department of Anatomy of the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand. Fourie played a substantial role in the gathering of skeletal material at the beginning of his stay in Windhoek, and continued to gather material of an anthropometric nature through most of the following years. I will show, however, that he became more attracted to the social side of anthropology, and less inclined to believe that any conclusive evidence concerning the classification of the Khoisan 'races' was to be found in their physical appearance.

Fourie's photographs gained the most publicity, and his images have been copied by a variety of people. Photographing the Khoisan had become a fashionable pursuit in the ensuing decades, with numerous publications disseminating images of the Khoisan of the Kalahari (for example Mertens 1966, Wannenburgh 1979, Weinberg 1997). Fourie's images differ from such published images in part because he was the product of a different time and place, and also because his intentions were to create not attractive images, but a working record to which he and other researchers could refer at some later time. I examine the ways in which Fourie's images reflect the concerns of anthropologists in the earlier part of the century, and in which he eschewed 'aesthetics' in the pursuit of a proper scientific record.

Fourie's collection of material culture is the subject of Chapter 5. In seeking to make sense of the hoard of artefacts, I trace the contours of the collection to find significance in, for example, the wide range of objects, the emphasis on hunting equipment, the thousand arrows, the large number of ostrich egg shell beads, the detailed attention to the materials and tools used in the manufacture of these objects and the paucity of references to the use of mass-produced clothing and equipment. Theories of collecting apply, but Fourie's stated intention was to examine technology and material culture in an anthropological paradigm, and so I explore questions pertaining to ethnographic material and archive in conjunction with collecting studies.

Chapter 6 examines the place of collecting, as practised by individuals and by institutions, in the rise of scientific enquiry among the intelligentsia of Europe, and then focuses on the collection of ethnographic material in the period from about the middle of the nineteenth

century to the middle of the twentieth century. This became a respectable hobby for middle-class Victorians in the colonies, and provided much material for burgeoning museums both at home and back in the metropole. The knowledge contained in the resulting collections was named, classified and ordered, creating identities and giving control not only of the collections but also of the people they represented. Until recently material culture studies played a peripheral role in the development of social anthropology in South Africa: the consequences of this marginalisation are discussed. I show here how the hobby and the museum are enmeshed in the creation and maintenance of colonial control.

Chapter 7 contains an analysis of the impact made by the collection on Khoisan studies in the twentieth century, and the ways in which it was used and made available to, or withheld from, researchers. It follows the history of the collection as it moved away from Fourie and through a number of institutions. In this way both academics and the general public felt the influence of Fourie's work. It became embedded in the larger archive to which writers, filmmakers and museum exhibition designers referred. And, like any archive, it was open to a number of different interpretations. The chapter concludes that the effects of Fourie's work on the formation of Khoisan identity have been subtle and intermittent, but very real.

Conclusion

This thesis is, in effect, a biography of Fourie and his archive because it documents their life histories in order to understand them within the changing social contexts of the twentieth century (Roberts 2002:3). These social contexts constitute "the objective reality that man creates" (Veninga 1983:66). Taking this one step further I would say that there are a number of interlocking realities in every individual's life, so that, for the purposes of this study I can focus on those which contain the paradigms that encompassed race, colonialism, anthropology and collecting. I do not view all these canopies as being separate and distinct, nor do I see them as remaining static; in fact, it quickly becomes clear that Fourie was studying the Khoisan at a time when some of the most dramatic paradigm changes were occurring in the discipline of anthropology. Social anthropology was becoming a discipline of its own, divorcing itself from physical anthropology and archaeology, and focusing on structural functionalism and the importance of kinship systems. Nevertheless, they were still fed by assumptions related to the Foucauldian archives of racism and the colonial endeavour. This thesis examines those effects, but also investigates the possibilities that Fourie's work played a role in both supporting and shaping the paradigm changes of his times.

Chapter 2

Administrator and Amateur Anthropologist: A brief historical account

Introduction

Between about 1850 and 1970 the notion prevailed in the west that, if scholars were assiduous enough, one day all that could be known would be collected and collated, and the world would make sense. Louis Fourie - born 1878, died 1953 - was eminently suited to this time of "classic modernist collecting" (Pearce 1995:132-133). He gathered diligently ethnographic knowledge of the Khoisan of South West Africa, and, like many of his contemporaries believed that, in the future, it would be pieced together to reconstitute their expiring customs and traditions (Pearce 1995:133). To this task Fourie brought an intellect schooled in medical science; a personality in which resided a strong sense of fair play together with an abiding sense of being an outsider; and the obsessive nature of a collector.

This chapter gives a narrative analysis of the history of Fourie's life with a particular focus on the period when he gathered together his Khoisan material. It examines how the study of the Khoisan in South West Africa became his avocation, and its product, the collection, the result of the intersection of his personality with his family history, peer group structure, and his professional and socio-political environments. To that end this biography within a biography follows, to some degree, the form of a literary biography in which the life of an author (or poet) is studied with reference to its relevance to the creation of his or her *oeuvre*, (being Fourie's collection in this instance). This is not an attempt to understand "virtually everything involving [Fourie's] individual experiences" (Roberts 2002:129), but it does attempt to understand the elements of his personality that informed his perceptions, and the interpretations of those perceptions, relating to the Khoisan of the Protectorate. It also places some emphasis on his relationships within those groups which had, in turn, influenced his collection and the activities of making it: his family; fellow civil servants in South West Africa; peers in the fields of anthropology and archaeology; and the Khoisan subjects of his research.

Narrative construction in biographical research "draws together diverse events, happenings, and actions of human lives into thematically unified goal-directed processes" (Roberts 2002:117) in order to make a story. As a method it is a "humanistic procedure" that involves the "careful reading of the words and stories" of and about the subject. In this case the narrative follows Fourie's life in more or less chronological order, using, as an important source, a previously written narrative, supplemented and corroborated by evidence taken from Fourie's own documents (Roberts 2002:116, 132-133). To supplement the information found

within Museum Africa I have referred to documents in the national archives of Namibia and South Africa, and at the Adler Museum of Medicine,[17] as well as to published sources that include Wallace's *Health and Society in Windhoek* (1998) (which is the only source that gives some details of Fourie's time in Windhoek), Peter Carstens' introduction to *The Social Organization of the Nama and other essays by Winifred Hoernlé*, and other works that refer to the history of related places and times.

Bob Fourie, Louis and Mabel's older son, was the author of a 144 page unpublished biography of his father, which he wrote at the request of the MMS, but only finished in 1985, almost ten years after the collection had been moved to the Africana Museum. It contains details of and insights into the lives of Fourie and his family as viewed by an insider. His account of the years before he was born is based on the stories he heard from his father and his mother, since Bob himself had very few opportunities to speak to any of the extended family, and appears not ever to have met his paternal grandparents. His memories of their stay in South West Africa need to be read with the understanding that Bob was initially very young, then was away at boarding school in Ireland from the age of eight to twelve, and spent most of the remaining years at boarding school in Grahamstown and Swakopmund. What he has written, therefore, emanates only partly from first-hand experience; the rest comes from the stories and memories of his parents and their friends. As such, it becomes something of a distillation of their experience, and a document of interest in itself, reflecting both his father's and his own values and views of events and personalities. Although he enjoyed the freedom of the veld and the fishing holidays spent on a deserted stretch of beach south of Swakopmund, there is a strong sense that these were not all happy years for the writer. He was unsettled and often homesick during those years at boarding school, and he struggled to settle down again in Windhoek on his return.[18] In addition to this the son maintained a strong sense of admiration for, and loyalty to, his father, and, naturally, expressed his own points of view, which include an underlying racism forged from a colonial childhood and a lifetime of work on South African mines to be expected given the South African context.[19]

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[17] The introduction to Chapter 3 details the availability of primary sources connected with Fourie and his work.

[18] He writes that the birth of his brother "put my nose out of joint", and that he became demanding and aggressive, bullying the boys at school - particularly the Germans. His aunt Kathleen, deciding that he needed discipline, offered to take him to Ireland with her in 1921, when he was eight years old. He spent four years there: "… on the whole happy years but I missed having parents like other boys" (Fourie 1985:22). When he was offered the opportunity to go to an English public school he decided: "I was not going to trade a father for an English public school and gave a most emphatic 'NO' in answer". He was then sent to St Andrews College in Grahamstown for a year after which he went to Swakopmund Secondary School and then spent his last two school years at Windhoek High School (Fourie 1985:30-31)

[19] Found, for example, in his use of terms such as "boy" to describe grown men (Fourie 1985:16, 17, 20); "primitive tribesmen" to describe the vast majority of people living in the Territory (Fourie

Bob's words, then, need to be read through the lens of the knowledge given above, and, where possible, I have complemented or contradicted them with references to other sources.

The years before Windhoek – 1878-1915

Louis Fourie was the seventh of the nine children of Hendrik Willem and Dirkje Catherina (née Botha), and was brought up on an ostrich farm at Lategan's Vlei in the Oudtshoorn district of South Africa. He was the only one of seven brothers who was well-educated and felt himself something of an oddity in the family as a result of his academic interests. His memory was that a sister, Johanna Hendrina, who was ten years older than him, was the only one who accepted and understood him. Whatever the truth may be his father supported him, at least financially, when, in his mid-teens he moved to the English-medium Victoria College in Stellenbosch and matriculated there, a few days before his eighteenth birthday in 1896. At that time there were no medical schools in the country and South African students wanting to study medicine went to European countries, mainly Britain (favouring Scottish universities, Edinburgh having the best reputation), Germany and Holland. After completing the intermediate examination in Arts at UCT, Fourie borrowed money on his future inheritance and set off to study medicine at Edinburgh University in 1898 (Fourie 1985:1-2).[20]

In October 1899 when the Anglo-Boer (South African) War (1899-1902) broke out (only a year after he had begun his studies in Edinburgh) there was little doubt in Fourie's mind about where his loyalties lay. Almost immediately he enrolled as a stretcher-bearer with James Sivewright's Ambulance Corps which was chiefly composed of Edinburgh medical students connected with the Transvaal, and which left Scotland in November that year (Solomon 1966:214-6). This group of twelve students (four of whom were British), one doctor, his wife and several nurses was given permission by the British War Office to sail to South Africa to serve the Boers, whose medical services were said to be inadequate. Paul Kruger rejected their offer of help because they had come from Britain, but Fourie and a group of Afrikaner students managed to make their way behind British lines in order to reach the Boer troops. He served at the Siege of Ladysmith and worked at the Bourke Hospital in Pretoria where he remained to care for patients until the British captured the town in June 1900. The British

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1985:19); "native" (Fourie 1985:21) and "raw tribesman" (Fourie 1985:28). Note also such phrases as: "Rule was by tribal law tempered by European humanity" (Fourie 1985:19), and his interpretation of the history of the bombing of Ipumbu's "kraal" (Fourie 1985:27).

[20] Perhaps the best-known illustration of this would be the case of Louis C. Leipoldt, the well-known South African writer and poet, whose studies followed a very similar pattern to those of Fourie. Leipoldt studied at Guys Hospital in London from 1903 to 1907 and stayed on in Europe to gather experience and study further. In fact there is little doubt that Leipoldt would have been known to Fourie who was the President of the South African Students Union, and who also stayed on in London and travelled to Berlin where, like Leipoldt, he studied children's diseases (*Dictionary of South African Biography* 1972 Vol 2:387).

refused to permit the orderlies to return to the Boer lines, giving them the choice of serving in a British hospital or returning to Britain to resume their studies. Fourie returned to Edinburgh (Solomon 1966-215).

Fourie's examination results improved with every year of his studies. After 1902 he received a number of first class merit certificates (AMLFOU 2.46-48), and in April 1903 he passed the "Third Professional Examination" with distinction (AMLFOU 2.43). Among the many second-class certificates of merit he received one was for the course in public health he took in the summer term of 1902 (AMLFOU 2.36, 2.45, 2.50). In 1904 he graduated with an MB ChB, with second-class honours and won the Conan Doyle prize for the most distinguished graduate from South Africa. He then went on to study children's diseases at Berlin University. During the six months he spent there he befriended the Reitz family (of the former President of the Orange Free State still in exile after the Anglo-Boer (South African) War) with whom he socialised a great deal (Fourie 1985:5-6). It is not hard to imagine Fourie, still fired with enthusiasm for the Boer cause, sympathising with one of its defeated leaders.

Despite the fact that he remained in Britain for some years after he completed his studies, and seems to have developed some respect for the British, Fourie continued to identify with the Boers. He would often tell the story of how, at a dinner of the South African Students Union in Edinburgh, "... he was seated next to Lady Fraser, wife of the Chancellor of the University. She asked him: 'What are these Boers like Dr Fourie?' He surprised her by replying: 'Lady Fraser you will have to judge for yourself. You're sitting next to one'." (Fourie 1985:4).

Nevertheless, Fourie's education and experience in Scotland and England left him with a lasting respect for the British medical fraternity with which he maintained links for many years, and which doubtless provided a model for his work in the development of the public health system in the Protectorate. He was later instrumental in the founding of the South West Africa branch of the Medical Association of South Africa, which was part of the British Medical Association of which Fourie spoke in glowing terms (Fourie 1985:34). In addition, this period of study and work in Britain inspired Fourie to cultivate a philosophy based on honour and fairness. Bob remembers:

> I once asked him what had impressed him most when as a callow South African youth he went to Edinburgh? [sic] He replied that everyone told the truth. When I asked him if he had not been brought up to tell the truth, he said, not always, if you thought you could get away with it. You were considered a fool if you were stupid enough to be found out. What impressed him was that his fellow students always owned up when responsibility for some escapade was queried by authority. As a result throughout his life he was scrupulously honest (Fourie 1985:134).

In 1905 Fourie returned from Germany to Britain where he spent five years working in hospitals in London and Edinburgh, gaining experience in a variety of fields of medicine, although his main interest appears to have been in paediatrics. While he was working in London he met his future wife, Mabel McCammon, the daughter of an Irish "gentleman farmer". She had run away from school at an early age and had never been sent back, but was said to be very practical and her accomplishments included riding to hounds, fishing, and playing the piano well (Fourie 1985:7). Mabel's practical bent proved to be very useful later as she set up home in a number of remote locations in South and South West Africa.

Fourie returned to South Africa in 1910 to set up a practice and Mabel arrived in Cape Town, accompanied by an upright piano and a handsome trousseau, in April 1910.[21] Although they spent some years in small *platteland* towns where there were very few English speakers (Oudtshoorn, Steynsburg and Taung) Mabel never learned to speak Afrikaans and their home language remained English (Fourie 1985:7). It is significant that Fourie was drawn to an Irish woman, someone with strong links to the English, whom he emulated in many ways, but someone who, like himself, was not quite a full part of English society and also something of a rebel.[21]

In 1912 the Fourie's oldest child, Hilgard, was born. The name was an anglicised form of Helgard, after Fourie's oldest brother, but the child was nicknamed Baby, which became Bobby and then Bob, and was never known by his given name. In 1918 their second son, Andrew McCammon Fourie, nicknamed Jumbo, was born in Windhoek. The family's links with Ireland and England were so strong that, in 1921, they sent Bob to be educated at Rockport Preparatory School at Craigavad near Belfast, where he hoped to prepare for entry to the Royal Naval College in Dartsmouth (Fourie 1985:22). In the event he was not selected and was offered the opportunity to go to an English public school. He declined, not wanting to spend another few years away from home.

In 1914 the ostrich feather market collapsed and Fourie's brothers, who, it appears, had been living a little too well during the boom, were badly affected. They turned to Fourie who was the only one earning an income. The executor of his father's estate demanded that he repay the advance on his inheritance that he had received ten years before, the sum of £2 298. In addition, the siblings were constantly asking for help and small loans. Bob recounts that Fourie was incapable of saying no to these requests and was not an efficient manager of finances to boot. Private practice was not enormously lucrative, and in addition Fourie was

[21] Diana Duff's *Leaves from the Fig Tree* gives an insider's view of the lives of the landed gentry in Ireland in the early part of the twentieth century (2003).

cheated out of fees collected for him by a local lawyer. The young couple would take almost ten years to pay the debts accumulated during this period, and Mabel, who took control of the family finances, was so embittered and angry at her family-in-law that eventually she severed almost all links with them (Fourie 1985:10-11).

Interestingly, Mabel also rejected her own family, to a large extent, after travelling to Ireland to spend six months with them in 1923. "But still the rebel she could not stand their narrow outlook and returned home after three months" (Fourie 1985:22).

To get away from Fourie's brothers and sisters, Louis and Mabel moved to a practice in Taung in the northern Cape, where, shortly after the outbreak of World War I, he raised a commando from among the diggers at the alluvial diamond deposits. He was ordered to ride into the camp of Jopie Fourie (no relation), a rebel who was opposed to South Africa fighting against the Germans, to persuade him to surrender. He did not stay there long, and was unsuccessful in this bid. After the rebellion had been quelled he gave medical help to many of the wounded rebels as they made their way back to their homes in the western Transvaal. In 1915 the Fouries moved yet again, this time to Knysna.

In 1916 Fourie, struggling to make a decent living in private practice, heard that there was an opening for a medical officer, with the rank and salary of Captain, in the military administration of the recently occupied territory of South West Africa. He was appointed to the post and moved to Keetmanshoop in September of that year. Louis and Mabel, alienated from his family and happy not to be struggling to collect fees, many of which had been paid in kind, seem to have settled into the life of the Territory very easily. They remembered their time there very fondly.

> It was a glorious life full of the challenge of meeting the needs of developing a new country. The camaraderie of the Union subjects was excellent and open house was the rule. In the outside areas hospitality was without question, the Germans in particular maintaining a high standard of living (Fourie 1985:19).

But, it was not all smooth sailing.

Military medicine and epidemics – 1916-1920

In 1915 the military campaign against the Germans in South West Africa introduced an influx of approximately 6 000 South Africans that included a contingent of the newly formed South African Medical Corps (SAMC), members of which were placed strategically throughout the country as they took over the health system (Wallace 2002:71).[22] Most German health

[22] Prior to this there had been a number of medical corps attached to the different sections of the armed services. They were consolidated when South Africa entered World War I.

workers were seen as strategic personnel and were deported very soon after the South Africans took over, leaving the SAMC to assume responsibility for all public health matters in the country.

Fourie was one of three doctors in the SAMC in Windhoek (where he had moved from Keetmanshoop in early 1917) who worked together with eight nurses and twenty-six support staff. The doctors were accountable to Lieutenant Haydon, the Assistant Director of Medical Services, and the Administrator, Sir Howard Gorges, was in control of all health services in the country. In November 1917 Fourie wrote:

> Since my arrival in the Protectorate I have done a fair share of work amongst the railway-employees. … The same applies to Posts and Telegraphs, Native-Affairs [sic], Prisons and various other Units. … A reference to official records will show that when I took charge of the Native-hospital [sic] at the end of November 1916 the daily average number of patients treated in that hospital for the preceding 12 months was 80.5, while for the corresponding period up to the end of November 1917 it had risen to 125 and for the latter half of this period to 142. As regards the Gaol, for the year ending 30th November eighty visits were paid by Medical Officers and 32 prisoners examined or treated, while for the corresponding period, ending 30th November 1917, I visited the Gaol on nearly 200 occasions and examined and treated 800 prisoners (NNA ADM File C103).

In addition to these activities Fourie was responsible for administering anaesthetics and performing operations in the Military Hospital and the Native Hospital in Windhoek.

From the beginning health officials were involved in the Military Administration's efforts to establish control over the African population. They poured a large part of their resources into the control of epidemics and the treatment of syphilis and other sexually- transmitted infections (Fourie 1985:18; Wallace 2002: 82-88). In 1917, 4 611 Africans in Windhoek and Klein Windhoek were examined for syphilis. Very few cases were diagnosed but the Military Administration continued to act as though this was a major threat to the health of the troops and insisted on quarterly compulsory examinations until 1920. As District Surgeon for Windhoek Fourie would undoubtedly have been involved in these activities. The concern to prevent the spread of venereal infections continued long after that. In 1924 Fourie wrote to Cockie Hahn complaining that the Finnish missionary at Onifa, Dr Rainio, was not using an effective treatment for syphilis (Wallace 2002:77; NNA File 450 1/29). He was concerned that: "Unless more energetic steps are taken with regard to syphilis in Ovamboland the disease will spread."

In 1917 Fourie was doubtless also involved when the entire African population of Windhoek was inoculated against smallpox, in spite of the fact that a large number of people balked at

the idea (Wallace 2002:77). The threats posed by epidemics were very real. An outbreak of measles in Windhoek in August 1918 led to 386 patients being admitted to the Native Hospital and in October of that same year the first case of Spanish Influenza occurred in the town, and soon all sectors of the community were hit by the illness. The devastation that followed is hard to exaggerate and all services were disrupted. Fourie was given control of health services. Bob Fourie's account of events states that the situation became impossible as most of the medical personnel succumbed to the virus, and Fourie sent to the Union for help.[23] The biography goes on:

> In the native location wagons were sent round daily to collect the corpses for burial in a common grave. At the Native hospital all European orderlies were affected, one of them dying. At the jail all warders and the majority of prisoners contracted the flu. All doors were left open and the prisoners left to fend for themselves. Among those not affected was a tall Rehoboth Baster serving a life sentence for murder. Under Louis' guidance he organized the unaffected convicts in attending not only their fellows but also the warders and their families. Marcus, the Baster worked himself to the point of exhaustion, as, in spite of being a big man, he was not strong and suffered from epilepsy. Once the epidemic was over the survivors returned to their cells which were once more locked (Fourie 1985:15).[24]

The care of the sick was organised in such a way that Africans, Germans and South Africans were treated separately, the Germans receiving less assistance and support, and Africans receiving the least of all (Wallace 2002:90). Wallace only found evidence of one visit by Fourie to the location in Windhoek during the month of the epidemic's course, implying that he was more concerned with the epidemic's effect on the white population than on the Africans of Windhoek. Certainly, it would seem that he relied on Marcus and the surviving prisoners to care for those who were ill in the gaol. This notwithstanding, Fourie made a good name for himself with the South African Administration during this time. According to his son he was ordered to draw up a strategy to prevent "any recrudescence of the disease" in the Protectorate, presumably because he was believed to have managed the epidemic so effectively. It may well have been the reason for his being offered the post of Medical Officer when military government ended (Fourie 1985:18; Wallace 2002: 82-88).

Fourie sometimes found it difficult to conform to the demands of the military administrative structures in which he found himself, and there are indications that he was not willing to go against his own judgement in the interests of his career or of pandering to those in authority.

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[23] Co-incidentally, Dr McCowatt, who was sent to assist, had studied at Edinburgh University with Fourie.

[24] After the epidemic Fourie organised a parole for Marcus and, because he had shown an aptitude for nursing, found him a job at the Native hospital where he reportedly became "one of the most competent orderlies", working steadily and saving his money "to look after his old mother in Reheboth" (Fourie 1985:18). To Fourie's delight Marcus also showed an aptitude for taxidermy, and Fourie arranged for him to work on many collecting expeditions in the Protectorate.

In May 1917 a dispute with a senior Medical Officer in Windhoek, Dr Dalton, was aired in long reports written by the antagonists to the Administrator, Sir Howard Gorges. There seems to have been a certain amount of pride on the part of Fourie, and of professional jealousy on the other man's side. It is clear that Dalton felt threatened by Fourie's professionalism and intelligence but Fourie's compulsion to get the work done may have led to some insensitivity to the egos of others, and to the hierarchy in place at that time. The report shows that he was an inveterate record keeper, for he frequently refers to, and quotes from, a journal in which he kept detailed notes of the cases he treated and the circumstances surrounding them in order to be as accurate as possible (NNA ADM File C103).[25]

After 1918 Fourie became increasingly involved in structuring the public health services in the Territory, during which time his son claims: "He was to show consideration and tact towards his German contemporaries which earned for him their respect and confidence" (Fourie 1985:15). Interestingly, during this period Fourie assisted with the compilation of the Blue Book of 1918 in which the German administration was shown to be inefficient at best, cruel and dangerous at worst.[26] His work of establishing a Health Department coupled with his efforts during the outbreak of Spanish Influenza in 1918, and the measures he put in place afterwards to prevent any further occurrence, were recognised in 1920 by his appointment as a Member of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire.

It has been argued that the period of martial law (1915-1920) was one of "tentative liberalism", or of "paternalism", a time when a limited amount of reform proved the occupiers to be mature, civilized and not intent on repressing the population. This did not last past 1920, however, and there is no direct evidence of its effect on public health at that time (Silvester *et al* 1998:22). If Fourie benefited from it in a personal way, he did not make notes of it and neither did his son.

Beginning to collect

Fourie was given some Khoisan artifacts in 1916 and was immediately fascinated by them. They formed the beginnings of the collection, which continued to grow for many years after that. Fourie soon realised that he needed some sort of theoretical and practical background in order to be able to conduct studies of the Khoisan in a thorough way. In 1918 he discussed

[25] This journal is not among the papers now held at Museum Africa and I could not locate it at the Namibian National Archive or among the papers now held at the Adler Museum of Medicine.

[26] Fourie's contribution to the Blue Book is discussed in detail in the section *Readings of the Archive* in Chapter 3.

this need with Captain Carlisle, a friend of Maria Wilman[27] of the McGregor Museum in Kimberley. She wrote Fourie a long letter in which she said that she had heard that his work covered physical anthropology, rock art, language, folklore and material culture. She had been sufficiently impressed by this report to write to Professor C.G. Seligman at Oxford University to tell him about Fourie and to ask him to contact Fourie, which he did in April 1919. The letter also gave a summary of the state of the art of anthropology in South Africa at the time, offered help in the finding of suitable literature, and listed names and addresses of people who he could contact for further information and help (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:1, 2, 3). In the space of two years Fourie had, on top of all his medical duties, built up a reputation for Khoisan studies which reached as far as Oxford.

In 1918 Fourie sent a miniature hunting set to the Government Laboratories in Bloemfontein to have the arrows tested for traces of poison (MMS40/69/Box F/1918:1). This pattern of using the contacts of his profession to explore issues related to the Khoisan recurred throughout his stay in South West Africa. The merging of his hobby and his professional life is reflected, for example, in a letter sent to him from the Chief Warden at the Windhoek gaol, enclosing a copy of a statement allegedly made by N.A.T. Meche in which he admits to murdering three "Barotse's" [sic], and then goes on to say:

> ... 5 of us ate one and it was nice especially the buttocks, we fried the body on the fire.
> When we catch anyone of a different tribe we usually hang them up to a tree with a long chain. All Bushmen then gather round, cut up the body and eat it.
> We live in the bush and our food is raw buck, and a vegetable like a potato. We drink no beer of any kind.
> At our place it is common practice to kill one another. All this is true (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:6).

Since this extraordinary statement had nothing to do with the health of any of the prisoners, it can be assumed that the Chief Warden knew of Fourie's interest in the culture of the Bushmen, and sent it to him purely for his interest. There are no accompanying comments to show what the warden or Fourie thought of this apparent admission of cannibalism. It may be that this story formed the basis for a report entitled: "The People Eaters of South West" in a popular Afrikaans weekly in 1920. This report claimed that "wild Bushmen" were all cannibals (*Die Brandwag* 1920, quoted in Gordon 1992:92).[28]

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[27] Maria Wilman began work at the McGregor Museum in 1907. She had studied at Cambridge University (hence her recommendation of Haddon in this letter to Fourie) and was a keen student of rock art, and particularly rock engravings. She published *The Rock Engravings of Griqualand West and Bechualand, South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) in 1933.

[28] Gordon shows how this report was used to reinforce the commonly held idea that the Khoisan were so savage that they could not possibly have any claim to land in South West Africa, which was, therefore, available for white settlement.

Fourie's interest in the Khoisan, and his decision to study them further, raise two important questions. The first is whether he decided at an early stage that he was going to remain in South West Africa after the War. His commitment would seem to indicate that he did not envisage leaving the area in the near future. If that is the case, then he had a vested interest in the attempts by South Africa to gain control of the Territory, a possibility that is supported by his taking part in the production of the Blue Book. He could have seen an opportunity for himself to rise through the ranks to become the Medical Officer, and, after the difficulties he had found in private practice in small towns in South Africa, it would surely have seemed a safer and more comfortable future than any other he could have envisaged. It may well be, too, that with his strong sense of British fair play, gained during his stay in Britain, and having been an integral part of the Administration that was discussing the case, he felt that the German administration had been poor and that South Africa could have done a better job. A certain amount of idealism at this time might explain the disenchantment and disappointment that he felt by the end of the 1920s when he moved to South Africa (see: "Preparing to leave South West Africa" below).

The second question is: why did Fourie choose to study the Khoisan? Bob wrote of him:

> Had Louis been wrecked on a desert island, five minutes after landing he would have had a hobby. He was a great naturalist reading the veld like a book and his knowledge of the behaviour of animals became phenomenal (Fourie 1985:190).

And yet there is no evidence that he took up a hobby of any sort before he arrived in South West Africa. He did have an interest in succulents, which may have begun before this, particularly when he was living in Taung, but the biography only mentions this hobby continuing after the family left the Protectorate. As the following sections show, the answer to this question lies partly in the unique set of circumstances that arose within the South West African settler community between 1916 and 1926. These allowed Fourie to explore and express his identity more fully than would have been possible if he had stayed in private practice in small towns in South Africa. His personal interests (hunting, the wilderness, photography, a curiosity about the functioning of his own society), and his personality (enquiring, independent, an enjoyment of company but with a need to be alone from time to time) were well suited to this avocation, and the expression of these interests conformed to the ethos of the small settler society in which he worked and socialised. In addition, this work proved to be of some use to the Administration, filling gaps in the knowledge needed to control the Khoisan. But, as this thesis suggests, perhaps one of the most pressing reasons for Fourie's choice lies in his need to reconcile the tensions created by his observations of the iniquitous treatment of the Khoisan, with his own position within the system that promoted it.

Something of Fourie's understanding of the value of anthropological studies can be found in a report on anthropological research in South West Africa that he prepared for the Administration in January 1923. The section describing the different branches of anthropology (quoting both Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski on social anthropology) goes on for two pages. His plea for the need for work to be done is classic colonial anthropology:

> It needs little thought to realise how important such studies are for the understanding of a people. They are essential for any effective handling of them. But quite apart from any practical consideration, the study of such social institutions with the means used for their effective functioning and control in a primitive society, may lead to a deep insight into the mechanisms of our own vastly complicated society, and the sociological forces which are at work holding it together, and controlling its development. We are only on the threshold of such understanding ... .
>
> The material is still here, and it is to be hoped that under the influence of the new departments created by the Union Government for the study of African Life and Languages, and with the sympathetic help which both the Union Government, and this South West Administration is so ready to give, something will be done to bring African Anthropological work into line with that of other countries (MMS40/69/Box F/1923:5).[29]

Mandate and the League of Nations

After World War I Germany agreed to withdraw from all its colonies, and the European powers agreed that the people in these territories were unfit to rule themselves "under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" and would need to be governed by others "as a sacred trust of civilization" (Spence 1971:504). At this time the South African government was working very hard to convince the rest of the world that it was fit to govern South West Africa, and to keep it out of the hands of the Germans. The Blue Book discussed in Chapter 3 is an example of the lengths to which it went. It is likely that Fourie's work among the Khoisan was used to indicate that the Administration was taking its responsibilities for the indigenous people very seriously. Later on Fourie took part in compiling the reports which the South African government was obliged to send to the League of Nations on a regular basis. These reports contained sections that reassured the members that the local communities were being treated fairly and were benefiting from the jurisdiction of the Administration (Silvester, Wallace and Hayes, 1998:14-15; NNA A450 1/29 Letter Fourie to Hahn 27/4/1928).

In May 1919 the Prince of Wales, on behalf of South Africa, accepted the mandate to govern South West Africa from the Supreme War Council but the mandate was only ratified by the

[29] Although this report is unsigned I have attributed it to Fourie because it was typed on the same machine as that used for other documents that he signed.

League of Nations in December 1920 (Spence 1971:505). The League of Nations classified South West Africa as a category C territory, one which:

> Owing to the sparseness of the population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centre of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory [could] best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to … safeguards … in the interests of the indigenous population (Article 22(6) quoted in Spence 1971:505).

The terms of the mandate did not give South Africa blanket permission to treat the Protectorate as an extension of the country; Article Two of the Mandate stipulated: "The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral wellbeing [sic] and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate" (Quoted in Spence 1971:505-6).

The conditions of the mandate included: that the local populations should be allowed freedom of religion, or conscience; prohibitions on slavery and forced labour; and stipulations concerning military training (SESA Vol 10:176). The Permanent Mandates Committee, to which South Africa reported on a regular basis, was frequently dissatisfied with the administration of South West Africa. The Commissioner, in a speech in 1936, claimed that: "… of all the native populations with which the Commission had to deal, that of South West Africa seemed the most backward: the position was static and static in a deplorably low level" (Quoted in Spence 1971:506). Members of the Commission also voiced great concern over the low level of education of the African population; the Native Reserve System; the handling of the Bondelzwarts Rebellion of 1922; and about the wide use of prison labour by settlers, which came very close to forced labour (Gordon 1998:58).

It should be remembered that during this period imperialism and colonialism were the order of the day among the European powers. Such phrases as "social progress" and "seemed the most backward" were embedded in cultural evolutionism, which was used to justify the occupation of colonies around the globe (Betts 1985:312-313). It is a double indictment that the South African Administration should be condemned by a body whose very existence depended on underlying assumptions which were, at base, racist.

Colonial administration

Three important and interlinked themes running through the history of the administration of South West Africa in the 1920s had a direct effect on Fourie's collecting activities. There was a strong sense that the League of Nations was watching over the performance of the key players, who were struggling to carry out their duties with very little support. At the same time the mix of German settlers who remained in the Territory, English civil servants,

Afrikaner farmers, and African pastoralists, cattle herders and hunter-gatherers, all fighting for a share of resources and land, meant that identities needed to be defined and fought for. All of these groups needed to construct for themselves categories into which they and the others could fit, and which would shape and justify their lifestyles, actions and interactions. Resistance against colonial rule was often expressed in subtle ways as a part of the identity of African groups, such as the wearing of uniforms by Herero men, or white cloths on the hats of the followers of Isaac Witbooi (Silvester *et al* 1998:5-6). Native Administrators, of course, required classification and ethnic categories to help them to govern and control, but settlers who came into contact with African people and felt vulnerable and threatened by that contact, found this categorisation comforting, and contributed to it in informal ways.

South West Africa also played an important role in the shaping of South African white identity in many ways. The conquest of the territory and subsequent negotiations for control shaped South Africa as a sovereign nation in its own right. By gaining the mandate South Africa could align itself with the European powers as a coloniser, at the same time as establishing itself as a regional power in its own right. It campaigned hard to do so and public health "became an arena for the propaganda campaign waged … against Germany" (Wallace 2002:78). Fourie was thus drawn into the fray from an early stage, and he remained in it until the end of his stay, traveling to Geneva with Hahn to present the annual report to the Mandates Committee in 1929 (AM 3.13-14, Fourie 1985:31).

The administration of the Protectorate was carried out with a skeleton staff. In 1923 it consisted of "311 officials, of whom 212 were hired on a temporary basis … This is compared with the 1 226 German officials deported". The Administration was treated as an extension of the South African civil service and many of its staff came from South African postings, were seldom "at the top of their fields" (Silvester *et al* 1998:43) and a large number of the employees moved on after only a short stay. They brought with them the structures and values of the colonising power, and as a result state policy made very few allowances for local conditions. A small number, like Fourie, remained for a longer period, and this group formed friendships and ties which carried through their working, social and family lives.

The control of land and labour were two of the most important issues to occupy the minds and activities of the Administration. Much early legislation, such as vagrancy laws, tax laws and the formation of "Native Reserves" were designed to control the movements and the labour of black men. One of the first legal proclamations "made it an offence for black men to move around the Police Zone unless they could show 'visible lawful means of support'" (Gordon 1998:51-52).

"Means of support" was defined as a herd of either ten cattle or fifty goats and sheep. Lord Lugard, a prominent member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, pointed out that this meant that all Khoisan were *de facto* vagrants, but the legislation was not changed (Gordon 1998:52).

The constant awareness of the need to report to the League of Nations tempered some of the worst of the racist regulations but racism continued to exist in practice. The infrastructure that had been inherited from the Germans included separate hospitals, gaols, and township areas and, because the South Africans brought with them an already racialised system of rule, they made no attempt to change things. In addition, the ethos and values of the settlers was equally racialised, for example, most of them would not sell land to black people, make allowances for the barriers of language and literacy or share knowledge or information (Silvester *et al* 1998:33-38). The shortage of administrative personnel meant that it was very difficult to police the plethora of rules and regulations, and this was partly solved by authorising settlers to carry out citizen's arrests on Africans for a number of offences (Gordon 1998:74-75).

For the majority of the 1920s English-speaking South Africans monopolised official positions and therefore political power in the Protectorate. Sir Howard Gorges (a civil servant who had been born and brought up in the Eastern Cape) was the first Administrator and was clearly well respected by Fourie who thought him "an outstanding man" (Fourie 1985:25). But as Afrikaner nationalism gained momentum in South Africa its effects were felt more and more on the Administration. In 1920 Gorges was succeeded by Guysbert Hofmeyer, judged by the Fouries to be a man "of no great intellect but of harmless and unpretentious personality" (Fourie 1985:32). This "harmless" man presided over the creation and implementation of a barrage of legislation designed to control the African population and force as many able-bodied men as possible into employment on white-owned farms. When the system was criticised severely by Lugard his response was that they were "necessary to ensure the peace of the white man" (Gordon 1998:58).

Fourie's perception, passed on to his son, of the third Administrator, however, was that:

> The early days of the South African administration of South West Africa were significant for an entire lack of party politics.
>
> In 1926 Mr Hofmeyer was to be replaced by Mr A J Werth, a schoolmaster turned politician and an apostle of Afrikaner nationalism. He revealed himself to be an opinionated petty Napoleon and proceeded to indoctrinate the administration by

> introducing people of like sympathies. He ordained that reports had to be written in Afrikaans and spoke only Afrikaans (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:1).

At that time the Nationalist Party, having won the election of 1924, was rapidly taking over the administration of South West Africa, in ways that led to "the establishment of political parties and an intensification of party struggle" within the Territory itself (SESA Vol 10 1974:178, Cooper 1991:48-58).

Fourie's perception that there was a "lack of party politics" in South West Africa shows a certain amount of naïveté, and a disregard for the disempowerment of the black communities that underlay the frequent revolts against the government, mainly in resistance to the imposition of individual taxes, in the 1920s. In 1923 the Administrator wrote: "Unrest generally is an ever present factor constantly to be guarded against" (quoted in Silvester *et al* 1998:23). Interestingly, only two of these are mentioned in Bob Fourie's biography – and one of them, the bombing of Iipumbu, took place after the Fouries had left the Territory (Fourie 1985:27, 32). In both cases the incidents are trivialised to the extent that they appear to have been of little consequence, and reported, wrongly, to have resulted in no injuries or deaths.[30] During this period a number of political organisations sprang up among the local Africans, activities that the Administration attributed to the influences of outsiders, not being able to admit that they themselves were providing the real reasons for discontent among the local population. These developments are not mentioned in Bob Fourie's biography.

Native administration

The early years of civil administration in the Protectorate allowed more room for individuality and initiative than would have been possible in an older bureaucracy and this atmosphere eminently suited Fourie's personality and *modus operandi*. Gorges presided over a bureaucracy that was chronically understaffed and sometimes badly organised (Emmett 1988:227; Gordon 1998:59; Hayes 1998:172). There was general confusion about the legislative framework to be followed, and the large size of the territory coupled with a paucity of maps, roads and policemen, often led to misinformation and maladministration. The resulting fluidity in the structure of the bureaucracy placed Fourie in an interesting position during the early part of his career in Windhoek. His official title was Medical Officer but many queries of an anthropological nature were forwarded to him, and he was *de facto* a government anthropologist for a while.

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[30] For example "… when what came to be known as the Bondelswart rebellion broke out at Warmbad in the South [Hofmeyr] ordered a uniform from his tailor in Cape Town. Legend has it that punitive measures were not to be undertaken until the uniform arrived" (Fourie 1985:32).

As with all the departments of the Administration, Native Administration was run on a shoestring. Policy was modelled on the same pattern as that of South Africa but was modified to suit local conditions. The Secretary for the Administration acted (ex-officio) as part-time Chief Native Commissioner and presided over: two full-time Native Commissioners (NCs) both in the area north of the Police Zone (Eedes and Hahn); twelve clerks; and ten Reserve Superintendents. Magistrates doubled as the NCs for their magisterial districts and were supported by 18 Native Constables who doubled as messengers. Most of the magistrates were recruited from South Africa on a rotating basis, and seldom remained in one place for longer than four years: not enough time to accumulate knowledge of local languages and customs. On the whole, Native Administration was seen as part of the justice system and there was little room within it for research (Gordon 1998:59-60).

George Bowker controlled Native Administration during the military occupation, and then was appointed Superintendent for the Native Locations of Windhoek. In 1920 Major Charles Manning was appointed as Chief Native Commissioner, stationed in Windhoek, his first task being "to disarm the Herero tribes". Prior to that Manning had been the first Resident Commissioner for the area north of the Police Zone and had led expeditions to explore and map the territory. He appears to have been an inspiring leader, fostering a sense that the few men in his command belonged to an elite cadre of leaders, and engendering a certain amount of hero worship among the colonists.[31] Under his aegis the few men working for the army and the state in that area learned to make maps, to take photographs and to create the impression that a handful of white men were strong enough to rule the indigenous population. In 1926, his health severely undermined by malaria, Manning was transferred to Benoni as Native Commissioner, and the following year he retired to Pietermaritzburg where he became a city councillor (*Dictionary of SA Biography* 1972 Vol V: 488, Hayes 1998:172-173).

One of the commissioners on the Mandates Committee was Lord Frederick Lugard, whose long career as a colonial administrator included five years as governor of Nigeria until 1919. Lugard was the author of the book *Dual Mandate* in which he set out his theories and methods for indirect rule, variations of which were followed throughout colonial Africa (Betts 1985:315-317). South West Africa was no exception. First advocated by Theophilus Shepstone in the then areas of Natal and Zululand, this method of rule required some understanding of the political structures of the local populations, and the identification and coercion of the holders of power, usually labelled kings, chiefs or headmen. Various forms of "conjunctive administration", as this method was alternately known, were followed

[31] Lawrence Green, for example, wrote of his expeditions into the Kaokaoveld in 1917, in which he emerged as an heroic figure battling to bring light to the dark and primitive land, in *Lords of the Last Frontier* (1952:75-81) describing him as "a man among men".

throughout Africa in the inter-war years, partly because it required little expenditure to the metropolitan state and partly because European governments rationalised that this system was the least disruptive to the African people, and allowed administrators to show "scrupulous respect for the beliefs, habits and traditions of the conquered or protected peoples" (Betts 1985:315). As in so many areas of colonial administration, however, the rationalisations and the realities seldom matched. Eedes and Hahn, NCs in the area north of the Police Zone, particularly relied on chiefs to carry out much of the administrative and regulative work in the large area that they were expected to cover with very little support from the Administration. Hahn, in particular, had read Lugard's book and was a keen advocate of the system (Silvester *et al* 1998:17-18, 124). Within the Police Zone, the Administration tried to use a similar system in the Native Reserves, with a little less success (Kruger and Henrichsen 1998:166-7).

Cockie Hahn and Harold Eedes were exceptional NCs in many ways. Neither of them were there for the short term; both had been in the Territory since the early days of South African occupation; and both remained there, gaining enough knowledge of the people they ruled to be able to control them and keep them from rebelling against colonial rule.[32]

Carl Hugo Linsingen Hahn was a particularly strong and flamboyant character, and became a close friend of Fourie. The grandson of the missionary Hugo Hahn, he grew up in Paarl in the Cape and was famous for having played rugby for the Springboks. He combined an enormously strong will with a knowledge of Ovambo culture (and occasional physical punishment) to control the people in the northern areas outside the Police Zone. His nickname among the Ovambo was *Shongola* because he was renowned for his use of the whip as a means of discipline. He was appointed Native Commissioner of Ovamboland in 1920 after Manning moved to Windhoek. Bob Fourie (presumably echoing his father's opinion) writes in glowing terms of Hahn's abilities as a coloniser and "supreme ruler of Ovamboland" saying that "he brought a degree of peace to the tribes" which, apparently had not been there during German rule (Fourie 1985:27). Recent studies show this imperiousness in a different light, however, exploring an underlying racism and arrogance and revealing a streak of cruelty in his methods of control (Hayes 1996 and 1998).

In order to govern effectively, colonial powers needed to undertake two main tasks. First they had to identify and classify the local people, and second to identify their leaders and traditional systems of rule. The influence of this approach was so strong that it affected academics as well as colonial civil servants. It is interesting to note, in Fourie's report on the need for anthropological research (quoted in "Beginning to Collect" above), the influence of

[32] "By the 1930s Ovamboland was widely accepted as representing one of the most successful examples of indirect rule, and Hahn received numerous accolades following skilful ethnographic publicity and numerous well-choreographed official visits" (Hayes 1998:124 n28).

Radcliffe-Brown's report on the possibilities for the study of anthropology in South Africa, which would:

> afford great help to the missionary or public servant who is engaged in dealing with the practical problems of the adjustment of the native civilization to the new conditions that have resulted from our occupation of the country (Quoted in Wilmsen 1989:25).

In South West Africa, however, there were only two dedicated Native Commissioners (Hahn and Eedes), and in all the areas within the Police Zone magistrates performed these duties. Since magistrates (like most of the civil servants in the Protectorate) were transferred back to South Africa on a regular basis, they seldom had enough time to gather in-depth knowledge of the people they were administering (Gordon 1998:57-60). Manning and his team were exceptional in this regard. He fostered a sense of pride in the department, which was akin to that found among British colonial officials who were highly educated and saw themselves as an elite group. In the early days of the colony this was accepted by the Administration, but later on, as the South African bureaucracy took hold, it led to much dissatisfaction, as the bureaucracy failed to allow these amateur anthropologists the independence and recognition to which they had become accustomed (Gordon 1998:68). In South West Africa where funds and manpower were at a premium, there was little to spare for research, and the Administration was happy to utilise any resources available to it. The government publication which became the official source in this regard (*The Native Tribes of South West Africa*) (Hahn, Vedder and Fourie 1928) included the work of only one NC, and utilised the expertise of two amateur anthropologists: a missionary and Fourie.

In the Police Zone, with magistrates functioning as *ad-hoc* NCs, the application of indirect rule was, in reality, hard to distinguish. Most of the reserves that were created in the early 1920s were located to provide labour for the principal farming and urban areas, and were not allocated to specific groups. The majority of black South West Africans appear to have been almost entirely undifferentiated in administrative terms except for the general division of those who resided within the Police Zone, and those who did not. The Khoisan were the exception.

Khoisan policy

Indirect rule required that the colonised people had an identifiable political structure, headed by recognised leaders, but the cultures of the Khoisan groups within the Territory were very different from those of the Bantu-speakers. The nature of their attachment to the land of their birth and their social systems were poorly understood, and seemed inaccessible to the officials who had to deal with them. Fourie's documents contain many reports that show early attempts to come to grips with the Bushmen by both the Germans and the South Africans but

they differ widely and show more the concerns and prejudices of the writers than they reflect the realities of Khoisan life (Chapter 3: "Official Documents"). The Administration probably welcomed Fourie's work because they felt they could make use of the information he gathered. Their hopes, however, do not seem to have been realised.

There was never a single, separate and effective policy concerning the Khoisan in the Protectorate during Fourie's stay there. In the first few months the military administration was concerned to show a liberal face to the League of Nations, but this was not enshrined in legislation of any sort, merely found in instructions to magistrates and police to be lenient and to treat prisoners humanely. South African policy concerning the Khoisan remained vacillatory throughout Fourie's stay in the Protectorate, but it shared a common assumption with the Germans that the San were a dying race. The Khoisan did not succumb easily however, and continued to resist the occupation of their ancestral lands in a variety of ways, including killing and stealing cattle and other livestock (sometimes to such an extent that farmers were forced to abandon their farms), and sometimes attacking settlers. In 1916, Frank Brownlee, the military magistrate, advocated leniency and the humane treatment of those he called the Bushmen, and for a brief moment there seemed to be a lessening of resistance. Leniency was soon forgotten. The lack of clear policy allowed different officials to follow their own approaches, and the enforcement of what few laws were applicable was selective and *ad hoc*. There were always, nevertheless, large numbers of Khoisan prisoners in the gaols of South West Africa (Gordon 1992:89-91).

This pattern continued throughout the decade of the 1920s. During this time the settlers, unofficially, classified the Khoisan into three categories: "wild", "semitame" and "tame Bushmen". Wild Bushmen were not incorporated into the settler economy, semitame Bushmen worked on farms on a seasonal basis, travelling in and out of the Police Zone, and tame Bushmen had permanent jobs, mainly on settler farms. The "wild Bushmen" were generally accused of being stock thieves and bandits, but some observed that they were often used as scapegoats by farmers whose inefficiency or bad luck resulted in the loss of their livestock (Gordon 1992:90-91).

It is important to steer clear of generalisations about white attitudes to Bushmen, and to realise that there were enormous variations in attitudes and approaches. A case in point is this statement by the Director of Lands, made in 1919:

> … the Bushman is generally dubbed as dangerous, both to the farmer and his cattle; they are said to steal great numbers for slaughter, and also to attack isolated farmers, but with regard to these depredations, I think that treatment hitherto meted out to these people is, and has been, the cause of most of the trouble. Personally, although I have met hundreds of Bushmen, I have never had any trouble (Quoted in Gordon 1992:91).

Others were of the view that the Khoisan were such avid meat eaters that they were forced to kill cattle because the farmers were killing antelope and other wild animals. This attitude chimed with that which saw the Bushmen as savages on the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder, who were only marginally different from animals. In 1922 and 1923, after an incident in which a magistrate was killed in a skirmish, however, there was a time when Khoisan in the Gobabis district were hunted and killed without recourse to the courts (Gordon 1992:93-96). On the whole, though, the history of the Khoisan in the Protectorate (and this appellation holds bitter irony here) is a tragedy of genocide and cruelty.[33]

Fourie's stance, according to his son, was that he "became a champion of the Bushman who until comparatively late in our history was hunted like a wild animal and finally survived only in the vast and arid wastes of the Kalahari where he was comparatively safe" (Fourie 1985:20-21). Whatever the reality, Bob's articulation of this persona for his father is an indication of a perception, in both men, that the Bushmen needed a champion. It is one of the clearest indications of Fourie's melancholy caused by the marginalisation of the Khoisan. The underlying common assumption for all of these approaches, Fourie's included, was that "it was merely a matter of time before Bushmen disappeared off the face of the earth" (Gordon 1992:89). This opinion was not entirely groundless, although it may have been a self-fulfilling prophecy. In 1943 one writer confidently asserted: "The Bushman plague in the settled part of the territory has been eradicated completely" (Quoted in Gordon 1992:97).

Given the extremes of opinion and the antagonism against the Khoisan by many of the settlers it is not surprising that the Native Reserves Commission did not deal with the issue of providing land for the Bushmen, and concluded this particular discussion with the statement that: "the Bushman problem … must be left to solve itself", and that they would simply be subject to the laws of the land (Quoted in Gordon 1992:91). There was a strong drive to compel Khoisan men to work, particularly on farms, in the belief that this would encourage them to settle down, which would in turn make control easier. In effect, though, the Khoisan were dispossessed of their lands and their livelihoods, and frequently lived outside of the law, escaping some of its strictures, but also being deprived of its protection. Even with Fourie's ethnographising, the Administration did not know what to do with the Bushmen.

Medical Officer under Mandate

In April 1920, just a few months before the repeal of martial law in South West Africa, Fourie was appointed as:

> Medical officer in the Department of Public Health of the Union for the purpose of assuming the appointment of medical officer to the Administration of the South West

[33] Gordon's *The Bushman Myth* (1992) and Wilmsen's *Land Filled with Flies* (1989) document this history and make heartbreaking reading.

> African Protectorate, with salary at the rate of £750 per annum … and the usual allowances payable to all permanent officers seconded to the South West Africa Protectorate … (NASA URU 454 1601 – PM84/2/20 28/4/1920 – Minute number 1601).

In addition he was appointed as "District Surgeon for the Magisterial District of Windhoek in September of that year and his salary was increased by a few pounds (NASA GES 22/33 Government Gazette 1st September 1920:22). Initially his title was given as Assistant Health Officer (AHO) because he did not have a diploma in public health but this was changed to Medical Officer. Fourie had been informed of this upon his appointment, and knew that he had three years in which to take the necessary degree or diploma in order to be promoted. The South African Department of Health stipulated that an AHO had to have a further qualification in Public Health, and it was something of an exception to appoint Fourie into the post (NASA URU454 1601 – PM84/2/20 28/4/1920). He finally obtained the diploma in 1929, too late for the Administration to give him credit for it.

In spite of the fact that "the occupiers used their 'enlightened' new health policies to support their claims to legitimacy", the South Africans brought with them an already racialised public health system in which was embedded an understanding that the African population posed a threat to the health of the settlers (Wallace 2002:71, 74-6). As a result of the extreme under-resourcing of the Administration, "the Medical Officer … did a job whose equivalent in the Union was that of the Minister and the Department of Health". He was supported by a varying number of part-time District Surgeons (Dr Leonard Bowkett in Windhoek for example), usually private practitioners who worked in hospitals or clinics and he had no clerical or administrative staff at all (Gordon 1998:59; Silvester, Wallace and Hayes 1998:36. MMS40/69/FileC/1; Wallace 2002:148-150).

Act number 36 of 1919 for the Union of South Africa (applied to the Protectorate at the same time) lists the following areas of responsibility for the Department of Health: administration; notification of infectious diseases; prevention and suppression of infectious diseases; venereal diseases; ports and inland borders; public water supplies; meat, milk and other articles of food; sanitation and housing; inspection of hospitals and clinics; and safety at work places (NASA SPP4/9).

Added to this, in Fourie's case, would have been his work as District Surgeon for Windhoek, which included performing all the surgery at the Native Hospital, and inspections of schools and of mine hostels (one of the few documents relating to his work is a brief apologia for the treatment of mineworkers in South West Africa). Fourie paid regular visits to mission

hospitals, providing them with surplus stock and equipment, and keeping an eye on their activities. In the course of these visits he recorded incidents of malaria, tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. Wallace states that the main killer diseases in the inter-war years were tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, infant gastro-enteritis, typhoid and, in the north, malaria. Fourie also sat on the Windhoek Municipal Advisory Board for several years (Fourie 1985:27).[34]

In Windhoek and other major urban centres African settlements were seen as a threat to the settlers' health and their locations were moved outside the main urban area. Health matters in these locations were the responsibility of the Native Affairs Department and the relevant municipalities (Wallace 2002:75-6). The Superintendent of the locations, Dr Octavus George Bowker had arrived in South West Africa with the occupation forces, and had been the head of the Native Affairs Department from 1915 to 1920 (Silvester *et al* 1998:10). Dr Leonard Bowkett was charged with the health of the locations in Windoek, but was ineffectual and possibly negligent in his duties (Wallace 2002:207). Neither one of these men is mentioned in Fourie's biography, but there can be little doubt that they knew each other well, since Fourie sat on the Windhoek Locations Committee as a representative of the Administration. There were often disputes between the municipality and the Administration, with the latter having an eye to the League of Nations and the need to present a semblance of concern and fairness in the treatment of the Africans, and the former having to make do with very little money and the demands of a racist settler populace (Wallace 2002:207).

Bob Fourie reports that "[Fourie] was concerned with taking over and perfecting the German health organization and amending it to that of the Union Health Department", but Wallace writes that such a process had already begun in 1916 and that his position was not strong in the hierarchy because of his lack of an accepted qualification (Fourie 1985:19; Wallace 2002: 74-75, 150, 207). She also claims that the South African Department of Health frequently made decisions without considering input from the Administration, perhaps partly as a result of this. The League of Nations was opposed to discriminatory legislation, but it happened in practise in spite of this (hospitals, for example, were segregated). "[M]uch of SWA's health policy was made through imitation and *ad hoc* responses to immediate circumstances" and as a result was uneven and often confusing (Wallace 2002:153-4).

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[34] ("Louis particularly enjoyed his visits to Ovamboland where he was mainly concerned with the inspection of Mission hospitals.") National Archives, Windhoek File 450 1/29. Wallace 2002:97, 110. AMHM File Personal/"Correspondence/Windhoek/London etc.":Item3j; Fourie 1984:30 and 34.

Wallace claims that:

> The context in which medical work in SWA was carried on [sic] at this date was one which normalised the dehumanisation of Africans, particularly Bushmen, to such an extent that their bones could be exported without comment. Just as the incorporation of doctors into white society as pioneers and settlers promoted the invisibility (to whites) of Africans' health needs, so Fourie's inscription in the role of ethnographer both enabled the generation and imposition of knowledge about African bodies, and had direct practical consequences (Wallace 2002:167).

Her book explores the racist paradigm within which the settlers and the South African governing structures of South West Africa worked in the inter-war period, and there can be no argument that this was pervasive. There were few white people in the Territory who questioned this paradigm, and those who did had no means of articulating or exploring their concerns. Wallace's link between the invisibility of Africans' health needs with knowledge about African bodies is the objectification of black people as 'raw savages' (Wallace 2002:167 quoting Fourie in a letter to the Secretary of the Administration – SWAA A.340/4 V.1.). She bases her argument, in part, on Fourie's role in the collection of Khoisan skeletal material and claims that, in spite of the fact that his "views on race were apparently moderate, in the context of the time", he "constructed black patients" as raw savages, and says that "this helps to explain why little was done to improve conditions at the [Native] hospital" (Wallace 2002: 165, 167). Fourie was instrumental in the consolidation of a racialised health system.

The Native Hospital in Windhoek, for which Fourie was responsible, was an integral part of the machinery used to control labour in the Protectorate. Male work-seekers began the process of registration with a medical examination at the hospital, and only after they were awarded certificates moved on to other offices to be given permission to stay and work in the area. All illnesses in the locations were supposed to be reported and patients were referred to the hospital for observation. This was an important attempt at controlling infectious and other diseases (such as venereal infection). Once they were seen to be well, patients were issued with letters for their employers (Wallace 2002:165, 167).

There were complaints about poor sanitation, bad organisation and the food at the Native Hospital, and although these date from the 1930s, inadequate resources seem to have been a perennial problem. In 1924 Fourie reported that he was so overworked that he would frequently make recommendations for treatment based solely upon a reading of the patients' records. No professional nurses worked at the hospital until the mid-1930s, so orderlies like Marcus would have been relied upon to report on symptoms and patients' conditions. The treatment received here was not of the same standard as that accorded to patients at the white

hospital, which was staffed by nurses and doctors. The result was dehumanising, and many blacks preferred to use indigenous medical practices (Wallace 2002: 165, 167).

During the 1920s there was a shortage of qualified and registered doctors and nurses in the Territory. White male doctors treated both white and black patients. There were very few women doctors and there do not appear to have been any black doctors practising in the Territory. Wallace has shown that health professionals worked within the dominant discourses relating to health, disease, race and gender in South Africa. "The state health system thus played a role in the generation and reinforcement of colonial space in Namibia." It was based on the South African system and controlled by the South African Department of Health. In addition, Fourie and other doctors employed by the state were "deeply enmeshed in settler society" at a number of different levels. They were called upon, for example, to witness floggings in prisons and initiated and organised enforced vaccination and examination programmes (Wallace 2002:157).[35]

> Health practitioners were imbued with a pioneer mentality … strongly influenced by the small size, racism, conformity and anti-intellectual nature of white society in Namibia, in which there was only limited opportunity for the exchange of ideas. This helps to explain the absence of medical criticism of state policies, and suggests why it was possible to accept the 'necessity' of medically useless measures such as compulsory examination for venereal disease (Wallace 2002:157-8).

Fourie was indeed enmeshed in settler society; his list of close friends reads like a who's who of the civil service, and includes Sir Howard Gorges (the Administrator), Colonel James Venning (Postmaster General), George Kerby (Town Clerk of Windhoek), Kreft (Director of Education), Manning, Hahn, and numerous magistrates and doctors. He worked within the small, tightly knit, circle of the civil service, probably knowing almost all of its members, and his loyalties lay with the Administration. In 1921 he refused to criticise the shambolic system of sanitation in the location "in order to protect the administration, which had just handed it over to the council" (Fourie 1985:15, 25-29; Wallace 2002:207). Although in later years he was critical of the Administrator, Fourie voiced this only in private to his family and close friends.[36]

One of the boys

Fourie was particularly happy during his

> journeys to the small settlements away from the railway line ... when he would be away for weeks at a time. These outings he loved for he was in the veld and living the

[35] See Handwritten PS in letter from J dW Roos, Control and Audit Office, Union of South Africa, Audit Office – 28th August 1920. "Generally Europe is gradually rejecting flogging entirely, but with our demi savage races the time has not yet come to abolish yet [sic]". NNA/MA.

[36] Chapter 3 "Preparing to Leave" details his growing disenchantment.

> outdoor camp life he so much enjoyed. Invariably he journeyed with officials of other departments, so the party was comparatively large and carried the necessary staff of servants. They lived off the country so far as meat was concerned and here Louis gained a reputation for himself, as he was an outstanding shot with a rifle. His journeyings [sic] to Ovamboland and the Okavango gave him particular pleasure as he had a great respect and affection for Charles Manning, Cockie Hahn and Harold Eedes. ... Whenever these men came to Windhoek they stayed with him. On the verandah as the sun set, the conversation was of chiefs and tribes and customs and the heady experience of taking over and administering a huge country (Fourie 1985:18-19).

Fourie's friendship with Manning goes some way to explaining why he was continually consulted and deferred to by the Administration in matters relating to anthropology, the Khoisan and museum affairs. He forged a particularly close friendship with Hahn, whom he encouraged to formalise his studies of the people of Ovamboland by suggesting that he read recently published books on social and cultural anthropology, and that he write up his observations (Fourie 1985:27-28; Hayes 1996; Silvester *et al* 1998:10).[37] Theirs was a close personal friendship, their families were included and they asked each other for help and advice from time to time. In 1921, for example, Fourie wrote to ask Hahn to gather detailed information on the Khoisan in his area, signing off: "With love from us all", and in 1928 Hahn wrote to Fourie to tell him that he had been offered (unofficially) the opportunity to become the Chief Warden at Kruger National Park and to ask his advice (NNA File A450 1/29 and NNA File of papers awaiting placement at Museum Africa - Letter Hahn to Fourie 1928). The letters in the archives in Windhoek and in Fourie's files indicate that Fourie was in regular contact with both Hahn and Eedes (See for example, Fourie to Eedes in MMS40/69/Box G/1929:2; Fourie to Hahn in NNA File A 450 1/29 (two letters) and Hahn to Fourie in NNA/MA, 8 Nov 1928), but, interestingly, no correspondence between Manning and Fourie remains. Both Fourie and Hahn worked at photographing the people whom they were studying; both corresponded with Winifred Hoernlé at the University of the Witwatersrand; and each contributed a chapter in the book *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (Hahn, Vedder and Fourie 1928).

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[37] In 1928 Hahn wrote to Fourie:

> I was very much interested in all you wrote & particularly about joining the Royal Anthropological Institute - I tell you quite candidly that now that I have started on this sort of work I have become very interested. The fascinating part of my job is that the country and people of O/land and the K/veld are so little known & what one writes is therefore more or less original. ... Will you please put me up as a member to the above institute? ... Could you manage to procure a copy of the R.A.I. Journal for me in which our papers have been (or will be) reviewed? My copy of the Native tribes of S.W.A. [sic] has only just come to hand. I agree that my article is the best and most interesting! I only wish I could put things to paper like you can. My weakness with the pen, more than anything else, is what has always caused me to procrastinate. However I will take your advice & put to paper what I can. My little spouse is quite keen & will help to put things into decent English! (NNA - Bundle of papers awaiting placement at Museum Africa - Letter Hahn to Fourie 8/ix/28).

Hahn also trusted Fourie to "lick [his] notes into shape" for publication (NNA - Bundle of papers awaiting placement at Museum Africa - Letters Fourie to Hahn 28/11/1927, 27/4/1928).

Fourie was thirty-seven years old when he arrived in Windhoek which, although small, was very much more cosmopolitan than Knysna or Taung. After having worked alone he now moved within the somewhat closed and very masculine world of the Administration in which he had a relatively senior position. Hayes has written of the "homosocial" nature of the northern frontier, and the masculine norms that prevailed there:

> In a sense all that these white officials had in common was that they were white, male and colonial, though these could mean very different things. … As a descendant of the explorer-trader Charles John Andersson living in South Africa put it to Hahn: "I always say that a Colonial boy is better than a home born boy because he has so many advantages of a free life." Sometimes this divide coincided with the clerical or military status of officials ... (Hayes 1998:172).[38]

The masculine ethos described by Hayes may have been intensified by the isolation of the area north of the Police Zone, but it prevailed throughout the Protectorate.[39] The Administration, for example, reportedly "frowned on women doctors", and Dr Rose Weinberg was not allowed to practice outside the safety of Windhoek because, as she said, the Administration was "too conservative" (quoted in Wallace 2002:157). This is particularly evident in the Fourie family, where, in spite of her prowess at hunting, fishing and other practical matters Mabel (nicknamed Micky in Windhoek, for her Irish origins and known by that name from then on) did not accompany her husband on his field trips, but was left behind at the police post. She did not go fishing or exploring on their holidays, but remained at camp to cook the fish that had been caught by her husband and their two sons (Fourie 1985:20 and 30).[40] It should be remembered, too, that white women in South West Africa did not vote until 1939.

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[38] By "home born" Andersson meant born in Europe.

[39] There were a few women who worked in this world of men. Those with whom Fourie had some contact were the District Surgeon at Onifa (NNA File A450 1/29), Dr Rose Weinberg in Windhoek, Dr Selma Rainio at the Finnish Mission station at Onandjokwe, and Dr Jean Fleming of St Andrews, Grootfontein (Wallace 2002:149, NNA/MA 7 Sept 1929, MMS40/69/Box G/1929:13). The situation was very different in the intellectual world in which Fourie moved. He had a great deal of contact, for example, with three highly respected and intelligent women anthropologists: Maria Wilman, Winifred Hoernlé and Dorothea Bleek.

[40] Other examples of this gender stereotyping abound in the correspondence and in Fourie's biography. See for example Fourie 1985:26-27). Hahn's wife, Alcye, may have escaped the boundaries of this role to some extent. She had a reputation for being an excellent shot and there are numerous photographs of her posing, gun in hand, next to a variety of dead animals (Hartmann *et al* 1998:100-101). However, Fourie made a point of commenting on the excellence of her home-baked bread, when writing to Hahn in 1927, adding: "Tell Alcye I made my wife's mouth water about her housekeeping". (NNA A450/1/29 Fourie to Hahn 12/10/1927).

These "colonial boys" were mainly English-speaking, and the sense of humour shared by Fourie and Hahn was peculiarly English, involving the playing of practical jokes[41] and the use of the kind of language which would have befitted an English public school (for example Hahn's "The Copes are now installed in a swagger new house and Ma Cope has not half lashed out in the furnishing line!" or Fourie's annotations to a list of objects such as: "1 Skin pigment bag containing the one and only bushman rouge", "3 Scent boxes (Best tortoiseshell) for neck a la mode", and "4 Sets fire sticks (much superior to the latest in tinder boxes)" (NNA/MA 8 Nov 1928; MMS40/69/Box B/File 5). Harry Drew, a good friend of Fourie and Hahn, was thought of as having "... a delightful sense of fun, a ready wit and was a compulsive perpetrator of practical jokes" (Fourie 1985:25).

Fourie fitted happily into this group of "expatriates amongst the Civil Service" who maintained the friendships they made in South West Africa for the rest of their lives, and among whom "South West became a password " (Fourie 1985:25). This was, perhaps, made easier because he was a "colonial boy" in most senses of the phrase: born in South Africa, he had fought wars in the sub-continent, was a good hunter and could read the veld like a book. To put the seal on his acceptability within the elite of this unofficial men's club, Fourie had rapidly developed a detailed knowledge of his "own" African tribe.

The definition of a "colonial boy" given above did not specify that knowledge of a portion of the indigenous population was one of the "advantages of a free life" but it is reasonable to assume that this was the case. South Africans in the Territory commonly believed that they had "an inborn knowledge of the … native and coloured people" and that they were "pre-eminently fitted, while ensuring just and fair treatment for the native, to inspire him with that measure of respect for the supremacy of the white man which is essential in a land the vast majority of the inhabitants of which are as yet uncivilised" (Permanent Mandates Commission, *Minutes*, 1923:50, quoted in Gordon 1998:69). Manning, it was said, "knew natives. He had that understanding mind, that sympathy and patience, which are the essentials for the job" and Hahn expressed an easy familiarity with "my old Ovambos" (Green 1952:75; NNA/MMA 1928). The small band of administrators of the northern areas relied on their knowledge of local languages and customs to help maintain a tenuous control, and pursued anthropology in an *ad hoc* way as part of their duties. Hayes has written of the "safari method of anthropology" carried out on official tours of the area (1998:173), and Fourie's son tells of his father's great enjoyment of expeditions into the furthest corners of the

[41] For example at a dinner party, attended by Hahn, Manning and Eedes, Mabel Fourie's cousin, Kathleen Brown, freshly arrived from Ireland, pretended to be her own French maid, and served at the table for the duration of the meal. Fourie, on the pretence that she could not understand English, made outrageous comments about her, which were answered by his guests. Bob reported that, when they realised the truth, the guests "thoroughly appreciated the stratagem" (Fourie 1985:21).

Territory. Fourie's interest in the Khoisan and anthropology in general, then, would have contributed to the camaraderie he felt with this band of friends and colleagues, and their influence surely encouraged him to pursue his avocation with enthusiasm. A sharing of their ethnographic knowledge in an informal way can easily be envisaged in such a situation, in a variation on the recursive nature of the production of knowledge in the Protectorate.

Making it academic

From 1918 on, continuous correspondence and contact with leading academics and museum curators kept Fourie in touch with the latest research and development in the field of anthropology, and constitutes an important part of the iterative process in a more formal way. His long association with the South African Museum and the influence of Péringuey, who was an entomologist by training, but who had published one of the definitive works on the Stone Age is detailed in Chapter 3 ("Fourie and the South African Museum"). Fourie communicated with many members of the museum staff and contributed in highly important ways to their research in the Territory, at the same time receiving advice and assistance from them for his own research.

Fourie also had a long and friendly relationship with Winifred Hoernlé, whose research among the Nama had been sponsored by the Office of the Administrator in 1922, during which time she met, and was doubtless assisted by, the man who was by then regarded as the expert anthropologist in the field. She describes a ceremony held in Windhoek using "slaughter animals" supplied by the "kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa" (Hoernlé 1985:78). It is interesting that no documentation dealing with this expedition exists in the files of Fourie or of the Namibian National Archives. This may be explained by the fact that:

> Her report to her sponsors was not well received because of its political overtones [which] drew attention to the terrible poverty that prevailed and the power that the colonial administrations - German and South African - wielded over the indigenous people (Carstens (ed.) 1985:xiii).

The Fourie family maintained a close friendship with the Hoernlé family for the rest of Fourie's life. Agnes Winifred Hoernlé was well respected in the anthropological world of South Africa. The writer of three important papers on the Nama, a close associate of Radcliffe-Brown, a member of the publication committee of the journal *Bantu Studies*, and a lecturer in the Department of Bantu Studies at Wits, she constantly encouraged Fourie to write up his work. When he left South West Africa and was travelling around South Africa, she took part of his collection of objects and photographs and used it to make a teaching exhibition at the University. When, eventually, the Fouries settled in Johannesburg, they socialised frequently (MMS40/69/Box F/1928:1, 13; 1932:2, 3; 1933:2, 3, 5 and 40/69/Box

G/1933:1, 2). Both Winifred and her husband were prominent liberals in Johannesburg. He was Professor of Philosophy at Wits and Chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) for many years, and was deeply concerned with the sources of racial conflict in South African society (*Dictionary of South African Biography* Vol. III 1977:397-8). Winifred was known as a champion of the underprivileged. She served as President of the SAIRR (1948-1950), but her main concerns were with the South African Council for Child Welfare and the Penal Reform League of South Africa. She was elected by the residents of Moroka township (in Pretoria) to serve on their Advisory Board in 1948 and served on the Penal and Prison Reform Commission for the government in 1947 (*Dictionary of South African Biography* Vol. IV 1972:238). Her influence on Fourie will be discussed at numerous points throughout the thesis.

Fourie corresponded regularly with A.J.H. Goodwin, Professor of the Department of African Life and Languages at UCT, who stayed at the Fourie home in 1925 during which time he looked through the photographic collection. Fourie gave him a great deal of information, and Goodwin commented on the fact that Fourie needed to publish, in particular a tribal map of South West Africa which Fourie appears to have drawn up, but of which there is no trace in the archives. In the same year Goodwin sent books and a reading list of material on "Descriptive Anthropology" which included works by Radcliffe-Brown, Frans Boas, and Henri-Alexandre Junod, in a very serious attempt to encourage Fourie to write up his research. Keppel H. Barnard and Dr Leonard Gill, both of the South African Museum, continually encouraged Fourie to write up his material (MMS40/69/BoxF/1925:8, 12; 1926:10).[42]

In 1923 and 1924 Fourie exchanged ideas and information with Raymond Dart, then a doctor on the verge of fame, to whom he sent, for dissection in the Department of Anatomy of the Medical School at Wits, the corpse of a Khoisan man who had died in gaol. Dart encouraged Fourie to write up his work on the hunting equipment of the Khoisan:

> We will look forward to your sending your MS concerning the arrows and the hunting for Bantu Studies - Don't forget!" (MMS40/69/Box F/1923:2 and 1924:5).

In the give and take of these relationships there was a two-way flow of information and influence. Fourie facilitated research and received encouragement for his own work in return. He provided access to raw data and was given advice about recent publications and studies. In such a manner his collection shaped and was shaped by contemporary academic thought.

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[42] There is an interesting hint of competition between the South African Museum and the University at this time.

Fourie was deeply involved in the intellectual life of the Protectorate in the 1920s, indeed it could reasonably be said that he was one of its leading figures. He was responsible for the founding of the South West Africa branch of the Medical Association of South Africa, which was affiliated to the British Medical Association, and was appointed its first President. At the same time he was instrumental in the formation of the South West African Scientific Society and was also its first President. His first paper on the Khoisan was published in the first number of their journal in 1926 (Fourie 1985:33-34; Fourie 1926), but after that the journal was devoted almost entirely to natural science. While recognising the hard work, enthusiasm and intelligence which led to these achievements, it must be said that it is unlikely that Fourie would have been so prominent in public life if had he remained in private practice in a small town in South Africa, and that there were probably bilateral benefits from these activities.

Information from the field

By 1919 Fourie was so committed to his study of the Khoisan that he took long leave to go on a field trip to the Sandfontein area from the end of May to mid-August (Fourie 1985:20).[43] He chose this area because it was:

> considered to be the most suitable place for research among the bushmen. Two tribes speaking different dialects inhabit that part of the country and, though their movements are largely influenced by season, rainfall etc., it is at all times possible with suitable assistance to bring together considerable numbers of them (MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:6 Letter Fourie to SAM).

When Bleek went there to do fieldwork in 1920 and 1921 a house was made available to her by the Administration, and it is likely that Fourie would have stayed there too.

During this trip Fourie gathered an enormous amount of information, objects and photographs. His detailed notes on the technicalities of the photographic processes and the numerous descriptions of hunting techniques, ceremonies, and material culture in his notes show that he set about the task in as professional and scientific a manner as possible. He photographed people making various items of material culture and performing a series of dances. An important part of the exercise appears to have been the project to gather information on the physical anthropology of the people of the area: work that would have been consistent with Fourie's medical background. Detailed measurements of the bodies of almost sixty individuals were taken, and approximately 30 photographs show side, front and back views in the style of anatomical photographs of the time (MMS40/69/Box E/File 23:72-

[43] Bob Fourie wrote that he spent "several", and later three, months in the field, but from the notes in Fourie's journal it appears that they left from Windhoek on 29 May (MMS40/69/Box E), and from the letter from the Secretary, quoted above, that he returned before 19 August 1919 (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:6).

76; MMSp10/69/1-10, 39-56, 93-95). Such a project could have been carried out by a professional anthropologist, the only difference being that Fourie never wrote up and published the results. He did, however, return to Windhoek with enough knowledge and experience to make him the acknowledged expert on the Khoisan of the Territory.

While it is his son's contention that Fourie sponsored the expedition entirely on his own, there is evidence that senior members of the Administration were fully informed of the work he was planning to do, and gave him, if not direct finance, then at least some help and encouragement. The magistrate in the area would have given permission for a police constable to accompany him as translator and facilitator. In addition Fourie used government transport and equipment such as a tented wagon and thermos water tanks, and received permission to hunt restricted game (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:4, 6). The Administrator appears to have been informed of the expedition, and possibly to have quoted it as an example of the work being done in the Territory. In September 1919 Péringuey wrote to Fourie that he had seen Sir Howard Gorges who was fully informed of the results of the field trip (MMS40/69/BoxF/1919:7).

It is likely that the Administrator and the Chief Native Commissioner believed that the information Fourie could provide would be extremely useful in any attempt to control the Khoisan. In addition to this, knowing Fourie well, and feeling that he was a part of their own company and not an outsider who might say something that would not reflect well on their work, Gorges and Manning would have been content to outlay a small amount of money, labour, and equipment, in order to receive the information they sought (Gordon 1992:89-98).

In 1922 and 1927 Fourie photographed select ≠Ao-//ein, Hei-//om and Naron subjects, and probably collected more items of material culture, but these activities were combined with official business, and not part of dedicated field trips. There are sets of dated photographs that were taken in the Sandfontein and Etosha areas in 1922 and 1927. (MMS40/69/Box E/Files 2, 3, 5; MMSp10/69/135-208, 213-224). In 1922 he also visited Tsumeb, accompanied by constable Saul, in order to perform his duties as a Medical Officer, and conducted anthropological fieldwork at the same time. In 1925 he travelled through Ovamboland on what he called the "Influenza-Ovamboland Trip" during an epidemic, and, while there, did some anthropological research. In 1927 he went on another trip to the northeast of the country during which he also combined medicine and anthropology. No other informants are mentioned in the documents.

During the 1919 trip Fourie made contact with two men, never referred to by anything other than single first names, with whom he remained in contact for many years afterward: Saul, a policeman at Gobabis, who travelled with him as translator and general factotum; and Jantjie, a chief in the area of Sandfontein. Both of them could be considered to be interlocutors in the sense that they mediated between colonised groups and the colonisers.

Saul was a Berg-Damara who acted as translator, guide, companion and informant, and his name appears frequently in Fourie's field notes for the 1919 trip (MMS40/69/Box E/File 23:11, 17). Fourie photographed Saul during field trips in 1922 and 1927, and the collection also holds a snapshot of Saul, in khaki jodhpurs and slouch hat, on the back of which is written in Fourie's hand: "To Saul with good wishes for his future", an indication that their relationship was congenial, yet still formal. The word "his", as opposed to "your", creates distance and a sense of authority, even if Saul was illiterate and needed to have the inscription read to him. The question of why the photograph remained in Fourie's possession and was not handed on to Saul cannot be answered (MMSp10/69/265, 266, 347).[44]

Saul had acted as translator and guide for some time even before he met Fourie, and continued to do so for other researchers. A photograph published in *Miscast*[45] shows someone who looks remarkably like Saul wearing western style dress, holding a piece of paper and seated on the ground behind a man in a loin cloth holding a knife. The caption states, "'Bushman executioner', photographed on Major Prichard's visit to Ovamboland in 1915" (Skotnes (ed.) 1996:128). When Fourie arranged for Dorothea Bleek to visit the same area to do research among the Naron in 1920 and 1921 he recommended that Saul be used as translator and facilitator. She wrote of him: "the Police contsable[sic] Saul is a respectable & reliable man & no further protection will be necessary" (MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:April, 1921:2) and mentioned that he had grown up near Sandfontein, spoke Naron and could understand ≠Ao-//ein well. He had adopted a young ≠Ao-//ein orphan, a sign that he had close connections with that particular group (Bleek 1928:1). It is likely that Saul was interpreter for a Magistrate van Ryneveld and was with him when he was killed by a Khoisan arrow in 1922.[46] In 1936, when Donald Bain requested that Saul be allowed to accompany him as he went into the Kalahari, the Commissioner of Police replied:

> ... I am willing to let old Saul accompany the party provided he is paid not less than 1/6d per day and used solely for interpreting and using his influence in persuading the bushmen for the purpose desired by the visiting party, and <u>not</u> as a labourer.

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[44] See Chapter 4: "1927" for a discussion of photographs of Saul and Jantjie, and the complexities of their relationships with Fourie. See also Appendix 1 Page 6.

[45] This book is described in more detail in Chapter 6: "Conclusion".

[46] He appears in a photograph in Gordon 1995:93. The Van Ryneveld incident is discussed in detail in Chapter 4: "1922".

> Old Saul is very childish and does not know the value of money, he is also very kind hearted. ... I must remind you that Saul is old, his health & sight is somewhat impaired, and he does not to-day come up to the standard of his past reputation. He knows the Rietfontein Sandfontein Olifant Areas. ... (Letter P. Callaghan to the Magistrate, Gobabis 8 March 1936, quoted in Skotnes (ed.) 1996:272).

Jantjie was probably the head of a group of ≠Ao-//ein living east of Gobabis. In 1927 Fourie photographed Jantjie and two young people who would appear to be members of his family at an abandoned homestead.[47] The name occurs frequently in the field notes, and although there are a few cases where it may not refer to the same person there is no doubt that he was an important figure in Fourie's work. In addition to their encounters in the field, Jantjie visited Fourie at his home in Windhoek, bringing with him items of material culture and information (MMS40/69/Box E/File 23:56-57; p10/69/223, 224).[48]

There is nothing in the notes to indicate how Jantjie travelled to Windhoek, where he stayed while he was there, and whether he had other people to visit, or other business to attend to. It is significant that Bob Fourie mentions these visits, and Jantjie's ability to speak "Afrikaans or German" without comment, as though they were a commonplace occurrence (Fourie 1985:20). The visits, coupled with the fact that Jantjie, like Saul, wore western-style clothing, betoken a man who was very much part of the colonial structure of South West Africa, and it is interesting that Fourie should have obtained so much of his information from men who were a far cry from the leather-clad hunters whose lifeways he was trying to piece together. Their contributions were not acknowledged in Fourie's two published articles, and there are no references to their circumstances in the field notes, journals and correspondence apart from the fact that Saul is described as a policeman.[49] It is not always easy to tease out the voices of Saul and Jantjie in the field notes, because Fourie took down only the words connected with his frame of reference.

Jantjie and Saul's motives for working with Fourie are not easy to deduce from the available documentation. Callaghan called Saul "kind hearted" but there were some material benefits too. We know that Fourie shot game to provide meat for his informants in 1919, and gave gifts of blankets and clothing to them both. There is no evidence, either, of Fourie's reading of the situation, or of the kinds of questions he asked.

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47 These photographs are discussed in detail in Chapter 4: "Portraits of interlocutors".

48 See also notes made in November 1927 in MMS 40/69/Box E/File23:5. Jantjie is mentioned on pages 5, 33, 48, 51, 56, 58, 60, 62, 92 and 106 in the same book of notes. See Appendix 1, page 11.

49 Of course, it was not customary at that time for anthropologists to discuss their informants and their *modus operandi*, and Fourie would have been exceptional if he had done so.

Facilitating research

Perhaps the strongest impact made by Fourie on anthropological research was in the ways in which he facilitated the process for numerous scholars and supplied them with ethnographic information. This section details the give and take within the network he created. Gordon argues that members of the Administration of the Territory (and the South African Government) were wary of academic researchers coming to the region, often being suspicious of their motives and unable to see how their research would benefit the government. In support of this, he states that the relationship between the Administration and the South African Museum soured after the first expedition in 1919 because the Administration felt "shortchanged" and implies that there was no further contact (Gordon 1992:150-151). The evidence contradicts this argument. Correspondence between Péringuey and the Administrator continued until 1921 when the former retired, and after that letters from Barnard (Acting Director) and Leonard Gill (Director from 1925) continued to be written. This correspondence includes report backs on expeditions, ideas for further studies and even a request for money to publish a preliminary list of the insects of the Protectorate (NAN File SWAA 198 - *Museums and Scientific Expeditions*). Fourie's mediating role continued over the entire period. In 1920 £1 000 was budgeted to go towards sponsoring a research trip by SAM to the Protectorate:

> ... placed on the current estimates with the object principally of assisting your [SAM's] research, especially in the direction of obtaining suitable models of the native peoples of this territory (MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:15 Sept).

Apart from his involvement with the affairs of the SAM in South West Africa, Fourie helped facilitate research trips by others to the Protectorate. I have already mentioned Hoernlé's fieldwork among the Nama sponsored by the Office of the Administrator in 1922. Others included Captain Guy Shortridge, Director of the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town, who made seven expeditions to South West Africa, his first being in 1923, and who carried out a survey of the mammals first of Damaraland, and later of the whole Territory on behalf of his own institution, the British Museum and the Administration (Randles 1984:30-36). Fourie accompanied him on an expedition to Sandfontein in 1926. While he was there Shortridge also took some photographs of the Khoisan, copies of which are to be found in Fourie's collection (Fourie 1985:56; MMSp10/69/288-292).[50] Douglas Beach of the Department of Phonetics at UCT wrote asking for help as he prepared for a trip to gather information in order to compile a "Phonetic Survey of Hottentot Dialects", saying: "I have been told by a number of people that you are <u>the</u> authority on the Bushmen and Hottentots"

[50] On his first expedition he gathered some 700 specimens, many of which were previously undescribed (Randles 1984:34). It is possible that Shortridge also collected some ethnographic materials on these expeditions. In 1924 he placed his own private collection, augmented by loans from other collectors, in an "African exhibition" in the museum (Randles 1984:36).

(MMS40/69/Box F/1925:11). Viennese anthropologist Viktor Lebzelter travelled around the Protectorate, measuring the Khoisan and others during 1926 and 1927. Advised by Fourie, he visited schools, hospitals and a number of locations in the Kalahari and the north.[51]

In addition to facilitating fieldwork Fourie dealt with numerous queries of an "anthropological nature" and with issues concerning rock art and archaeology on behalf of the Secretary of the Administration. Some were of a less serious nature than others. In 1923, for example, the *Société Belge d'Etudes et d'Expansion* wrote offering the Administration the opportunity "to take part in the fitting up of their Saloons, Reading-rooms and lecture Halls [sic], by making a present of decorative art" (NNA File A/57). Fourie suggested that they be sent some "native curios". Given his influence and his burgeoning patriotism in the early years of his stay it is highly likely that he made an important contribution to the proclamation of 1921 which was aimed at preventing foreigners from removing artefacts and skeletal material from the country (MMS40/69/BoxF/1922:1, 1923:1, and 1925:13; NNA SWAA404 File A50/5 1921, 1926, 1928).[52]

By the early 1920s Fourie was beginning to receive requests in his personal capacity, too, and was almost always ready to help. C.G. Seligman wrote from Oxford, for example, to ask Fourie to send him any information he may have on "dreams among natives". In 1924 Isaac Schapera, then at UCT, requested information on "Bushman arrow poisons". And in 1925 Wilman asked for a "Bushman pot" for the McGregor Museum in Kimberley (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:2; 40/69/Box F/1924:3&5;40/69/Box G/1928:15).[53]

Interestingly the one person whom he seems to have been almost reluctant to help was Schapera, the person whose work seemed to be closest to his own. The files of correspondence are not complete and Schapera's first letter is lost, but his second letter starts:

> A few months back I wrote to you for some information regarding Bushman arrow poisons, and as I have not yet had any reply from you, I can only conclude that there must have been something in the letter which may have offended you. If so I must apologise (MMS40/69/Box F/1924:3).

No other correspondence on this matter can be found, although in that same year there was a letter from a policeman (J. Holloway) at Okakweyo which accompanied some poison arrows

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[51] Apart from a comment in a letter from Goodwin ("You will have Shortridge with you now, and probably Dr Lebzelter" MMS40/69/BoxF/1927:1) no details of the correspondence concerning this visit are to be found in the Fourie documents, but it is reported in Gordon (1997:106).

[52] Fourie wrote in 1924: "Germany too still has a remarkable hold on this country and too much of what should find its way to the SA Museum still goes there" (MMS40/69/BoxF/1924:2).

[53] Seligman was a foremost anthropologist of the time. In 1930 he published *Races of Africa*, which was a standard work for many years, and was revised three times. See Seligman 1966. Isaac Schapera then was just completing his PhD, and was at the threshold of an illustrious career in anthropology, which began with the publication of *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (1930).

and other items of material culture which may have been requested by Fourie for Schapera (MMS40/69/Box F/1924:4). In 1926 Barnard wrote to Gill that he had seen a diagram drawn by Fourie which showed "all the different types of arrow found in the region" and recommended it for publication in SAM's *Annals*. Whether Fourie had prepared this before or after Schapera's letters, it would appear that there was a sense of competition.

Two years later Goodwin wrote from UCT to tell Fourie that he had a young student named Schapera who had just finished his Masters' degree and that, if Fourie so desired, he would arrange for Schapera to go to Windhoek to help with the writing up of his Khoisan material. No mention of previous contact was made, and neither party followed up the offer. On the other hand, in the same year Schapera wrote to the Administrator asking for a list of rock art sites in the territory, which had apparently been made by R. Maack,[54] which was referred to Fourie. The list had gone missing, and was only found in 1928, but Fourie made every effort to find it. In 1929, when they were both in London, Schapera asked Fourie's permission to use a few of his photographs in the monograph: *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* which he was about to publish. It took many letters and many attempts to make an arrangement to meet before Schapera could finally go ahead and use the photographs. Schapera's thank-you letter is somewhat reserved and rather curt, giving the impression that he was disappointed that the relationship had not been as productive as it could have been. This is not to suggest that Fourie was deliberately obstructive, but, given his willingness to help in so many other cases, this behaviour was unusual, and gives rise to speculation that Fourie, having been pressured to publish more but not having done so, was beginning to feel that he was being pre-empted (MMS40/69/Box F/1926:6; 40/69/Box G/1929:4-9; 40/69/Box G/1930:2).[55]

Studies in London

In 1928, towards the end of his stay in the Protectorate, Fourie received complaints from Hahn about the ways in which the Administration wanted to use his (Hahn's) photographs for propaganda purposes, without acknowledging his copyright. The wording of the letter implies that Fourie had expressed the same dissatisfaction (NNA/MA 8 November 1928) and may refer to the failure to acknowledge their authorship of the photographs published in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. As the Administration firmed up into a thoroughgoing

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[54] Archaeologist and one of the first people to write about the "White Lady" of the Brandberg. "Die 'Weisse Dame' vom Brandberg". *Ethnologica* (n.d. Vol 1:1-84).

[55] In 1969 Dr A.S. Brink, the Director of the Museum of Man and Science, wrote to Schapera asking if he could give any information on Fourie. Schapera responded:

> I much regret being completely unable to help you. I must have had some contact with Dr Fourie more than forty years ago, as he allowed me to use several of his photographs in my book ... but whether this was arranged through personal interview or by means of correspondence I cannot now remember. And that, to the best of my knowledge, was all that I ever had to do with him (MMS40/69/Box A/File 2:12 October 1969).

bureaucracy, Fourie and Hahn began to feel that they were no longer an integral part of it and that their extra inputs were not being fully appreciated.

There is also evidence to suggest that, after a few years, Fourie began to be concerned that his work would go unrecognised, and that others would publish before him. I have mentioned above his relationship with Schapera, and the expression of Fourie's alarm at the fact that the knowledge of local experts was not being given its full weight. In 1928 Dorothea Bleek published her work on the Naron of the Sandfontein area, a work which contained much information which can be found in Fourie's field notes as this was one of the groups on which he had done a great deal of work and to whom he had introduced Bleek. His reaction to this publication is not recorded, but the two of them continued to correspond, and Bleek even sent Fourie a draft of a portion of her work before it was published, so their relationship was not compromised by any resentment Fourie may have felt (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:1).

More immediately difficult for Fourie to countenance, however, was the work of the Denver Expedition among the Hei-//om. This group had come to Africa to film the wild landscapes, the wild animals, and, as they implied, the wild people. Initially its leader, Ernest Cadle, presented himself as being interested only in scientific research, but it soon became clear that he was looking for the most sensational and exotic images he could find or fabricate to sell to an audience in the United States of America. Donald Bain, who acted as guide, interpreter, and general go-between, accompanied the expedition in South West Africa, and Goodwin also joined it for a while. Bain was in regular contact with Fourie during their sojourn in South West Africa, and wrote to him criticising Cadle and describing the skeletons he himself was gathering while he was there. He was careful to show how conscientiously he was recording the process and the context, presumably because Fourie was in a position of authority and could have stopped the operation. Interestingly, the expedition was not directed to the area near Sandfontein, which Fourie had recommended to Bleek and the SAM, but to the Etosha region, where the Hei-//om were already exploiting the small tourist niche that was opening up as a result of the creation of a game reserve in the area. Fourie was supposed to have joined the expedition during the time it was among the Hei-//om, but he excused himself very early on, partly because he became alarmed at the ways in which Cadle was working (Gordon 1997:16, 65-66; MMS40/69/Box F/1925:3-6, 9-10).

By 1929 Fourie's heyday in the Administration and in Khoisan studies was waning. The bureaucracy began to solidify, and personnel moved and changed, so that the sense of adventure, and of being part of the creation of a new frontier was lost. After 1926/27, at the time of the appointment of a new Administrator (Werth) and a new Secretary for Native

Affairs (F.P. Courtney Clark), the Administration's use of Fourie as unofficial anthropologist diminished. By then, however, Fourie's reputation both within the Administration and academic circles had grown to such an extent that, in his personal capacity, he continued to receive many official requests for information and assistance. In 1928, for example, the High Commissioner for South Africa wrote asking if he could supply copies of two albums of his photographs of Bushmen to be used in the library at South Africa House. And in a letter to the Administration dated 28 February 1929 Frank Brownlee, magistrate at Butterworth, cited Fourie's name (among others) as a reference when asking for permits for two guns so he could shoot game to eat while spending two and a half months doing research in the Sandveld together with Tielman Roos, on behalf of the University of the Witwatersrand (NAN - Uncatalogued bundle of letters awaiting transfer to Museum Africa; NAN SWAA A50/46).

What may have been harder for Fourie to bear, given his role as champion of the Bushmen, was the Administrator's unsympathetic attitude to the Khoisan. In 1928 Werth wrote:

> We make no attempt to civilize the Bushmen. They are untameable. They are the savages who shot Magistrate van Ryneveld. ... They attack parties of natives from Ovamboland on their way to work on the mines. I have had to send two punitive expeditions against them this year, and more by good luck than good management, we captured some of them and punished them severely. The territory is so large and the Bushman so cunning that an army might seek them in vain (Cited in Gordon 1997:61).

Responsibilities and areas of concern were no doubt solidifying, but changes in South African policies and politics were also impacting on this colonial bureaucracy. The Native Affairs Department, set up in 1900, had been growing in strength and in 1927 the Native Administration Act formally set out a system of management based on tribalism. Academic departments and the Government Anthropologist accumulated enough information to create a classification system of tribes in the country, and knowledge about chiefs and other leaders was available to assist officials as they implemented a form of indirect rule. The *ad hoc* amateurism of South West African anthropology was no longer considered useful by South African civil servants passing through the territory on relatively short tours of duty.

Bob Fourie describes his father as a compassionate man with a soft spot for the underdog. During the period when the family was in straitened circumstances, Fourie often used his small allowance "in helping someone less fortunate than himself" (Fourie 1985:11, 16-17). The illuminated address presented to Fourie by the Municipal Council of Windhoek states

> ... you have given your time and energy also to the development of our hospitals, and foremost to the institution of the Native Hospital, to the physical welfare of the Native generally (Quoted in Fourie 1985:34).

Franz Ritter, an Austrian geographer, wrote to Fourie expressing a deep sadness at the ways in which urban black South Africans lived, and said that he was disturbed by the fact that the whites did nothing to improve these conditions. Of numerous South Africans he met on a tour of the country he said that he liked only four: Fourie, Professor Kirby (Music Professor at Wits), Professor Brooks ("in Johburg") and Mr Maquard (sic), President of NUSAS (MMS40/69/BoxG/November 1929:11). By placing Fourie in this group, and writing as if he assumed that Fourie would be sympathetic to his dislike of the callousness of white South Africans, Ritter implies that Fourie had a liberal bent.[56]

Fourie sometimes moved outside the racial hierarchies which resided within the colonial psyche: if we are to believe his son's perceptions that Fourie championed the Khoisan and was particularly concerned with the health of Khoisan prisoners; and if we take into account his friendship with Winifred Hoernlé and tea parties with Dr B. Xuma of Alexandra township (Fourie 1985:110). These actions cohere comfortably with evidence of a small streak of non-conformism which included: his continued sympathy and support for the Boer cause in the face of his increasing Anglicisation; his refusal to take officialdom at face value; and his later investigations into the causes of and consequent methods of eradicating plague and malaria. Nevertheless Fourie fitted comfortably into the hierarchy of the Administration, and there is no evidence that he openly criticised it, or that this independence of thought was openly expressed in South West Africa. Fourie was conscious of his position as a civil servant, and felt he needed to remain politically neutral, and, in fact, as the contretemps with Captain Dalton showed, Fourie had a streak of stubborn naïveté which, as we will see, was to manifest itself in ways which were detrimental to his career.

There can be no question that Fourie, like his peers, was a racist, for racism was institutionalised in every way in both South and South West Africa. Whether the few examples given above are indications of a stronger compassion and a desire for fairness than exhibited by his fellow colonists or not is open to question. Certainly this would seem to be the opinion of his son and of the writers of the testimonials described below but there was no liberal voice in South West Africa to support and encourage him (Wallace 2000:54, 57, 59-60). There is no direct evidence that he was connected in any way with the brief moment of tentative paternal liberalism which occurred in the early years of his stay, but the small hints described above indicate the likelihood that he would have been sympathetic to such a pattern (Emmett 1988:224-248; Silvester *et al* 1998:22).

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[56] "I saw through the subterfuges of the Anglo-Boer battle for supremacy, and when I had to socialise with those awful, dumb, over made-up girls on their outings and had to dance with them in the evenings, I found it difficult to answer "yes" to the frequent question – "wouldn't you like to stay?" I couldn't live permanently in S.A. As much as everyone always talks about 'culture' I found there is none and as many people as I became acquainted with, I can think of only 4 with great pleasure …" (MMS40/69/BoxG/November 1929:11).

Some rather cryptic letters that he received at the end of his stay there support the sense that the atmosphere in Windhoek had become unbearable for Fourie. Dr Jean Fleming, for example, wrote in farewell from Grootfontein:

> ... we sincerely hope to follow in your footsteps and get out of S.W.A. The repression & suppression of S.W.A. cuts into one's very soul and I feel that it is quite wrong for us to bring up our infants in such an atmosphere ... (MMS40/69/BoxG/ 1929:13).

And Therese Hegel, whose husband had been helped and encouraged by Fourie, echoed the sentiments in a farewell letter written from Tsumeb a few weeks later in which she says that the air in Windhoek "is far from clean and good just now" and that she is glad that he is getting away from it (MMS40/69/BoxG/1929:15).

The last days in South West Africa

In 1928, now aged fifty, Fourie took six months long leave and six months unpaid leave and travelled to London to study for a Diploma in Public Health. On his return he discovered that the Administration would not credit him for the qualification, and that there were no prospects for promotion or improvement in his salary, and so, in December 1929 he applied for a transfer to the Union Health Department, and the family moved to King William's Town where Fourie was to work on the control of bubonic plague. His son describes the time with a certain amount of bitterness, saying that Fourie received "no official appreciation of his service to South West Africa".

Fourie did, however, receive two illuminated addresses at the time, one from the Mayor and Members of the Municipal Council of Windhoek, a section of which gives something of the essence of Fourie's work in the Protectorate:

> Your term of office has been from the point of view of a public officer, full of difficulties and perplexities which arise out of the exigencies of the troubled times through which we have had to pass in that period. It is with the greatest pleasure that we can testify to the sense of goodwill and to the unfailing courtesy and consideration you have shewn in every respect in overcoming these difficulties.
>
> In your sphere of activity you had to deal with an extraordinary [sic] large variety of public health conditions, and we realise how greatly the difficulties in dealing with such matters must have been enhanced by the enormous extent of this territory with its many variations in climatic and anthropological conditions.
>
> We are also deeply conscious of the great interest you have shewn in matters of science and of the extent and value of the research work you have undertaken among the aborigines of this country, especially among the Bushmen ... .
>
> We must also be grateful to you for having inaugurated the South West Africa Scientific Society of which you were the first President ... (Quoted in Fourie 1985:33-34).

Fourie's attempts to remain objective and fair to all those with whom he came into contact come through in this address, and are also remarked upon in the address from the SWA Branch of the Medical Association of South Africa:

> By your unbiassed treatment of all medical practitioners, regardless of Nationality, you have contributed largely to the spirit of mutual good feeling which exists today, which feeling has been in no small measure assisted by the formation of the South West Africa branch of the M.A.S.A. (B.M.A) for which you were principally responsible, and of which you were the first President.
>
> We would place on record our appreciation of the work done by you in the organisation of the present existing health services from the medical standpoint, and in connection with the Medical Pharmacy Bill 1928, wherein were embodied at your instance, clauses providing for the reasonable and fair treatment of German practitioners in the territory (Quoted in Fourie 1985:34-35).

As the sense that South West Africa was frontier territory abated there was no space for the gentleman anthropologist and amateur scientist. Fourie had found his intellectual home among a group of English-speaking fellow civil servants and academics, among whom the study of the Khoisan was a highly acceptable credential but during his last years in Windhoek he found himself repulsed (in both senses of the word) by the development of the fervently racist and exclusive Nationalist politics of the 1920s. His education, experience and generally curious and questioning attitude to everything and everyone he encountered made it impossible for him to accept the ways in which the new policies were being implemented in South West Africa, and contributed to his request for a transfer to the Union of South Africa at the end of 1929.[57]

Life after Windhoek

After he left the colony Fourie spent less and less time on his collection, using pressure of work and the fact that the collection was still stored in boxes as his reasons. This is not to say that he lost interest altogether. Hoernlé's attempts to involve him in the cataloguing of his collection and in teaching at the University were frustrated more by his being overburdened

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[57] Fourie was disillusioned by the internal politics of the Administration - in a cryptic letter to Hahn, advising him to publish his anthropological researches in the *Journal of the SWA Scientific Society* in order to prevent others from plagiarising it he wrote:

> I am heartily sick of the great "I ams" who would not hesitate to filch the ideas generated by a louse if by so doing they would advance their own selfish ends. They are moulded in too mean a frame to appreciate what loyalty is and to give unto Caesar what is Caesar's.
> ... I should have liked to have had a personal chat with both of you before leaving. Our lives now-a-days are wedged in by many pitfalls. But few people can be trusted and still fewer know the game of playing cricket. The only thing is to do one's duty, keep straight, confide in nobody and to cave canem.
> ... All of us, especially the old hands, are exposed to and may fall victims to unhealthy influences. Our only consolation is that if we represent our case to the Centurion personally we shall always get a fair hearing and a square deal (NNA A450 1/29 Letter Fourie to Hahn 27/4/1928).

with other commitments than by a lack of enthusiasm. The accumulation of news cuttings and reprints on the Khoisan, dating from the 1930s to the 1950s dotted throughout the files are evidence that he was concerned to remain *au courant* with developments in the field. In 1949 Fourie was invited to chair the South African Government's Commission for the Preservation of the Bushmen, being formed to study the situation of the Khoisan of South and South West Africa, and to make recommendations about their occupation of lands that included game reserves. He was preparing to begin work when he had a mild stroke which affected his vision. After a short recuperation he returned to find that work had already begun and that he had fundamental problems with the way in which his fellow commissioner, P.J. Schoeman, a recently retired professor from Stellenbosch, was conducting the work. He resigned and the chair was then handed to Schoeman (NNA/MA:29; MMS40/69/BoxG/ 1932:2-3). In an analysis of the work of the Commission, Gordon claims that Schoeman made an ideal candidate because of his political affiliations and his Afrikaner background. If that was the case the reasons for choosing Fourie are not clear; undoubtedly his reputation of knowing the area and the people were taken into account, but perhaps his Afrikaans surname, and his long stint as a civil servant, also made him a desirable choice. Gordon concluded that the Commission's recommendations had a devastating effect on the Hei-//om of the Etosha area, an outcome Fourie, happily, did not live to see (MMS40/69/BoxG/1933:1-3; Fourie 1985:136; Gordon 1992:163-165).

In December 1929 Fourie was appointed Assistant Health Officer at King William's Town. The family moved into a cottage on the property of their old friend Shortridge[58] and

> Louis was now to cover the whole of the Eastern Province which extended from Port Elizabeth to the Northern Transkei. He was to visit all the little hamlets and villages, advising in health matters. He enjoyed his work and getting to know a new country (Fourie 1985:37).

The transition from South West Africa to South Africa was eased by his enjoyment of his work, and by the fact that they were living near friends. Apart from Shortridge, there was Harry Drew who had been appointed as magistrate there some time before, and whose wife took Micky Fourie under her wing. Fourie was appointed to the board of the Kaffrarian Museum for the duration of his stay there, but the records do not hold any information concerning his loan of the collection to the museum (Amathole Museum, Minutes of the AGM and board meetings for 1930).

After a few months Fourie was directed to work on an outbreak of plague in the Orange Free State and neighbouring districts, and, according to his son, was extremely successful in both

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[58] This house has since been demolished, but an oil painting of it, made by a local artist, hangs in the Amathole Museum in King William's Town. Randles' history of the Kaffrarian Museum (1984) makes no mention of Shortridge's connections with Fourie.

the research he did into the vectors of the disease, and the community work he carried out to educate the farmers and their labourers so that they could put in place the measures necessary to prevent further problems. A précis of his reports on this work is given in the biography (Fourie 1985:37-47).

Fourie's powers of observation were admired and often remarked upon during his plague work, and this combined with his obvious ability and the success of his community work led to a transfer to Durban in Natal in 1932. Here his work was "to tackle the serious problem of malaria in the sugar belt". And so, after less than three years, the family packed their bags, including the collections of photographs, objects and papers, and moved once more (Fourie 1985:44, 51).

Before he could begin to work in Durban, however, Fourie was asked to travel to Ovamboland to investigate the prevalence of plague there. He spent six weeks there, staying with his friends, the Hahns, at Ondangua. He and Hahn set up a system of "tribal intelligence" through a local Chief, and in this way obtained hitherto unknown details of the spread of incidents of bubonic plague which was locally known as the "mouse" disease. He submitted a comprehensive report to the Administration in June 1932 in which he recommended measures to ensure the co-operation and assistance of local chiefs and headmen in the prevention of the spread of the disease (AMLFOU6.4; Fourie 1985:51).

Fourie's work on the control of malaria appears to have been as thorough and effective as his plague work had been. Sadly it was hampered by a clash between himself and the Assistant Health Officer (AHO) for Natal, who was, technically, his senior. Bob's reading of the situation was that: "The times were acutely political and to jingoistic Natalians any appointment of an Afrikaner to an administrative position was considered to be nationalist inspired" (Fourie 1985:61). But reading between the lines it is possible to see that, even though the offending officer does appear to have been churlish in the extreme, there may have been a certain amount of arrogance or pride involved, and that Fourie felt that his authority was being undermined, and was not capable of ignoring it (Fourie 1985:67-69). It is interesting that the clash with the AHO echoes the clash with Dalton in Fourie's early years in Windhoek, but this one seems to have had further ramifications, and Fourie who was now part of a thoroughgoing bureaucracy, found it extremely difficult to gain what he felt to be a fair hearing. The misunderstanding, however, was compounded by events surrounding the Congress of the South African Health Officials' Association, held in Pietermaritzburg (Proceedings – 1933), and by the local press taking up Fourie's cause.

Sir Edward Thornton (acting Secretary for Health) had been invited to be President of the congress but had to withdraw and asked Fourie to stand in for him. Fourie flatly refused, saying that the task was one which "throughout my life I have striven to avoid as much as the Devil does holy water" (Quoted in Fourie 1985:71). Given Fourie's involvement in public affairs in South West Africa this must have come as a surprise to Thornton, who probably thought that he was offering Fourie something of an honour, and was, quite understandably, somewhat offended at the adamant refusal. At the congress Fourie delivered a paper on malaria in which he announced that a particular species of mosquito had been found to be more common in Natal than had previously been thought. The newspapers latched onto this announcement and exaggerated the consequences of it, blaming the government for neglect and inefficiency. A few months later Thornton sent out a circular "drawing attention to the procedure to be followed before reading a paper or giving an address or interview in public and stating that on several occasions recently some embarrassment had been caused by members of the department" (Fourie 1985:76). Further discussions ensued, during which Thornton told Fourie that he was "always looking for trouble with your colleagues where no trouble is intended". Whether or not this is true, Fourie does appear to have been somewhat over-sensitive to criticism.

Bob claims that his father followed the same pattern in Durban as he had done in South West Africa and King William's Town, making good friends and establishing a reputation for himself as a hard worker and an expert who was willing to assist all who came for advice or help. The situation with the AHO became so unpleasant, however, that Fourie asked for a transfer after little more than a year, and was moved to Johannesburg in August 1933. The unpleasantness stained the rest of Fourie's career (Fourie 1985:61).

In 1933 Fourie was fifty-five years old and, given his talent and experience, he should have been promoted to a senior administrative post, but his last five years as a civil servant were spent "in the field", so to speak, doing, as always, a range of tasks.

> Louis had charge of the health situation in the rural areas and on the mines, in co-operation with the Director of Native Labour, Mr Barrett. He lectured in Epidemiology at the Witwatersrand University. And during this period he became increasingly engaged in plague control throughout South Africa (Fourie 1985:78).

In 1937 he applied for the post of Deputy Chief Health Officer, Cape Town, but the Secretary for Public Health, Sir Edward Thornton, would not recommend him, saying that he was too close to retirement and offering a lesser promotion to Senior Assistant Health Officer. Fourie felt slighted, and had to be persuaded not to demand an enquiry. Instead he wrote a strongly worded letter of protest, in which he stated that he believed that he had been sidelined because

of favouritism and because of the reputation he had, unfairly, acquired in the department (Fourie 1985:97).

Fourie did not like Johannesburg, but the rest of the family quickly settled in, made new friends and enjoyed being together. Bob was studying mining engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand and living at home, while Jumbo was still at school at Bishops in Cape Town. Bob's memories of that time are filled with warmth and details of domestic routines (Fourie 1985:78-100).

In 1936, under duress, Fourie visited a display of a group of San from the Kalahari at the Empire Exhibition held in Johannesburg and was deeply distressed by it. He reportedly felt that Donald Bain, the man behind the display, was no more than an impresario who provided shows

> no better than that of the bearded lady or fat man at a fair except that it was in the open for all to see. And the great public 'gawked' and passed ribald remarks and threw sweets to the Bushman children. In no time the bushmen were spoiled for life and would have difficulty in returning to their Spartan existence once the exhibition was over (Fourie 1985:94).

Remembering always that this reaction is filtered through the mind of Bob Fourie, it is interesting to note the paternalism implicit in the words "spoiled for life" in this context. This is a glimpse into Fourie's attitude that the Khoisan were better fitted to live in the wilderness and quite unable to negotiate the conditions of modern life.

In 1938, after twenty-two years of work in the civil service, Louis Fourie retired. His approach to the job had been that: "... as a Civil Servant, he was a servant of the public, and as such it was his duty to be helpful and certainly not to walk around waving a book of regulations" (Fourie 1985:109).

On his retirement he received many tributes from colleagues and those whom he had helped in the course of his work (including one from Dr Xuma of Alexandra). He was asked to remain as a consultant on matters relating to the plague for a year after his retirement, but did not appear to have accepted this offer (Fourie 1985:109). During the period after he left Windhoek Fourie had moved his Khoisan collection from the King William's Town Museum to the Department of Anthropology at Wits. He intended to catalogue it and write it up but never found the time. When he retired some of the collection remained at the University and he took the rest with him to Plettenberg Bay where it remained in boxes for many years.

Louis and Micky moved to the Robberg, outside the village of Plettenberg Bay, where they lived in a rudimentary hut as they worked on building a more permanent home. Their younger son, Jumbo, remained in Johannesburg to study medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand until the outbreak of World War II when he enlisted in the Air Force. His death in an accident while at the training school in George in 1942 was a terrible blow to Louis and Micky who suffered physical and emotional breakdowns respectively not long afterwards. Bob stayed on at the Reef, working on a mine close to Johannesburg, until he absconded to join the navy. Fortunately he survived the War to return to work on the mines until his retirement to Plettenberg Bay many years later (Fourie 1985:119-124).

In June 1940 Louis Fourie himself enlisted yet again, and was immediately promoted to Major and stationed in Windhoek as Acting Director of Medical Services to the South West Africa Command. However, in 1944 he became seriously ill and returned to South Africa for tests and treatment. After his recovery he returned to Plettenberg Bay where he became active in local affairs. He and Micky finished building their permanent home and proceeded to create a garden which became famous in the area. He was the prime instigator in the move to declare the Robberg a nature reserve and was very active in its care and upkeep, being invited to become the first honorary warden (Fourie 1985:116, 132, 135-136).

Louis Fourie died on 25 April 1953. He had become an Anglican by adoption and was buried in the Plettenberg Bay parish churchyard. Tributes from around the sub-continent poured in and obituaries full of praise for his many achievements were written, but in his last years Fourie had regretted that he "had been a failure through never realising his full potential". He had become very sensitive about any allusion to his failure to write up his work on the Khoisan, or a monograph on the plague, and he was hurt by the lack of official recognition of his work by the Department of Health. Part of his collection remained at the University of the Witwatersrand and the rest was with his wife, who stayed on at the house at Robberg until shortly before her death on 23 April 1965 at the age of 83. The collection, which had served the purpose of defining the identity of the man during his stay in Windhoek, and had been the evidence of his passionate interest in the Khoisan of South West Africa, became a monument to intense activity and to unrealised potential. This archive, which had depended heavily on the living memory of the collector, was now out in the world on its own (Fourie 1985:135).

Conclusion

Born and brought up in a Boer family and educated in the English system, Fourie was blessed with an intelligent and questioning mind. Initially he found the situation in South West Africa provided a space for him to explore and express his personality, and he enjoyed the

challenge of working in a bureaucracy which was the focus of a conflict between factions, in a country where German settlers, Afrikaans- and English- speaking South Africans and the indigenous population were all struggling to lay claim to land and resources. Fourie's response was to choose to be impartial, to style himself as a "scientist" and an observer of human culture. In so doing, of course, he nonetheless chose to support the *status quo*. In working to render an identity for the Khoisan, he was shaping his own position within the colonial society of the Protectorate of South West Africa, and possibly compensating for the sense of inadequacy engendered by his lack of a proper qualification. He consolidated this persona during his twelve-year sojourn in Windhoek as he developed his anthropological skills and received the acknowledgement of the Administration that he was an expert, if not **the** expert, on the Khoisan of the region.

This process took place at a number of different loci: in the bureaucracy; in the academic world of the sub-continent; among the intelligentsia of the Protectorate; and in his personal life, and it was central not only to the description of the Khoisan of both public and academic anthropology but also to the expression of Fourie's identity. He was not, however, the impartial observer he somewhat naively believed himself to be. He could not divorce himself from the politics of his day, or from the work and influences of many of the foremost scholars working in the field at the time. In the final analysis he was playing to a gallery that extended from Windhoek through South Africa and beyond and he used the collections to define his own place within it.

Chapter 3
The Archive within the Archive

Introduction

On going through Fourie's documents at Museum Africa one is left with a strong sense of incompleteness, of half-heard conversations, and narratives interrupted by intermittent silences. This is prompted in large part by a substantial corpus of unnumbered and unlisted photocopies of Fourie's letters to the SAM and by the interpretive notes left scattered through the files by the MMS as it mined the documents for information. In addition, there are fundamental differences in the organisational histories of the photographs and artefacts that set them apart from the documents. The collection now held at Museum Africa is patchy and disorganised as a result of the history and the scattered nature of the documents. At the same time, there is evidence in the papers that Fourie was collecting and curating *information* in written form, and that this information constitutes a collection in much the same way as the other elements of the greater archive. The MMS interventions show the beginnings of an attempt to order, index and catalogue the collection of information held within the documents, but, at the time of writing, there is only a superficial organisation, and in this chapter I have created my own system of description.

Fourie did not set out to make this collection of documents in the same way as he intended to make a set of photographs or of artefacts, and so this collection has about it an *ad hoc* air. It is unlikely that Fourie himself would have seen his paper collection in this way; if he had thought about it at all, he would have described the documents as forming a supporting function for his writing and for the other collections. Thus, although it is as impressive in terms of size and detail as those of photographs and artefacts, the mass of documents was generally perceived by museum staff to be ancillary to and distinct from the body of the collection, serving as a support, and certainly not forming a collection in itself. The staff at the MMS numbered most of the original documents and made some preliminary lists, but did not prepare a catalogue; instead they used the documents as a source of information. In any other context this collection would have been counted as an archive (in the conventional sense of the word) but the Africana Museum stored the documents, in the order in which they had been received, with no mediation, with its files of "Additional Notes", a system which held all written information connected to its objects.

In 1969, when he loaned the collections of artefacts and photographs to the Museum of Man and Science, Bob Fourie invited the staff to comb through his father's papers and to take with them anything concerning Fourie's avocation (Bob Fourie pers. comm., 1997). There is no

record of the processes of selection and ordering that took place, but it is clear that the criteria included anything connected to the Bushmen, Fourie's anthropological studies in South West Africa and the photographs and artefacts he amassed while he was there. Bob had clearly inherited his father's hoarding tendencies and held on to the remaining papers. In 1998, after his death, his son, Andy Fourie, donated that portion of the rest of the papers that dealt with Fourie's medical training and his work on plague and malaria in the 1930s to the Adler Museum of Medicine.[59] They include around 1 000 photographs and negatives made in the course of Fourie's studies of, for example, the ways in which rodents inhabited the thatched roofs of huts in the eastern Cape, or stagnant ponds which formed homes for mosquitoes in KwaZulu-Natal. Unrelated to Fourie's anthropological work, they nevertheless show how the methodologies that he utilised in his fieldwork among the Khoisan in South West Africa (such as taking photographs for record keeping, writing field notes, and consulting with local farmers, officials and chiefs in the regions where he worked) were integral to the way in which he carried out his later medical research.

When the MMS received the collection they promised to publish a monograph on the Khoisan, based on Fourie's work, the major portion of which would include what they termed an "anthropological study made from his notes regarding the customs of the Bushmen and their manufactures" (MA Additional Notes, undated anonymous report, MMS 40/69). Early drafts show that they began by preparing the anthropological study.[60] By 1977, when the MMS closed, the book had not been published and there was no manuscript ready, for reasons connected with the disruptions caused by a lack of steady funding. The scraps which remained, however, added yet another layer to the archive.

Fourie's personal correspondence was also preserved first by Bob, and then by his wife who died in 2005. It is now in the care of Bob's daughter and is not available for public scrutiny (Andy Fourie pers. comm., 2006). There is also a file of papers at the National Archives in Windhoek labelled: "Fourie family papers to be placed with Museum Africa" which contains correspondence, reports and memos, mostly connected with his work as Medical Officer, but its provenance is unknown.

The paper collection, therefore, has been through a series of reorganisations over a long period. The family set aside the documents they considered to be of a personal nature, the

[59] The Adler Museum of Medicine moved premises and their Fourie papers were unpacked in 2005. In 2006 I made an inventory, which is now available at the Museum's premises at the Medical School in Johannesburg.

[60] See cards with information on technology and trade in 40/69/BoxA/File1, and numerous scraps of pink paper with notes taken from the field notes in 40/69/BoxE/File23 in Box B.

MMS set aside anything not connected with their field of interest, then did the preliminary work of numbering and began to extract material for a projected book. The Africana Museum stored rather than filed the collection in the boxes as they found them, mixing Fourie's original material with the MMS research notes. This collection, having been extracted from a larger archive, has a different character from that of the photographs and the objects.[61] Paradoxically, the Africana Museum's benign negligence exposes readings of the history of the collection which might otherwise have been lost.

The four collections of papers are, of course, related because they are all linked with Louis Fourie, and form parts of a larger but divided archive. Going further, they are linked to documents in other collections that refer to Fourie and his work. Harris, Hamilton *et al* argue the case for an all-embracing Mandela Archive that includes all records (of which paper records are but one element) connected to the life and work of Nelson Mandela.

> [W]hereas a conventional archive has a single location and a finite number of documents, the Mandela Archive is an infinite one, located in innumerable places. … The Mandela Archive is, in the first instance, defined by Mandela himself, and documents his life and work. He is the centre point of the archive, from which myriad threads can be followed (2005:36).

In the case of Fourie it could also be argued that there is a similar extended archive that contains records of all types which relate to the life and work of the man, and that holds important knowledge about many other aspects of the history of his time (public health, the protectorate of South West Africa, and native administration, for example). The segment of this greater archive held at Museum Africa is bounded by the fact that it holds materials that refer to Fourie's connections with the Khoisan of South West Africa. The margins, however, are porous, and, like the other segments, the records are frequently polysemous and contain knowledge relating to other parts of his life.

The documents articulate the history and colonial context of Fourie's avocation but are silent when it comes to the history of their own making. This chapter (as does the entire thesis) frequently refers to all those elements of the extended Fourie archive which have come to light so far, using them to analyse, as a collection, the documents passed on to the Africana Museum by the Museum of Man and Science, viewing them as an important element of the larger archive of the Fourie/Khoisan relationship.

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[61] The photographs might also said to have been part of a larger collection, given the 1 000 images held at the Adler Museum of Medicine and the possibility of others remaining with the family. The methods of storage and the list of the glass negatives made by Fourie suggest, however, that he himself saw the collections as separate and distinct.

In the following chapter I begin by organising the collection: "dividing it up, arranging it in levels, ordering it, and distinguishing what is relevant and what is not" in order to discover "unities and relations" (Foucault 1973:6) as well as disjunctures and silences, all of which can be interpreted to say something of the nature of Fourie's anthropological work, and its place in the world of colonial South West Africa and the intellectual life of the sub-continent. In the process I seek to highlight the recursive nature of the shaping of knowledge concerning the Khoisan, particularly with regard to Fourie's interactions with a range of academics and a select few of his peers in the civil service. In order to do so I treat the documents as "possibly decipherable" fragile traces of voices "since reduced to silence" (Foucault 1973:6), and attempt to map out the relationships of those traces.

Approach to the study of the archive

The collection of writings that accompanies the Fourie Collection contains within it material from which could be read all the elements of the "epistemological master plan" (Stoler 2001:3) (or of the discourse, in Foucault's terms) of Khoisan studies in southern Africa in the early twentieth century. As we will see these readings could also be supported by the artefacts, photographs and bones. The assumptions implicit in the master plan, together with the perception that all of the essential characterising features of the Khoisan were being rapidly diluted as a result of contact with neighbouring Africans and colonising Europeans, are to be found in the works of all those who practiced anthropology in the1920s.[62] And yet information is to be found in Fourie's field notes that contradicts the master plan, for example the discussion around notions of territorial ownership. These contradictions are particularly challenging in the contemplation of material culture gathered by Fourie detailed in Chapter 5.

In the process of teasing out the master plan as it is manifested in Fourie's paper collection, I infer that two main motives moulded the larger collecting project: the identification and description of a pure Bushman; and the need to impose and justify the colonial order of things. The subtle interplay between those agendas, and the ways in which they supported each other are, perhaps, more easily read in the disorder of the random personal files of Fourie than would have been possible in an exploration of a governmental archive. Official reports overtly served state interests and seldom refer to the academic processes which flowed parallel with political practice, and yet Bleek's report on the Nama for publication in *Bantu Studies* is not very different from Manning's report to the Administration on the Bushmen. The Fourie papers, containing something of both, proffer insights into the omissions, internal

[62] See Jolly 1996:200-202 for a useful summary of the main elements of this master plan which include that the Khoisan were the only ones to use bows and poisoned arrows, subsist as hunter gatherers, and had a unique culture.

contradictions and complications which signpost the contested knowledge of the colonial administrators. Take, for example, the differences between the German magistrates' reports on the Bushmen, or the confession of the Khoisan "cannibal" in Windhoek gaol, which was presented, unmediated and without comment to Fourie. Perhaps it is best to remember that the times of war in the colonising enterprise required the use and manipulation of intelligence (in all its senses) and these archives were a resource, just as they are today, to help strategise, support the decisions and explain the dilemmas of the settlers and the colonial powers.

Recent works on archives and their role in colonial rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries examine the ways in which documents have been gathered, classified and ordered to assist in the control of the people whose memories and lifestyles were being incorporated into the new state structures. Archives are shown to have been used, both directly and indirectly, to store the information needed to control the colonised. They are also seen as products not only of the 'expert', but also of his local assistants and informants, thus forming complex combinations of the knowledges and memories of the conquered, filtered through the desires and agendas of collectors (See Dirks 1992, Griffiths 1996, Richards 1993 and Stoler 2001). Interestingly, Fourie's documents have not been subjected to conventional archival ordering (except, perhaps, in the case of the correspondence, which has been arranged chronologically).

One part of both the German and South African administrations' drives to classify and order information concerning groups of human beings was located in the production of ethnographies, both published and unpublished, and traces of this can be found in numerous questionnaires, translations and reports by colonial administrators which abound in the collection. In 1928 *The Native Races of South West Africa*, which contained a chapter on "The Bushmen" by Fourie along with other, similar, ethnographic summaries, was published on behalf of the Administration of the Protectorate and was openly stated to be an official document. Evidence of the marriage of administration and ethnography is to be found in the opening words of Fourie's chapter, which lists and describes the various Khoisan groups in the Territory. As we have seen he had gathered some of this information from information within the government's archives.

Paradoxically, one of the most important consequences of the fact that Fourie's papers are now stored as an archive, and not in the further mediated form of a written ethnography, is that they are not restricted by Fourie's conscious and/or subconscious constructs concerning the Khoisan. The words and opinions of numerous others in the field (including Khoisan informants) intrude in the correspondence, copies of official reports, and the published works, to complicate even as they historicise the ethnographic content. On the other hand, Fourie's

presence would be necessary to create order out of much of the chaos of the field notes which, as a collection of ethnologica, are often incoherent. As a document of the process of colonial ethnology, however, this collection offers valuable insight.

One of the results of the fact that he had published only a very small selection of his ethnographic research was that, after he left South West Africa, Fourie's fame as an expert on the Khoisan faded even though the use of his images and information in later publications ensured that select elements of his work continued to be present in discussions on the Khoisan. In 1969, sixteen years after Fourie died, the detailed and sometimes contradictory information in his field notes was indirectly made available to the outside world when Bob Fourie handed them over to the MMS. The MMS and its heir, the Africana Museum, focused attention on the ethnographic details they found in these pages, and tended to ignore any material which contradicted the currently accepted version of Khoisan identity. The documents provided the museums with the information they needed to process the artefacts and photographs according to conventional South African museum practice, but, given the paradigms within which they worked, they were unable to make use of the added layers of information which at times refined and at others contradicted the conventional categories.

Organisation of the collection

A sprawling and disorganised mass of disparate entities constitutes the Fourie papers, which include personal and official correspondence, published materials and documents written by friends, by colleagues, by members of the Administration, and by Fourie himself. There are maps (some hand-drawn and others printed), translations of documents from German literature and German Administrators, lists of prisoners, registers of the collections of artefacts and photographs, diaries, official reports, newspaper clippings and even hard-cover monographs. This multiplicity of *genres* within the records presents the reader with the wide range of levels and techniques Fourie and his contemporaries used to create and articulate knowledge about the Khoisan within the Protectorate. Over the years the "original order" of the documents was subverted as the collection was divided and reorganised, and it appears from the scattered remnants of Fourie's labelling system that he himself may have contributed to the disorganisation.

The papers are now contained in seven boxes. The materials in boxes A and B are held in manila folders which are numbered and labelled in Fourie's own hand. Boxes A to E were Fourie's original box files, but were in poor condition and some of them were replaced. The correspondence is the only area where major re-arrangement has occurred. The staff of the MMS removed letters from a variety of places in the files and placed them in chronological

order in individual plastic envelopes in Boxes F and G. To these they added photocopies of letters written by Fourie to the South African Museum.

All seven of the boxes of documents contain mixtures of the various *genres* of record. A rough outline of the collections indicates a rough pattern, however. The majority of material in Box A was culled from the anthropologists and civil servants who worked in Namibia during the time of the German Administration. In addition there are some of Fourie's rough notes that focus mainly on material culture and physical anthropology. Box B contains a large body of rough notes by Fourie, covering everything from material culture through settlement patterns to language and dancing. It also holds many drafts of Fourie's first published article on the Hei-//om. Box C holds mainly official reports, and Box D is notable for the maps, mainly printed and fairly large, some of which are hand drawn. Box E holds sixteen publications, including two monographs and several reprints, and seven notebooks filled with field notes, observations and ethnographic information. Boxes F and G are actually lever arch files and contain the majority of the correspondence, arranged chronologically.

The headings on the files in Boxes A and B show that Fourie himself had a filing system, but the system does not appear to have been absolutely adhered to, and does not continue into the other boxes.[63] A broken series of files of material on the Khoisan is to be found in these two boxes. The first four files in Box A were captioned by Fourie:

File 1 Bushmen – General – Notes on arrows – definition of terms;
File 2 Bushmen Notes – Various;
File 4 Bushmen – Division Namutoni;
File 5 Bushmen – Orange River.

File number 3 is listed as "Nil" on the MMS list, and so was either non-existent, or contained information that was not perceived to be relevant to the collection. The first five files in Box B are similarly labelled by Fourie:

Hei-om[sic] – Etosha Pan;
Kau-Kau BUSHMEN;
Notes on Customs of the Hei-//om/ J.S.W.A.Sc.Soc.;
BUSHMEN – Ovamboland;
Inventories – Native Curios – Miscellaneous Notes.

If Fourie made lists of the contents of the files they are no longer extant, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain the degree to which they have retained their integrity. In fact, this

63 I have prepared a detailed annotated list of the items which I found in the boxes as I examined them, a copy of which is filed with the collection at Museum Africa. A shortened form of this list appears as Appendix 2.

appears to be unlikely, since there are numerous additions. A glance at the listing of the current contents of these files reveals numerous items not congruent with the headings of the file, but we cannot know when the intrusive items were added (Appendix 2). These instances point to an original ordering intention and indicate something of Fourie's sense of how the information should be categorised, and it is clear that the ethnographic device of describing tribal groups was a priority.

Although it could be said that some of the earlier items were filed in Box A, and some of the later items in Box E, the fact is that the records are chronologically mixed and rules out filing-by-date as a possible organising factor. In Box C, for example, there are reports that date from 1918 to 1927 (40/69/Box C/File 1 item 4, and File 2 item 4). Furthermore, many documents are undated, and offer no hints for would-be archival detectives.

As a result of the lack of any inbuilt organising factor I have structured this chapter by grouping the documents by *genre* and have overridden, for the most part, the numbering system given by the MMS. The categories into which I have divided the collection for the purposes of this discussion are as follows: official documents; maps; field notes and research; correspondence; publications and translations; and Fourie's two published articles, which contain at least a portion of Fourie's interpretation of his readings and fieldwork.

Official documents

Official documents from both the German and the South African Administrations are to be found mainly in Boxes A and C. Fourie drew information concerning not only the Khoisan but also other groups in the country from the archives of both the German and the South African administrations, copying and translating official reports. The presence of information on the non-Khoisan groups emphasises Fourie's profound involvement in Native Administration and the creation of official ethnographies, at least in the first ten years of his stay. (It should be emphasised here that these documents are all carbon copies or drafts, and that, even though the originals are often not to be found in the National Archives of Namibia in Windhoek, Fourie does not appear to have wanted to keep copies solely for himself.)

Of the records dealing with non-Khoisan groups the most striking is the set of carbon copies of translations of twenty-four reports on "Native dissatisfaction with German Rule" all dated between May and June 1913 (MMS 40/69/BoxA/4/f:2). These were compiled by magistrates and policemen from every administrative district in the country, and contain information about race relations in their specific areas, most likely in response to a directive from the German Administration (MMS40/69/BoxA/4/g). Another German initiative to gather ethnographic information gave rise to the undated "Question Form Relating to the Laws of

Natives in the German Colonies", a detailed twenty-two page list of one hundred and three questions, and explanations of the terms used (40/69/BoxA/File4/c). The South African Administration was preoccupied with the nature of the administration of the Germans, and intent on proving that it had been unnecessarily harsh on the Africans of the Territory. This was particularly so in the period leading up to the granting of the Mandate, when the Germans were arguing that they should be allowed to keep their colonies and the South Africans were anxious to maintain administrative control over what they considered to be a natural extension of their territory (Cooper 1991:33-5). That the Germans were concerned enough to investigate the matter of race relations in so thorough a manner does not seem to have merited attention, and is not mentioned in the Blue Book of 1918 (See Chapter 2 "Mandate and the League of Nations"). These reports offer a particularly cogent indicator of German settler anxieties and the presence of the translations in Fourie's files also signifies a continuation of that anxiety among the new rulers.

Other non-Khoisan reports include a "Treatise on ... the Herero", and a translation of "The Topnaars [sic] at Walfish Bay and Zesfontein (Kaoko)" (1918), both by Heinrich Vedder (MMS40/69/BoxA/ 4/d and 5/b). Vedder, a Rhenish missionary, historian and anthropologist, had lived and worked in the Territory since 1903. Apart from writing a history of the Territory (Inskeep 2006) he published a full length treatise on the Berg Damara in 1923 and contributed chapters on the Herero, the Nama and the Berg Damara to *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (1928(a), (b), and (c)). His "work was probably at once the least academically respectable and the most influential in terms of defining the boundaries of ethnicity and the gradations of 'civilisation' within Namibia" (Silvester *et al* 1998:44) and he remained an influential voice in ethnographic matters long after Fourie left South West Africa. In the 1950s he was appointed as the representative of the Africans of South West Africa in the South African Senate. He died in 1972. Surprisingly, although they must have collaborated when working on *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* and between them made up two thirds of the active anthropologists in the Protectorate, there is no direct evidence of personal or official contact between Vedder and Fourie in the collection. The reasons for this are not clear. Fourie corresponded regularly with many in South Africa and the Protectorate whose anthropological interests coincided with his own, and we must conclude that there was some sort of antipathy here, or that the documents connected with Vedder were deliberately removed at some stage. Nevertheless Vedder's presence and his works pervade this archive both directly (as in these reports) and indirectly in the few references to him in the correspondence (MMS40/69/Box F/1928:1 April 1928, for example).

It should be remembered that Fourie was able to understand German, and that he may have been asked to translate some of these documents. It would be wrong to assume, however, that he was the only member of the Administration who was able to do so. "The Topnaars …" has the word "Translation" typed in the top left corner, and ends: "signed. H. VEDDER. Missionary. GAUB. 30/11/1918". A notable feature of this report is the appearance, in brackets, of a number of handwritten notes, two of which are signed "C.N. Manning" and "C.N.M." respectively. This translation was made either by Vedder himself or by Manning, who became the Chief Native Commissioner, and, as such, was the official directly concerned with such matters. The pairing of ethnographies and native administration appears often in this collection and was an essential feature of indirect rule.

In addition to keeping records of documents relating to the South West African people in general, Fourie made copies of a number of reports from the German Administration's archives that specifically relate to the Khoisan. There is a page taken from an undated official memorandum or minute in which superintendents were exhorted to:

> "[T]ake advantage of any opportunity for getting into touch with Bushmen in the course of [their] patrols, and should endeavour to persuade them to take up employment upon farms" (40/69/BoxA/File1/c).

Further, they were asked to file a report with the Native Commissioner, through the Magistrate, "along the lines of question form" (the page ends here). Only two reports based on the question form mentioned above are in Fourie's files (40/69/BoxA/File4/b): one from "Namutoni Division"; and one from "Bezirk Maltahohe" (no further identification is given for the first one, but the second one is on the Ganin and the Geinin). The District-Chief at Maltahohe, named Seydel, authored the latter in January 1909. The former is undated and is simply assigned to "Distriktsamt", at Namutoni. The differences between the two are striking; the most notable being that the latter is considerably more comprehensive and detailed. Seydel, in fact, has provided in his painstaking answers to all of the questions a wealth of ethnographic information on the Ganin and Geinin, and appears to have shown much interest in their culture. The anonymous author of the other report (which in all likelihood, coming from Namutoni, concerned the Hei-//om) does not answer all one hundred and three questions and ends with the comments:

> The questions not answered do not permit of any answer as the brutal and stupid communal life of the Bushmen is practically devoid of ideas. ... the psychology of the Bushmen is too much of a closed book; for this purpose observations extending over many years is [sic] necessary (40/69/BoxA/ File4:b:26-27).

The Namutoni report gives a glimpse into the ways in which colonisation has intruded upon the lives of the Hei-//om. When speaking of divorce the Distriktsamt cites as an example: "If

a Bushman is taken into the service of a white man either for a lengthy period or permanently, it frequently happens that the man so adopted leaves his wife and children, without even telling the white man that he has a wife or children" (40/69/BoxA/ File4:b:25). The Ganin report makes no such mention, and proceeds along a typically anthropological path, speaking in the present tense.

Connected to these same reports (dated 1909), and numbered as part of the same sequence (from page 44 to 60) is a seventeen page "Treatise of the Laws and Customs of the Bushmen in German South West Africa" for which no author or date are given. In contrast to the specificity of the two previous reports it makes marked generalisations about "the Bushmen", (interestingly giving the term "San" as the name they "call themselves"), and includes many of the standard notions about small stature, "primeval" race, affinity with "the bush", use of stone tools and poisoned arrows, and links with the rock art to be found all over the sub-continent. This report, like the Namutoni description, judges the Khoisan to be brutal, dirty and savage (BoxA/File4/b:44, 57).

Given the number of responses to the request for reports on "Native dissatisfaction", it is surprising to find only two reports on the Khoisan in the collection. If there had been more Fourie would surely have obtained copies of them, but it is only possible to guess at the reasons for this thinness in the record. It could be that Fourie, his family or the MMS, lost them, loaned them out and never got them back or gave them away, or that they were lost by either the German or the South African administrations, or even that they were the only two received.

The conflicting views found in these reports reveal the inconsistencies of colonial rule, and reflect "disparate understandings of what was imagined, what was feared, what was witnessed and what was overheard" (Stoler 2002:93). In the contrasts we find the cross-sections of contested knowledge that underlie the production of ethnographies in the Territory. Fourie's opinion of the differences between the different approaches and points of view is not voiced in the documents, but their presence underlines his awareness of that element of prejudice and contempt that underlay the treatment of the Khoisan in the Protectorate. His own study of the Hei-//om is closer to the work of Seydel than to that of the other two anonymous writers but his later article sometimes takes a generalist turn reminiscent of that favoured by "Distriktsamt" of Namutoni who credits all Khoisan with particular beliefs or customs. For the most part Fourie avoided slipping into the crudely judgmental stance of the majority of the other reports, but he nevertheless worked within the paradigm of his day that adjudged the Khoisan to be relics of the Stone Age (Fourie 1928:81, 86).

Interestingly the South African Administration of South West Africa, carried out a similar exercise to the question form detailed in 1927 and 1928. The magistrates of a number of districts were asked to obtain detailed information on the Khoisan in their jurisdiction, although there was no formal question sheet sent out. Again the reports varied in length, detail and in the degrees of prejudice against the Khoisan (SWAA a50/67 V.1 "Native Affairs – Bushmen"). Copies of the latter are not to be found in Fourie's files. This puzzling omission supports my perception that, in spite of his contribution to *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, which was an official publication of the Administration in 1928, in the later years of his stay Fourie was increasingly excluded from the work of the Native Affairs Department.

A draft of the *Preliminary Report on the Anthropological Researches carried out by the South African Museum in South West Africa*, edited by Dr E.L. Gill, is contained in file A (MMS40/69/BoxA/File1:o). The report is not dated, but letters to Fourie from Gill indicate that it was drafted in 1925, and that Fourie's input was considered crucial – evidence of the contribution he made in this recursive relationship (MMS40/69/BoxF/1925:3, 7; 1926:2). Correspondence from the South African Museum to Fourie indicates that this report went through many stages from 1924 to 1926, and, ultimately, was never published. At one point Fourie appears to have offered to contribute notes and photographs, but an outbreak of influenza in Ovamboland delayed him and a few months later the publication of the report was shelved, partly (it is implied) because one of the authors had plagiarised much of Fourie's work (40/69/BoxA/1/o:90-103, Box F/1924:3, 7, 40/69/BoxF/1925:3, 7 and Box F/1926:2). The bulk of the report is, in fact, a brief ethnography of the "Bushman tribes at Sandfontein", who were studied by both J. Drury and Dorothea Bleek. One of the purposes of this report was to lay out for the Administrator of the Protectorate the work which had been done, as a result of funding given by him (40/69/BoxA/File1/o:90).

Official reports and memoranda from the South African Administration form the majority of documents in Box C, including sixty-eight pages on the "Tribes and Population" of Ovamboland, by "C. Hugo Hahn, Officer-in-Charge Native Affairs, Ovamboland", dated 1927, and a minute from Manning titled "Native Commissioner for the Protectorate" on the "Natives of South West Africa/ 1 The Bushmen" also dated 1927, both of which were for a report by the South African Government to the League of Nations (40/69/BoxC/File1:3, and 2:3).[64] These documents point to the importance of the role played by ethnology in the retention of the mandate to govern South West Africa, a fact underlined by the government's

[64] Manning does not actually claim authorship for this report, which may have been written by Fourie, and the date may be wrong. At the end Manning wrote a note concerning work among the Bastards and the Rehoboths and yet he left the Protectorate in 1926.

publication of *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (Fourie *et al* 1928) which they used as a reference in discussions at the League of Nations (Gordon 1998:68-69; and See: Chapter 7 "Publications on the Khoisan"). Amongst the reports in Box C is a copy of Dorothea Bleek's notes on the religious beliefs of the Naron (40/69/BoxC/File2/1),[65] which, when compared with Manning's report on "the Bushmen" shows that the differences between official governmental reports and ethnographies were fewer than one might expect.

The presence of the reports on race relations from the files of the German Administration, and the absence of similar reports from the South African Administration, together with the scarcity of German reports on the Bushmen highlight the fractional nature of this archive. Such unevenness can be read as a sign of the ways in which the shape of the collection of documents is directly related to Fourie's changing role in the Administration. They indicate, too, that, although it was linked to the Administration in many ways, this was not an official archive in any sense.

These presences and absences point, too, to the tensions and pressures of holding and administering this large Territory with minimal resources. The League of Nations gave the Mandate for governing South West Africa "to be exercised by the Union of South Africa on behalf of His Britannic Majesty" (Cooper 1991:37). Civil servants answered to the South African government, which, in turn, was acutely aware of its position *vis a vis* Great Britain, and both administrations were constantly reporting to the League of Nations. Local resistance to colonisation was met with unreasonable force, tellingly condemned by the League of Nations as "yielding to fear", and contributed to in no small measure by the insecurity and vulnerability of the Administration. While the official reports in Fourie's collection in no way represent the totality of the work of the Native Administration Department, they point to the preoccupation with defining and mapping an ethnography of the Protectorate for the purposes of restraint and control.

A portion of an unfinished "memorandum dealing with the present distribution of the native races" filed with the correspondence for 1920 spells out one of the most important reasons for the appearance in Fourie's files of these ethnological and quasi-ethnological reports. The typewriter used, and the style of writing of the memorandum both point to Fourie as the author (40/69/BoxF/1920:23 August). Copies of the finished memorandum do not exist in any of the available collections of Fourie's papers, but there is a "brief outline of the present

[65] No author is given for these notes, but they are similar to, and in some places identical with, the sections on religion and folklore in Dorothea Bleek's small book: *The Naron: A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari (1928)*.

distribution of the native races of this Protectorate, especially of remnants of the Hottentot and Bushmen" which forms an appendix to the letter Fourie wrote to the South African Museum to inform them that the Administration was going to grant them £1 000 for their "proposed Anthropological Investigations among the natives of this Protectorate" (40/69/BoxF/ 1920:15 September). This report gives a disproportionate amount of space to the Bushmen (three full pages as against just over one for the Hottentots and one for a combination of the Herero, Ovambo and Berg Damara), possibly because Fourie knew that the South African Museum was pursuing a programme of research into the Hottentots and Bushmen, but it also provided him with an opportunity to summarise the knowledge he had gathered so far. The orthography and the naming of the groups in this report are sometimes, however, inaccurate. He uses the term "Hei-umga", for example, instead of Hei-//om, which he used later in his two publications.

The creation of an ethnography of the Territory was important for a number of reasons. The timing of it was such that there was undoubtedly a link with the Native Reserves Commission, which reported to the Administration in June 1921, and which "laid the cornerstone of segregation as policy" in South West Africa (Gordon 1992:91). Since the Commission's recommendations led to the creation of reserves which were not linked to "ancestral lands or ethnic heritage", but which had "everything to do with providing each magisterial district with a 'holding tank' for surplus and redundant labour", or with placing "troublesome natives" as far away as possible to prevent friction between "the Native and Europeans", it seems to have been something of a waste of time (Silvester *et al* 1998:19, 55; Gordon 1992:119). In addition, however, it would have served as a useful tool for staff of the Native Administration as they applied indirect rule. The needs of colonisers and colonial governments were similar throughout Africa at this time. In South Africa, the Department of Native Affairs was paying closer attention to the markers that identified and divided groups of people into tribes. So much so that a specialist Ethnological Section was established under G.P. Lestrade as government Ethnologist in 1925 (Hammond-Tooke 1997:109).

40/69/BoxA/File1/g is a list of "Bushman prisoners" detailing those who died in prison, or who had to be hospitalised for unspecified illnesses during the period 1919 to 1920. One of Fourie's responsibilities as Medical Officer was the health of the state's prisoners. This list may be evidence of his particular interest in the high fatality rate among Khoisan prisoners, and may support his biographer/son's contention that he introduced changes which allowed for better hygiene and air circulation in the cells to prevent the onset of lung diseases which often proved fatal (40/69/BoxA/File4/a: 2, 3). No official report on this action is available. Fourie's interest in Khoisan prisoners extended beyond the medical, however, and is a good

example of the conjoining of his avocation and his vocation. Although there is no direct evidence, it is highly likely that he would have taken the opportunity to document San prisoners whenever he could[66]. The correspondence shows that Fourie suggested more than once that the staff of the South African Museum use Khoisan prisoners in their linguistic and anatomical studies when they travelled through Windhoek (40/69/BoxF/1920:6, 8 and 1921:4). A few other prison matters, mostly in the form of lists or brief notes, are to be found dotted about in other parts of the archive.[67] As an extension of his interest in matters judicial, he wrote to Peringuey in June 1920 that he was "keeping an eagle eye on another skeleton which forms part of a court exhibit", for the purposes of sending it on to the South African Museum as soon as it was no longer required. There is no further record of the fate of this skeleton, but, as I show in Chapter 4, he sent skeletons to both Cape Town and Raymond Dart in Johannesburg, and one wonders whether he was keeping an eye on prison mortalities for this reason, too.

One report points to the extent to which Fourie continued his connection with the Administration long after he retired. Harold Eedes sent him his report "Bushmen: Killing of Bushpeople at Karakuwisa: Game Reserve No.1." in 1944. In the memo Eedes discussed the difficulties of using the existing policing and judicial system to control the Khoisan. He recommended Fourie as someone who might be able to offer useful advice on the "problem as to what we should now do to improve and educate the bushman". His annotation at the end of the memo is a commentary on the recommendation he made, which may have planted the seed for the invitation to Fourie to head the South African Government's commission of inquiry into the Bushman in 1953 (40/69/BoxA/File4/ a:2, 3).

Maps

The numerous maps in the collection give the impression that the mapping of South West Africa was fairly rudimentary when Fourie moved there in 1916, and that he frequently found that he had to make his own (Letter Fourie to Hahn 30/9/24. NNA A450 1/29. Hayes 1998:173). Most of them are hand-drawn, including nine sketch maps in Box B, seven in Box D and several small ones in the notebooks in Box E.[68] Very few are printed. Sometimes the written word in the form of notes about directions, mileage and landmarks served as informal maps.[69] These notes show how Fourie was following roads less travelled, but the journeys

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66 See Chapter 4 "Fourie's photographs and history"

67 See, for example, 40/69/BoxB/File2/o.

68 For example MMS40/69/BoxE/Item2:19, 22, 29, 88, 122-3; Item5:72, 76-7, 83-4, 140; and Item7:192, 198.

69 For example a page which lists directions and distances to various destinations, with details of the availability of water along the route (40/69/BoxB/File2/p).

Fourie made were not all for the purposes of tracking the Khoisan. Some of these maps must have been essential to his work as he travelled around the country to visit hospitals, clinics, hostels and gaols. This assemblage of attempts to charter the territory also conveys the sense of liminality felt by the officials who were working there at that time. Many parts of South West Africa lay just beneath the threshold of the consciousness of the new invaders, whose cartography was linked to control and conquest.

Apart from locating geographical features, the maps begin to establish ethnographic boundaries. These were, however, often rough and testify to a dearth of available knowledge. In 1921 Bleek wrote to Fourie:

> I am putting in a rough sketch of where the different tribes seem to be located. Of course I am guessing the borderlines in many cases, from the assertions of the natives and the places they have been found, but much more travel would be needed to get them exactly (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:1).

The map is not in the collection, a void that warns of other possible omissions, and the incompleteness of the record. It may be, however, that some of the information she provided is preserved in Fourie's word map, which outlines the distribution of the San groups of the Protectorate in his 1928 publication. This word map provides a useful summary of the state of ethnographic knowledge concerning the Khoisan at that time. Bleek's lost sketch would have contained information she could not have gathered without Fourie's help. The word map and the sketch map formed steps in the recursive dance that produced knowledge about the Bushmen in the 1920s.

Twenty-three printed maps now at the Adler Museum of Medicine, however, show that some detailed mapping of the Territory had already been done (AMLFOU8.1-23). Most of them have annotations in Fourie's handwriting. With one exception these maps were printed in or before 1915, and sixteen of them were made by the South African government for the Union Defence Force, presumably in preparation for the campaign to occupy the Territory in 1915. The South African maps show roads and railroads and villages. Six maps in the collection were published by commercial mapmakers in Germany, three in 1912, the rest undated (AMLFOU8.2-4, 5-7). Finally there is Sheet II of a series of triangulation maps detailing farms and their names, printed at the Government Printing Works in Pretoria, but published by the Surveyor General in Windhoek in August 1921. It covers the area from Windhoek in the North to Gobabis in the East to Maltahohe in the south, and is annotated in pencil by Fourie with names, presumably of the owners of the farms, judging by the ways in which they are positioned (AMLFOU8.1). Fourie annotated a number of other maps in this collection, giving numbers of miles between settlements, or people's names, and, in one or two cases, names of Khoisan groups (AMLFOU8.4, 6, 8, 9, 22). Given the annotations and the areas covered, it is surprising that these maps did not follow the rest of the collection to the MMS.

It may be that Bob wished to hold on to them, or perhaps the box in which they were kept was overlooked; whatever the reason, their absence constituted a substantial void in the collection.

The mapping of any terrain is marked by the selection of particular landmarks and, by necessity, the disregard of others. The printed maps, while they may be filled with names and lines, clearly did not give Fourie enough of the kind of information he required, and in order to negotiate the terrain, he made some of his own. The ethnographic maps in the Museum Africa collection are a particular case in point. Some of them mark out the camps of members of Khoisan groups, but disregard the existence of other groups living in the area. Two are to be found in Box D (MMS40/69/Box D/7),[70] and one in Box E. The former cover the northern areas that are most commonly associated with the Ovambo and related groups, while the latter covers the Sandfontein area, which is more generally seen to be Khoisan territory. They both assume a basic knowledge of the area, and would be very difficult to use on their own.

On pages 56 and 57 of Item twenty-three in Box E (the book of field notes, referred to from here on as Item 23) there is a sketch map that is written in a hand quite unlike Fourie's (although he has annotated it in some places), but there is no acknowledgement of the author. This collaboration indicates that, far from being a lone white man in the field, Fourie drew upon the help of others who had knowledge of the Khoisan. The map gives the locations of a number of ≠Ao-//ein and Naron groups and the names of their "chiefs". The groups are located in relation to such places as Sandfontein, Epukiro, Okatjera and Sitontsaub (sic). Some of these names appear in Fourie's text on the following pages, which gives family trees and details of settlement patterns. Like the maps in Box D, this sketch distorts the reality by disregarding the presence of those who dominated the Khoisan, making the named groups appear to inhabit larger portions of the landscape than they did. Interestingly it does mention the farm of a Mrs Bullick, who was constantly at loggerheads with the Khoisan in the area, and whose complaints brought magistrate Van Ryneveld to the area to apprehend a group of rustlers only to be killed by a poisoned arrow (Chapter 4 "Fourie's photographs and history").[71] This hints at the ways in which the Khoisan were being squeezed out of their ancestral lands, and begs the question of why other farms were not named to help locate the settlements of the ≠Ao -//ein and the Naron.

Post-modern studies of maps highlight the fact that they were "instruments by which modern nation-states acquired territory and maintained a political status quo" (Belyea 1992:1). In this canon there are many different ways of reading maps, according to which archive (using the

[70] See Appendix 1, pages 22 and 23

[71] See Lawrence Green's *Lords of the Last Frontier* (1952:149-51) for a fascinating description of Frau Bullick's family of Amazonian daughters and their isolated farm in the vicinity of Epukiro.

term in the Foucauldian sense to mean a body of commonly accepted knowledge) they originated out of, and which archive is being used by the interpreter who is reading them (Belyea 1992:6). Mapping the ground, allocating names to places and places to people (as in the sketch map in Box E item 23) was effectively classifying and cataloguing the terrain - ordering and arranging it in the same way as cataloguing a collection of artefacts would do. There is a further motive for map-making, at least in the case of South West Africa, and that is to help contain resistance, and thus to stave off fear. The exercise of controlling knowledge, sometimes in an official way, and sometimes purely for his own edification, was very much a part of Fourie's work in the Protectorate - and extended itself to his hobby.

"Everyone is a spy in times of war" (Zafon 2004:333), and it is clear that Fourie was both receiving from, and providing information to, the Administration, particularly in the early years of his travels. Though South West Africa was nominally at war for only a short time, there was always the continuing state of tension caused by threats of unrest, rebellion and surprise attacks by the Nama, Herero and Bushmen. A part of the settlers' armoury was an ichnography that gave them superiority as they negotiated the political, geographical and ethnographic terrains, and which fortified them against vulnerability.

The letters

The correspondence files are at once informative and frustrating. They offer first-hand evidence of the network within which Fourie operated, both in his official and unofficial ethnological work, and yet there are very few copies of his own letters, so that his voice frequently becomes muffled as we hear it only through the reactions and responses of his peers. The letters now found in Boxes F (1918-1927) and G (1928-1939) exhibit the greatest degree of organisational change of all the documents in the paper collection. All of them were taken out of their original files to be placed together in chronological order. Since the majority are dated and authored and, for the most part, self-explanatory, no information appears to have been lost as a consequence of this re-arrangement. Photocopies of some of Fourie's letters to the South African Museum were added to the collection by the MMS, and were not initially numbered, perhaps because they were not seen to be part of the original collection. For ease of reference, however, the copies were numbered as part of the sequence when the Africana Museum took the collection.

Correspondence regarding the disposition of Fourie's collection is scarce, and only that which concerns the Africana Museum is available today, in the Museum's correspondence files, separate from the rest of the documents. There is nothing concerning the loan of the collection to the MMS (apart from a reference to this in letters to the Africana Museum), probably because Bob Fourie was living in Johannesburg at the time and communications

were by telephone and visits to his home. Once the MMS closed, the donation of the collection to the African Museum was better documented. Nevertheless the impression is that the latter was, administratively speaking, more tuned to keeping records of the circumstances of its acquisitions. This is supported by the documents available for the other collections received from the MMS at the same time.

Notwithstanding the addition of the copies of Fourie's letters to the SAM, and allowing for the fact that Fourie did not make copies of his private correspondence, there are many gaps in this part of the collection, giving a strong impression of incompleteness. In some of the existing letters there are references to previous correspondence that is not available now, and there are few, if any, letters from Fourie's numerous friends in the civil service such as Manning, Hahn and Eedes (See Chapter 2: "Medical Officer under Mandate" and "One of the Boys"). There are no letters to or from members of the family. In the letters now at Museum Africa it is frequently the case that Fourie mixes business, hobby and socialising and so it may be possible one day to fill some of the gaps if access is given to the personal correspondence being held with other family papers by Fourie's granddaughter.

Boxes F and G provided important source material for much of the biography in Chapter 2, and for important parts of the analysis of the physical anthropology collection described in Chapter 7, and so the content of the letters will not be dealt with in great detail here. Correspondence at the National Archives in Windhoek and the Adler Museum of Medicine provided a necessary supplement to help fill in some of the gaps. An overview of the letters from all three collections shows that Fourie wrote to a wide range of anthropologists in South Africa, and to a number of local residents with interests that interlocked with his own. They hint at the iterative nature of the anthropological work being carried out, but do not supply many details of the ideas exchanged. In these letters he maintains, for the most part, an informal and friendly tone. Official letters in Windhoek and the Adler Museum of Medicine, (and one or two in this collection) show, however, that Fourie could adopt a more formal and businesslike approach when the occasion demanded.[72]

Many letters in this collection are laudatory, detailing the help Fourie gave to a variety of people, not only for anthropological ends. The South African Museum's letters are detailed below, but they were always sure to thank and praise Fourie for his efforts on their behalf, and they give evidence of some competition with Goodwin at UCT to publish Fourie's work, which must have been flattering. I have detailed in Chapter 2 how Hoernlé and Dart also urged Fourie to publish, the editor of the *Illustrated London News* requested an article, and

[72] For formal letters see NAN ADM Section File C103, letter to The Secretary for the Protectorate, 13 May 1917; and for an informal mix of official and social interaction see MMS40/69/BoxF/191926:11, letter to Dr Gill, Director of the South African Museum.

how Wilman asked him to collect for her. All of these must have made Fourie feel that he was accepted as part of a community of scholars in the sub-continent. Correspondence with most of these scholars seems to have stopped after 1929 when Fourie went to London to study, the only one with whom he remained in contact being Hoernlé, in part because of her concern with the disposition of his collection, and in part because of their personal friendship.

Several other letters of thanks and friendship are to be found in the collection, among them: Oscar Crosby wrote from Virginia in the USA to thank Fourie for his hospitality and a copy of his paper (1928:10); Therese Hegel said that Fourie had always been so "good and fair" and that she and her husband would miss him when he left Windhoek (1929:15); and B. Fitzroy Breakell of General Motors thanked Fourie for the help he had given to members of the Oldsmobile Kalahari Expedition (1929:16).

The most notable aspect of the correspondence is that twenty-five of the total of fifty-four letters for the years 1919-1926 are to, from or about the South African Museum. In Box F there is a great deal of private correspondence between members of the staff of the South African Museum and Fourie, in which some of the finer details of their trips are worked through, and comments, advice and complaints are voiced. He does not, as in the case of correspondence with, say, Hahn or Hoernlé, mention family matters in these letters, but he does discuss his work with the SWA Scientific Society, indulge in a little griping about lack of funding, and offer some advice on how they should be gathering money and information. Even here there are missing documents. His work of facilitating two field trips for Dorothea Bleek, for example, is referred to only indirectly in letters written to Péringuey by Bleek. In these she claims that, in spite of Fourie's help, she could have done much more work if she had been less restricted, been provided with better transport, and had more time.[73] The restrictions may have been in place because the local magistrate felt that, as a woman, she was more vulnerable in the field, but they may also have been part of the Administration's need to retain some control over the research they were funding.

From these letters we begin to formulate a picture of Fourie's approach to his role as interlocutor. We see, too, that he was absolutely at home with writing in English, and, as I suggest in Chapter 2, it had become his language of choice. The mutual admiration and diplomatic praise between the staff of the museum and Fourie is not surprising given the fact that the former were receiving financial and practical help with very few strings attached.

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[73] One of the losses she felt was that she had not had the freedom to organise a trip to find the !ko or Koon (possibly the !Kung). Fourie had told them of two !Kung prisoners who could be examined and interviewed, but she does not seem to have availed herself of that opportunity (MMSBoxF/1920:2, 6).

The praise and the respect for Fourie to be found in the museum's letters help provide an answer to the question of what he received in return for his help.

The tone of these letters varies according to the business being discussed, but is never as informal as the warm, jokiness of the letters to Hahn and from Eedes, Venning and other friends (MMS40/69/BoxG/1928:1, 4; 1929:2). All the letters are well written and flow easily. Fourie appears to have had no difficulty in putting pen to paper in his correspondence or in his formal reports to the Administration, which makes it surprising that when anticipating a broader audience he became awkward and shy.

The iterative process of ethnologising the Bushmen is evidenced very clearly in the correspondence, in which details of exchanges of ideas and techniques can be read. It is here that we see the role Fourie played as part of the broad and varied group of scholars who were all focused on studying this particular group of people. We also get a sense of the seriousness and commitment with which he pursued his avocation and see how he incorporated it into his social and personal life to a high degree. Reading with the grain we find many congratulatory letters extolling the importance of the collection and the extent of his knowledge, but disappointment at his inability to formalise his studies in written form. Reading against the grain, however, there is a sense of the unwieldiness of the collection, and of the difficulties of making sense of it all.

Publications

If the correspondence tells of the role Fourie played in Bushman studies, then the publications and translations in the collection tell of the role that the works of others played in the formulation of his ideas**.** The lists, translations, letters and references in Fourie's papers indicate the energy with which he acquainted himself with all the information available for his new hobby. The information he gained is seldom overtly listed or acknowledged anywhere except, perhaps, in the list of references in his 1928 publication, which includes seven German and three English publications.[74] Nevertheless the questions he asked in the

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[74] The German references are:
DREWS, Leutnant. Erkundung der Hunsberge, *Mitt. a.d.d. Schutzgeb.,* Bd.23, 1910.
KAUFMANN, Hans. Die Auin*, Mitt. a.d.d. Schutzgeb.* Bd.23, 1910.
PASSARGE, S. *Die Bushmanner der Kalahari,* Berlin, 1907.
SINER, Frans. Die Bastard Buschleute der Nord-Kalahari, *Mitt. a.d.d. Schutzgeb., Bd.26, 1913*.
TRENK, Leutnant. *Die Buschleute der Namib, 1 bid*., Bd.23, 1910.
VEDDER, H. Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Ku Buschmanner, *Zeitschrift fur Kolonial-Sprachen* Bd. 1., 1910-11.
VEDDER, H. Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I Die Buschmänner. *Jnl of the S.W.A. Scientific Society,* Vol.1 1925-26.
The English references are:
DORNAN, S.S. *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari.* London, 1925.

field and the themes he pursued must surely have owed something to his reading of these sources.

The published material in the collection provides an insight into the depth of Fourie's research and the breadth of his interest. He kept pamphlets, monographs, cuttings from newspapers and translations of portions of German books and articles. Box A contains a list of German writings on the Khoisan, which is important since, in the early years of his hobby, the majority of sources available to him would have been written by German anthropologists (40/69/Box A/File1/h, j, n).

Although there are some offprints in Box C, the majority of the German publications are to be found in Boxes A and E. Box E contains sixteen publications (fourteen in English), the majority of which are reprints, including Hoernlé's three articles on the Nama, one by Victor Lebzelter on a skull found in the northern Transvaal, and one on African rodents[75] (40/69/BoxE/Items 10, 11, 12, 13, 15). In addition there are monographs on the Khoisan (published after Fourie had left the Protectorate) and the Cape Nguni[76] and two copies of the *Journal of the SWA Scientific Society* for 1949-1950. In 2001 Andrew Fourie donated to Museum Africa a selection of books that had belonged to his grandfather. These included: *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* by W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd (inscribed "L Fourie 1919") (1911); *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* by S.S. Dornan (inscribed "With greetings from Cockie, 28/5/25); a bound copy of *The Stone Ages of South Africa* by L. Péringuey (inscribed "Presented to me by Dr Peringuey [sic], [signed] L. Fourie", and well-thumbed)*; Flints: an illustrated manual of the stone age for beginners* published by the British Museum in1926; *Lodges in the Wilderness,* (the memoirs of a magistrate in the Northern Cape) by W.C. Scully (Stamped "Windhuk 14 Feb 1916 Garrisson Institute and having a few sections devoted to the Bushmen); and *Explorations in South-West Africa* by Thomas Baines (Signed, but not by Fourie, and giving "Ovamboland, S.W. Africa 1933" as place and date). Three publications by the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa dated in the 1970s (more than twenty years after Fourie's death) accompanied this gift, an interesting indication of the ways in which archives may not be as "pure" in provenance as one would think even *before* they

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FOURIE, L. Preliminary Notes on certain customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen. *Jnl of the S.W.A. Scientific Soc.* Vol.1 1925-26.
SOLLAS, W.J. *Ancient Hunters*. London, 1915.

[75] Connected, no doubt, with Fourie's research into the spread of bubonic and pneumonic plague.

[76] *Narro and his Clan* by Fritz Metzger; and *Rural Organisation among Transkeian Natives* by Father Bernard Huss. In 1931 Fourie travelled into areas of the then Transkei and Ciskei to inspect villages for plague-carrying rodents. The latter book is evidence of the interest he took in the cultures of the people with whom he came into contact there. (See Fourie 1985:38, 45, 50 and unnumbered celluloid negatives in the Fourie Collection.)

enter the institution.[77] File 4 of Box B contains a copy of an offprint by P.V. Tobias (n.d.) inscribed: "To ISMA Library with compliments from Phillip Tobias". The collections of ISMA were transferred to the MMS and it can be presumed that the person who was researching the collection placed this pamphlet in these files.

A glaring omission from this small library is Schapera's *The Khoisan Peoples of Southern Africa*, admittedly published in 1930, after Fourie had left Windhoek, but containing his photographs and many references to his own works. Schapera wrote to Fourie in 1929 saying that he regretted that he would be unable to send him a copy because he had given away all his free copies already "to other friends to whom I am deeply indebted" (MMS40/69/BoxG/1930:2). Although the tone of the letter is very polite, given the history of his relationship with Schapera it may be that Fourie felt slighted, and perhaps this influenced him in his decision not to purchase a copy (See Chapter 2 "Facilitating research").

Another glaring omission is the paucity of German works in the collection, even though they form the major part of the references he quotes in the 1928 article. It seems unlikely that these would have been difficult to obtain if Fourie had really wanted them, and we have no clues as to where he borrowed them. It seems Fourie did not value the German works as highly as he did the English ones, or, perhaps he did not want to own them because somehow they might indicate that his loyalties did not lie with the South Africans in a time when this was a sensitive issue. Perhaps politics shaped his library.

The publications in Fourie's collection, including the later donation from his grandson and the lists of references in Box A form a sizeable library of reference on the Khoisan and are an indication of the seriousness with which he approached his avocation. The correspondence, the end of his 1928 article and notes taken from German publications (particularly in 40/69/BoxA/File 1), however, show that these offer only a sample of the literature which Fourie owned and read, and highlight the incompleteness of the archive in this respect.

The presence of publications in what could conventionally be termed an archive is anomalous. For the staff of the Africana Museum, certainly, books belonged in libraries, and, though there was a small collection of reference works linked directly to the day-to-day work of documenting and caring for the collections, any works which came into their care were

[77] *Physic and Protocol among the Zulus* by Dr Anthony Barker (ISMA Paper No. 32 - April 1972); *Southern Africa Fifty Years Hence* by M.T. Moerane (ISMA Paper No. 33 - May 1973); and *The Origins of the Northern Cape Griqua* by George T. Nurse (ISMA Paper No.34 - August 1975). They were probably sent to Bob Fourie by the Museum of Man and Science, which was closely connected with ISMA (the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa).

sent to the Strange Africana collections at the Johannesburg Public Library (now known as the African Studies collection). The ones donated by Andrew Fourie might very well end up there when the papers are properly processed. But, for the purposes of this thesis, these books have been treated as artefacts, being read more for information about their owner and his work than for their written contents. We see that Fourie wrote his name in some of the ones he obtained early in his studies, and that he noted that one book had been presented to him by the author, thus claiming ownership and connection with the community of knowledge-makers. He rarely annotated the books, preferring to keep them clean, and so left little of himself in them apart from his name. This raises an interesting point about the policies of museums and libraries concerning the handling and disposing of books in their collections. For my purpose provenances, inscriptions, and annotations, indeed the simple existence of publications in a collection, are valuable evidence of the body of work which constituted the framework for Fourie's studies, but their presence here is serendipitous, fragile, and unreliable. The museum's view of published works is that they belong in a library, and libraries rarely maintain systems that preserve and make this information available.

Field notes

The notes, jottings and lists that constitute Fourie's field notes cover a broad range of topics and form a prime signal of Fourie's encyclopaedic intentions. By this I mean that he aspired to gather information about all aspects of the Bushmen, but had no analytical intentions. The ethnographic information collected by Fourie is scattered in two senses. First, it is to be found in all of the boxes, and second, it is often articulated in rambling or fractured and disjointed jottings. These pieces of ethnological information give a sense of being collected and stored (albeit haphazardly) in much the same way as the other elements of the collection. In effect they are often, to all intents and purposes, an extension of the collection of artefacts. In their often disjointed format they are the most obvious examples of "ethnologica"; showing Fourie to be a collector of factoids concerning the Bushmen. Hints at Fourie's attempts at curation are to be found in the naming of the series of files in Boxes A and B, and in numerous attempts to summarise and write up notes; but there is rarely any sense that Fourie was attempting interpretative anthropology. Description is the dominant motif here.

The major concentrations of ethnography are in Boxes B and E. A large number of the items in files one, two and four of Box B are scraps of paper torn from small notebooks, diaries, ledgers and exercise books on which are scrawled notes about a wide range of topics connected with the customs and cultures of the people with whom Fourie came into contact. In Box E the notes are contained in intact ledgers, notebooks, and diaries. Sketches, diagrams,

tables of vocabulary, and maps of the areas referred to in the notes fill out the information, as do one or two letters and information taken from friends and colleagues.

It is difficult to convey the density and the detail of Fourie's field notes without giving some lists and statistics. Item 23 contains 131 pages, all of them filled. They include at least: 7 pages of information on the arrangement of shelters and sleeping arrangements (2-5, 28, 58-9); 9 pages on female initiation rites (6-9, 100-104); 15 pages on hunting, hunting equipment and methods of dividing meat from a kill (11-22, 33-4); 3 pages listing edible plants, their vernacular names (both Naron and ≠Ao-//ein) and their uses (22-24); 3 pages on childbirth (37, 39-40); and 22 pages on male initiation (42, 51-5, 65-70, 108-117). Page 32 contains a list of questions which presumably arose out of the notes on the previous pages as Fourie read through them, and some answers. They include: "Are snake or plant poisons used/ No"; "Why is bone arrowhead reversed? To protect poison & prevent injury"; and "Do they still adhere to these customs [no answer]".

As would be expected Fourie's interest in material culture is manifested throughout, as for example in the tables of measurements of arrows, notes on the making of ostrich egg shell beads and numerous lists of artefacts giving details of their origins, vernacular names and materials used in their construction (MMS40/69/BoxB/File1:6, 40/69/BoxA/File2:1 and 40/69/BoxE/Item23:25, 26, 35, 46, 86 and 90). Physical anthropology is also well represented in tables of measurements in Boxes B and E. Cultural anthropology takes the form of information on the rituals surrounding fire among the Hei-//om, references to burials, births, the naming of children, marriage rites and initiation rites for both boys and girls, the last being a topic which Fourie covered extensively (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:3, 6-7, 41-43, 65-70, 100-116, 122-124 among others). The information on initiation appears, for the most part, to have been transcribed verbatim as informants described the sequence of events, often alternating between English and Afrikaans. There are no interpretations or interventions in these notes; if Fourie asked for explanations or the reasons behind these behaviours and events he did not receive any. This pattern holds for the majority of the other notes in the files.

File five in Box B gives us some insight into the ways in which Fourie collected and catalogued his artefacts. It contains notes on the making and use of artefacts and many lists, some of which give provenances for items collected from the Khoisan, the Ovambo, the Herero and the Damara (See Appendix 2). Here are manifested the processes by which Fourie classified the objects from his collection, and the ways in which he tried to keep track of their provenances, including the names of the donors or the circumstances in which the

objects were collected. Twenty-eight pages of measurements of individual arrows, with sketches and descriptions written in a hand which is not Fourie's, occur here, possibly the beginnings of a project for which Fourie received help from an unknown amanuensis (MMS40/69/BoxB/File5/z). Information on technology and material culture taken from informants (some named and others not) appear in all the files in the box, but are more concentrated here, conjuring up an image of Fourie working at his avocation, preparing his collection for an exhibition or working at the finer details of the construction of the "Bushman arrow".

The most coherent of the field notes are to be found in the notebooks in Box E (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 21, 22, 23). Taken as a whole, these notes provide important insights into Fourie's anthropological work, showing his techniques of gathering information in the field, and some of the influences on his work. The notes on genealogies, for example, indicate an attempt to document kinship patterns *à la* Hoernlé or Radcliffe Brown, and references to the origins of knowledge of technologies mirror the concerns of archaeologists hunting for Stone Age chronologies. It is from here that I have taken the bulk of the information I needed to contextualise and explain the objects, the photographs, and the anatomical studies of the Khoisan, using the notes as reference material in the way in which I suspect Fourie intended.

Deciphering the information in the field notes, however, is not always easy. Perhaps the best example of the ways in which the information has been jumbled together can be seen in Item 23[78] which is a foolscap hard cover book filled with field notes. It constitutes the most important coherent source of information gathered by Fourie both in the field and from informants who visited him in Windhoek. The inside cover is inscribed with Fourie's signature, "Windhoek" and "1919" but a chronological and geographical hotchpotch is contained in its pages, with entries in the book zig-zagging within a period of at least eight years, and coming from several informants in several locations. Many sections of the information are not dated, and do not identify the people to whom they refer (See for example the family trees on pages 92 and 94). Some pages have been copied from other notebooks: p100 for example, is headed "Bladsy 5 van oorspronklike dagboek" ("Page 5 from original diary").

The first page of Item 23 contains neatly written journal-like entries for the first three days of the field trip Fourie undertook to the Sandfontein area in that year. After that there is a cluster of field notes headed "From p28" (40/69BoxE/File 23:2). The next diary entry is on page 11

[78] See Appendix 1, page 23 for a copy of a page from MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23.

and is for 13 June and begins in the same vein as the first three, but soon converts to detailed notes on hunting and hunting equipment. Thereafter there are no more dated entries, although there is a brief reference to a hunt and supper later on an unspecified evening (MMS40/69/BoxE/File 23:17).

Notes on a wide range of topics, including settlement patterns, many pages on hunting, material culture and technology, and vocabulary continue after page 11. It would seem that Fourie, intending to make retrospective entries for the days when he was journeying to the Sandfontein area, left approximately nine pages open and then filled three of those pages with information taken from informants during his stay in 1919. Five more are filled with notes, written mainly in Afrikaans, headed "Jantje 4/11/27 Windhoek" and covering material culture, food and food gathering, burial customs, settlement patterns, and initiation rituals. This pattern of mixing dates and subject matter continues throughout the book. Saul and Jantjie are mentioned a number of times, and it is here that their roles as interlocutors are most evident. Samples of the wide range of material to be found in this book are: tables giving detailed measurements of several parts of the bodies of two groups of ≠Ao-//ein and Naron men and women spanning pages seventy-two to seventy-five;[79] "Packing of curios" on page eighty-six is a list of Bushman and Ovambo items, most likely those sent by Fourie for display at the British Empire Exhibition; and pages eighty-six to ninety-one contain the most concentrated references to pure material culture in the archive. They include terminologies, materials used, technologies and details of who made, and used them.

For the most part the rest of the book contains notes written in longhand, sometimes in Afrikaans but mostly in English. These seem to have been written hurriedly while informants were speaking, words being joined together and spreading across the page in a drawn out scrawl. There are several rough sketches and plans of hut layouts, with lists of the members of individual bands and some genealogical tables, most of the information published in the Hei-//om article of 1926 on initiation and dancing, descriptions of tattoos and their meanings, and more information on hunting.

The reasons for the jumbled and seemingly random state of these notes are difficult to pinpoint exactly. The most pragmatic and obvious one is that Fourie was constantly trying to squeeze his ethnologising into small spaces of time – between the pressures of medical work, or family or, even when he was specifically devoting time to fieldwork in 1919, between photographing and measuring anatomies, gathering material culture and observing the

[79] These tables are discussed in more depth in the sections on photography and physical anthropology below.

technologies of making ostrich egg shell beads, ropes and arrows. In this jumble we can see the toll taken by the ambitious breadth of his project.

There may be other reasons, however. The shape of the entire collection suggests that unlike, for example, James Stuart, who painstakingly recorded exhaustive first hand testimonies from as wide a range of informants as possible in the belief that this was the best way to gain knowledge of Zulu history and culture (Hamilton 1998:136-8, 141-2), Fourie also sought knowledge in objects and in the physical anatomy of the Bushmen. Whether he privileged one source over another is difficult to judge, but it is unlikely. Studies of the two groups had, by the turn of the twentieth century, created well-defined traditions. The earliest writings concerning the Zulu focused on the political forces which had allowed this small group to grow and conquer a large part of the South Eastern portion of southern Africa (Isaacs 1836 and Fynn 1950). The works of subsequent scholars such as Colenso and Shepstone focused on the language and the history of the group (the former being a missionary and the latter being a politician, they were not disinterested parties) (Hamilton 1998: Chapter 3 and Guy 2001: Chapters 2, 3). Studies of the Khoisan, however, took a different turn. While the extended Bleek family focused on linguistics and mythology, the languages they were studying were reported to be in the final stages of becoming extinct, and other scholars, like Péringuey, Wilman, Lebzelter and Dart, were more interested in the ways in which the physiologies and technologies of the Bushmen linked them with prehistory and the evolution of culture.

Fourie did not take down any testimonies in Khoisan languages, and relied on interpreters and his two interlocutors to translate (or give) testimonies into English or Afrikaans (interestingly, none of his notes are written in German, either). Lists of vocabulary testify to an interest in the language, and particularly in comparing terms for particular artefacts, dances and terms describing kinship, but there is no evidence that Fourie was ever conversant in any of these languages (MMS40/69/BoxB/File4/f). His initial intention to study all the Bushmen of the Territory would have precluded a special knowledge of any one specific language. At the end of his 1926 article on the Hei-//om (who "have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect") Fourie acknowledges Thomas and John Alcock "who often acted as my interpreters, and whose knowledge of the Hottentot language has enabled me to record the native names with some degree of precision" (Fourie 1926:50, 62). Fourie also maintained links with the Lehmke family who had a farm near Sandfontein and whose children spoke an unspecified Bushman language (MMS40/69/Box F/1920:4).

In many of the boxes, but particularly in Box B, there is another layer of ethnology-in-the-making. Here we find several drafts and summaries of Fourie's field notes in his handwriting, or made on the typewriter he (or his secretary) used (MMS40/69/BoxB/File2/a; File3/a, b, c,

g-q). There are also numerous typed transcriptions, from the Museum of Man and Science, of scraps of information taken from the field notes, particularly those connected with material culture.[80] The latter were being collated in preparation for the proposed MMS publication which was planned to contain the maps, the field notes and the information on the artefacts and photographs in the collection. There seems to have been a particular interest in writing up the notes on the making of ostrich egg shell beads, and these were transcribed and gathered together in a separate unnumbered folder. When the Africana Museum took over the collection, an attempt to continue the project was begun. The notes in the Fourie files, however, have been supplemented by an article on ostrich egg shell beads that was published by H.C. Woodhouse in 1980 and that appears to have pre-empted this project. In this article the photographs in the Fourie Collection are cited as sources and the staff at the Africana Museum are acknowledged for their help in finding the photographs used as illustrations in the article.[81]

The civil service crept in to his study even in these moments, however. The informants named in these files include his friend Eedes, who sent him objects collected from various groups in Ovamboland, Constable Holloway, with whom he travelled on medical inspections, and a Sergeant Mitchell also stationed in Ovamboland (MMS40/69/BoxB/File5/a; 40/69/BoxB/File5/I; 40/69/BoxB/File5/m). Often the scraps of paper with the snippets of ethnographic information also contain scribbled notes giving details of numbers of people vaccinated, or of supplies of medicine needed for the treatment of malaria, evidence of how he squeezed his avocation into free moments in his work schedule.

Three articles

In 1918 Fourie's elevation to the status of expert began with his participation in the production of the Blue Book *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their treatment by Germany* which was written, for the most part, by staff of the Administrator's Office in Windhoek, and which referred to many official documents from the previous Administration. A worn and tattered copy of this, now rare, Blue Book is to be found in Fourie's papers (MMS40/69/BoxC/File1:4).[82] It does not have Fourie's name in it, and is in very poor condition, with the front and back pages missing and being held together with tape. Emotive and inflammatory, it was produced as a part of the attempt to persuade the League of Nations

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80 Probably by M. de Lange, who, coincidentally, had worked at the Africana Museum for a short time, and who was the author of an article on African material culture (De Lange 1973). Her handwriting can be identified in the numbering of all the documents in the files, in particular 40/69/Box C/2/1 where she identifies herself as checking the items against a list of negatives.

81 The MMS notes are not numbered and appear at random points in the files. It is therefore difficult to reference them in more detail than MMS 40/69/BoxB.

82 The Blue Book has recently been reissued with a commentary.

that South Africa would make a better administrator of South West Africa than Germany had been. The author of the chapter (Chapter XXV) on the "Bushmen" is anonymous, but, judging from the style of the writing, it is unlikely that it was Fourie.[83] The general thrust of it is that the Bushmen were wild and unpredictable, but that the British/South African administrators had been able to negotiate with them by being polite and understanding, and that they could probably be used as servants and farm workers if the need arose.

Fourie was the author of Appendix 1: "Medical Report on German methods of punishment of natives (with photographs)", by "Louis Fourie, Captain, S.A.M.C., District Surgeon, Windhuk, 19th January 1918" in which he is particularly critical of the Germans' use of "handcuffs, leg and neck chains", and of corporal punishment in the prisons and on suspected criminals. He condemns the too frequent use of capital punishment, and the casual and inhumane ways in which it was carried out.

The shock value of this short appendix was exploited by the compilers of the Blue Book, who used it as a reason to publish a series of gruesome photographs (not taken by Fourie but probably found in the German Administration's archives). These images show the handcuffs, leg and neck irons described in the text as well as a group of four men wearing sacks and chained together in neck rings (Plates A, A1, B, and C); "Sjambok used by Germans for corporal punishment"; and "(2) Rattan Cane used in Union for corporal punishment" (Plate "D"). The Frontispiece is a photograph of hangings, in this case of six men, on a makeshift gallows surrounded by white men standing around with hands in their pockets looking relaxed and uncaring (Plate I). Two photographs of hangings also end the publication (Plate "E1" and Plate "E2"). Plate 2 is another photograph of hangings (three naked men from a tree). Plate 3 shows "Hereros returning starved from the desert, into which they had been driven by the Germans. Two, women, are unable to stand upright". Plates 4 and 5 show the backs of two people who had been so severely flogged that the skin had come off their backs. None of the photographs are authored or dated.

It is possible that Fourie may have been of some influence when it came to the use of the photographs in this report. He had made good use of photography in his medical work in London, and later it became an integral part of his project to study the Khoisan. It is possible that he came across some of these images as he combed the archives of the German Administration and that he proposed that they be used at least in his own appendix, and it may be that the idea spread from there. The sources for the images are not given, but at least two of them were in the public domain, having been sold as post cards (Gordon 1992:80).

[83] Speculation on the author of this report would be too much of a digression for this thesis, but it would be interesting to pursue the notion that Vedder may have had a hand in it.

Copies of Fourie's two published articles on the Khoisan were not incorporated in the collection now at Museum Africa, and are not to be found in Windhoek or the Adler Museum of Medicine, although their presence is felt in the drafts and in numerous letters in the correspondence files which refer directly to the finished articles. Such are the limits and the powers of the archive. Without the real thing the archive affirms its existence, but cannot offer it up for examination. Nevertheless, since one would expect these papers to synthesise Fourie's understanding of his research, they bear some examination.

Several handwritten and typed drafts of these papers appear in Files 2 and 3 in Box B. File 3 is a manila folder titled by Fourie "Bushmen - SWA Scientific Soc.y's Journal - Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen" and contains seventeen drafts of different portions of the paper. All the corrections and crossings out appear to be in Fourie's hand, and there are no comments by other readers, making it appear that he agonised for many hours on his own as he prepared this article. A fairly long draft in File 2, deals with the Bushmen of the Territory in general, rather than the Hei-//om in particular, but is headed "Ladies and Gentlemen", indicating that this was in preparation for a talk rather than a published article (MMS40/69/BoxB/File 2:1-17). It ends in mid-sentence followed by a list of the topics still to be covered ("Doctors; Belief; Burial; Old People"). It has crossings out, underlinings and insertions throughout, but, in the final analysis, does not resemble either of the finished articles.

Fourie's first publication on the Khoisan was an article entitled: "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen". It appeared in the first issue of the *Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society* together with an article by Heinrich Vedder entitled: "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I Die Buschmänner" (Fourie 1926). More descriptive than analytical, Fourie's work was basically a transcript of a talk he had given to members of the Society on 28 June 1926. Much of the substance of this paper is repeated in the 1928 article.

The second publication was more formal in style. Entitled: "The Bushmen", it was published together with chapters by Hahn and Vedder in the ethnography *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* in 1928 by the South West African Administration.[84] It has a table of contents, and a bibliography, neither of which appears in the 1926 paper, and the language and terminology used are more technical. Compare, for example, the opening words of the 1926

[84] See Gordon 1998:69 and "Analysis of the Articles" below for a discussion on the politics of the publication of this book.

article: “Shortly after my arrival in South West Africa in September 1916, my attention was directed to the Bushmen of the Territory” (Fourie 1926:49) with: “Evidence of a widespread primitive civilization is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa” (Fourie 1928:81).

Within the first few pages of both papers Fourie states three of the major themes of Khoisan studies of his time. The first was that Khoisan cultures were primitive, so much so that they were directly linked to the Stone Age, and thus Khoisan people were descended from the original inhabitants of the sub-continent. Citing archaeologists and anthropologists, he proposed that these early inhabitants had migrated south from Europe, leaving evidence of their route in the rock paintings and engravings which were to be found in France, Spain and many parts of Africa from Morocco southwards (Fourie 1928:81-82). The second theme was that the “primitive organisation” of the “true Bushmen” was rapidly disappearing in those areas with any “proximity to the settled portions” of the territory. This problem was being exacerbated by a large degree of intermarriage with surrounding groups, particularly by the group under discussion: “A greater degree of racial intermixture is met with among the *Hei-//om* than among any of the other existing tribes of Bushmen” (Fourie 1926:49).

Hence the urgent need to salvage information while it was still possible, a need which Fourie reiterates as a part of the conclusion to the 1926 article:

> If ... the present paper should serve to stimulate others, who have the facilities and opportunities to investigate and record the rapidly disappearing customs of our indigenous races, it will have achieved its main object (Fourie 1926:63).

Thirdly Fourie mentions the differences between the San and the Khoekhoe, a matter of special concern to physical anthropologists and archaeologists at that time (Fourie 1926:49 and Fourie 1928:82).

After some introductory remarks the 1926 article goes on to examine some aspects of the social and cultural organisation of the least acculturated groups of the Hei-//om, namely those living in the Etosha Pan region. It deals with settlement patterns; customs surrounding the making and the use of fire; hunting and the distribution of meat; female initiation rites; and some aspects of the kinship system, such as patrilocality, and the importance of the chiefs’ relationships with their eldest sisters. Although he notes that the Hei-//om do not speak a language of their own but rather a Nama dialect, Fourie does not comment on any similarities or differences between the two groups. He does mention briefly, however, that certain customs differ in detail between one Hei-//om group and another such as, for example, the use of poisons and the prohibitions surrounding the eating of certain animals. In the light of the

work done by Hoernlé, which was available for comparative purposes, and of his own experiences among the Naron and the other groups in the Sandfontein area, this was a lost opportunity.

Fourie ended this piece with an apology: "I fully realise how very incomplete the information is that I have placed before you" (Fourie 1926:63). He implied that he had neither the time nor the facilities at his disposal to conduct the kind of research he clearly thought was needed. This article is titled "Preliminary Notes" and it is, indeed, an incomplete ethnography, frustratingly so in the light of the information which we know was gathered by Fourie and which remained in fragmented form in his field notes. No line of argument or interpretation is discernable in this article, or in the one that follows. It is almost as if Fourie is too tentative to put himself on to the page, and tries to hide behind the details of description. He presents himself as an observer and recorder in the salvage mode. He was describing, for example, those Hei-//om:

> still living a more or less independent existence and whose organisation, though rapidly disappearing, was still intact at the time of and for some years after my arrival. … Careful note was … made of any information relating to their present customs or to past customs which were still known to the older members of various communities (1926:49).

History and anthropology were then elided as he joined past and present without distinction in the following text.

The 1928 chapter repeats much of the information from the Hei-//om paper of 1926, but is augmented with notes on similar or different customs amongst the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron. He added more information on hunting and a new section on male initiation among the Hei-//om. Again, Fourie used this opportunity to present some of the information he had gathered, but did not provide anthropological analysis in the form of a comparative study, or comment on the differences between the groups, some of which are marked, such as the inheritance of political power, which is matrilineal among the Hei-//om and patrilineal among the Kalahari groups, a notable point to an anthropologist. In addition, Fourie did not publish any of the information he had gathered on social structures and systems among the ≠Ao -//ein, Naron and Hei-//om.[85]

[85] This would have been a particularly useful addition to the ethnography of the Khoisan at the time. Schapera wrote: "Our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary" (1930:85). He mentioned a work on kinship terminology by Dorothea Bleek, but said that it focused mainly on linguistic matters.

Analysis of the articles

The choice of the Hei-//om as subjects for his first publication is not explained anywhere by Fourie himself, except perhaps tangentially in the statement about the high degree of "racial intermixture" among this group which implies the urgency of salvaging what culture remained. He was, however, doing salvage work on a number of other groups at the time, especially the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein. In 1925 the Denver African Expedition, a group of Americans led by "Dr" C. Ernest Cadle, and including as one of its most important members a photographer named Paul Hoefler, travelled through Namibia, making a record of its adventures with the Khoisan (Hei-//om and !Kung) and the Ovambo. On their return to the United States they made extensive use of Hoefler's images in popular publications, lectures and the infamous film, *The Bushman*. It may have been that Fourie felt compelled to write about this group because he was concerned that American anthropologists would pre-empt the South (West) Africans, and in addition would publish misleading information. Letters from Cadle himself, and from Goodwin and Donald Bain (who accompanied the Americans) indicate that Fourie was fully informed of their work and that they and he were concerned that it was sensationalist to the point of inaccuracy (40/69/BoxF/1925:4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10). In a letter to his director, Barnard noted:

> But he [Fourie] seems to be vacillating between the impossibility of his finding time to work up his material, and his anxiety lest the showing of the Denver film will give American scientists the opportunity of "writing up" these natives and their customs (40/69 BoxF 1926/10).

It is likely that Fourie's first published ethnography was shaped, in part, by his need to set the record straight, and to stake his claim as the expert in this field.

It is interesting that one of his greatest fears was that it would be foreigners who might be first to conduct research and publish an ethnology of the Hei-//om. This note of chauvinism, to be found particularly in a letter to Péringuey written in 1921 (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:4), chimes with his concern that local expertise was not being recognised and utilised enough, and with his efforts to found the SWA Scientific Society. He would have preferred his own images to be published, and to form the basis for anthropological (and scientific) work both for his country and for himself.

Somewhat surprising in the 1926 article is the fact that Fourie does not mention physical anthropology, or the anatomy of the Hei-//om either at the point where he discusses "racial intermixture", or when he refers to the origins of this group. And in the 1928 chapter he devotes only a brief paragraph to "Physical Characteristics".[86] Given his initial interest in

[86] Discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: "Bones and bodies".

measuring the bodies of the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein, his collection of skulls and bones, made in the early years of his stay in Namibia, and his medical background, this omission is significant. Ten of Fourie's photographs were published in the 1928 chapter.[87] Most of them, being portraits of ≠Ao -//ein or Naron individuals, have little or no obvious bearing on the text, but their inclusion created a sub-text of the physical anthropology presenting it in such a way that those who knew what to look for would find it, but those who did not would simply note that the Khoisan looked different from themselves. Perhaps, knowing that these publications were for general consumption, Fourie was avoiding a discussion which, if it were to be convincing, would have to include a discussion of breasts, buttocks and genitalia.[88]

Material culture is dealt with only obliquely in these articles. Fourie mentions the roles played by particular objects in a number of activities such as hunting and rituals connected with initiation, and he discusses the division of labour between men and women. Technical aspects, such as manufacturing beads from ostrich eggshells, or selecting the correct sort of wood for bow making, are not discussed. Thus the text of the 1928 paper does not reflect the knowledge held in the 350 or so Hei-//om artefacts in the collections, or many references to the material culture of the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron in the field notes and in the photographs.

A close reading of Fourie's published words reveals stark contradictions to official policy. Notions of private ownership among the Khoisan, and rights to land, for example are discussed in a way which challenges administrative policies and regulations based on a characterisation of the Bushman as nomadic and vagrant, with no attachment to place:

> Territorial boundaries are observed in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory (Fourie 1928:85).

He also observes that, after internecine battles "under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them" (Fourie 1928:85). This was written after the formulation of laws, such as those centred on vagrancy, specifically framed to force Khoisan into employment or to confine them to areas outside of the farmlands. Interestingly, the notion of a well-defined territory within which a group of Khoisan lived and hunted was not necessarily compatible

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[87] These were, in the order in which they appear:- p10/69/179 "/nu-//ein Bushman Gobabis"; p10/69/ 228 "Wakeddi Women (Hei-//om) N.W. Ovamboland"; p10/69/149 "Ao//ein Bushwoman Epukiro"; p10/69/207 "Ao//ein Bushman Epukiro"; p10/69/213 "Ao//ein Werf"; p10/69/42 "Naron (//aikwe) woman in ceremonial dress of ostrich shell beadwork. Sandfontein, Gobabis"; p10/69/186 "Ao-//ein Bushman Epukiro"; p10/69/154 "Ao-//ein Maiden Epukiro"; p10/69/230 "Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei-//om) N.W.Ovamboland; and p10/69/13 "Snare for small game".

[88] See Chapter 4 for other examples of censorship in the photographic collection.

with the theories which linked the Khoisan with the Stone Age. Péringuey, for example, described the makers of stone tools as nomads (Péringuey 1911:167).

Fourie, the anthropologist, recognised that the Khoisan were deeply attached to the land and fought off perceived intruders. This knowledge was not new or revolutionary: Dornan had published it in 1925 before Fourie's works came out and Schapera quotes Kaufmann, who wrote in this regard in 1910 (Dornan 1925:85 and Schapera 1930:127, 155). Implicit in the statement, however, is the unquestioned reality that colonists now farmed the land and that the Khoisan were forced to "seek employment" with them, or to move away from the territory which they had inherited from their fathers. The information offered here would help explain to farmers and administrators the behaviour of Khoisan people who refused to move away from their land. Vedder provides a powerful example of the kinds of unquestioned paradoxes with which colonists lived in his chapter on the Nama in *The Native Tribes…*

> The breaking out of the Nama war … cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. … Seeds of discontent gathered … (Vedder 1928:162).

What makes this description truly tragic is the following paragraph, supposedly to comfort the distressed reader:

> These times belong in the past. … Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work … (1928:162).

He goes on to say that many of the Nama have been converted to Christianity and have made "notable progress". The paradigms and conventions of the day did not make space for such contradictory and tragic situations to be questioned, in fact they *did* make space for them to exist, but Fourie was an intelligent man, who prided himself on his refusal to take things at face value. Yet there are no articulations of a grappling with this dilemma in the documents.

It is not surprising then, that Fourie was at odds with the nationalist take-over of the Administration. What is surprising is that his paper was published by the Administration

> to lay before the League of Nations a short sketch of each of the principal tribes, in order that without a great amount of study it can be seen by members of that body the state of development of natives, their mode of living and the ways in which they resemble or differ from one another (Fourie 1928: Foreword by H.P. Smit, Secretary for South West Africa).

Fourie's chapter is the third of five in the book, the first being "The Ovambo" by "C.H.L. Hahn, M.B.E. Officer in Charge of Native Affairs, Ovamboland", and the second "The Berg

Damara" by "H. Vedder, PhD, Praeses of the Rhenish Mission in Damaraland". Vedder also authored the chapters on the Nama and the Herero. There is a certain amount of disorder in the ways in which the chapters are laid out, with headings being numbered in roman numerals in "The Nama", in cases, in arabic numerals in "The Herero", and not at all in the other three, and with the information being ordered in different ways for each. (Even the three written by Vedder vary in format). All the chapters are illustrated with photographic plates, but none of the photographs are authored, and, knowing that Fourie used his own works we may be led to assume that the other authors followed suit.[89] Fourie did some editing for Hahn, as we know, but there is no evidence of any interactions with Vedder, or of who was responsible for compiling the work and seeing it through the printing process. The editorial and textual unevennesses in *The Native Tribes* are symptomatic of the state of anthropological studies in South West Africa at that time, as are the blatantly political undertones in some of the writings.

Vedder's chapters include detailed historical backgrounds which refer to the first contacts between the groups being discussed and European, South African and African invaders, hunters, and settlers, but much of that is missing from the works of Hahn and Fourie. Vedder's works are finely detailed and provide a wealth of information, in a descriptive format with only a small amount of analytical or comparative intervention, in spite of a Christian bias that frequently sneaks into the text. He promotes the Rhenish Mission quite openly and, when dealing with the Herero massacre by the Germans in 1904-1907, is an apologist for the Germans (1928:161-162). Both he and Hahn dwell to some degree on the fact that there were many inter-tribal conflicts in the past and on the capricious cruelty of chiefs and headmen when not checked by the Administration, or by the mediation of the missionaries (1928:8-9, 18-9; 116-125; 157-159). The Berg Damara are something of an exception here, being depicted as little more than serfs, who had no political organisation of their own until the missionaries interceded on their behalf and settled them on their own land where they were organised so that they had some political structure (1928:43-44). Hahn, too, follows a mostly descriptive line, although, like Vedder, when it comes to assessing the suitability of Ovambo men as labourers, he becomes somewhat analytical. The book is an ethnography, rather than a collection of anthropological studies. If it was referred to with any frequency by the members of the League of Nations, the most powerful impressions they would come away with would be that most of the traditional lifestyles described here had disappeared, or were in the process of changing (hence there were no really coherent tribal entities left); that before the settlers arrived there had been a constant state of war and raiding;

[89] Pages of photographs per chapter are as follows: 14 - "The Ovambo"; 4 – "The Berg Damara"; 10 – "The Bushmen of South West Africa; 2 – "The Nama"; and 13 – "The Herero".

and that the common people had mostly lived in fear of their demanding chiefs, many of whom were quite tyrannical.[90]

Fourie's work does not fit the mould described above, and this is partly because of prevailing perceptions about the Bushmen, particularly as a political entity to be reckoned with. Fourie does not describe any recent historical events, dealing only with a purported migration from the north in "Aurignacian" times (1928:81), because there were no records of powerful chiefs, battles for territory, or missionary activities. He does, however, leave the impression that the Bushmen were primitive and that their old lifestyles had somehow deteriorated leaving them in something of a cultural limbo. As in his previous piece, Fourie ended his 1928 chapter with an apology: "In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal" (Fourie 1928:104).

One has to wonder what he meant by a "comprehensive manner". His chapter is the shortest of them all (24 pages as against 36, 39, 43 and 56 for the others), and his bibliography, while being longer than Hahn's, looks amateurish when set against that of Vedder, which included many of his own works, and lists of publications in the languages of the people he was describing. Perhaps Fourie was a little intimidated by the weight of Vedder's contribution and felt that he had not included enough information, or that he had not discussed the material in enough depth. Whatever his meaning, the inconclusive nature of his only two publications, when read in conjunction with the dense and scrambled information in the documents, conveys a feeling that they all form an archive of unfinished business. The descriptive nature of the two papers, together with the almost complete absence of comment or synthesis, adds to the sense that they remain more archive than anthropology. They appear to be more collections of facts, ethnologica, albeit presented in a more coherent form than in the documentation, and less the kinds of reconstructions of culture that might have satisfied Fourie.

Readings of the archive

> Archivists arrange and describe archives in order to disclose their content and significance and to make them available effectively. By arrangement I mean the intellectual and physical operations involved in the organisation of archival records. By description I mean the preparation of finding aids (Harris 1997:28).

[90] See, for example, Hahn's descriptions of the executioners used by chiefs to inflict slow and horrible public deaths on malcontents (1928:19), and the description of Mandume as a "cruel despot" (1928:9).

The mechanics of ordering and preserving papers in archival collections have a direct bearing on the ways in which we read them: Harris writes of "peeling back all these layers of intervention and interpretation" in order to reach a deeper understanding of the information contained in the record. He also writes of "original order" that when it communicates something meaningful about the provenance of the collection it should be preserved (Harris 1997:5). The provenance of the collection is all-important in this regard and, as in the case of the Fourie Collection, the provenance is often to be found in the contents of the papers themselves as they hold dates, names of authors or informants, and hints at the circumstances of their making and the political concerns of the time. However, in the Fourie Collection the provenance of some documents is unclear. The activities of the staff at the Museum of Man and Science, in adding letters from the archives of the South African Museum, and a file of papers at the National Archives in Windhoek awaiting donation to the Fourie Collection at Museum Africa, are cases in point. In the correspondence a chronological arrangement can safely be said to be the original order in which Fourie received the material into his own archive, but the interspersion of the letters which he was sending out, and of which he does not appear to have kept copies for himself, significantly changes the ways in which we read the archive.

In spite of this management/interference, the items in boxes F and G have not been described or catalogued; therefore there are signatures that have not been interpreted, and names that have been misspelled in the contents lists in the files themselves. Many links between the correspondence and other documents in the archive have not been made. The correspondence is quoted extensively in other chapters in this thesis and will not be discussed in detail here, but it is important to note that it is in the letters that we can sometimes hear Fourie's voice as his fellow administrators, anthropologists, and collectors would have heard it. They provide an illuminating counterpoint to the rest of the documentation.

Fourie's ownership of so many official documents, and the casual way in which they were dotted amongst other, more personal, records, expresses eloquently the ways in which his hobby and his official position in the Administration were enmeshed. He may have made use of official resources in his Khoisan studies, but he more than reciprocated when he contributed to policy making and to government reports and documents. His work on the health of Khoisan prisoners, both the research into German policies and the interventions in South African policies (only faint traces of which occur in his documents), while concomitant with his medical background, speaks of a concern with the Khoisan body which is reflected in the tables of measurement and the photographic collections. The translations of the German documents are also evidence of a concern to compare the shaping of South African policies and administrative procedures against those of the Germans in the early years of the

Administration. Khoisan ethnographies were deeply rooted in the colonising project, but, in spite of all the reports written by civil servants, the successive governments of South West Africa did not create a policy to deal with the Khoisan.

Eedes's report, quoted in "Khoisan policy" in Chapter 2, shows a willingness to grapple with the notion of creating an official policy that is notably absent from the writings of Fourie. The familiarity of the note at the end of the Memo, and the absence of further comment, however, appears to indicate that Eedes expected Fourie to be in full agreement with his sentiments and leads to the thought that, in spite of the fact that Fourie did not make any official suggestions, he may have lobbied for such an outcome on an informal basis.

By placing documents in relation to each other which might otherwise have been separated in the official records office, Fourie's collection tends to isolate the Khoisan from the rest of the inhabitants of the country, making their problems seem different and unrelated to those of, say, the Rehoboths, or the Nama, and especially of the German and South African settlers. In addition, a curious effect occurs, in which the agency of the colonial administration is negated by omission, appearing almost accidentally (and even then without full realisation) in comments about white employers, for example, or Eedes's statement that: "they have probably fled ... as they fear that the South African Police will come to Karakuwisa again" (MMS40/69/BoxA/ File4/a:1).

Diagonal lines scored through paragraphs, underlined sections, and comments written in Fourie's handwriting in the margins of the notes at places throughout the book of field notes in Box E indicate that he was synthesising the information, and, indeed there are some parts which can be seen to have been used directly in the two published articles (such as the sections on initiation rituals on pages sixty-five to seventy, the notes on the significance of fire on page ninety-eight, and on dance on page one hundred.) There are, however, other items of information, particularly concerning material culture and physical anthropology, which do not appear in the published work but which are annotated in this same manner. There is no evidence to show where Fourie used this information.

The "field" for Fourie constituted not only the remote areas of Sandfontein in the Gobabis district, but also the prison in Windhoek, the mission station at Epukiro, and even his own study at home. Indications of the provenances of the information he collected are to be found in the documents, especially in some of the notebooks in Box E, and form a powerful image of an anthropological pastiche. Fourie becomes *bricoleur***,** collecting seemingly discarded or meaningless remnants of Khoisan culture wherever he could find them and arranging them in some order. Thus item 23, the foolscap book of field notes in Box E, is a record of Fourie's

attempt to collect information from whatever sources he could find; more an archive, preserving the knowledge of "the older members of the various communities" (Fourie 1926:49) and less a description of a current lifestyle.

The processes of turning his knowledge into ethnography are evidenced in the many drafts for Fourie's article on the Hei-//om of Etosha, and in notes made by the staff of the MMS. The greater part of the papers in the five files in Box B deal with ethnographic information on various Khoisan groups in Namibia, and include many drafts of the article "Notes on the Hei-//om Bushmen" for publication in the *Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society* (MMS40/69/BoxB/File3 and Fourie 1926). The first of many preliminary opening paragraphs in the drafts for his 1926 article provides a useful summary of the scope of Fourie's ethnographic investigations, and shows that initially he intended to write about "the social organisation and certain customs of the ≠Ao-//ein of the Western Kalahari and the Heikum of the Etoscha (sic) Pan" (MMS40/69/BoxB/File3/a). Other drafts in Box B show that Fourie's original intention was to include even more than these two groups in a larger article, but that this appeared to have been too ambitious a plan, and he whittled it down to two and then only one group. The notebooks in Box E indicate that the bulk of information that Fourie gathered concerned the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron.

Discussion

Conventionally archives are defined as repositories of information, including the memories of individuals, that are held in the form of records which have been deemed to be worth preserving for future use.

> By "records" I mean recorded information regardless of medium (for instance paper, microfilm or electronic media) or form (paper, for instance, is used in the form of correspondence files, maps, plans, registers, etc.) created or received by an individual or body (institution, organisation or agency) (Harris 1997:4, 7).

Fourie's records consist of precisely those items described above. Harris goes on to distinguish between public and private records, the former being items created or received in the course of official business by governmental bodies and the latter being all other categories of record. Fourie's documents cross the lines between these two divisions, something that could not have been uncommon in the papers of ex-government officials. This blurring of the boundaries provides fertile ground for research which probes the records for the "emotional economy ... of what was imagined, what was feared, what was witnessed and what was overheard" in the colonial structure (Stoler 2001:13). The lists of the numbers of Khoisan in prison and their illnesses and deaths are resonant with the fear of their hunting ability, fear of being accused of causing unnecessary deaths, a witnessing, perhaps, of cruelty and neglect,

and a start at trying to make it different: all elements of the colonial melancholy I attribute to Fourie. The correspondence with the South African Museum, at times formal and at others chatty and a little gossipy, shows Fourie at once promoting scientific research in the Protectorate, and defending the rights of those in South West Africa who had accumulated knowledge to be recognised, respected and credited for their work (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:3). Their fears were of being overlooked, or overtaken, and their pride would not allow them to accept disregard.

Archiving institutions foreground provenance as one of two principal factors when organising records and use this "to give expression to the contextual milieu from which the archives emerge". The second factor is that of "original order":

> This principle asserts that items in an archives group should be kept in the order given them originally whenever this order tells us something meaningful about the circumstances of the items' creation and contemporary use (Harris 1997:29).

But provenances within provenance need to be acknowledged as major factors in the history and character of an archival record. The presence of papers from the Administration and from Fourie's peers in the field of anthropology indicates his embededness in those two fields of endeavour. Many colonial officials and missionaries attempted to utilise ethnographic knowledge to carry out their work more effectively and some of them conducted anthropological research at the same time. At first glance Fourie's position was different in that his work did not directly involve one specific tribal group, and it would seem that he would not have had the opportunity to apply directly the knowledge he gained in the course of his so-called avocation. Upon reflection, however, and taking into account information from sources other than this collection, it is likely that Fourie *was* applying ethnology in the course of his work. To carry out programmes of vaccinations, medical examinations of large numbers of migrant workers, investigations into plague in Ovamboland, and to be responsible for the health of the Khoisan prisoners, Fourie needed to have insights into the cultural organisations of the Herero, the Ovambo and the other groups in the country.[91] The marriage of official documents and anthropology that forms the chief identifying feature of this archive is both a creation of and a pointer to an aspect of Fourie's work that is not articulated in the content of the documents.

The signs of original order in Fourie's papers convey something of his own purposes in accumulating these documents. As disorganised as a large portion of it is, there are glimpses

[91] Vedder's use of history to explanation the refusal of the Herero to receive "prophylactic antivariolic" vaccinations is of interest here. He claims that they had "lost confidence in their fellow-men" after the war with the Germans, and after the promises of the Garvey-ites (a political movement begun in the United States) had come to nought.

of an intention to organise and label the documents it contains. The numbered files in Boxes A and B and the presence of the reports from the previous administration and publications both old and new, could be read as meaning that Fourie, at least in the beginning, was consciously attempting to build up a library of references. The papers at the Adler Museum of Medicine also exhibit attempts at ordering, some of them being grouped by subject and placed in labelled files. If Fourie himself had been asked to archive his papers it is likely that this collection would have assumed a different shape. Instead the original order speaks of a history of separation: of Fourie from this collection; of different parts of the collection from each other; and of the documents from the objects and photographs.

The Fourie papers, once received into the museum environment, were dealt with by librarians who were not trained archivists, but who, for the most part, maintained the original order, keeping the papers together as one unit and allowing the provenance to remain clear. In keeping with classic museum practice the original shaping of this "archive group" was based upon content, as the staff at the MMS selected only those items from Fourie's papers that, they believed, were of significance in his Khoisan studies. Once that original selection had been made, the papers were filed with others which were connected with the collection either by means of subject matter, or because they had something to do with the exhibition or publication of the material in the collections. When the collection arrived at the Africana Museum, however, the parts including Fourie's notes were still arranged roughly in the original order, and it was possible to distinguish the original documents from those which had been added later. Since the Africana Museum ordered its collections principally by content, and only secondarily by provenance, it is surprising that Fourie's archive has continued to hold the shape that it had in 1977. The Museum did not generally keep archival material, and was not equipped to deal with documents, so these ones were put aside while the staff got on with what they felt to be their core business: the care of artefacts and photographs: a case of benign neglect.

The papers which were selected by the MMS contain details of the manifold levels at which the narrative of the Khoisan was unfolding during Fourie's lifetime. The field notes and reports reflect his own observations and interpretations; the correspondence gives insights into the views of leading figures in the field of anthropology, archaeology, and palaeoanthropology; the copies of official reports reflect the attitudes of the bureaucrats entrusted with the administration of the Territory both during German and South African rule: and reprints of contemporary publications exhibit the information which was accessible to the public. The latter range from cuttings from South African newspapers spanning the 1920s and 1930s, to offprints of scholarly journals, and represent different layers of knowledge.

Discussions in the correspondence over the censoring of information concerning the genitalia of the Khoisan show how the information in the public domain was not necessarily comprehensive, and how Fourie was situated as a part of the intelligentsia who exerted control over what the public could read (MMS40/69/Box F/1925:3).

Such a multi-layered accretion of paper now stands for portions of both Fourie's personal memory and the collective memory of the Administration of the Protectorate. It contains numerous internal inconsistencies and contradictions, some of which can be explained by the simultaneous presentation of roughly twelve years of memory. As the personal papers of an individual they form a parallel narrative to the "paper empire" of official documents stored in state archives. Sometimes they support, and sometimes they do not, the "technologies of rule" (Stoler 2001:10). The etymology of the term "archive" (from the Latin for "residence of the magistrate" which in turn comes from the Greek "to command") implies order and control (Stoler 2001:10). While Fourie's attempts to gather information about the Khoisan were very much a part of the colonial project to order and control both the people and their identities, I contend that this unintended archive contains a significant amount of *dis*order. His life, his day job, and the lives of the Khoisan intrude at unexpected points. Perhaps because he did not view his documents as standing for the dying Khoisan, they form the least well-ordered facet of the collection as a whole. Fourie had numbered and listed the photographs and the objects. He had also begun to provide identification in the form of captions and labels for the items in these collections, but, although some of the papers appear in labelled files, the majority are not sorted or identified. As a result readers now have some freedom to impose their own orders on the material.

A consequence of the fact that this collection of documents was Fourie's personal archive is that it tends to be one-sided. Dissenting voices are seldom heard. If Fourie himself was criticised, and we know that he clashed with authorities in South West Africa and in South Africa, the records of these disputes do not appear in his files.[92] A recent study has exposed the racist undertones of Hahn's work and character (Hayes 1996) but such a reading of his work would be hard to make from any evidence in the Fourie paper collection. The people with whom Fourie corresponded, or so the archive shows, were like-minded men and women who, for the most part, seemed to admire and respect Fourie, and were grateful for help and encouragement the had received from him.[93] This image frames his collection and work in a

[92] The information concerning these disputes comes from the Namibian National Archives and the biography of Fourie written by his son (Chapter 2 "Military medicine and epidemics – 1916-1920").

[93] See MMS 40/69/BoxF/1923:4, 1924:5, 1925:1, 2, 8, 11, 12; 1926:6, 8; 1927:3; 1929:13, 15, 16, and much of the correspondence with the South African Museum.

very particular way. The letters of thanks from the South African Museum and of praise from Goodwin at UCT, for example, repeatedly affirm the importance and quality of his photographs, or the comprehensive nature of the knowledge he has gained, and stress that he has made full use of the opportunities he has been presented with to create a definitive record. Hoernlé and Dart nagged him to publish, implying that he had the capacity and the knowledge to write up important and hitherto unknown information. (Given all these expectations it is no wonder that he apologised at the ends of his papers, and felt he had failed at the end of his life.) These impressions were passed on through the family, into ISMA, the MMS and the Africana Museum, and can be credited with the reverence with which the collection was regarded in spite of the fact that it was never utilised in major displays or publications. Most people would be reluctant to keep records of humiliating moments or of failure, and Fourie appears to be no exception, but we have seen that the archive is fragmented and that not all of it is available for research, so it is impossible to say this with certainty. It may also be that the family applied discretionary powers as they decided what to keep in their private collection.

The random nature of this personal archive presents a number of problems, and as the dissertation unfolds it will be seen that, as a result of missing correspondence, the mixed-up pages in the field notes, and a lack of official reports written by Fourie himself, there are many gaps in our knowledge of his movements and motives. In spite of these drawbacks, however, the documents offer important glimpses into the processes of collecting and photographing which gave rise to the Fourie Collection, the details of which will be explored in the rest of this dissertation.

Conclusion

If, as I argue in this thesis, the Fourie Collection forms an archive in its entirety, then, while the papers at Museum Africa would conventionally be regarded as the archival component of the collection, in this context it must be seen as constituting only a section of the whole. Adding further to the fractural nature of this segment is the fact that there are papers relating to Fourie and his work at a number of other locations, at least three that we know of, but most likely a few more if we take into account his numerous correspondents, his service in the Medical Corps and his position as a civil servant. The complex relationships between the various holdings of Fourie's documents, publications, images and artefacts speak of the embededness of the archive in the structuring of knowledge of the Khoisan and the histories of South West Africa in the 1930s and of public health in southern Africa in the inter-war years of the twentieth century.

The documents underscore the ways in which the collection and the use of anthropological/ethnographic information on the Khoisan in South West Africa, while

apparently being carried out by a so-called amateur for his own interest, became very much a part of the Administration's project to gather information and to use it in the implementation of a strategy to secure and colonise new territory for settlers from South Africa and Europe. Fourie's status in Khoisan studies has tended to obscure his position as an influential member of the colonial administration, a position that, as we have seen, allowed him privileged access to people and material, and, to a large extent, made this collection possible. It is in the paper collection that we see most clearly the recursive nature of the project to gather ethnological knowledge in the Protectorate. The correspondence highlights Fourie's position as an enabler and interlocutor in a network of friends and colleagues, while the presence of numerous publications and the official reports on the cultures of the Bushmen and some other groups evidence how Fourie absorbed information from a wide range of sources. His own publications, short though they were, formed a nexus at which Khoisan, ethnologists, settlers and bureaucracy met. The vehicles for publication were rooted in colonial society, two of them being initiatives of the Administration, and one being a vehicle for the scientific interests of the local settlers.

Fourie claimed that he would have liked to publish more of his research and his photographs, but that he could not do so because of the pressure of work. While there can be doubt that this is the case, there were other factors at play. He devoted a great deal of time to amassing the information, and so one questions why he could not find the time to write it up. One reason may have been that the work was being carried out for ends that were not purely academic. Fourie's relationship with the Department of Native Affairs (through friendships with some of the officials there and through the work that he had done), combined with the fact that his second paper was part of a government publication, is evidence that he had intentions to use the information he gathered for more pragmatic if not political purposes. The principles of indirect rule were most openly espoused by the government in the case of the Ovambo, but clearly they would have coloured the administration of all other local groups, including the Khoisan. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* is a manifestation of the need to gather intelligence in order to effectively control and pacify these groups, but the less formal exchanges of knowledge between friends and colleagues would have been more important, and less constrained by the formalities of the published word. The degree to which Fourie took part in these informal exchanges is obscured by the voids within the collection: the lack of letters to and from colleagues such as Hahn, Manning, Eedes and Vedder, for example, or of memos from fellow bureaucrats.

In the cases of the other segments of the collections - as I argue in the following chapters - Fourie intended that they would ultimately stand in place of the Khoisan who, he believed,

were on their way to extinction. Fourie's collection of documents, as it has come down to us today, however, has an informal and *ad hoc* character, and much of it appears to be a reservoir of material which was formed as a by-product of, or as support for, the activities of gathering and ordering ethnographic information, collecting the artefacts, taking the photographs and taking the measure of the bodies of the Khoisan. There are traces of some organisation of the material by Fourie himself, in the named files in Boxes A and B, but these are overwhelmed by the bulk of unorganised material in the rest of the collection, and by the compound and multi-layered field notes in, for example, Item 23 in Box E. While it has become an archive in the traditional sense of being a set of papers, the sense here is that Fourie did not intend that this should serve as metonym, or substitute, for the Khoisan.

Reading along the grain we see that the personal archive of Fourie, with its annotated reports, private correspondence concerning official policy, insights into family life, and ethnography combined with bureaucracy, is an artefact of South West African colonial society. These materials contributed in various ways towards the creation of a record of what society perceived to be the historic traditional culture of the Khoisan. Fourie, the prime mover, gathered and documented what he believed to be knowledge, based on classification systems and theories he had gleaned from reading contemporary ethnographic and anthropological works. When it came to writing up that knowledge, however, he could not synthesise it and form a system that fitted his own understanding of his observations.

The paper archive holds two inseparable parts of Fourie's life. His writings were shaped by the scientific objectivities of medicine and of anthropology but the intuitive and emotional can be read in the pauses between the words, the silences, omissions, hesitations, contradictions and repetitions. He was an intelligent man with an original and questioning mind, but he himself was a part of the ruling elite. The archive documents the ways in which he benefited by belonging, and his knowledge of the Khoisan, who most decidedly did not belong, was an important part of his passport to partaking in the exercise of power. As much as the ethnographies of the Khoisan, are recorded in the pages of the archive, so are Fourie's position, prestige, and identity.

In the written archive there are many disjunctures that expose the complex ways in which the state and society manipulated the practice of anthropology. Fourie's published writings do not reflect the breadth and scope of the field notes. There are internal contradictions between statements such as "such skilled workmanship" and "primitive organisation" in the published articles. Information about the realities of the influences of colonisation on the people being studied rarely appeared in the texts of field notes, reports or the publications, but can be seen in their physical structures (the government stationery); the circumstances of their production

(snatched moments during official trips, sessions in a study in Windhoek, government sponsored publications); and the availability or unavailability of material which constitute the thinnesses and thicknesses of the collection. Although his apologies at the ends of his two publications would seem to indicate that Fourie would have liked to have had more time and resources to publish comprehensive studies, it is clear that it would have been very difficult for him to summarise or synthesise all of the information held in this archive, for then he would have been forced to face the contradictions, and his role in their making.

One of the most notable disjunctures in this collection is the lack of commentary by Fourie (or any of his contemporaries) on the links between his anthropological work and the practise of Public Health. This may be because it was taken for granted that he should utilise this information in his daily work, and that he should take advantage of his inspection trips, for example, to gather ethnography. If, as Stoler says, "information out of place" indicates anxieties, then perhaps this silence indicates that such procedures were so commonplace as to not require the reminders that are usually stored in archives.

Fourie's ethnographic work was deeply embedded in the structure of the colony and this work helped to reify race, and particularly the primitive nature of a race known as the Bushmen. Reading against the grain, reading the "upper class sources upside down", however, reveals that, at the same time, race was, in fact, "a porous and protean set of relations" (Stoler 2001:11, 14). The creation of that entity known as a Bushman, in all his primitive precariousness, was in part a response to the need to prove the superiority of those who set themselves up as the new rulers of the Territory. The concept of the disappearing "pure", or "wild Bushmen", whose bodies and behaviour conformed to a set of standards set by the anthropologists of the day, meant that those people who were encountered every day by the settlers and the administrators were not the real thing. They did not conform to the platonic ideal, and therefore the systematic cruelty and neglect they suffered did not have to be recorded by those who were studying them. The Bushmen of written word and printed picture pushed the Khoisan of the real world into a limbo - depriving them of their own identities, and thus of their rights to their own territory and lifestyles.

The Bushman may have been mythical, but Fourie's papers reflect a complex relationship between that myth and historical and contemporaneous people living in South West Africa. Like the archive, the lives of the ≠Ao-//ein, Naron, Nu-//ein or Hei-//om contained contradictions and ambivalences. In ways that went unrecognised by the settlers, though, many of the Khoisan were attempting to reconcile past life ways with present circumstances. The outcomes of such integration were critical to many who were living on the edge of starvation as they were deprived of their lands and livelihoods. Tragically anthropologists

and others who categorised and classified the Khoisan helped hasten the impoverishment as their work underpinned the racist paradigms that informed policy and legislation.

The history of Fourie's work and of the colonising of the Protectorate is provided, in large part, by this paper archive. The correspondence introduces a wide cast of characters, placing Fourie firmly in the milieu of the anthropological intelligentsia of English-speaking South Africa. The book lists, translations and publications indicate the intellectual background to his research and writing. The reports and other government documents outline his place in the hierarchy of the Administration, and the field notes reveal the extent of his contact with members of a variety of Khoisan groups from whom he gathered information. The archive as a whole provides a map of the world of Fourie the anthropologist, a territory which was shaped by his relationships with the Khoisan, the civil servants and the academics around him.

The Fourie papers reflect attempts by both the Khoisan being studied and the student himself to integrate themselves into the fluctuations of South West African society. They present the possibility that the work of gathering the ethnographic information allowed Fourie to express almost subcutaneously, beneath the skin created by the commonly accepted conventions of his day, the tensions engendered in the exercise of colonisation. The archive contains what was selected by Fourie and by the MMS, but also allows us to explore the processes of knowledge production that were effaced in the canon on Khoisan. The elisions and absences we find in this description allow a rare entry point into the silences that speak of the taken-for-granted, the pain and the shame that accompanied Fourie and his peers as they attempted to fashion their ethnographies.

Chapter 4

The Shadow in the Frame: Physical Anthropology and Photography

> Since ... the colonised subject was not available in the 'flesh', their presence had to be signified by some other means. By 1902, the principle that physiognomic characteristics were accurate indicators of intellect and morality (early ingested as a tenet of certain anthropological theses) acquired new potency through its association with the eugenics movement. ... Consequently, in museum displays of material culture from the colonies, it was common practice to include photographs, casts of the face or of the figure, or even skeletons and skulls. These were supposed to demonstrate more nearly the relationship between the inherited and cultural features of any race (Coombes 1988:62).

> On Sunday he [Fourie] invited us to his house and showed me his album of photographs of the Sandfontein natives. I was thunderstruck - it is the finest collection of anthropological photos I have ever seen, embodying the physical types and the whole life of the tribe. Fourie says he is a layman and that his notes are "nothing". Whatever they are, he has had unrivalled opportunities of studying these tribes and others and has made the most of his chance. Technically his photos, with the exception of a few admittedly taken on old plates, are splendid (Keppel Barnard to Leonard Gill, MMS40/69/BoxF/1926:10).

Introduction

It is a privilege granted only to the *bona fide* researcher to be allowed to open the old boxes and to peel back brittle brown envelopes in order to examine the fragile glass negatives made by Fourie. The images in shades of grey are as clear today as they were then, showing the minutest details of the scenes Fourie chose to record: blades of grass, small leaves, shadows against mounds of sand, wrinkles around the eyes of old women, and whorls of hair on babies' heads. Elizabeth Edwards' recent essay on the materiality of photographs speaks of the physical/sensual impact they have on the viewer, and the potential this holds for insights into the intentions of the photographer and the consumers of images as they were made, copied, distributed, used, discarded or recycled. Elements of this history, she believes, can be found in the physicality of photographs, and "impact on the way in which [they] are understood" (2005:1). Prints taken from these negatives (by Fourie himself and the Africana Museum, for example) have rarely done justice to the quality of these reversed/reflected images and do not allow the same access to the creative processes that formed these images. An examination of the negatives, therefore, was an essential exercise in the analysis of Fourie's work. On seeing signs that he had tinkered with some of the negatives: the backgrounds blanked out, or shadows added in to conceal genitalia, for example, the researcher has a feeling of gaining exclusive access to the mind of the photographer, and understands that these pictures are more than snapshots. They were made to provide specific pieces of information, and Fourie did all he could to enhance the images to highlight the message. He did, indeed, make the most of his opportunities.

The second quote at the head of this chapter is taken from a letter written to the Director of the South African Museum, the institution from which Péringuey had written to instruct Fourie in the finer points of anthropometric photography. Sandfontein, in the Gobabis district, was the place where Fourie began his collection, and the images he made there foreshadow much of the work he was to follow for the next ten years. Barnard's comment on how the photographs "embody" the "physical types" reveals what was commonsense at the time: first that there was such a thing as a "type": a body that conformed to a specific pattern which could be named Bushman; second that a good photograph would be able to capture this "type" as well as "the whole life of a tribe" for purposes of record and analysis.

Today Fourie's collection holds traces of selected Khoisan bodies, and traces of traces of others. There are three components of the collection of physical anthropology. The first, in the paper collection, is a series of tables in which the bodies of some of the ≠Ao-//ein and Naron living in Sandfontein have been measured in great detail. The second is a series of photographs of bodies and faces, and the third is to be found in references that point to Fourie's accumulation of a collection of skeletal material, including a number of skulls, which he donated to the Department of Anatomy at the Wits Medical School in 1936. Recent searches for these bones have been unsuccessful, leaving us only the paper traces in the document collection.

Fourie's photographic images, on the other hand, have been in the public domain for some time. In 1928 ten appeared in his own publication, and in 1930 seven were used to illustrate Schapera's *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots*. He was asked to send some photographs to decorate the walls of South Africa House in London, and the Belgian king took a great interest in his work and requested a whole album full of copies. At first he declined, but was pressured by the South African Ambassador to London, and allowed them to make a set of copies.[94] After Fourie's death the photographs were copied by the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, for exhibition and use in teaching.[95] In the 1970s the MMS used the photographs extensively in an exhibition on the Khoisan. These images are still remembered by many of those who visited it. When the MMS disbanded in the late 1970s the glass negatives and a series of prints were donated to the Africana Museum along with the rest of the collection, and many were immediately exhibited. The photographs were incorporated into the research collection where they were

[94] The albums are not in the possession of the Royal Museum of African Culture in Tervuuren, but Jos Gansemans, Head of the Department of Cultural Anthropology at the Museum is investigating the possibility that they are in the Royal Palace in Brussels (pers. comm. 12 July 2006).

[95] In 1998 a search through the museum collections in the department failed to turn up these pictures.

and still are consulted regularly for a wide range of purposes. In a multitude of ways over a number of decades the Fourie Photographic Collection has been instrumental in visualising a "type" for the Khoisan.

Fourie's entrée into the discipline of anthropology was through the twin sciences of photography and anthropometry, and this chapter explores the roles those disciplines played in the shaping of his collection. The first part details the hints of the bones in the documents of Fourie's collection and reads them together with the traces of his project to measure and define the bodies of the Khoisan. Challenges from such anthropologists as Radcliffe-Brown tested the paradigms of anthropology, particularly cultural evolutionism, from the beginnings of the 1920s. Here I trace the repercussions of these changes on Fourie's activities and his collection, a major consequence of which was the placement of his skeletal material with the Medical School at Wits, rather than in a museum.

The chapter goes on to examine the photographic collection, looking at the history and context of the use of photography in anthropology, and then describing and analysing those images which link with physical anthropology before moving on to look at the range of subjects in the rest of the collection. Readings of these two parts of the collection place them in contemporary photographic conventions and refer to the contexts of local western scholarship and to the limitations and freedoms offered by Fourie's specific circumstances (his amateur status, for example, and the lack of institutional support). Implicit in such a methodology is the understanding that, in spite of these limitations, Fourie's work was both rooted in and nourishing to contemporary notions about Bushman anatomy and culture.

Bones and bodies

For a period of over 65 years, from its inception until at least the time when Fourie began to study the Khoisan, anthropology counted the science of anthropometry as central to the discipline. Until the 1920s, when Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski foregrounded the new social anthropology, most ethnographies contained, to a greater or lesser extent, descriptions of the physical make-up of their subjects. Physical anthropologists studied the anatomies of various groups in order to arrive at a characteristic conformation that could then be compared with the conformations of other groups in order to arrive at a classification of all the races in the world, and to discover how those races were related to one another on an evolutionary scale. The human body was used as a marker of race, and race was believed to reflect stages of 'civilisation'. Comparative anatomy was the science that supported theories of Social Darwinism or Social Evolutionism. Politicians, academics and others frequently used these theories to justify white political supremacy in South Africa and other colonial territories.

From the late eighteenth century onwards the study of the Khoisan (or of the Khoe Khoe, the San and the so-called Strandloopers as separate entities) and of the ways in which they differed from the surrounding Bantu-speakers and ultimately from Europeans was key to the evolutionary text of this paradigm and by the early twentieth century a large body of literature had grown up around the subject. In the late nineteenth century studies of fossilised and prehistoric skulls provided examples of the earliest configurations of facial features and brain sizes, and by 1916, when Fourie moved to Windhoek, the pursuit of the "missing link" between humans and apes was well on its way. After 1925, when Raymond Dart published his description of the Taung skull, South African academics focused on this quest to an even greater extent (Dubow 1995:8-10, 13, 21, 27). Field workers gathered information about the bodies and the faces of the people they researched. The notion that physical features were clear markers of race was unquestioned.

It was commonly believed that the Bushmen were at the lowest end of the scale, because they were perceived as being the least 'developed' in a technological sense, as having no attachments or claims to territories, and having until relatively recently practiced a hunter gatherer existence. On the next rung up were the Khoekhoe, who kept cattle and had a political and economic system which was perceived to be more sophisticated. The task of anthropometrics was first of all to discover/recover the archetypical Bushman anatomy, after which it would be possible to compare it with other archetypes, such as the Khoekhoe, and the Strandlooper, to prove that different levels of primitiveness were somehow reflected in their physical make up. Notions of comparison were built into the very structure of the process. To this end, scholars selected subjects because their bodies most closely resembled a theoretical template, thus creating the archetype for themselves. Fourie's search for the racial type was thwarted because he could not find anyone who fitted the template.

The history of southern Africa as a place of scientific research into the structures of race goes back to the nineteenth century, and is closely linked with studies of the Khoisan. Robert Knox, a key figure in the development of the study of comparative anatomy, particularly as regards establishing racial categories, and author of *The Races of Men* (1850), served as an army surgeon in South Africa between 1817 and 1820, and used anatomical features to classify the indigenous people. He collected skeletal material from South Africa and deposited the bones in the Museum of Comparative Anatomy founded at his instigation by the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh.[96] Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, travelled

[96] Robert Knox was born in 1791 and died in 1862. After his return from South Africa he ran a private anatomy school in Edinburgh and was reportedly a flamboyant and popular teacher. In 1831 he was forced to resign his post as Curator as a result of his association with Burke and Hare, the

through South West Africa between 1850 and 1852 during which time his theories about race began to take shape. Eugen Fisher, one of the prime movers in the race-hygiene movement in Nazi Germany, wrote scientific papers on the anatomies of the Basters and the Bushmen of South West Africa (Dubow 1995:15). The politics of race were deeply embedded in the study of physical anthropology by the 1920s when Fourie was making his collection, and Khoisan studies had a particularly important place in the structuring of racial stereotypes.

More than a century ago scientists of race began claiming that the bodies of the Khoisan were in danger of extinction. If not being destroyed by disease, famine, and the conditions of colonialism, they were perceived as being altered by intermarriage with the non-Khoisan people around them. References to alarmingly low population figures have abounded for decades (Gordon 1987), and almost all the early ethnographies bemoaned the fact that there were no 'pure Bushmen' to be found (Bleek 1928 and 1928(a), Dornan 1925, Dunn 1931, Schapera 1930). As was to be expected this was blamed on 'interbreeding' with the surrounding Bantu-speakers, but relationships between the colonists and the Khoisan were seldom mentioned. The urge to archive the body led to the making of photographs and life-casts, the taking of measurements, and the gathering of bones. These became the "observational tools designed to frame and filter the object [the Khoisan body] so as to restore it to a pristine pre-contact condition" (Tomas, 1991:83).

Although some collecting had been done in the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of archaeological excavations, it was only really in the early part of the twentieth century that southern Africa became a major focus of interest for bone collectors. This was later than Australia and the Americas, where scholars were beginning to move away from that methodology by the time South African scholars had begun to be interested. Austrian interest, on the other hand was so strong at the beginning of the century that it provided something of a threat to South African scholars. One particular collector, Dr Rudolf Pöch, was so greedy for bones that the South African government considered prosecuting him and his assistant for illegal activities in the pursuit of skeletons (Legassick and Rassool 2000:3, 27-29). Fourie entered the world of South African anthropology at a moment when interest in bones was quickening and he soon became aware of the competitive nature of this field.

As Medical Officer for the Protectorate, Fourie was eminently well positioned to conduct a study of the anatomy of the Khoisan; in fact, it was the one area in which he felt least like an amateur. His alma mater, Edinburgh University, was proud of a "long tradition of

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notorious purveyors of corpses. He wrote several papers and books on anatomy and human comparative anatomy as a useful tool in the identification of race (http:/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert Knox).

comparative anatomy" (Morris 1987 and 1996:73; Dubow 1995:39). He had studied anatomy as part of his medical degree (AMLFOU2.13-16, 35, 81-2). In his official capacity, in South West Africa, Fourie was able to gain access to skeletal material and to the living bodies of prisoners and patients in hospitals and clinics. During his field trips, as an official in mufti, he had Saul to help him gain access to the bodies of Khoisan living in remote areas. His authorship of the "Medical Report on German methods of punishment of natives (with photographs)" in the *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and Their Treatment by Germany* (Great Britain 1918) focused his attention on the effects of prison conditions on the bodies of the Khoisan and others. These experiences proved a strong motive for his attempts to preserve, in a variety of ways, their bodies (MMS40/69/A/1/f&g; B/1/a; B/2/m&o; E/23:64; and F/1919:7). The preoccupations of such scholars as Péringuey and Wilman helped shape his earlier work and he made good use of his opportunities to gather data for the examination and classification of the Khoisan body.

At the same time as Fourie was seeking validation of the value of the work of local amateur scientists in South West Africa, South African scientists were consolidating their role as an important independent force with its own unique contribution to make.

> Because of its place in the imperial framework and its relatively developed scholarly infrastructure, examples drawn from South Africa were often cited in the international literature on race. Indeed one of the attractions of South Africa from an international perspective was the special opportunities it afforded for comparative research (Dubow 1995: 13-14).

Early in his stay in South West Africa Fourie felt strongly that the international community overlooked South Africa when it came to the study of Khoisan anatomy. His work in this field began partly as a response to the requests and blandishments of South African experts. His contributions of bones to South African institutions, and his offers of help to the South African Museum were part of an attempt to build up their collections so that they could take their place in the international arena. Later on he came to believe that South West Africa was, in turn, being overlooked by South Africa.

Given his intense activity in this field, Fourie's claim that it was not possible to give a description of a "uniform racial type" alerts us to the problematic nature of the subject. He wrote of centuries of exposure to "various racial influences", and went on to say:

> As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose (Fourie 1928:84).

This challenging statement appears to indicate that Fourie believed that there had not been enough attention paid to the exposure of the Khoisan to various racial influences, and that the

study of contemporary people was inadequate. Finding the quintessential Khoisan anatomy, therefore, was problematic. This is not to say that he was critical of anatomical typecasting: in the same paragraph he writes of three "characteristic types" and says that there was a group among whom "bush characteristics still apparently predominate" (Fourie 1928:84).

The body in Khoisan ethnography

It was only in the 1930s that an understanding that physical type, language and culture were not necessarily co-terminous was beginning to be articulated in South Africa (Hoernlé 1933:74-92). While Fourie was pursuing his hobby, therefore, it was still widely accepted that, in order to understand the Khoisan, it was necessary to know their bodies. In 1921, for example, Dorothea Bleek wrote to Fourie summarising her findings to date on the Masarwa of Bechuanaland, and included a quick run-down of their physical features: "a very mixed race, some members being slight & yellowish with typical Bushman faces, others much darker with the limbs & sometimes the features of the Bantu" (MMS40/69/Box F/1921/1).[97]

In the 1920s the majority of the publications on the Khoisan available to Fourie included more or less detailed descriptions of the physical features which were believed to distinguish this group from other 'races' on the sub-continent.[98] Perhaps the most influential on Fourie was Péringuey's *The Stone Ages of South Africa as represented in the Collection of the South African Museum* (1911) which contains detailed descriptions of physical anthropology, stone tools and rock art all of which were used to link the Khoisan with cultures of the Later Stone Age. Of particular interest here is Chapter XXI entitled: "The origin of the Bushman or Hottentot" in which Péringuey reviewed the languages, distribution, and "physical characters" of three groups, the "Strand Looper", the "Bushman", and the "Hottentot". He believed that: "It is well nigh impossible to distinguish now from outer appearance a so-called Colonial Bushman from a native of Hottentot origin" but that an examination of skulls and skeletal material led to the conclusion that: "The up-country Bushman appears intermediate between the Strandloopers and Hottentots", and, paradoxically, "The net result of the additions to the averages had been to mark out the Bushman race in some respects more sharply than before..." (Péringuey 1911:189-201). In this chapter Péringuey gave discussed in detail steatopygia and the genitalia of both men and women of Khoisan origin, examples of which are illustrated in Plate XXVIII that shows three life-casts of naked Khoisan and one image of the genitalia of a living woman. The overall impression was that the bodies of the Khoisan

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97 Note the conflation of language, culture and physical type.

98 Hoernlé's works are the exception here, although, interestingly, she apparently excavated five skeletons during the course of some fieldwork in 1912. She never wrote them up but gave them to UCT Medical School in spite of persistent demands by Péringuey that she hand them to the South African Museum (Morris 2000:74).

could yield information that would aid in the classification of the "races" and would help distinguish those races from others in the sub-continent, and, by inference, the Europeans. Péringuey noted that the conclusions were based on a small number of poorly identified skulls, and that new conclusions were being reached as a result of work done by F.C. Shrubsall on more skulls which had come to light (Péringuey 1911:197). Shrubsall contributed a detailed analysis of a range of skulls to this publication (1911:202-3, 208).

Fourie would have read theories on the anatomies of the Khoisan in a large number of publications in his collection. These ranged from the popular, to the archaeological, to the linguistic. S.S. Dornan's *Pygmies & Bushmen of the Kalahari* gives a short, speculative, description of certain physical features of the "typical Cape Bushman", in which he suggested that the further north they lived, the darker their skin colour became. Although he used some complex anthropometric terms: "dolicocephalic" and "platyrhine" for example, for the most part he resorted to more popular and emotive language such as "extraordinarily alert" faces and "spindle looking legs" (Dornan 1925:82).

In 1929 Goodwin and C. Van Riet Lowe of the University of the Witwatersrand published a survey entitled *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa*. They, too, linked the Stone Age with the Khoisan on anatomical grounds (Goodwin and Van Riet Lowe 1929:7). This claim was partly based on the fact that human skeletal material recovered from the relevant sites was identified as "pure Bushman", and partly on an account by Van Riet Lowe of an encounter with a man (unnamed, but whose body was described as being typically Bushman) whose father used stone tools and who could make rudimentary tools himself (1929:180-181).

In 1928 Dorothea Bleek's article on the Khoisan of Angola devoted a page to anatomical descriptions, giving heights, descriptions of hair, teeth, limbs, feet, and faces (especially noses). She mentioned steatopygia and used skin colour as a marker to show degrees of closeness to an original identity, but her comments on the origins of the people belie the speculative nature of the entire exercise, and she introduces Arab slave traders as possible progenitors of the group (Bleek 1928(a):107).

Only a few of the descriptions and speculations in the publications mentioned above give tables of measurements, or other statistics as supporting evidence.[99] Allan Morris goes so far as to say that:

> Péringuey, like nearly all of the early typologists, had no concept of statistics and in fact shunned their use. Representability only went as far as having a range of 'types'.

[99] There are two tables of measurements of skulls in Shrubsall's section in Péringuey's 1911 publication, and a short table gives average, greatest and smallest heights in Bleek (1928(a):106).

> Numbers were less important than ensuring that all of the various racially 'pure' types could be found in the collection (Morris 2000:74).

Fourie's "no reliable evidence" is, in fact, a reasonable assessment of the state of knowledge at that time.

Friends and bones

Fourie's work was embedded in the intellectual matrix of southern Africa at the time, and the iterative in the development of his work was marked by his contact with many of the writers and publishers of anthropological material. The earliest extant advice received by Fourie on how to conduct his study of the Khoisan of the Protectorate was the long letter from Maria Wilman discussed in Chapter Two. I quote extensively here, because it is a useful summary of the state of the discipline in South Africa in early 1919.

> In the old Cape days a good many skeletons were taken to England labelled "bush", and they are now in the collections in London and elsewhere. But unfortunately the term "bush" was then as loosely used as now.
>
> Then a number of skeletons were collected out here, from the various museums, and these, together with those above mentioned, were measured by Mr Shrubsall. And a preliminary notice of his work was published in a paper by Dr Péringuey in the Annals of the South African Museum.
>
> The skeletons we sent to Mr Shrubsall he was much pleased with because he said they were almost the only ones that had a history. We had dug them up in the Kalahari, & know about the relationships of each. But that does not say much for the other material.
>
> I should think that in your case it would be best to pick out of each tribe those that the rest of the tribe would guarantee, and to set to work to make your own measurements. Our Duckworth's "Morphology & Anthropology" is unfortunately on loan to Dr Broom, & I am afraid I cannot purchase a copy out here. But you might to get it [sic].
>
> However, if I were you I would write to Prof. Haddon, Museum of Ethnology, Cambridge and ask him for advice. I know he is anxious to encourage anthropological work in this country, and he would welcome you, so to say, with open arms. And he would put you in the way of making measurements of natives; or he could get Dr Duckworth to do this.
>
> Dr Broom, I think, might be helpful to you, but I would not approach him until I had spoken to Capt. Carlisle about him. He is an able scientist, but unfortunately he does not stick to science pure and simple (MMS 40/69/FileF/1919:1).

It is notable that Wilman's first response was to tell Fourie about physical anthropology, and particularly about skeletons. It may be that she assumed that this is where his interest lay because of his medical background, but this response was also strongly influenced by the fact

that, at that period, physical anthropology dominated the world of Khoisan studies. The letter also illustrates how Wilman was herself deeply involved in such work.[100]

From around 1906 Péringuey set the South African Museum on a course of intensive and competitive collecting of skeletal material and life casts, particularly of the Khoisan whose physical features, he believed, were unique and most valuable to science (Legassick and Rassool 2000:5). The Protectorate of South West Africa was an important reservoir of subjects for this project, and Fourie was instrumental in helping the museum to locate suitable individuals for study, and to obtain the necessary permission and assistance to get them to submit to the procedures of casting and measuring.

Fourie's communications with Péringuey were loaded with references to the task of gathering skeletal material and making life-casts of suitable subjects (MMS40/69/BoxF/1920 & 21). The first extant letter from Péringuey begins by thanking Fourie for his letter of 1 September 1919:

> and the excellent announcement that you have 7 skeletons of 'Au in' and 'Naron' Bush for us which you will forward as soon as you have taken the measurements and found a safe receptacle for their transfer (MMS40/69, File F, 1919/7).

The letter concentrated almost entirely on the physical anthropological work Fourie had done and would be doing. Its frank and detailed nature foreshadowed the long and productive relationship between the two and also mapped out the way in which Fourie was expected to carry out his studies of the Khoisan of the area. Péringuey's gratitude for the seven skeletons was followed by the news that he had explained the situation to the Administrator of the Protectorate, Sir Howard Gorges so that "I have no doubt that there will be no further difficulty in exhuming more relics." He also justified the removal of the bones, implying a knowing breach of ethics saying: "If they are secured now, it is doubtful if anyone will remember them in a few years; and it will become very difficult to trace them" (MMS40/69, File F, 1919/7).

In the past Péringuey had dealt with other medical officers and magistrates in his quest to obtain skeletal material and knew the legal requirements well. Most of the civil servants he contacted were sympathetic, some to the point where they were willing to turn a blind eye to such niceties as seeking out relatives of the deceased to obtain permission to exhume the corpses, probably believing that this was all in the service of science. It was probably in this

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[100] In 1911 Wilman had received fourteen skeletons from George St Leger Lennox (Scotty Smith), whose methods of collecting were dubious to say the least. There were rumours that he exhumed recently buried bodies, or, even worse that he shot likely subjects if he knew that they were required by museums (Legassick and Rassool 2000:35).

regard that he initially contacted Fourie, who, he must have been delighted to discover, was determined to study the Khoisan of the region. Fourie's silence in the face of these questionable ethics may be the result of an archival lacuna, but it is disturbingly likely that he was complicit in such activities.

In the second paragraph of this first letter Péringuey expressed a degree of competitiveness and nationalism, which was an important impetus to the collection of bones:

> You pull my leg of course about the status of the South African Museum being the National Collection, and Poch's having stolen a march on me.[101] Anyway the SA. Museum is the only one in the Union where a specialist can consult a fair quantity of Bush remains, and you will have helped to reduce the superiority in number of which Vienna boasted. But it is a poor satisfaction to me that although ahead in this respect of some of our local institutions, we are not vastly superior to foreign ones (MMS40/69/File F/1919:7).

Later, in January 1922, Péringuey wrote to Fourie asking for more bones:

> One of the leading craniologists of Europe has, at last, agreed to work up our skulls & skeleton (San) in extenso. Can you secure more material for loan, if not for presentation. I understand that several ex patients of the executioner or of hospitals have their grave marked out purposely. Could these be obtained? ... I realise that I have been on the 'beg' all the time, but then, you are the only one that can give (MMS40/69/BoxF/1922:1).

There is, implicit in this request, a hint that Fourie might consider lending his own personal collection for the purposes of this exercise, but he appears to have ignored the hint. In 1925 Barnard wrote to tell Fourie that the SAM's skeletal material had been sent to Professor E. Pittard of Geneva for "writing up". Péringuey's statement that Fourie was "the only one that can give" gives an important insight into the pivotal role the latter played in granting access to the bodies of the Khoisan to collectors. This is underscored by the relationship Fourie had with Donald Bain a few years later.

In the first half of the twentieth century the demand for Khoisan bones was so great that it became a profitable enterprise to collect them, and many people were drawn into the pursuit. Donald Bain, an entrepreneurial bushwhacker in the Kalahari, and the man who brought the Khoisan to the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg in the 1930s, was involved in the trafficking of bones (Fourie 1985:94). In 1925 Fourie received the two letters from him in which he related details of a search for skeletons.

> Here with [sic] report to date. We met with little success at Galloway's ... securing two fairly complete Bushman skeletons. ... By the way the Bushman skeletons are the <u>real</u> thing. They were buried, as was the custom with the old Cape Bushman, in a KlipSchuur high up on a koppie.

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[101] Poch had collected what was reputed to be the largest collection of Khoisan skulls in the world for the University of Vienna. He died in 1922 (Legassick and Rassool 2000:10).

> Enclosed negative of one of the Bushman skeletons in the grave with the bones untouched. The boulders which covered the body were of course removed (MMS 40/69/BoxF/1925/4&5).[102]

In 1936 Fourie said that he "knew Donald Bain and had no time for him knowing him to be an exhibitionist" (Fourie 1985:94), but there are no records of any comments on Bain's bone-gathering activities. Bain wrote regularly to Fourie during this time and although these letters were not official reports, they kept Fourie fully informed on the bone gathering activities, probably because the latter's position as Medical Officer meant that he supplied permits for exhumations. Fourie's role in the collection of skeletal material in South West Africa was indeed far-reaching.

The bone collection

In response to the advice he received from so many, Fourie participated in the scramble for bones by collecting for the South African Museum, the Medical School in Johannesburg, and also for himself. In addition to the skeletons he had sent to the SAM in 1919, he embalmed a cadaver for Raymond Dart in 1923, and had railed it and a skeleton to him in 1924. The University no longer has the records of these transactions, and in an attempt to rationalise the collections the Department of Anatomy buried a number of unidentified bones at the turn of the millennium (Dr Mike Raath, pers. Comm. 2003). There is no list of the bones Fourie held, only brief references to them and hints at what some of them were. They are the most elusive items in Fourie's archive (MMS40/69/ Box F/1919; 1923/2, 3 and 1924/5).

Although there are many references to the photographs and the artefacts collected and displayed by Fourie at his home in Windhoek there is very little in his papers which refers to the skeletal material. Two letters refer directly to skulls and bones. The first is from Victor Lebzelter in Vienna who wrote in March 1929 to tell Fourie that he had finished analysing all the skulls in Fourie's collection and that they are all, except for two, of "bushman" origin. He asks if Fourie has any information on the origins of those skulls and does not mention any of the groupings that Fourie studied, such as the Naron or the Hei-//om. We do not have Fourie's reply. From the wording of the letter it appears that Lebzelter measured the skulls while he was in Windhoek. Fourie seems to have been reluctant to send them away, either to Switzerland with the SAM bones, or to Vienna.

The second letter is from Hoernlé saying how glad she was that Fourie had donated his collection to the Medical School at Wits in 1936 (NNA/MA 21.6.36). In addition to the letters there are two brief references to the acts of exhuming and collecting the bones. In the

[102] The photograph is filed, unnumbered, with the Fourie papers at Museum Africa.

"Wellcome [sic] Photographic Exposure Record and Diary" for the year 1919, Fourie kept some details of his Sandfontein field trip. An entry for Monday 7 July reads: "Left Sfontein 10.15am to get 3 N[aron] skeletons. V. long walk to pan", and a further entry for Thursday 17 July reads: "Early for Lemcke. Exhumed 2 bodies" (MMS40/69/ BoxE/Item7). We cannot, of course, know whether he kept these for himself, or, in the second reference, whether they were necessarily Khoisan bodies.

Finally, Bob Fourie writes of an incident in Windhoek, when, as a practical joke, the rockery in the garden of one of Fourie's greatest friends was decorated with skulls from his collection.

> Eileen Drew produced a tiered rockery not unlike a wedding cake and looked forward to unveiling it at her next 'At home'. But she calculated without her Harry who knew that [Fourie] had accumulated a collection of Bushman skulls. He borrowed them and while the 'At home' was still in the tea and bun stage he stole into the garden and festooned the rockery with grinning skulls. In due course the guests were led into the garden to view what must have been the most bizarre rockery of all time (Fourie 1985:26).

This anecdote is given as part of an attempt to draw a brief portrait of the personality of Harry Drew, who was, by this account, a somewhat eccentric and larger-than-life figure. What makes his cavalier attitude to the skulls truly shocking is the fact that he was a magistrate and therefore a part time Native Commissioner. The degree of Fourie's complicity in the joke is unrecorded, but the fact that it was told as a family anecdote and retold in this light-hearted way says something about the amusement with which it was regarded by Fourie. It is most unlikely that the skulls of white settlers would have been treated in such a way.

In his inventory of Khoisan skeletons in institutional collections Morris does not mention Fourie, in relation to the collections at either UCT (where the South African Museum's collections were sent) or Wits (Morris 1987), and the records in the Department of Anatomy at Wits do not refer to this donation. The number of the bones and their present whereabouts, therefore, remains a mystery, a shadow on the edges of the collection, a silence. From the evidence given above we can assume that the majority of the bones were skulls, and that Fourie concentrated on Khoisan material, and particularly on the bones of those he defined as Bushmen.

Measuring the living

In 1919 Fourie measured and described a group of sixty Khoisan subjects with vigour and thoroughness. To make accurate measurements he needed to use specially designed instruments, a set of which were loaned to him by the South African Museum. The process of anthropometry was slow and painstaking and required great dedication. One contemporary writer declared that the only preparation for this work was to take the courses in anatomy, and

physiology offered as part of a medical degree, and that the practitioner would have to have a "large capacity for work" because of the enormous stamina it required (Hrdlicka 1920:37). Apart from Wilman's recommendation that he consult Duckworth,[103] there is no indication of the sources he used to inform this work. The science of anthropometry, or "the conventional art or system of measuring the human body and its parts" (Hrdlicka 1920:7) was already well developed by 1919. In 1912 an "International Agreement for the Unification of anthropometric measurements to be made on the living subject" had been drawn up (by W.L.H. Duckworth, who was one of the recorders at the convention) in Geneva, and detailed forty-nine places on the body to be measured. If Fourie did not consult that list, he would have consulted works that reflected very similar categories.

Following common practice, Shrubsall and Péringuey believed that the bones alone did not provide enough material upon which to base classifications of race. Details of other physical features, which could best be measured, or only be found upon living people, or copies of those living people, were required. In 1919 Péringuey underscored the desirability of this process, because of its importance in "fixing type" (Letter to Fourie MMS40/69,Box F/1919/7). Contemporary writers understood that most anthropologists would not use all the categories on the Geneva list, but would select those features he (and I use the gender advisedly) felt to be most appropriate to the group being studied (Hrdlicka 1920:60-2). One of the most important distinguishing features of the Khoisan was their short stature. Schapera called it "the most conspicuous feature", and his summary of the publications up to 1930 showed that: "Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty". Height was believed to be an important indicator of the "purist in type", and also as a way of distinguishing between Khoekhoe and San (Schapera 1930:51). Surprisingly, the tables made by Fourie contain no column for heights of his subjects. The reason for such an omission is impossible to guess. Other features considered to be important were small ears, head shapes and measurements, the proportions of the nose and the eyes, the size and shape of the lips, the shortness of the arms and legs in proportion to the trunk and the occurrence of steatopygia. The tables *do* include these categories.

In a handbook for anthropometrists written in 1920, Hrdlicka[104] gives samples of tables to be drawn up for the recording of measurements, in which he includes columns for skin colour, hair colour and consistency, facial colour and eye colour (1920:63-4). Fourie's tables of

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[103] I have only been able to locate Volumes 1 of 2 of Winfrid Laurence Henry Duckworth's *Morphology and Anthropology*, in which there is a description of primate morphology but nothing connected with human anthropometry.

[104] Hrdlicka was the Curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology at the United States National Museum.

measurements contain twenty-seven columns including (in the order given) ones for 'Vortex', 'Earhole', 'Chin', 'Shoulder', 'Sternal Notch', 'Elbow', 'Wrist', 'Mid Finger', 'Lymph Pubis', 'Gt Troch', 'Knee', 'Ankle', 'Foot', 'BiAcromia', 'Nasal Height', 'Nasal Br.', 'Orbito Nasal Curve', and, finally, 'Buttocks'. These descriptions do not match in all details the list given in the Geneva agreement, but cover many of the same areas. Of the twenty-seven columns at least seven are devoted to measurements related to the head.[105] The tables also record skin and eye colour and hair type for every subject, as well as detailed descriptions of their tattoos "and other marks". The table of measurements is so constructed that subjects numbers two to thirty-two are Naron (N), and the rest are ≠Ao-//ein (A), with the only anomaly being number one, Honib Gu-/gurib, who is listed as "A-N". Such an arrangement signifies that Fourie was seeking discernable differences in physical type between the two groups (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:72-73).

After this intense effort in 1919 Fourie did not make any more measurements. He planned an expedition to photograph and measure the Khoekhoe of the Protectorate, but, recognising that the latter was a particularly detailed and time-consuming task, Péringuey recommended that he employ two medical interns to do the work (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:3). He was never able to carry out this project, however. As the demands on his time as Medical Officer grew, he had less and less time to spend on this aspect of his avocation. He attempted to use the measurements of the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein to calculate indices, but did not get further than making some rough notes (MMS40/69/BoxB/File2:b; File5:i:3-4, y). At this period the most important part of the body to be measured was the head in order to establish cranial capacity (linked with intelligence) and head shape (used as an important marker of race); hence the emphasis on the collection of skulls. Two pages of calculations concentrate on the head and face, giving tables of "Head measurements" for "Naron Tribe - Males", "Naron Females", and the same for the ≠Ao-//ein. He compares "Cephalic Indices, "Facial Indices" and "Nasal Indices", and tries to arrive at percentages of people who were "Dolicocephalic", "Mesalicephalic [sic]" and "Brachycephalic". The third page is half finished and includes the measurements of the other parts of the body (MMS40/69/BoxB/2). Indices, arrived at by calculating ratios of the measurements of various body parts, were the important final step needed to compare anatomies of individuals and, when averaged out, of groups (Hrdlicka 1920: 149-53).

The "language and imagery of orthodox physical anatomy" objectifies the observed and heightens a sense of clinical detachment (Dubow 1995:31). It is all the more disturbing to

[105] These are "Earhole", "Chin", "Upper Facial Height", "Total Facial Height", "Nasal Height", "Nasal Br.", and "Orbito Nasal curve".

think that the discomfort and humiliation suffered by the "observed" (a term which conceals the reality of the power relations implicit in the activities of measuring the most intimate parts of the colonised body) did not contribute to science in any meaningful or lasting way:

> But this air of scientific competence may coexist with faulty premises and dubious assumptions, especially when the scientist's underlying purpose is to account for the inferiority or difference of the specimen under consideration (Dubow 1995:3).

It is interesting that, having measured the skulls in his collection Fourie, like Péringuey, should have asked Lebzelter to examine and measure them again, as though he was uncertain about his own expertise. The complexities of calculating the ratios, and the difficulties of measuring accurately made this "dubious science" too baffling for both of them.

The photographic collection

The science of anthropometry may have been a little baffling to Fourie but he embraced photography with enthusiasm. He had had some experience in the use of photography as a tool in his profession during his years in Britain, and shown a great aptitude for it. In an early reference he was lauded as an "excellent Photographer" (AM LFOU2.109. 1907 Dr Arthur Edmunds). He clearly had the confidence to carry the process into his avocation, and particularly into the physical anthropological element of his study of the Khoisan.

The Fourie Collection at Museum Africa now holds 385 individual images. The majority of the collection is the work of Fourie, but at least fifty-one images were made by others, including eleven by Guy Shortridge of the King William's Town Museum, fourteen by Roger Carr of Colenso, three by N.J.B. Chapman of rock paintings in Angola and at least nine by anonymous studio photographers, presumably in Windhoek.[106] The MMS received 220 glass negatives, which are still in the collection at Museum Africa, but there are 275 prints made from glass negatives, so breakages and losses occurred before 1969. Forty-five snapshots were taken on roll film of some sort, and there are a number of photos taken in other formats.

There may be 385 images, but there are many more physical manifestations of them scattered through the files in Museum Africa. In fact, a count of the photographic prints would be very difficult to make and the total would be considerably higher than this figure. Fourie kept more than one print of some of his negatives, he pasted duplicates of one group of prints into

[106] The relationship between Fourie and Shortridge has been discussed in Chapter 3, but that between Fourie and Carr remains a mystery. Carr appears to have been a professional photographer who may have sold these images in postcard form in Colenso in Natal (evidence of a widespread fascination with the Khoisan). The studio photographs from South West Africa would have been available for sale to the public in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Rassool and Hayes 1997)

an album,[107] and duplicated some of the sepia copies in black and white. For its major exhibition on the Khoisan the MMS made enlargements from some of the glass negatives for display and for publication purposes, and these have been incorporated into the collection. In addition it was routine at Museum Africa at the time when this collection was received to make two or three sets of prints from glass negatives and then to re-photograph the prints, creating new negatives. One set of Fourie's original prints was filed separately from the body of the Museum's photographic collection in the order given on Fourie's list of negatives, and was labeled "Fourie Collection". Of the Museum's copies one set was classified by subject (e.g. costume, dancing, homesteads, etc.) and one was classified by 'tribe', either under the blanket title 'Bushmen', or specifically, (for example Hei-//om). Celluloid negatives were filed separately according to the classification by subject and glass negatives are now kept (in numerical order) at the Bensusan Museum of the History of Photography (a branch of Museum Africa).

Policy concerning the management of photographs at the Africana Museum at the time it received the collection meant that the content of the images was viewed independently of their material components. Like books in a library, these pictures were understood to offer information that could be used for a variety of purposes. The negatives and the prints were not granted the status of artefacts, which in themselves might hold information or knowledge.[108] In this scenario Fourie's interventions and the choices he made when he improved and developed the negatives were not understood to have an effect on the meaning of the prints. The Fourie photographic collection, therefore, must be seen to encompass a number of elements which would have been deemed to be 'foreign' to the 'original' set if it had been a collection paintings or artefacts, and the researcher is required to scratch below the surface to fully contextualise the prints. It is also necessary to be aware that there has been movement both in and out of the group in question, and that the physical collection is not the same as it would appear to be from the records.

Fourie numbered his glass negatives, wrote headings and dates on many of the envelopes holding the glass negatives, and made lists of his glass negatives (MMS40/69/BoxC/File2:1 and BoxE/Item7). The MMS subsequently amalgamated Fourie's lists with details of the photographs in the collection that were made from celluloid negatives, or were made by other photographers. The resulting index was initially kept separate from the photographs

[107] This has now been dismantled and the pages dispersed to be filed according to Museum Africa's classification system.

[108] This approach changed in the early 1990s, since when Fourie's original prints and the glass negatives are being preserved as a collection in themselves, although they are stored in two separate areas for conservation purposes.

themselves and filed with the Fourie papers. Museum practice, by foregrounding form and content, thus scattered the collection. The finding aids to help researchers to draw it back together again were, for the most part, in the memories and experiences of the staff. This system obscured the information that could be gained by comparing prints with negatives, for example, or reading the different headings given by Fourie and the museums. These activities hold the potential to heighten encounters with the materiality of the photographs that are integral to "phenomenological engagement" with, and "structuring of[,] visual knowledge" (Edwards 2001:16). In examining the shape and texture of the collection of photographs, and seeking the traces of the bones, this chapter goes some way toward performing that task.

Fourie's lists provide dates for 217 pictures and identities of groups and individuals in 176 photographs.[109] The greater part of the 220 glass negatives was made during three specific periods in four areas. Ninety plates were made in Sandfontein during the field trip of 1919, seventy-six plates at Epukiro in 1922 and fifty-four pictures in Ovamboland and at Etosha in 1927. Each group differs from the next in a number of ways, showing a progression in skill and a changing of emphasis as time goes on. The subjects of the first group were Naron and ≠Ao-//ein; the subjects for the 1922 pictures were all from one group of ≠Ao-//ein; and the third group shows people of Hei-//om descent, such as the Wakeddi and the Ovagongola (or Hahu).

In 238 images it is evident from their composition that they were made to satisfy physical anthropological interests. They form a significant portion (amounting to sixty-two per cent of the total) of the collection. The next largest group of images, of which there are 88 (twenty-two per cent of 385) deals with material culture and technology in some way, and after that there are twenty-six images each of dwellings and dancing (six per cent each).[110] Following these statistics the analysis of the photographs given below covers the two largest categories: physical anthropology and material culture, and then touches on the others in a more general section.

The photographs continue to contribute to the making and dissemination of knowledge about the Khoisan, for they have been the most heavily used part of the Fourie Collection at Museum Africa where visitors refer to them for research, commercial and exhibition purposes. Like the artefacts the photographs are all classified at 572 (ethnography in a modified Dewey system) where they share the shelves with pictures of the Bantu-speakers in South Africa. Arranged first by tribe and then by subject for ease of access most of them

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109 See Appendices 3, 4 and 5 for details of these statistics.
110 See Appendix 5.

have been classified at '572:00 - Bushmen', and then divided again into categories such as 'Dress', 'Types', 'Dancing', and 'Homesteads'. The headings reflect the standard categories used to classify artefacts in many South African Museums, and are based on an anthropologising of the Khoisan that made them timeless and culturally unchanging. These curatorial interventions are based on evidence both internal and external to the images, but the language and the concepts used conform to the ways in which the public sought information. In the late 1970s and 1980s researchers who requested these images employed the same, or similar, classificatory language because they came to the collection mainly to find pictorial support for their projects. Some researchers came to find images they had already seen in publications, and others wanted images to support written descriptions of the Khoisan that, for the most part, adhered to the current paradigms of the day. It was (and still is) rare to find anthropological writers who question photographs as they would written sources of knowledge.[111] Museum practice thus reinforced the recursive pattern and made certain that the collection continued to play an important role in ensuring that researchers and the museum did not stray too far from the paradigms which shaped anthropological knowledge over the past forty decades.

Ethnography and photography

The technology of photography and the discipline of anthropology arose in the west at almost exactly the same moment, and almost immediately the latter assimilated the former in a manner so seamless that questions are only now, over 150 years on, being raised about the process. In the mid-nineteenth century cameras were created for use in the field so that the world outside Europe could be documented and brought 'home' (Banta and Hinsley 1986:19). Christopher Pinney, in his article: "The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography", goes so far as to say that both photography and ethnography derive their representational power through nearly identical semiotic procedures (Pinney 1993:74). They held in common the notion that photographs and ethnographies stood as metonyms for their subjects, a point that was particularly noticeable in the quest to save for posterity cultures and people whose deaths were often being caused by the very scholars who were trying to preserve them (Poignant 1992:63, Sekula 1982).

[111] Robert Papini describes similar researchers at the Local History Museum in Durban (2000:190). There has been little research into the ways in which museum classification systems both shape and are shaped by the ways in which non-museologist public and academic researchers request information with regard to ethnography. Such classification systems must surely have played an important role in the utilisation of material held in museums, archives and libraries and thus in the writing of history and the shaping of identities.

In 1854 the British Association for the Advancement of Science (the BAAS) published a *Manual of Ethnological Inquiry* in which the compiler remarked on the utility of the photographic process for making a record so that data on dying races would be retrievable (Spencer 1992:99). Described as the 'meta-tool of evolutionary anthropology' *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (referred to from here on as *Notes and Queries)*, the successor to the *Manual,* was first published in 1874:

> [T]o promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers, and to enable those who are not anthropologists ... to supply the information ... for the scientific study of anthropology at home (*Notes and Queries* 1874:iv quoted in Tomas 1991:87).

The amateur anthropologist continued to be its target right through until the last reprint of the sixth edition in 1960,[112] by which time the British Empire was well into the process of disbandment, and the native commissioners and other appurtenances of the colonial regime no longer commanded a privileged position 'in the field'. In the first edition Tylor, a prime mover behind this publication, wrote in the foreword that: 'the science of anthropology owes not a little to the art of photography' (1876:184, quoted in Poignant 1992:55). He also said that he had intended to publish a section on photography in the first edition but it was not ready in time. No such section appeared in the next three editions, although readers were urged to devote as much time as possible to taking photographs: "... for by these means the traveller is dealing with facts about which there can be no question, and the record thus obtained may be elucidated by subsequent inquirers. ..." (*Notes and Queries* 1899:87).

The first edition to carry a section devoted to photography was the fifth, published in 1929. This appeared too late for Fourie, whose most active period in this regard was between 1919 and 1927. In the early years he would have benefited from some of the advice given in this edition - for example, he sometimes neglected to "avoid, too, much detailless [sic] foreground, with the shadow of the photographer prominently displayed therein" (*Notes and Queries* 1929:375). His shadow appeared in three of his earlier pictures, and some contained a great deal of "detailless foreground". Interestingly, as I show below, those empty spaces add layers of meaning to the images (this chapter: "Fourie's photographs and history").

In the fifth edition of *Notes and Queries* the sub-section on photography in the section entitled: 'Photography and Collection of Specimens' includes technical advice on such things as choice of camera, 'Methods of Taking Pictures', 'Portraits', and 'Suggested Minimum Equipment'. Other sub-sections deal with: 'Kinematography'; 'General Note on the

[112] There is some confusion in the literature over the numbering of the editions with some writers describing the fourth and fifth editions as the fifth and sixth. The sequence is as follows:- 1st ed. - 1874; 2nd ed. - 1892; 3rd ed. - 1899; 4th ed. - 1912; 5th ed. - 1929; and 6th ed. - 1951 reprinted in 1960.

Collection of Specimens' (the collection of the 'natural objects and materials utilized, and the artificial appliances'); 'Human Remains'; and 'Preservation of Bones' (*Notes and Queries* 1929:371-390). Photography was seen as a part of the process of bringing or sending home representations of other bodies and cultures.

While *Notes and Queries* proclaimed the importance of photography in the gathering of ethnographic facts, it is difficult to discover how the relationship between photography and anthropological fieldwork was perceived, or how the use of these images was envisioned. In 1906 a committee of the BAAS initiated a project systematically to register, catalogue and preserve all photographs of anthropological interest. They saw photographs as isolated ethnographic 'facts' which could be stored in an archive to be used one day to reconstruct people and their cultures. After two years they confined themselves to listing sources of photographs (such as missionary societies) because the task had become impossibly large. By 1910 the scheme was abandoned and the accumulated photographs were handed to the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI). From about this time, centres to study anthropology were being set up in universities and museums in the colonies and these outlying institutions began to take over the task of preserving the information being gathered in the field (Poignant 1992:63-64).

In the early 1900s academics began to question the use of photography as a tool in their research because of its association with travellers' tales, documentaries and photojournalism, in which sensationalism and outright deception were to be found. By 1910-11 Radcliffe-Brown was able to do field work in Australia without using a camera at all and to publish his work unsupported by photographs (Poignant 1992:64).[113] By the middle of the twentieth century photography was seen as something of a bit player in social and cultural anthropology. The camera was described as a useful aid in the gathering of raw material for later interpretation. Photographs were used to set the scene and show the anthropologist and his subjects in their surroundings but the images were not presented as 'evidence', or expanded upon in publications and neither the images nor the processes involved in making them were critically analysed.

Many anthropologists both professional (particularly professionals in museums) and amateur continued to use photography as a basic tool in field work (indeed, many do so today), even though they did not view the images as 'evidence'. Malinowski, for example, used photographs in his publications to establish his presence in the Trobriands, to set the scene and to illustrate some aspects of material culture. He later regretted that he had not used

[113] Poignant has shown that part of the reason for this was that most of his informants were prisoners and that the setting was not particularly photogenic (1992:64).

photography enough, saying that (like his contemporaries) he had 'put photography on the same level as collecting curios' and listed occasions when photographs would have been useful aids as he was writing up his material (Malinowski 1966:461 quoted in Poignant 1992:65). Over the next few decades many anthropologists continued to use photographs, in this way, providing 'a visual dimension' to the field notes and to the 'presentational frame' (Poignant 1992:65).

The place of photography in the archive, and particularly the historical anthropological archive, began to receive attention in the 1980s. The study of photographs originally created to perform an anthropological function is now a rapidly growing field that draws on the work of African historians and art historians to create a discourse which, for the most part, is based on the analysis of images from archives of historic anthropological photographs (Edwards 1992:3-4). Christraud Geary published some of the first studies of photographs as part of African history, in which she explored the possibilities of using photographs as primary sources (Geary and Njoya 1985; Geary: 1986 and 1988). She was able to draw upon the work of art historians who had recently begun to apply semiotics to the 'reading' of photographs (Burgin 1982, and Sekula 1982). After 1985 two streams of work developed: the first used photographs as evidentiary materials or as sources for African history, visual history or ethnography. The other stream looked at the "practices of representation and examine[d] it as part and parcel of the colonial situations" (Geary 2000:49).[114] This chapter combines elements of both approaches to try to show how the 'practices of representation' shaped the production of the photographs and impact upon the interpretation of those 'evidentiary materials', and thus to tease out new and more nuanced histories from Fourie's photographs.

Physical anthropology and photography

From the1870s until the early 1920s the basic assumptions in the evolutionary paradigm of anthropology included: that there was a physiognomic code to be read; that the skill involved in the reading could equally be applied to photographs and real bodies and faces; that photographs could stand as the 'real' thing; that this was a scientific procedure, a conclusion confirmed by the quasi-mechanical processes of photography (including vices to hold a sitter's head still, or using a backdrop of measured squares); and that portraits were "ready-made constituents of a scientific narrative waiting to be pieced together" (Poignant 1992:57).

[114] Examples of this stream are studies by anthropologists such as Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Pinney who used methodologies from both history and art history to examine the work of photographers in the Andaman Islands in the late nineteenth century (Edwards 1993, Pinney 1993).

Notes and Queries does not contain instructions on how to make photographs for physical anthropological studies, and there are no references to published works that Fourie may have consulted for guidance. There is, however, a long letter from Péringuey giving very specific advice on this topic:

> ... but measurements and photographs would go a long way to help fixing the type. Could you help in this direction, not only by measurements but also by photographs? The full-faced reproduction of a Hottentot or a Bush is misleading, owing to the prominence of the cheek-bone counterbalancing the flatness of the nose, and helping to exaggerate the broadness and projection of the lips. A photo should therefore be full-face, three quarter and absolute profile. Moreover it is possible if taken at the same angle to arrive at a typical face. If you could obtain a good series of photographs of the Hottentots (and of course also the Bush) you would do very useful work. These plates could be enlarged to a uniform size. The people should be taken in the nude and care taken that the eye be natural, i.e. no blinking in the sun. The Bush and Hottentot is unique. I am sending 3 such enlargements for reproduction which kindly return. It is a Bush girl, unfortunately blinking.
>
> Care should be taken that the feet which are very small be not exaggerated in the photo, although this might be slightly corrected in the enlargement. I think I could defray cost of plates and so on, and perhaps loan our camera (MMS40/69/Box F/1919:7).

These injunctions cover the picturing of heads, or head and shoulders (both of which I describe as portraits) and of full bodies, with portraits appearing to be the most important. Fourie received this letter *after* his first field trip in 1919, and it is interesting to see that he took no portraits (in the sense of head and shoulders) at that time, but came back from another trip in 1922 with nothing but portraits. Photographs from his 1927 trip show mostly full-length shots of people in groups. He certainly did not slavishly follow instructions.

Péringuey did not favour group photographs which he considered difficult to read, and were not favoured for the purposes of anatomical analysis. Vide

> Groups should be avoided as far as possible, they are no substitutes for single photographs, and are apt to be wooden and not to show features properly, they should be limited, as far as possible to groups doing something or showing natural posture (MMSp10/69/1-5).

There are, nevertheless, several group shots in the Fourie Collection, many of them showing the subjects seated or crouched in front and a row standing behind them. The postures of those who are seated could be called 'traditional', even though they are in an artificially arranged group. Given the parlous state of the family's finances (and Péringuey's reference to defraying the cost of plates infers that this was an important consideration), it is very possible that Fourie tried to get as much detail as possible into one picture, saving on the costs of glass negatives and developing. His group shots, therefore, would contain information on anatomy, costume, ornaments, posture, and methods of carrying babies or bows and arrows.

Photography in Khoisan studies up to 1930

There is a long history of capturing the Khoisan in images. It begins well before the seventeenth century, with paintings and engravings and continues through a range of artistic renderings, such as the lithographs of Samuel Daniell, to photographs which, in the dizzying changes of Victorian times, were made in order to preserve a record of the people and to allow the people back 'home' to see for themselves. This was the time when "Picturing was part of the Victorian drive to classify the world" and popular photography bore a complex relationship to colonial conquest" (Landau 1996:131).

From the 1880s onward the Khoisan were frequently linked with wild animals, in ways which were more or less derogatory, hence the easy equation of cameras with firearms. "Guns and cameras turned emblems of the wild over to urban consumers" (Landau 1996:133). The picturing of the Khoisan placed them in a conservationist discourse, as part of the flora and fauna of Africa's wilder places, and removed them from the historical discourse in which they played the roles of "predatory bandits" or dangerous savages. Thus, many photographs of Khoisan people delimit them as zoological specimens, making their bodies available for detailed examination for comparative purposes by scientists and other 'hunters'. This convention was so 'naturalised' that it was accepted without question or comment for almost a century (Landau 1996:136-7).[115]

Fourie could not have been unaware of this long tradition. His own collection includes a small number of works probably taken at the turn of the century (MMSp10/69/293-306).[116] I discuss below how his work differs from these images in some ways, but this *oeuvre* can be seen to be part of a continuum that extends through the images made by J. Drury for the South African Museum to the photographs taken for the University of the Witwatersrand's Kalahari Expedition in the 1930s. This is particularly the case with the anthropometric images and more specifically the nude, or almost nude, shots (Davison 1991:7; Dart 1937).

During the 1920s Fourie was one of numerous photographers who "shot" the Khoisan for a wide range of audiences. The South African Museum's expeditions to Sandfontein resulted in a number of photographs that were very similar in subject matter and substance to those of Fourie. Dorothea Bleek directed Dornan in the taking of some of these, and took quite a number herself as part of her research into the culture of the Naron of the area

[115] Bleek (1928a); Dart (1937); Dornan (1975); Dunn (1931); and Schapera (1930) all included such images in their publications.

[116] Similar images dated to this period are described in Sobania's article on stereoscopic photographs from Namibia (2000:221). See also Hayes *et al* 1998:9 Footnote 8.

(MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:2, 7, 8; 1921:2, 3).[117] In 1925 Dornan published in his misleadingly titled book: *Pygmies & Bushmen of the Kalahari*, thirty-one photographs which had been taken by "A.M. Cronin, Miss Black and Smart & Copley".[118] No details of these photographers are given, but Miss Black and A.M. Cronin are listed as having taken a group of four photographs together, so presumably they were working together. The name "Black" is very close to "Bleek" - it would be interesting to investigate the identity of this photographer. Similarly Schapera's *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* contains photographs taken by a range of photographers, including Fourie, L. Schultze and the same A.M. Cronin.

Before 1997 when Gordon wrote his study of the work of the Denver African Expedition, so little had been published on the subject that he was led to comment that photographers in South West Africa in the 1920s produced little more than townscapes and family portraits of "bourgeois gentility", although "occasionally a postcard of an essentialized exotic 'other' would appear" (Gordon 1997:2-3). He does not refer to the considerable *oeuvres* of Fourie, Hahn, the South African Museum, and Bleek, probably because he was one of the first to publish in this field. In 1996 three articles appeared in *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* that contained information on photographs of the Khoisan taken in the Territory in first half of the twentieth century (Buntman, Godby and Landau 1996), but it is likely that the book was in print at the time Gordon was writing. The following year the important study: *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* was published (Hartmann, Silvester and Hayes 1998), and since then there have been numerous others.[119]

The camera

Fourie decided very early in his studies of the Khoisan that modern technology was essential in the recording of information. His correspondence is peppered with references to photography, cinematography, and the making of sound recordings.[120] The colonists in South

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[117] By 1920 Bleek was already an experienced photographer. Twenty-four of her pictures of the Khoisan of the Northern Cape, taken in 1910 and 1911, were published in *Bantu Studies* in 1936 (p200).

[118] A.M. Cronin is most likely A.M. Duggan-Cronin a large collection of whose photographs is now held in the Duggan-Cronin Gallery of the McGregor Museum in Kimberley. The frontispiece: "Herero with Ovambo Bow and Kerrie" is a pastiche of costume and weapons (the front apron and the hat, for example, appear to be of Tswana origin).

[119] See for example Godby (2000), Hayes (1998 and 2000), Klinghardt (2000), Miescher and Rizzo (2000), Sobania (2000) and Wanless (2000).

[120] See for example, correspondence in MMS40/69 Box F:- 1919:7; 1920:(23.10), (8.11), (23.11); 1921:(21.4), No.5; 1925:2, 3,4, 5, 9, 10; 1926:2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11; and in 40/69 Box G: 1928:7, 10, 14, 15; 1929: 4, 7, 8, 9, 10; 1930: 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. He advocated the use of the ediphone for recording music and language, and encouraged the use of cinematography by the South African Museum.

West Africa at that time were very proud of the ways in which they kept up with the latest developments in technology, being quick, for example to make use of such modern inventions as the motor car (Gordon 1996:101-2). Fourie was no exception. His 'scientific' approach to photography prompted him to keep detailed notes on technical matters, giving details of date, time, exposure and focal length (MMS40/69/Box E/Item7).[121]

A Zeiss Ica Field Camera with a double extension and a Zeiss lens went to the African Museum as a part of the Fourie Collection and initially they presumed it to have been used by Fourie. This assumption, however, is problematic.[122] The greater part of the glass negatives in the collection was made in 1919 and 1922 and although the Ica company was founded in 1909 it only amalgamated with Zeiss in 1926 so that this camera could not have been used to make those images. The Zeiss lens is dated to 1938 and was a later addition, replacing the original lens. Advertisements in the *British Journal Photographic Almanac* for 1920 show that an Ica Double Extension Camera cost between £9.10s and £13.15s, and hand held roll film cameras ranged from £5.10s to £9.5s. Given the parlous state of the Fouries' finances in their early years in the Protectorate it is likely that he could not initially afford to buy his own camera, and it is possible that the earlier work was done with a camera loaned to him by the South African Museum (See MMS40/69/BoxF/1919:7). In his little photographic notebook Fourie filled in the section "PERSONAL NOTES": "Camera No.: Ica" and "Lens No.: 180226 Zeiss Tessar 1:4.5 F=18cm" (MMS40/69-Box E/Item 6:133). The camera, like the one that came to the Museum, was probably made for use in the field, being lighter and more manoeuvrable than larger, more cumbersome, studio cameras.

The process of making photographs with this equipment was neither quick nor easy. The glass negatives (5.2 x 7.2 inches) were stored in twos back to back in wooden cases which were inserted directly into the back of the camera and had to be turned or changed after every exposure. Focusing was done by adjusting the pleated leather bag and the image was seen upside down on a frosted glass plate at the back of the camera when it was in a dark space (usually created by covering it with a black cloth).[123] Once the negative had been exposed it

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121 His *Wellcome Photographic Exposure Record and Diary - 1919* contains this information but was used during two major field trips and consequently there is some uncertainty about the photos to which these details refer (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item7).

122 Since the glass plates are not all dated it is impossible to say when Fourie stopped using this kind of camera. A large number of his photographs and negatives were part of the 2001 donation to the Adler Museum of Medicine; the majority of them were made on 35mm film. Some of these are dated to the years immediately following his departure from Namibia, and prior to the date given for the Zeiss lens which is in the Museum (1938). Fourie returned to Namibia in the 1930s to assist with plague control, and may have made some glass negatives of Khoisan then.

123 Even as late as 1960 a reprint of the sixth edition of *Notes and Querie* advised its readers:

> ... but if the camera is one with which focusing is done on a ground-glass screen with the aid of a dark cloth, great care must be exercised in using it among people unaccustomed to photography. The manipulations under the dark cloth may suggest black magic, with

was kept in its case until it could be developed, which could be done some time afterward. If the subjects of the photographs were in strong sunlight the exposure time would not be more than a few seconds, but they would have to wait while the photographer focused the lens, which may have taken more time.[124]

If Fourie made notes on the processes of posing his subjects they have not survived, and so we can only speculate on the relationship he developed with them in order to induce them to spend time sitting in the sun waiting for him to prepare his equipment. Saul was employed by Donald Bain in 1936 "solely for interpreting and using his influence in persuading the bushmen for the purpose desired by the visiting party", and probably performed a similar function for Fourie. The journals for the two field trips show that Fourie hunted almost every day, and since he himself would not have been able to consume all the animals he killed it is safe to assume that he was giving meat to the Khoisan among whom he was working (MMS40/69/Box E/Item 23:1-17).[125] This practice was common in South West Africa at that time. In 1925/6 the Denver expedition, for example, used tobacco, sweets and a continuing supply of fresh meat to entice a large gathering of Hei-//om to stay in their camp to be photographed and filmed. In addition, according to Cadle, they were paying each member of the group a sum of money.[126]

The relationship between the photographer and his Khoisan subjects is difficult to read from the images they jointly produced. The women posing in the group photographs, for example, often seem rigid and uncomfortable, partly explained by the fact that they are looking into the sun and consequently many of them are scowling. Photo 10/69/2 provides an interesting exception with two women smiling and many of the others looking quite relaxed.[127] It is one of the few pictures in the collection in which the subjects are smiling. However, in numbers 10/69/3 and 4 those same women with their karosses discarded in little heaps behind them seem less inclined to humour. The same differences can be observed in the faces and stances of the Naron women pictured first fully clothed and then half clothed (MMSp10/69/6, 7).

> disastrous results, and if, as will certainly happen, onlookers wish to look in the focusing screen, they will probably be frightened by seeing people and objects upside down (1951:354).

There is no evidence that any Khoisan asked, or was invited, to look under the black cloth when Fourie was working, and the problems indicated above do not seem to have arisen.

[124] I am grateful to Diana Wall, Curator of the Bensusan Museum of Photography for this technical information.

[125] If he did not kill one large antelope, such as a kudu, then he generally killed two smaller ones, such as a steenbok.

[126] Gordon 1997: 45. See also MMS40/69/BoxF/1925:10 - in which Cadle wrote to Fourie: "We have been feeding a crowd of 117 Bushmen at the Pan (on mealie meal, sugar, tea etc, according to instructions). In addition we have to pay them so much for each man, woman and child. I think in arranging for another bunch of Bushmen it would be better to have only about say twenty or thereabouts".

[127] See Appendix 1, page 11.

Fourie's desire to create a scientific document may well have led him to try to eliminate any evidence of his subjects' personalities, and anthropological conventions would preclude the recording of a relationship between himself and the subjects of his study.

The first and most striking feature of the glass negatives is their astounding clarity and their excellent condition. Almost all of them have survived the vicissitudes of many moves, and very few have sustained any damage. Geary speaks of the element of chance and of 'archival bias' in the consideration of the availability of images, and this is particularly relevant to the survival of glass negatives which, as they get older become brittle and need to be stored with great care (Geary 1986:89-91). Fourie numbered his negatives and stored them systematically in envelopes in cardboard boxes. Reference to his list of photographs shows that all but two of the negatives have survived.

Hand-held cameras had been available since the introduction of the Kodak box-camera in 1888/89, but the roll film available was not adequate to achieve fine definition in the conditions under which Fourie was working in the early years (Killingray and Roberts 1989:198). Leica and Rolleiflex brought out hand-held cameras (the forerunners to the single lens reflex camera) and improved the roll film in the late 1920s, and it is likely, taking into account the size of the prints and the informality of the settings, that a series of poor quality 'snapshots' in the collection were made with such a camera (MMSp10/49/ 275, 276, 281-287, 318-323, 325, 333-341, 345-368). Some of the same subjects can be seen in the glass negatives, and it would seem that Fourie used both kinds of cameras in 1926 and 1927. Although the glass negatives taken by Fourie show considerable skill, the snapshots do not show the same degree of expertise, often being under or overexposed, possibly because he was unfamiliar with the camera.

The discrepancy in quality between the snapshots and the large format photographs may also be attributed to the fact that the images for the latter required a certain amount of staging and formal organisation, whereas the former were more immediate and spontaneous acts of recording. Fourie's ability to direct the performance of making the images with box cameras grew as time went on. When confronted with the busyness of real life he was less comfortable, and less sure of what he wanted his camera to say, and possibly of how to make it say it.

Pictures of bodies

Conventions of measuring and picturing bodies emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century when the triptych method of photographing front, three-quarter and side views was devised to offer the maximum amount of information. In 1870 the seventeenth edition of

Lavater's science of physiognomy, which posited direct correspondences between appearance and 'inner constitution', was published. Faces in particular were believed to hold information which could be read by a reader equipped with the appropriate skills (Poignant 1992:57).

One hundred and forty of the glass negatives and a further sixty prints in the collection show individuals and groups of people posed in such a way that anthropometric study is possible. There are certain signifiers that indicate that the *intention* of the photographer was to create an image that would supply the information required to make an analysis of the body or face of the subject. There are several examples of groups of multilateral views, sets of two or three views of the same person standing with their arms beside them or held at an angle so as not to obscure a profile view of the torso (Poignant 1992; Godby 1996:117, 119).[128] It is not always clear, however, that Fourie's motivation for taking these pictures was anatomical. The captions for the photographs often focus the viewer's attention on aspects other than the anatomies of the subjects, in spite of the fact that they are standing in the prescribed poses. The captions and the images, therefore, need to be read with caution. Until the collection entered the Museum, the captions for the photographs were changeable. Some of Fourie's photographs published by Schapera, for example, have different titles from those in Fourie's list. The frontispiece entitled: "Auen Bushman: Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows", for example, was captioned in Fourie's list as: "Damnop - D[ark] B[rown]: ≠Ao-//ein. Epukiro, S.W.A.", and was published in his 1928 article under the title: "/nu-//ein Bushman, Gobabis".

In 1919 Fourie made thirty-one photographs that could be termed anatomical (MMSp10/69/1-10, 39-45, 47-56, 93-95), although seven of these are group photos, which, as we have seen, served multiple other purposes (MMSp10/69/1-7). He carefully recorded the names of many of his subjects, but none of the names tally with the list of the people he measured. One has to speculate here that each method was considered to stand on its own as a record of the physical features of the Khoisan. Working alone Fourie managed to accumulate an impressive body of photographs, measurements and field notes, but the short time and the lack of assistance may explain this discrepancy.

The seven photographs showing groups of ≠Ao-//ein women and children covering a wide range of ages and sizes, are captioned: '≠Ao-//ein [or Naron] women full dress' and '≠Ao-//ein [or Naron] women ordinary garb' (MMSp10/69/1-5).[129] The women in these photographs were posed to give profile views and front and three quarter views, and the

[128] See, for example, Appendix 1, page 19.
[129] See Appendix 1, page 11.

'ordinary garb' entails the removal of the karosses so that more of the body can be seen. It is quite possible that the photographs were meant to serve two purposes: recording in one image a variety of heights and physical types as well as styles of dress and ornaments. Fourie probably intended these images for multiple purposes, and expected the viewer to make multiple readings.

Almost all of the thirty-one studies made in 1919 are full-length depictions. There are eighteen images of seven individual subjects, showing different combinations of front, three-quarter, side and back views; a set of four views of two women standing side by side; and seven shots of large groups of women. The entire group of pictures from this trip contains pictures of only one man, a group of three views of the upper body of Eisib, seated. The frontal view is, presumably accidentally, a double exposure with the faint trace of the back view of a headless, naked female figure appearing as a palimpsest on the man's torso and a grassy background patterning his arms (MMSp10/69/93-95). This is the only series of full-length studies of individuals made by Fourie. After this his full-length shots are all of groups and the individual images of heads, or heads and shoulders.

The individual portraits in this group show women, standing stiff and uneasy, facing the midday sun to show their faces and bodies in full light. Fourie measured almost equal numbers of ≠Ao-//ein and Naron adults in an attempt to create a basis for the comparative study of their anatomies, but the photographs do not follow quite the same pattern. The majority of images of individual subjects are Naron, with only one trilateral set of a ≠Ao-//ein woman, Di-!kho. There is, however a series of four shots of two women dressed only in their under aprons standing side-by-side, "≠Ge-gu (Auin) and Anios (Naron)", to compare their bodies, both of which exhibit steatopygia. Anios is also pictured alone in a front and side view taken two weeks before the comparative set (MMSp10/69/8-9; 47-50; 53-56).[130] If nothing else this indicates that the two groups were living in such close proximity that the making of comparative photographs and measurements did not entail travelling to separate locations.

One of the physical features anthropologists emphasised in their studies was the accumulation of fat on the buttocks and thighs known as steatopygia and steatomeria. The subjects of the individual physical anthropological studies made in 1919 show varying degrees of the former, but very little of the latter. The side view of /U-//aes, for example, highlights her buttocks quite clearly (MMSp10/69/45). The glass negative of the side view of Anios has been doctored to eliminate the busyness of the group of women standing behind her. On the print the red ink painted on to the negative creates the effect of a white halo around the woman's

[130] See Appendix 1, page 17.

stomach and buttocks.[131] In the next photograph, a side view of a 'Naron maiden', the entire background from the level of her knees upward, is blocked out by means of a screen cut out of an old photographic print and stuck onto the back of the negative. She shows only a slight degree of steatopygia. There are no hints to tell us how Fourie selected his models. There is only one other side view which shows steatopygia: Di-!kho (MMSp10/69/55) and apart from the measurements of the buttocks of the fifty-seven subjects (both men and women), the notes contain no mention of these physical features.

At first glance five photographs, although headed: "Woman showing tattoo on thigh …", "Tattooing-thigh (cicatrisation) Auin" and "Tattooing-buttock (MMSp10/69/39-41, 165-7), could be construed to show steatopygia and steatomaria. Although the tattoos are notable, the focus is quite clearly on the thighs and buttocks, to the extent that numbers 165-7 show only those parts of the body, in side, three-quarter and back views. There are many portraits that show facial scarification, but this is not pointed out in the captions. Fourie was particularly interested in the cultural significance of tattooing and in his notes there are many references to the practice among both men and women. He notes, for example, that it is closely linked with initiation and puberty ceremonies, and with rituals connected with the first hunt (MMS40/69/BoxA/2:d, 40/69/BoxE/23:27-28, 41-42, 45, 54, 65, 69, 73-4, 82, 98, 107, 116-117, 127). The majority of the references in the field notes are to scarification on men, but he chose to picture it only on women. In addition it is notable that he chose to picture only some parts of the anatomy when his notes indicate that scarification was also done on many other parts of the body, such as the face, arms and chest. In a notable departure from the traditions of anthropometric photography Fourie consciously filled these images with layers of meaning that now require multiple readings.

Although anthropologists considered certain features of Khoisan genitalia to be unique and important markers of racial identity there are only two sets of photographs taken by Fourie in which these features are pictured, and one of them has been censored. The censored image is one of four of a woman in Sandfontein, taken in 1919, and the second set is a triptych of an anonymous man standing naked in a suburban garden. A full frontal view of /U-//aes, the wife of Hartebeest (or Kukurib), shows her wearing only an elaborate front apron, which was removed and can be seen lying at her feet in the following frontal, three-quarter and side views. These show her naked except for several strings of ostrich egg shell beads around her hips and ornaments on her arms, legs and neck and in her hair. Her genitalia are clearly visible in the glass negative of the naked frontal view, in which her legs are slightly apart, but this section of the negative has been painted over with red ink, and in the prints it is obscured by what appears to be a deep shadow. It is not clear when or by whom the shading was done.

[131] See Appendix 1, page 7.

Similar red ink was used to touch up white spots on many of the negatives that suffered from damage due to ageing, which could have been done by Fourie when he was asked to give copies to be displayed at South Africa House in London, or by the University of the Witwatersrand, or even by the MMS (MMSp10/ 69/42-45).[132]

/U-//aes's husband, Hartebeest, was headman of one of the groups in the Sandfontein area. He was an important informant for Fourie who pictured him in a long series of photographs depicting the making of rope and later sent the couple items of clothing and some beads (MMSp10/60/23-38). The abundance of ostrich eggshell beads she wears is a sign of status. This special relationship and status may go some way to explain why /U-//aes permitted Fourie to make such intimate photographs of her, when, possibly, nobody else was willing. She looks uncomfortable and a little defiant in the first of the images as she stands holding her long stick (an unusual accoutrement in such photos, and which appears in only one other set of the anthropometric studies) (MMSp10/69/39-40). Given the history of the Khoisan in the Protectorate, and Fourie's position as an official within the Administration, it is feasible to imagine that he could have exercised his power and coerced this woman into posing for him. Perhaps, though, this is too simplistic a reading. Fourie was alone in a place very far from the Administrative infrastructure, (admittedly armed with a gun and accompanied by a policeman), relying on interpreters to convey his wishes to his subjects. /U-//aes was the wife of the headman and her demeanour does not suggest timidity or submissiveness. It is frustrating that the subtleties of the relationship between subject and photographer can only be guessed at.

The man standing in a garden, facing the sun and with a house in the background, is pictured from the front, side and at an angle (MMSp10/69/271-273).[133] His pose is stiff and unnatural, with his arms held at his sides, and he is frowning, possibly trying to avoid the blinking which Péringuey warned would obscure the particular eye fold characteristic of the Khoisan. There is no caption to this image and there are no hints of the circumstances of this encounter. The juxtaposition of the nude man and the suburban bungalow in the background is unsettling and exposes the absurdity of the obsessive drive to transcribe the Khoisan body. At that time it was commonly believed that a marker of purity among Khoisan males was a permanently erect penis, and that: "... with the admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature (Schapera, citing Seiner 1930:58).

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132 See Appendix 1, page 18.
133 See Appendix 1, page 16.

With his scientific training Fourie must surely have known that one set of photographs could not be used to prove or disprove a theory. The lack of further sets, coupled with the fact that he did not measure any genitalia during his 1919 expedition leads to the conclusion that he did not want to pursue this line of enquiry in detail. In the process of carrying out medical examinations on prisoners, migrant workers and urban blacks for venereal infections, Fourie had the opportunity to view the genitalia of a large portion of the population, and yet he has left no record of observation or opinion on this subject. Péringuey and Drury of the SAM had made many photographs and a cast of this aspect of Khoisan anatomy, and it was an important part of their work in the Protectorate. Fourie was deeply involved in this project, disbursing funds allocated to their research, helping to store the plaster needed for casting and finding suitable models, and it may be that he felt that the subject was being efficiently dealt with or that he did not want to compete with them (Péringuey 1911:Plates 208-211; MMS40/69/BoxF/1919:7; 1920:5-9; 1921:2-4; 1923:1-4).

Images of naked subjects, mostly women, form only a very small percentage of the collection, and of these only the seven images discussed above were made by Fourie himself. Fourteen images of twelve subjects were made by anonymous photographers, quite likely from the period before the South African occupation of the territory (MMSp10/69/293-306). Some of these form groups that follow the anthropometric pattern described above. A case in point is a series of four photographs of a group of three young women, all nude but for necklets and strings of beads around their hips with small fringes at the front (MMSp10/69/295-298). The set of frontal, lateral, and three quarter views, (mandatory in anthropometric imaging), is supplemented with one in which there is an almost full rear view of one of the women. In all four pictures the women stand on a stony surface against a white wall, and in two the shadows of several rows of barbed wire can be seen at the top of the wall - giving a prison-like impression. Unlike similar shots taken by Fourie, there is no sign of their clothing in the background. Two images of a pair of young women were clearly made in a studio as they stand on an oriental carpet in front of a blank wall (MMSp10/69/303-4).

I could find no references to these photographs in the documentation, and so can offer no history of their acquisition, or any reasons why Fourie would have kept them. Photographs in the form of prints or postcards were commercially produced and sold in great numbers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Windhoek a photographer named Wywias made soft-pornography postcards portraying naked indigenous women until the outbreak of

World War I (Hayes *et al* 1998:9).[134] We may never know why the photographs described above are now a part of the collection. It may simply be that Fourie's reputation as the expert on the Bushmen resulted in occasional donations of these images to him by settlers who had them in their possession, a common occurrence when people are known to be collectors. Or, perhaps he collected them to augment his own image collection.

The presence of such images in the body of an archive such as this one is a reminder of the element of chance that shapes the private papers and collections of individuals. Although we may be able to reconstruct reasons for their having been held on to and passed along through the years, we will never be sure of their true meaning, and we will always know that when we interpret the images, both collectively and individually, we will be able to illuminate only a portion of the history which they hold. In this case the images also suggest the presence of related colonial histories against and with which Fourie composed his works.

Fourie's photographs differ from the ones described above. His subjects were seldom nude, and did not drape their arms over each other, or hold the poses which we see in these photographs, and which relate to a European aesthetic. On the contrary Fourie was keen to capture postures that were typically Khoisan. He tried to erase all signs of western culture from his images. The lighting and the tight framing of the images of the older studio photographs shows the hand of a professional, and contrast strongly with the shadowed faces and wide amounts of space around the subjects in many of Fourie's pictures.

These naked images inevitably prompt the viewer to question the feelings of the subjects as they pose. Anthropologists have not explored Khoisan views on adult nakedness in any detail, but there are some clues. Schapera reported that complete nudity among the San was rarely found "though reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron" (Schapera 1930:65), implying that the Khoisan would not have worn clothing due to their supposedly primitive (or "wild") state. Fourie was well aware that men

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[134] See also, Harries (2000:69) on the ways in which the photographs of H.V.A. Junod were reproduced and sold successfully to raise funds for the Swiss Mission. Also the examples of numerous commercial photographers, whose African images were sold all over the world, reproduced in *Surviving the Lens* by Stevenson and Graham-Stewart (2001). Rassool and Hayes have written about the discovery in Hahn's photographic collection of an anomalous black and white commercially produced photograph of a nude Khoisan woman standing in profile with a white swastika engraved on her buttock. The reasons for its presence there remain a mystery, but it is clear that several of these images were produced, and that they were circulated throughout the Territory. My personal guess is that this picture, which was found in a file of studio shots of Jan Smuts at the United Nations in New York, was providing an example of the reasons why the South Africans should continue to administer the Protectorate of South West Africa, and why the Germans were unworthy, particularly at a time when Nazism was on the rise. Hahn played an important role in the Administration's drive to justify its position. (Rassool and Hayes 1997:6-7.)

wore loincloths to cover their genitalia, and women wore one or two front aprons and a hind apron to cover both their genitals and their buttocks. Taking notes from an informant on the Eland Bull Dance performed at a girl's first menses he wrote: "Die mans mense [sic] bly in hulle pontokke of gaan weg. Hulle kyk nie want die vrouens trek al hulle klere af"[135] (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:100).

A few decades later Lee wrote of the Dobe !Kung that young children tend to go naked but are expected to cover their genitalia once they reach their teens and Shostak related that !Kung women were careful to conceal their menstrual blood, which would seem to imply that their genitalia were also kept private. Accounts of dances performed at girls' initiation ceremonies show that women lift their skirts to show their buttocks and Barnard writes that on certain special occasions young women will do the same thing to signify a desire to be pursued by a particular young man. The buttocks, therefore, were generally kept covered for modesty's sake, and were considered to be an important indicator of femininity (Lee 1984:84; Shostak 1981:68, 149; Barnard 1992:145).

It was common practice then that men and women covered their genitalia, particularly in the presence of members of the opposite sex. In addition women kept their buttocks covered for the most part. Stripping off their hind and front aprons for a photographer would have made women feel uncomfortable because it went contrary to common practice at the very least, if not contrary to norms concerning modesty and femininity. There is no date given for Fourie's note on the Eland Bull Dance. Perhaps his growing understanding of these sensitivities influenced the direction taken by his later physical anthropological studies for he did not depict women's buttocks after 1922. The photographs of the naked man are undated.

In spite of the fact that the study of the buttocks, thighs and genitalia of the Khoisan was an accepted part of physical anthropology at that time, it would be unwise to assume that such a subject was unproblematic. Fourie recorded many of the features deemed to be characteristic of the true or pure Khoisan, such as steatopygia and steatomaria, but, as a conscientious scientific observer, he completed the record by taking photographs of those Khoisan who did *not* have these characteristics. In addition, the *cognoscenti*, including Fourie, were well aware that such studies might be deemed unsuitable by the general public, or that they might be offensive, and they practised a form of self-censorship as a result. Once the pictures were taken Fourie drew attention away from the physical features with captions pointing to other layers of meaning (Péringuey 1915; Drury 1926; Legassick and Rassool 2000:11-12).

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135 "The males stay in their huts or go away. They do not look because the women take all their clothes off". (My translation.)

In 1922, in Epukiro, Fourie photographed two groups of women and children, one group of men and the bodies of three women with tattoos. The patterns of these images were very similar to those of the 1919 images, but are very different from the eleven images of men and women of the Wakeddi and Ovagongola groups he made in Ovamboland in 1927. It is immediately obvious, simply by looking at the clothing and the hairstyles on these pictures, that neither group fitted the mould of the pure Bushman of anthropological descriptions of the time. There is one full-length, side-view of two men standing back to back, one wearing a loin cloth similar to those of, say the Naron, and the other wearing a front-apron, perhaps in an attempt to show that there were still some who followed the Khoisan traditions, and to indicate the transitional nature of the group. The rest of the images are of groups of men and women. Some of the men in the group shots have been posed to face to the side or slightly at an angle to offer a three-quarter view, but on the whole there is an informal feel to the occasion, with some of the subjects smiling, or leaning on each others' shoulders. Some subjects have obscured their torsos by folding their arms across their chests (MMSp10/69/237-240).

Pictures of heads

Of the seventy-four photographs taken in October 1922, sixty-eight are portraits of individuals and mostly consist of front and side views of each subject. The first thirty-two pictures are of seventeen women and girls who range in age from the early teens (little Kaukwa described as a "girl") to ripe old age (Twana with white hair, and Omeka with a heavily lined and wrinkled face) and of one young boy (documented as "Tkaushi-boy ...18, married" although in appearance he would seem closer to 12 years of age). This group also depicts "Aisa - pregnant" to complete the 'conditions' of women (MMSp10/69/131-162). At the end of the sequence of portraits there are two images showing "[Two] women carrying children [on their shoulders], Tsamkhao's group" and "Woman suckling child - one month old. Auin". (MMSp10/69/163-8). It is at this point in the record that men first appear in large numbers, first in a group photograph (MMSp10/69/169) and then in a series of thirty-seven portraits of eighteen individuals (MMSp10/69/174-208). The numerical sequence shows that there is a clear strategy here of depicting first women and then men systematically covering all ages and a number of related cultural traits.

The inclusion of Tkaushi in the first group is, therefore, anomalous, especially if he is, as the caption states, 18 years old. Fourie almost always included children in group photographs of women, and at first glance it would seem that Tkaushi was a child and that that could be the reason for his inclusion in this selection of pictures of women. The word "married" in the caption, however, would seem to indicate that he was not entirely childlike. Fourie's list

shows that there were four photos of this individual (although only two negatives and prints are now in the Museum) which would lead one to think that there must have been something extraordinary about him. Certainly he is extremely youthful for an eighteen-year old. Fourie gives his height as '3ft.11¾"' (119cm), which is at least one foot (30cm) shorter than the average height for males in the group, indicating that he was a midget or a dwarf, or that he had a condition in which maturation was arrested, but that still does not explain why he should be pictured with the women.[136]

There are two pictures each of most of the women, one front and one side view. For reasons that are not clear four subjects are depicted with only one view (MMSp10/69/ 149 Koona (side view), MMSp10/69/150 Nunka (front view), MMSp10/69/151 Tais (side view) and MMSp10/69/152 Kaukwa (front view)). It is quite possible that the corresponding front or side views to go with these portraits were unsuccessfully photographed, and that Fourie grouped them together in the numbering scheme because they were singles. With the exception of one picture all of the portraits of women stop just below their breasts, a level which differs considerably from person to person. In contrast the thirty-seven images of eighteen men could quite comfortably be described as 'head and shoulders'. Although they are not absolutely uniform, the discrepancies have to do with the height of the individual and the fact that the camera was set on a tripod at a particular distance from the chair or bench on which he was seated. Like the women the men are mostly named (the only exception being the man in numbers 172-173) and are described as ≠Ao-//Ein. Unlike the women none of them is said to be in Tsamkhao's group although two of them appear in the group photograph labelled: "Group of men. Auin. Tsamkhao's group?" (MMSp10/69/169).[137] It is not certain that they are related to the women in any way - although this would seem to be the most likely scenario.

Like the women, the men range from childhood to old age. The youngest is Tkwib whose unlined and slightly plump face makes him look about eighteen years old (MMSp10/69/205-6). (Having Tkaushi as an example of an eighteen year old indicates the real danger of trying to estimate the ages of people - and I do this only to try to indicate that Fourie seems to have sought to depict a range of age groups in his photographs.) The oldest individuals are probably Dabina, Damnop and Enau (MMSp10/69/177-8; 179-181; 193-4). Apart from three subjects - all of whom are pictured three times, one full face, one side view, and one three-quarter view - all the men are shown side view and full face. The reasons for the selection of

[136] See Schapera (1930:52-53) for a discussion on average heights for Khoisan men and women. "The average for men ranges between about 152 and 159cm". Midgets among people already of short stature appear to have held a fascination for physical anthropologists. Tobias, sixty-six years later, published a picture of "A San midget with an underactive pituitary gland: this miniature Bushman named Oubaas lived on a farm in the Ghanzi district of Botswana" (Tobias 1978:24).

[137] These are Dabina (p10/69/177) and Komap (p10/69/182).

these three subjects to be photographed more than the others are not clear. Kau is the only one in this group to have his mouth noticeably open (in the front view **and** the side view), although there are others who have their lips slightly parted. It is possible that Fourie wanted a view of his teeth. Kamase and Kora both had problems with their left eyes, the former had a strabismus and the latter appeared to be blind (Fourie's list indicates "Trachoma"). Wallace commented that: "Eye complaints were a constant problem to which the state gave little attention" (Wallace 2002:97, 110). Fourie appears to have at least been aware of the problem.

This series of portraits was clearly made to be a record of the facial features of a discrete group of ≠Ao-//ein. The selected individuals are shown in full front and side views, some of them are shown in a three-quarter view, and they all have their clothes removed from the upper torso. The group photograph of the women, and the shots of the women with children show them wearing the normal karosses draped over their shoulders. He must have asked them to remove these for the portraits for they would have obscured a view of the subjects' bodies. The group photograph of the men, on the other hand shows them without karosses but the small piles of skins on the ground behind them were presumably their abandoned clothes.[138] If, as has been discussed above, the group photographs were taken at the same place and the same time, and of the same band (possibly that led by Tsamkhao) then they show that Fourie did not photograph every individual in the band. One can only speculate on the criteria he used for selection. He chose exactly seventeen males and seventeen females plus Tkaushi the anomalous eighteen year old.

The head and shoulder shots taken in Etosha in 1927 could form a continuation of the series made in 1922 except that they are a little more tightly framed, and more carefully composed. The fifteen images include portraits of "Geikhoib (leader)" of a band of "Heikom, Etoscha Pan [sic]", and four old men, one young man and one young woman (both with their mouths open which is unusual) all of whom are said to be Hei//om from Etosha, and who, therefore, were probably led by Geikhoib (MMSp10/69/244-246, 247-258). Again we see a range of ages, but in this group it is mostly men who are depicted. With these images Fourie consolidated the photographic collection, so that it now depicted the bodies of a wide range of Khoisan groups from the Territory (although it is not nearly as comprehensive as the collection of material culture), and provided material for comparative studies. The photographs also cover a range of ages, both sexes, and some examples of medical conditions. Read together with the bones and the tables of measurements they should have provided Fourie with data for at least a preliminary study of the physical anthropology of the people he was studying.

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[138] See Appendix 1, page 13.

The imagined quintessential Khoisan face was, and often still is, described as having a number of unique characteristics (such as the mongolian eye fold described by Péringuey).[139] The faces of this group of men and women exhibit a wide variety of shapes and characteristics, many of which do not fit this template.[140] Fourie did not choose only those who matched the ideal and thus departed from the dubious practice of seeking out only those who had the desired features in order to prove the argument. Some of the subjects in the photographs taken in 1927 show an even more radical departure from the standard.[141]

While he took some of the advice given by Péringuey in 1919, in 1922 Fourie seems to have begun to follow his own interests. He did not make three-quarter portraits of each subject, and he did not photograph them full-length (to show height or foot size, for example) but he does seem to have tried to "arrive at a typical face". While the main focus of these portraits is physiognomic, it is also the case that a number of other elements of interest to Fourie came into the pictures, and that this was not entirely fortuitous. In addition to the details of the heads there is the deliberate inclusion of the women's breasts, which vary in shape and size, but which were considered to be a distinguishing feature of the Khoisan of the time. Dart, after the detailed examination of the breasts of twenty-seven women, gives as his final judgement on this matter: "We may therefore argue by a process of exclusion that the Bush type of breast is pendulous and has an expansive non-elevated areola" (Dart 1937:227).

Fourie's notes do not include descriptions of breasts or comment on, for example, the fact that many women had one breast longer than the other as a result of breastfeeding consistently from one side, although his interest in the ways in which women carried their children and fed their babies is reflected in the groups of women and their children pictured both in 1919 and 1922. The feature was absent in the Wakeddi and Ovagongola in Ovamboland in 1927.

Students of the Bushmen considered hair, both on the top of the head and on the face, to be an important marker of race (Schapera 1930:56). The true Bushmen were supposed to have peppercorn whorls of head hair, and to have no facial hair. In 1928 Goodwin forwarded to Fourie a request from a Russian anthropologist for "specimens of Bushman hair, one half to one inch long" (MMS40/69/BoxG/1928:18). Fourie's concern to document this aspect of Khoisan appearance is manifest in the tables recording the measurements of the Bushmen of Sandfontein made in 1919. He meticulously recorded the length and state of hair of almost

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139 See also Dart 1937:187-188, and Tobias 1978 21-32.

140 See for example MMSp10/69/139, "Toa", whose face is oval shaped and MMSp10/69/138, "Aisa", whose hair does not grow in peppercorn whirls.

141 For example MMSp10/69/255,264.

every subject.[142] If the term "specimens" isn't enough, then one photograph speaks most eloquently of how this preoccupation symbolises the dehumanising objectivisation of the Khoisan. It is a picture of six twists (for want of a better word) of hair laid on a piece of card and pinned to a larger piece of board (MMSp10/69/119).

Most of Fourie's records of the measurements of the women also document skin and eye colour, but it is hard to see such shading in the photographs. Fourie's captions of the 1922 photographs, given on the written list of the glass negatives, make up for this by describing what is most likely eye colour in a terse shorthand, for example: Lb for light brown; or DBr for Dark brown (MMSp10/69/134, 135).

Although the female subjects in the photographs had divested themselves of their leather karosses they retained their ornaments, and this collection offers a representation of a variety of ear, neck, head and upper arm decorations. Given Fourie's interest in material culture and especially in the manufacture of ostrich eggshell beads it is probable that he looked upon this collection as a valuable record in that field as well. The multi-functionality of the content of these images reflects Fourie's multiple intentions when read in the context of his personal circumstances and his relationship to contemporary Khoisan studies.

Much has been written about anthropological portraits such as those made by Fourie. The direct frontal view is seen as something that would seldom occur in portraits of middle class or wealthy subjects, most of whom would be shown looking away or with their heads turned slightly to one side in a variation of the three quarter view. Of course these latter would never be photographed in three different positions, either, and for the most part they would keep the copies of their portraits themselves. The fact that a series such as this one was catalogued and kept first by Fourie and then in museums while the majority of the subjects quite possibly never saw them at all says much about the power relations between the photographer and his subjects, and about his perception of their rights, their interests and their abilities to appreciate the images he was creating of them.

Portraits of interlocutors

In 1927 Fourie made two portraits of Saul, a front view and a side view (MMSp10/69/265, 266; See Appendix 1, page 6). While the bilateral views reflect the anthropometric studies

[142] See MMS40/69/BoxE/23:78, for example: "Bouchus (female, no.25) Hair short over vertex, strings on side"; "Kumab/=Goma (male no.29) Hair short/ axilla peppercorns/Beard on chin)"; MMSp10/69/141 "Bae L B [i.e. Light Brown]"; MMSp10/69/143 "Tua d b [dark brown]"; and MMSp10/69/153 "Anneo l brown". (From Fourie's list of glass negatives.) And see MMS40/69/BoxE/23:80 – another table that includes columns for descriptions of eyes and of skin colour.

there are some significant differences in the internal details. Saul wears his police uniform complete with hat and holds himself almost at attention but nevertheless appears to be at ease. His demeanour, when compared to that of the subjects of the other portraits, is a great deal less strained. This observation is, of course, tinged by subjectivity, but is also influenced by the content of the image: for example the western style clothes, and the fact that Saul is not half naked (like, for example, the men who have abandoned their karosses). He could be compared with the two men in "Hei-//om - Gobabis" which is numbered two before the Saul images on Fourie's list. These men wear the "kitchen suits" given to house servants at the time, have their hats in their hands, and look extremely ill at ease. They are standing on a stony surface in front of a corrugated iron wall (MMSp10/69/263).[143]

Our prior knowledge of a part of Saul's history gives this picture a different set of meanings to that of the two anonymous Hei-//om.[144] To add to the familiarity is the small "snapshot" of Saul in uniform with Fourie's inscription "To Saul with good wishes for his future". While it is necessary to take into account the fact that our knowledge of Fourie's relationship with Saul will influence our reading of the portraits, it is also important to realise that Fourie's gaze would also have been affected by this history. On a fundamental level, the fact that Saul kept his clothes on says something about their relationship! On another level Saul's own gaze into the lens of a camera held by someone with whom he has hunted for kudu and spent many nights and days discussing aspects of life and culture must take on a different tenor. These three 'gazes': Saul at Fourie, Fourie at Saul, and the informed viewer at Saul, render this image more intimate than any other portrait in the collection.

Interestingly Jantjie, the first name on Fourie's list above, was another informant whose picture is in this group. It is notable that both these men remained in touch with Fourie over the period from 1919 to at least 1927 when Jantjie was pictured from the side standing against a tree (MMSp10/69/223; See Appendix 1, page 7). With such an image one would expect to find a front view, and this is the case for the previous portrait of /Au-un's wife, but no such picture is listed, and it may be that Fourie gave it to Jantjie. Although it may have been different, the relationship between Fourie and Jantjie appears to have been no less important than that between him and Saul. This profile, however, is somehow as dispassionate and anthropometric as those of /Au-un and his wife taken in exactly the same spot (MMSp10/69/220-222; See Appendix 1, page 15), in spite of the interesting backdrop and the fact that Jantjie is wearing a coat or an overall. The image shows the head and only a very

[143] This photo is followed immediately in Fourie's list by a portrait of a man entitled: "A prisoner at Gobabis - race unknown" (MMSp10/69/264). The possibility is therefore raised that the two men in MMSp10/69/263 are also prisoners at Gobabis.

[144] Details are to be found in "Saul and Jantjie" in Chapter 2.

small part of the shoulders, which has the effect, almost, of a decapitation. Jantjie is deprived of the solid base of his shoulders and his chest, and when compared with the portraits of Saul this compositional tactic deprives him of dignity and any form of agency. Jantjie appears again in a photograph captioned: "Deserted camp (with Jantje, /Au-un & wife)", but in this picture he stands in the distance, still in his overall and is difficult to identify (MMSp10/69/224).

Photographs were commodities that were not entirely foreign to the Khoisan. A member of the Denver expedition wrote of how he came across a Hei-//om man who treasured a card on which appeared a photograph of a film star of the 1920s. The tone of the story is one of patronising and amused incredulity (Gordon 1997:45). In 1935 a Hei-//om charged one shilling to pose for a photograph in Etosha Game Park and there had been a small but regular tourist industry in that area for at least ten years prior to that date (Gordon 1997:137-138). The Hei-//om subjects from Etosha Pan, therefore, were already quite familiar with cameras although it is not certain how often they saw the pictures of themselves. Fourie's papers contain no references to discussions about the photographs either before or after they were taken, but it may be that Saul and Jantjie, having observed Fourie taking so many pictures and perhaps having been asked to help with identifying people or objects in the finished product, asked to be photographed and requested copies of these images for themselves.

Implements and skilled workmanship

Material culture is the subject of over twenty-seven per cent of the images Fourie made in Sandfontein in 1919, the highest proportion of any of the three trips. The most concentrated images of material culture in the collection, however, appear in a series of thirty-five undated images that show large display boards onto which are pinned artefacts arranged according to material or purpose. The artefacts could be the items from Fourie's collection that he prepared for the Empire Exhibition in London in 1924. The negatives are numbered in such a way, however, that they fall between those for the 1919 and the 1922. This sequencing gives pause for thought, since it either speaks of an earlier attempt at exhibiting the objects, or of the list being less than chronologically correct.

The 1919 images of material culture are devoted to the making of rope (18 images - MMSp10/69/23-38, 87-8), ostrich egg shell beads (6 pictures - MMSp10/69/17-22), stone pipes for smoking (MMSp10/69/89-90) and bone arrow-tips (MMSp10/60/91-92).[145] Given Fourie's stated fascination with material culture and technology, and particularly with hunting, it is surprising that he did not make more images showing the making of weapons.

[145] See Appendix 18.

As I show in the following chapter, Fourie's field-notes document the fact that the making of arrows was not something that was undertaken lightly ("Arrows – Description", Chapter Five). The materials had to come from animals shot with arrows, and only initiated males could prepare them. The men in the Sandfontein area may have been reluctant to pose for Fourie in this instance. It is also difficult to understand the disproportionately large number of images of rope making (fifteen as opposed to six for ostrich egg shell beads and two for the others). This activity receives very little attention in the field notes, and is not prominent in contemporary publications.[146] Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that the rope-maker was Hartebeest (also known as Kukurib), the Naron headman of the area, but perhaps it also had to do with the availability of craftsmen, materials and time.

Ostrich egg shell bead making is the activity second most referred-to in the field notes, and there are two sets of photographs of women involved in this craft in the collection: that made in 1919 by Fourie; and five pictures of two women sitting in a corner inside a western-style building making beads taken by Shortridge in 1926. Fourie's series shows a clear sequence beginning with breaking the egg into pieces (with a half-broken egg shell on the skin mat), and although the process is slightly more muddled in the Shortridge images, they also cover the major stages in the process. Fourie's "Naron woman" wears only two or three short strings of beads in her hair, but Shortridge's subjects have many hair ornaments and wear long strings of beads around their necks. It is difficult to see how much more the second set contributes to knowledge about this craft, unless the women were from a different group, and these provide a comparative example, which is most likely the case, even though both sets were taken in the Sandfontein area.

Material culture does not feature obviously in the images dated to 1922 (apart from the ornaments and some items of apparel worn by the subjects of the portraits). In the 1927 group, material culture is incorporated into the group shots and pictures of men shooting with bows and arrows refer directly to the incorporation of the Khoisan into Ovambo cultures. There is nothing like the series on ostrich eggshell bead making, or rope making we see in the 1919 studies. Here material culture is not isolated from the people or their activities, either as a result of Fourie's evolving understanding of social structure, or because he was economising on time and photographic plates.

The comparatively small number, and the patchy nature of the photographs of material culture in Fourie's collection leads to the conclusion that the images are supplements, captions, in a

[146] For example, only four short references in MMS40/69/BoxE/23, which contains the most detailed field notes (pages 25, 43, 8, 89).

sense, to the collection of objects. Many of the items we see in the photographs are represented in the collection, including the bows and arrows of the Wakeddi and the Ovagongola. The collection also contains the same, or very similar, tools and materials, in various stages of production, which we see in the pictures. In fact the MMS utilised a combination of the images and the objects to successfully create a didactic exhibition on the making of ostrich egg shell beads. The various elements of the collection support each other in such a way that one section cannot be separated out and seen as an end in itself.

The "whole life of the tribe"

The range of subjects photographed by Fourie during his 1919 trip encompassed many areas of the cultures of the groups in Sandfontein. In addition to the anthropometric records, and the references to tattooing, costume, beadwork and material culture mentioned above there are pictures of snares used to trap game (MMSp10/69/11-14), dwellings (MMSp10/69/15-16), a young girl playing a musical instrument (MMSp10/69/81-83), and men shooting bows and arrows and throwing spears (MMSp10/69/84-6). Twenty-three images show a series of three dances, the Riet Dance, the Eland Bull Dance (performed by a group of women and two men) and the Ostrich Dance (MMSp10/60/57-67; 70-74; and 75-80). This range of subjects is what so impressed Barnard of the SAM, but wide though the range is, to today's viewer there is no sense that it covers the "whole life" of the people of Sandfontein. Fourie never again covered so many different topics in such detail, perhaps because he did not have the luxury of several weeks to spend on full-time fieldwork, or perhaps because his focus of interest changed over time.

Many of the images in the collection can be used as evidence to show that Fourie set out to try to make a comparative study (viz the two images of a Naron dwelling and a ≠Ao-//ein dwelling, or an image of two women, one from each group, to show comparative anatomies). However, only 176 of the photographs (about 46% of the total) are identified by the name of the group (nine-two ≠Ao-//ein, thirty-eight Naron, twenty-five Hei-//om, and seven each of the Nuams, Ovagongola and Wakeddi). The high number of pictures not attributed to any group may be an indication that the situation was too complex to allow easy identification, particularly in the Sandfontein area. Fourie's hand-drawn map of the Epukiro/Sandfontein area highlights the complexities of the territorial arrangements in the Gobabis district, with settlements of Naron, Hei-//om and ≠Ao-//ein being scattered at random (MMS40/69/BoxE/ 23:56-57) and the genealogies he recorded show that much intermarriage took place. Fourie does not say, for example, which groups performed the dances, but two group photographs, both captioned "Group of men and women (Auin & Naron)", show the same group which performed the Riet Dance, and some of those who took part in the other dances (MMSp10/69/

68-69). It is likely that some of the photographs are not classified because of Fourie's inability to find the distinguishing features he sought to aid in the classification of these groups. Although Fourie recognised this kind of complexity in his daily practices he did not find a way to include them in his publications, and they remained obscured for the general public.

Style and technique

An examination of the photographs taken in the regions of Epukiro, Ovamboland and Etosha, (in that order) in May 1927 during a visit by Fourie to the northern parts of the Protecorate shows how Fourie's photographic style had matured over the years (MMSp10/49/213-262).[147] Contrast, for example, is better controlled so that fewer subjects are obscured by heavy shadow and the pictures are much more tightly framed than the 1919 ones, with less 'empty' space around the edges. Comparing "Wakeddi shooting with bow" with "Shooting with bow and arrow", for example, we see the figure in the former filling almost the entire vertical centre of the photograph, whereas the figure in the latter takes up only one third of that space (MMSp10/69/235 and 85).

A new awareness of the possibilities of photography is particularly evident in the shots taken in the Epukiro area. We see an attempt at composition in the shots of settlements in which figures have been carefully arranged (MMSp10/69/213, 215, 216, 224).[148] In the early 1930s Duggan Cronin used this technique to striking effect in his picture of an Ovambo homestead in which he arranged three women in a triangle. Four portraits taken by Fourie at a deserted "Bushman camp" show /Au-un, his young wife and Jantje (Fourie's interpreter and guide) against the complex patterns of the bark on the trunk of a tree (MMSp10/69/220-223). The heads fill the frame, and the resolution is such that details such as eyelashes, scarification, and small beads in the hair are clearly visible. The style is such a marked departure from Fourie's earlier portraits that it is hard to believe they were made by the same person.

The "Wakeddi" and "Gongola" subjects from the Ovamboland region are mostly shown in group shots with a strong emphasis on dress and accoutrements (such as bows and arrows) and pictures showing methods of shooting bows and arrows. Conventional wisdom stated

147 In the index made by the Museum of Man and Science, Photographs 213 to 224 have been tentatively dated to May 1927. The numbers following immediately on from them (225 to 262) can be dated to the same period using the diaries and notebooks of Fourie (Fourie 40/69-E/ 23 and other diaries). These are the last of the photographs to belong in a group which can be shown to have been made at the same place and at the same time. The rest of the photos were not listed by Fourie, and most of them have no captions or explanatory notes. See Appendix 5 for a summary of the subjects of the photographs for 1927.

148 See Appendix 1, page 14.

that the Wakeddi were people of Hei-//om origin living among the Ukuanyama in northwestern Ovamboland who were "being rapidly absorbed into the Ovambo through intermarriage" with the result that "every trace of their original organization has disappeared almost completely" (Fourie 1928:83).

Perhaps because Fourie perceived the Wakeddi to have been largely influenced by intermarriage with the Ovambo (Fourie 1926:50) his images appear to be less regimented: the atmosphere is more relaxed with subjects standing less rigidly, and with their arms and legs in positions other than 'to attention'. "Group Ovagongola (Hahu)" includes thirteen men, some with their hands on their hips, one leaning on the other's shoulder with his right leg bent, two with their hands up to their faces and others doing things that do not fit the stereotypical anthropometric image (MMSp10/69/237). This is more apparent in the photographs of men than it is with the women, which is quite likely a reflection of the relationship between the photographer and the subjects: something that is difficult to read in the earlier work. The focus on anatomy is still there to some degree, and there are side views and back views included in these group shots.

The images of the Hei-//om of the Etosha area are very different. Nineteen of the fifty-four images are portraits of eleven Hei-//om individuals with a return to the diptych of front and side views of each subject, almost all of whom display degrees of discomfort. Only one of the subjects, "Geikhoib (leader) Heikom – Etosha Pan", is named (MMSp10/69/244). Since Fourie considered this group to be the last of the Hei-//om to retain their "original organization" (1926:50), he applied the more rigorous approach of anthropometry. Stylistically and in terms of content, this sequence could comfortably form a continuation of the portraits Fourie made at Epukiro in 1922.

Fourie's anthropological photographs, in the early years, strove to present 'scientific' knowledge in images that would constitute evidence in further studies. In this project a 'self-conscious aesthetic had little place' (Edwards 1992:109-112). Rivers, for example, deliberately attempted to represent without aestheticising, in order to de-romanticise an image which had built up around the Todas, and Seligman went to great pains to distinguish his images of the Veddas from the work of commercial photographers producing images for travelogues. The fact that they were largely unsuccessful is a sign of the impossibility of isolating the scientific from the popular in photography, and was a contributing factor to the growing mistrust of the use of photographs in studies of cultural and social anthropology in the early twentieth century (Pinney 1992:86).

History and photographs

In an essay on the extraction of history from photographs Elizabeth Edwards states that she believes that we have hardly begun to understand the potential held in photographs for history.

> Photographs are a major historical form for the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and arguably we have hardly started to grasp what they are about and how to deal with their rawness. Photographs are very literally raw histories in both senses of the word - the unprocessed and the painful (Edwards 2001:5).

Edwards employs the definition of photographs as history ("with a small 'h'") rather than "anthropological photography" because "to liberate images from such categorisations is the first step to articulating alternative histories through them" (Edwards 2000:21). Such a concept is implicit in this chapter, but at the same time it is remembered that the photographer's intent was to make an anthropological record, and that this intent flavoured his images and shaped the collection. At one level, then, we are reading the images individually as historical documents, but at the same time we are reading them collectively as a composite historical document in its own, separate, but related, right. Both readings rely on the history of the intentions of Fourie in making them.

> [P]hotographs termed 'ethnographic' or 'anthropological' have been used to define cultures. But embedding this within history allows the photographs to perform on a broader stage in space and time, not necessarily confined to specific cultural pasts (Edwards 2001:7).

Of central concern are the relationships between meaning, intent, content and context. It is not only the images but also the biographies of the maker and the viewers that make them create a multitude of meanings. Our twenty-first century readings are therefore different from those of Fourie and his contemporaries, but they are flavoured by their interpretations. 'Meaning' may theoretically be open-ended, but in reality it is also historically, culturally and contextually determined. The location of the collection in Museum Africa, for example, has an effect on our reading of it. The slipperiness of Fourie's captions has shown that meaning need not necessarily reflect intention, although traces of intention remain to be discovered by viewing the image in the context of the history of the collection. As different bodies of knowledge wax and wane, so the photograph is read differently and used to express different preoccupations. Ideas extraneous to the picture itself thus give meaning to it, both for its original audience and for subsequent generations of interpreters (Edwards: 1992:12).

Edwards suggests that a key to unlocking the history in images is to be found in the performative nature of photographs that, like theatre, affect the viewer as they represent, heighten, contain and project something about reality. Photographers select one aspect to represent the reality to which they wish to draw attention and their production then has the

ability to play an active role in a relationship with the viewer. The photograph actively projects the past into the present by its very nature and thus requires the act of looking. It is not the context, but a reading of the content *within* the context that endows the photograph with meaning (Edwards 2001:16-17).

Fourie's photographs and history

Edwards suggests that the frame (of intent as much as physical) is a powerfully expressive element.

> In its stillness [the photograph] contains within its frame, fracturing time, space and thus event, separated from the flow of life, from narrative, from social production. In making detail it subordinates the whole to the part. It is indiscriminate, fortuitous in its inscription. From this configuration emerge inherently unstable signifiers in the image. … Frame, in the way in which it contains and constrains, heightens and produces a fracture which makes us intensely aware of what lies beyond. Thus there is a dialectic between boundary and endlessness (Edwards 2000:22-3).

In several cases, by cropping out or hiding behind a blanket, the signs of a crowd, or surgery or chair, or even a plain brick wall, Fourie censored the contextual frame. These eliminated frames held the potential to fracture time and space by disturbing the stillness of an image designed to carry the viewer back to a time when the Khoisan lived their traditional lives in the wilderness. The rawness of the uncensored images is painful and opens up the hidden relationships of power and submission.

Fourie only made action sequences, such as rope making and dancing, during his field trip in 1919. Subsequently he did not have the time needed to do the research and stage the activities of manufacturing material culture so that he could document them (MMSp10/69/ 17-22, 23-38). The photographs he did make were indeed staged. The actors are placed in a set of isolation and emptiness in an open space, with no visible signs of habitation or other human activity, the same setting, in fact, as the dance photographs. They sit alone in the desert,[149] their hats, karosses and bags lying abandoned on the ground behind them and their eyes focused on their work. It is well known that in real life these activities would have been carried out in the camp, amongst other members of the band, in a sociable setting.[150] The time needed for the exposures for these photographs would have necessitated a less than spontaneous approach to capturing these activities, but the impression one gains here is that, like the grey blankets behind the portrait heads, the desert was utilised to create as "neutral" a backdrop as possible. Viewing these images today, we do not read neutrality, but see control

[149] MMSp10/69/28 is the one exception. The rope maker who appears alone in all the other pictures in this series is joined here by a friend, who sits and watches him.

[150] See, for example, Marshall 1961:232.

and censorship. For one thing, the photographer would have found it more difficult to prevent the movement of people around his camera if he had staged the activities around the living area (causing dust, unwanted shadows and other intrusions). For another the camp probably contained elements of daily living that would not have conveyed a sense of pristine Khoisan culture and other members of the band may have worn items of western clothing, thus these records of traditional crafts would have been adulterated, and would not have been useful historical records.

Edwards writes of beach scenes being a recurring trope in photographs of the Pacific. Here the beach becomes a space that "defines both the photographic moment and the colonial encounter on the edge of the island". In these images the geography also links the people, and thus their culture, to the "organization of local knowledge" and space (Edwards 2000:24-25). This theme could fruitfully be extended to explore the use of desert landscapes in photographs of the Khoisan. Wilmsen has argued that anthropologists have created a myth that the Khoisan lived in isolated and distant places, which allowed the purity of their hunter-gatherer life-style to remain in tact waiting to be discovered and described. They were at one and the same time firmly relegated to the past, and remote from the flow of history. Bushmen were also isolated conceptually as an undifferentiated enclave among more "advanced" Africans (those at a "higher" evolutionary stage). This conceptual isolation was a prerequisite to their administrative isolation and was a major contributing factor in their deepening social and economic isolation in the emerging colonial social formation that has left its legacy in Botswana and Namibia today (Wilmsen 1989:25).

The Kalahari as backdrop forms an integral part of descriptions of the Khoisan, and in these early photographs of craft-workers it symbolises remote isolation. A large number of the negatives and some of the prints exhibit leakages through the frame that unbalance the premises of the entire collection. The shadows of the heads of Fourie and an observer and the knees of a cross-legged companion sitting to the left of the bead worker (MMSp10/69/17, 19); or the trees and hedges in the gardens and the medical equipment in the clinics behind the chairs upon which the portrait subjects are seated, which are conscientiously censored from the positive but still kept in the background of the negative, insert the counter to this constructed isolation and point to the ambivalence of Fourie's participation in the project (MMSp10/69/163, 168, 169, 209-21 and negatives MMSp107-130, 172-208).

> ... the controlling frame both physical and metaphorical has started to spring a leak, as containers do. The leak is a semiotic excess or energy, which manifests itself as the rawness, the ambiguity or ultimate uncontainability of the photograph as history (Edwards 2000:26).

These small details, the hats, the puddles of clothing, the photographer's shadow, take on a heightened "metaphorical and symbolic density" (Edwards 2000:26). We do not know whether Fourie asked the subjects to remove this clothing, or whether they did so themselves. On seeing the rope maker sitting in full sun, however, we can surmise that the removal of his hat was not for comfort, and that the shadow it would have cast on his face would have been detrimental to the intended image. Or, on reading that the pictures were taken in the middle of winter, we wonder at the removal of a warm kaross.

The 'performative' character of photography is heightened by these fractures in the frame. The presence of an audience is suggested by the shadows and parts of bodies intruding at the edges of the frame and renders the images more intimate, more kinetic in time and space and less impersonal, static and thus less scientific. In 1919 Fourie habitually placed the camera some distance away from his subjects, so that they appeared small and isolated in the landscape. The presence of the audience belies the solitude. Fourie's shadow can also be seen as the presence of the Administration surveying the minutiae of the bodies and the "whole life of the tribe". Those negatives that show portions of the bodies of women in nurses' uniforms holding up blanket backdrops to mask the surgical equipment and the clinic are altogether less intimate than the companions of the Khoisan, and offer a reminder of the intrusion of the apparatus of the state in the lives of the subjects, lending to the occasion an altogether different overtone.

In October 1922 Fourie took seventy-six photographs at Epukiro, a small town in the Gobabis District, fairly close to the border of what was to become Hereroland (MMSp10/69/131-169, 174-208).[151] Earlier in the same year a magistrate, Van Ryneveld, had been killed in a skirmish with a group of Aukwe who had been stealing and killing cattle. The ringleader was named in the records as Zameko, probably "the best-known bandit in the interwar years" who had built up a following of between 150 and 300 people, among them women and children (Gordon 1992:93-4). Shortly after Van Ryneveld's death a patrol was sent out, and, after a long chase, they killed a number of members of the group, and captured and brought into Gobabis town twenty-three men (including Zameko) and sixty women and children. An inquest was held in Gobabis in October (Gordon 1992:94-96). I can find no references to Fourie travelling to the area during this time and neither the captions to the photographs, nor Fourie's documents give a direct link with the context outlined above. The case had a very high profile in the Territory at the time, however, and he may, in his official capacity, have attended the inquests of six Bushmen who had been killed in the skirmishes that occurred during the chase.

[151] See Appendix 5 for a summary of the subjects of these photographs.

Bob Fourie relates the incident in tandem with Fourie's concern with prison conditions, perhaps because he was inspecting these conditions at the same time:

> Louis became a champion of the Bushman who until comparatively late in our history was hunted like a wild animal and finally survived only in the vast and arid wastes of the Kalahari where he was comparatively safe. But in times of extreme drought he would raid the outlying farms and drive off cattle. A punitive expedition would result, some Bushmen would be captured and the odd one killed. On one such expedition a magistrate called Van Ryneveldt [sic] was shot with a poisoned arrow and died. The captured Bushmen would in due course be tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. This was equivalent to the death sentence, as, once confined to cells they contracted tuberculosous [sic] and died. Louis persuaded the prison authorities to build open wire cages or cells with a minimum of shelter where they would live in conditions approximating their free existence. There were no more deaths (Fourie 1985:20-21).

There is a strong possibility that "Zameko" was an anglicised or germanic spelling of "Tsamkhao", and that the people Fourie photographed were the captured members of his group. According to the hand drawn map in the book of field notes, "Tsamkhao's territory" was a few kilometres north of Epukiro. The name 'Auin' in brackets indicates the tribe to which the land belongs, and Tsamkhao is named as the chief of that group. In the midst of this territory is written the name "Bulick": a reference to the farm of Mrs Bullik, who had been at the centre of the troubles which led to Van Ryneveld's death (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item23:56-7). Since Fourie took these photographs in Epukiro and not in Gobabis where the trial was held, these are possibly members of the group who had not been arrested. An examination of the glass negatives shows that the subjects of the portraits were seated on a chair before a blanket or a sheet, in a doctor's examining room (these details have been cropped from the prints). In addition the group photographs were taken in a cultivated garden with trees and lawn: possibly the grounds of the Catholic mission station. Many of the people in the photographs are physically in poor condition. It is possible, for example, to read famine in the folds of skin on the emaciated men's stomachs and the swollen bellies of advanced malnutrition in one or two cases in an image captioned "Group men (very emaciated)" (MMSp10/69/169).[152]

In the case of the images of 1922, the Van Ryneveld incident forms a frame that emphasises the famine and displacement suffered by the Aukwe people. Fourie's presence at Epukiro signifies his embededness in the history of the colonial struggle, but when we view his photographs we are gazing upon the struggle of the colonised Khoisan. We can only seek the impact on Fourie of their hunger and despair in the silent faces of the photographs for he did

[152] See Appendix 1, page 13.

not give voice to it in his writings. His status as "champion of the Bushmen" is not supported by any evidence in the biography, and, while he may have saved the prisoners from death by tuberculosis, evidence of kindness or concern is scarce, only to be found in his gifts to headmen and to Saul, and possibly in the brief note from his friend Eedes which refers to his "little pals" (MMS40/69/ BoxA/ File4/a:1).

The accomplished amateur and the uses of his work

The categories of study laid out in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* articulate for us those areas of society in which anthropologists were interested at the time of publication, and hence the activities and artefacts which would have been the photographer's choice of subjects. Fourie did not comfortably fit the description of the amateur targeted by the manual. He was a quasi-professional in that he had read widely and worked together with other professionals in such a way that he was, to all intents and purposes, the government anthropologist for a while. There is no evidence that Fourie read this book, but, since it is a synthesis of some contemporary anthropological practices, his research would have been exposed to the principles and methods it advocated.

If photography was falling out of favour amongst British social anthropologists in the early twentieth century, then why were Fourie and his peers still making so many images of the Khoisan? Physical anthropologists continued to rely on photographs to provide evidence for comparative and descriptive studies[153] for some time after this, which explains the proportionately large number of images of bodies and faces in Fourie's collection. The SAM relied on his active participation in the gathering of physical anthropological information. We have seen how Péringuey and Wilman encouraged Fourie in this regard and they were using photographs themselves. The SAM was particularly keen to use Fourie's images in their quest to find the Bushman. Barnard, the Deputy Director, outlined a proposed paper in which Fourie's photographs would play a pivotal role. His letter, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, "proposed … that [Fourie] make use of our Annals for publication". He suggested that the photographs be published as a feature on their own, together with explanatory material, and not merely as illustrations to an article. Fourie agreed to participate, but the project never came to fruition (MMS40/69/BoxF1919:7, 1926:2, 10, 11).

During the twentieth century popular anthropologists used photographs prolifically, and during Fourie's heyday we see them used to illustrate publications by missionaries, in travel writing, and in amateur ethnographies. *The Bushmen* by E.J. Dunn (1931), and *Bushmen & Pygmies of the Kalahari* (Dornan 1925) were ethnographies written by amateurs for popular

[153] The 1933 Kalahari Expedition of the University of the Witwatersrand, discussed below, is a case in point.

consumption, and both of them included a large body of photographs. I have mentioned above the photographs of the Denver Expedition which were not only published in a book, but were widely circulated in newspapers, pamphlets and at public lectures. In 1929 Fourie himself was approached by *The Illustrated London News* to submit a photographic essay on the Khoisan of South West Africa but at the time he was studying for the Diploma in Public Health at London University, and was unable to oblige. His reaction on finding that they subsequently used photographs taken for the Denver Expedition, of which he had a very low opinion, can only be imagined (Gordon 1997:1, 32).

In spite of his criticisms of the absurdities of the film of the Denver Expedition, Fourie clearly believed that properly made photographs (both still and moving) could encapsulate 'facts', providing the anthropologist with the opportunity to analyse and interpret culture and physical anthropology (to "write them up"). Fourie's project, therefore, was to accumulate the building blocks that could then be used to reconstruct the culture and anatomy of the Khoisan. During his trips to Gobabis and Ovamboland, as well as to the country's hospitals, courts and gaols, he was seeing what the general public could not have seen. Fourie set himself to present select elements of this world in his photographs in such a way that the cultures that he perceived to be disappearing could be reconstructed and held on to for a little longer.

Another application for anthropological photographs was in education. Winifred Hoernlé and her successor Professor Audrey Richards at the University of the Witwatersrand welcomed the loan of Fourie's collection because they believed it would be an invaluable teaching aid (MMS40/69/BoxG/ 1932/2, 6, and 1939/1, 3). And the Kaffrarian Museum and the East London Museum vied for the entire Fourie Collection of Khoisan material when he moved to the eastern Cape in 1930, seeing it as something which could be used to form exhibitions and thus to educate in a different way.

Conclusion

After he had spent ten years studying the Khoisan Fourie concluded that:

> With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one. ... The second type approximates that of the Bantu. ... In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the

> investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose (Fourie 1928:84).

In this brief paragraph, which constitutes the entire section on "Physical Characteristics" in Fourie's outline of the Bushmen of the Protectorate, Fourie reveals his ambiguous approach to the topic. The paradigm which recognised the three races (Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu) is stated without question, and the division of the San into three groups based on varying degrees of intermixture with the other two groups is an echo of Bleek's letter to Fourie of 1921 (MMS40/69/BoxF/1921:1) and her publications on the San of Angola and the Sandfontein district (1928 and 1928a). And yet the final sentence indicates that Fourie is not yet convinced of this analysis, and quite possibly of the assumptions which underlie it. He required further proof, and was not willing to go out on a limb, using his own observations and data, to support or refute the argument. This omission of any reference to his own work of measuring and photographing the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein is intriguing particularly as the four portrait photographs used as illustrations in this chapter in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* are very much a part of the genre of physical anthropology.

In his previous publication Fourie had made no references to the anatomical features of the Hei-//om, the subjects of that study, probably because the majority of the data he had gathered by the time of writing concerned the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein of the Sandfontein area (Fourie 1926:19). It may also have been that Fourie gathered the anthropometric information out of a sense of propriety, because he had been told that it was the correct thing to do, but that it was not his main area of interest. Ever thorough and concerned to do the job properly, there is no doubt that he would have tried to ensure that he was gathering all the facts necessary for a full ethnography. If that is the case, however, he expended an exorbitant amount of time and energy on a task in which he had only a marginal interest, and which took him away from the parts of his hobby he really enjoyed. It seems unlikely. More plausible is the argument that Fourie's passion to collect all that he could for future reference drove him to create as comprehensive an archive as possible, and that this included records, and even pieces of the bodies, of the Khoisan. In the face of the disappearance of the Khoisan the activity of collection became an act of salvage, but this element - collecting the very bodies - caused its own set of subconscious anxieties, setting up a circle of guilt for which his collecting for posterity may have been an unconscious act of redemption.

As we have seen, the culture of anthropology in the early twentieth century prescribed the inclusion in ethnographies of descriptions of the physical features of the groups being studied. This convention did not only apply to the Khoisan, although it did not appear to be adhered to as stringently in descriptions of other groups in Africa, and, in fact by the end of the 1930s it was rarely encountered in individual ethnographies except in Khoisan studies.

When he began his studies of the Khoisan, Fourie read the standard works at the time, and was guided by them to some extent. The contacts he made with such experts as Wilman, Péringuey and Dart, and his stated intent to aid their studies as much as possible, reinforced this participation. However, he was an intelligent man and something of an iconoclast in his own field of public health, and there is every reason to suppose that he would apply his habit of questioning convention to his anthropological studies. His anatomical photographs show that he found that many Khoisan women did not exhibit steatopygia, that men did not necessarily all have semi-erect penises, and not all faces had the required shape and configuration. As time went by Fourie was conscious of the new paradigms of social anthropology, and was led to question the evolutionist paradigms, but this progression did not change his intent to create the most comprehensive collection possible. So, while the ideas of Hoernlé and other social anthropologists played a role in moulding Fourie's work, he did not abandon his originally formed intentions.

The shape and character of the photographic collection are complex and multi-layered because it served a number of purposes. The presence of the works of other photographers is an indication that it was not the authoring of the images that mattered, but the content, and that this was another way for Fourie to gather knowledge. It is also a reminder of how Fourie was embedded in southern African dialogues about the Khoisan. He shared his images with others, and received images in return, and he received advice and material assistance from the SAM while simultaneously facilitating their project to represent Khoisan bodies, languages and cultures.

Fourie received instruction and direction from the foremost scholars in the field in South Africa, but the general shape of the photograph collection is a result of his own understanding of the nature of his work. His intent in this project of making a broad array of images is not articulated, but from the shape of his collection, and from the ways in which it relates to the broader collection, we can infer that he was making a record for posterity. He was gathering the last remaining manifestations of traditional culture as part of an effort to salvage them for the future. This is supported by the presence of the numerous images made by other photographers, and even a photograph of a plate from a book, which shows the stages of the beetle from which poison for arrow tips was made. The photographs formed a part of a greater archive, which included material culture, skulls and other bones, and some archaeological material. The photographic collection in turn, offered knowledge in a new form to those, like Goodwin, who had the privilege of seeing them. The recursive nature of this phenomenon was not simply a rehashing of the same material, but the incremental introduction of new knowledge and reinterpretations of the old.

Fourie's own photographs show that he used this medium to keep records of his displays of material culture, to track manufacturing technologies, and to document costume, dances, settlement layouts and methods of hunting and trapping. The majority of images are connected in some way with picturing the bodies of the Bushmen. While he could bring home the material culture, and write copious notes about the social and technological patterns of the people, their bodies could only be captured in tables of dry measurements, which took many hours to do, or on glass negatives and film. The photographic collection is testament to Fourie's dedication to that task.

Hoernlé's perspective on anthropology was very different from those of Péringuey and Wilman who had first guided his efforts, but her influence was strong. Fourie's focus, in his publications, for example, on the sacred fires of the Hei-//om and on their settlement patterns echoes, in some ways, Hoernlé's work on the importance of water among the Nama (Hoernlé 1923). Photographs however could not profitably be used to record social structure - except perhaps in the case of depicting spatial patterns of living arrangements, or some of the intricacies of dances. Winifred Hoernlé's attitude to the collection of bones has not been recorded, but her hearty congratulations to Fourie on his donation of it to the Wits Medical School bespeaks a sense that she felt that they would be best used in the Department of Anatomy, and that they did not belong with the rest of the collection. There is no record of how, or even whether, she used the photographs showing physical anthropology in her departmental museum.

This line of reasoning might help explain the developments in Fourie's style of photography, which made the 1927 images so different from those of 1922 and 1919, and led to a greater concentration on the heads rather than on the rest of the bodies of his subjects. It may also explain why, when Fourie wrote captions for the photographs in the collection he labelled them for features other than physical anthropology such as: 'formal dress' etc. The 'silence' in the papers with regard to his collection of bones may also be accounted for by such an explanation.

The first impression given by the collection of photographs taken by Fourie is that they represent a variety of aspects of Khoisan life. However, upon closer examination, there is a world within this world. The photographs, when viewed as a collection, constantly present us with the presence of the Administration, the anthropologist, the Medical Officer, other groups (such as the Ovambo), and other realities. And this is in spite of Fourie's efforts to blot them out as he tried to save the Khoisan of the past by selecting images from the present. All of this occurred in the context of the Administration, between the times when Fourie was

visiting gaols, or clinics, or hostels or hospitals, or when he was accompanied by sergeant Saul, or as he sat in his study in Windhoek and talked to Jantjie.

Fourie could not escape his identity as a civil servant in a bureaucracy which, like the South African government at that time, had vested interests in keeping alive the fallacy that the white colonists were physically, mentally and culturally superior to Africans (Dubow 1995:2, 5). Fourie's photographs were made partly in response to the need to "codify and reify custom as a means of consolidating control", in order to "ensure that this colonial world was manageable by certifying that it was divisible" (Wilmsen 1989:25). And yet these more conservative views were balanced by his friendship with Winifred Hoernlé, and his developing interest in social anthropology. His amateur status and his remoteness from the more pressured environments of South Africa and Europe allowed Fourie to remain a generalist, pursuing his interests as he chose. This, more than anything, may have given him the space to make images as an act of redemption in the face of the depredations of colonialism.

In simultaneous efforts to present the dying cultures of the Khoisan and to exclude the "contaminations" of the west there arose a tangible tension, traces of which can be seen in the expressions of discomfort on the faces of the subjects of the photographs, and in the hints of prison and clinic which seep out from behind the grey blanket back-drops. The collection Fourie constructed, however, contains only tangential references to the realities of colonisation, and was thus utilised by succeeding generations of anthropologists to illustrate ethnographies which were reflections of cultures imagined and then imaged by their ancestors in the discipline (in this case in the form of photographs, but in others in the form of written ethnographies). Fourie's compositions had been informed by and had supported a Khoisan identity that was taking shape in the 1920s and form part of a chain of representations which can be seen to thread its way through the twentieth century. Edwards' desire to define such images as history rather than anthropology, while recognising the nature of the photograph as a document and an artefact, overlooks the reality that they effectively performed many of the same functions as ethnographic documents, and that the intentions of the photographers shaped them to that end.

Fourie's photographs, like the material culture he collected, reflect contradictions within and disjunctures between the paradigms and the contexts in which studies of the Khoisan took place. The hunt for distinctions with which to classify different groups is confounded by the interactions of the Naron and ≠Ao-//ein and the difficulty of distinguishing between them. On the other hand it could be supported by the contrasts between the Wakeddi and the Hei-//om which are visible in the costume, material culture and possibly even superficial aspects of

their anatomies. The complexities of the relationships between the groups, however, defy the anthropologist who tries to place them into clear categories such as those outlined by Fourie in his 1928 article.

This analysis of Fourie's photographic collection has been possible because of the accompanying large body of documents and the artefacts. Isolating sections of the collection, such as the photographs, from the whole because of the physical nature of the evidence they contain, tends to distort the interpretations of their significance. It is important to note the nature of the Fourie Collection as a general record in the manner of a contemporary ethnography, complete with a section on physical anthropology. The photographs are directly related to the material culture, the tables of measurements of human bodies and the skeletal material sent to Cape Town and Johannesburg, and to many of the topics discussed in the field notes (such as dancing, hunting, technology, and settlement patterns). They reflect the parallel streams of Fourie's anthropology, and allowed for him to continue an interest in physical anthropology at the same time as he was writing social anthropology.

These archives within archives held information that has been used to stand, metonymically, for people and cultures. Fourie did not write about his motives for making the photographs, but he voiced his belief that the Khoisan were effectively disappearing, and that he hoped that his work would provide material for future studies. It is, therefore, not hard to imagine that he regarded his photographs as holding the Khoisan, protecting them from an extinction in memory and intellectual debate which they might otherwise have experienced. There is no evidence that he attempted, or even wanted to, change the policies and attitudes that led to that decay. And yet he regularly faced the realities of truly shocking Administrative neglect and settler bigotry. The only legacy he could leave was the representation of what he perceived to be evidence to show that the Khoisan once hunted and gathered in a pristine landscape. Wits and the museums that subsequently curated the collection comfortably continued this tradition, taking the images at face value, and using them to teach about current perceptions of Khoisan identity. Heirs to the legacy of focus on the traditional, they too could ignore the intrusions of the presence of other realities.

Fourie was constantly asked for advice and information, and often gave tours of his collection. His explications on the photographs (to visitors like Barnard of the SAM who came away awestruck) have not been saved in the written archive. His knowledge of the links between the Khoisan and the photographs constituted an integral part of the archive during his lifetime. Once the collection was separated from his willingly shared expertise and dissociated from his articulated reservations it changed character. It was catalogued and

classified and became a part of a formal museological system. The images were incorporated into publications that included excerpts from Fourie's papers, such as Schapera's *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* and the MMS's booklet, and into exhibitions, which included the artefacts. In this way they were absorbed into both the public conversation about the Khoisan and the academic debate, both of which form part of a wider body of "common knowledge" (that is that knowledge which becomes naturalised so that we do not question that it is culturally constituted). The archive was shaped to form the foundation of a Khoisan identity; the photographs were made to provide evidence of that identity, and to flesh out the bones. When read against the grain, however, they hold the contradictions which subvert that identity, and which point to the troubled and terrible relationships between the Khoisan and the colonists.

Chapter 5

... certain objects which came into my possession (Fourie 1926)*:* The artefacts and collective meaning

> Most of the really interesting things to be said about the simplest object involve setting it within the wider context of an extended analysis. Often, too, the object of material culture operated as a symbol, concentrating within itself a whole spectrum of meaning (Hammond-Tooke 1987:3-4).

Introduction: Surveying a collection

If one object holds the potential to signify a "whole spectrum" of meanings, then a collection of three thousand objects should be a resource of great value. In addition to examining the individual artefacts, this chapter reads the collection as an artefact in its entirety to reveal still more shades of meaning. Artefacts, taken either individually or collectively, when scrutinised together with their provenances can both hide and disclose information. Sometimes, especially in museum practice, ethnographic collections are used to seek insights into the cultural and social patterns and priorities of the original owners. In an examination of two collections at the South African Museum, Patricia Davison followed Bourdieu in arguing that artefacts "are animated by the roles they play in the reproduction of social life" and that even the most pragmatic of them are "invested with social meaning and relevance" (Davison 1991:198). Recognising this, but taking it a step further, I look here at Fourie as the "original owner" of the collection as a whole, as well as at the Khoisan who made and used the individual artefacts.

Miller's essay on materiality refers to Bourdieu's theory of objects as important in our understanding of how the expression of "immateriality" occurs in material forms and practices (2004:7). In particular he cites the concept that:

> We cannot know who we are, or become what we are, except by looking in a material mirror, which is the historical world created by those who lived before us. This world confronts us as material culture and continues to evolve through us (Miller 2004:8).

Taking this concept and applying it to the holdings of ethnographic collections in museums involves some interesting forays into the byways of the histories of anthropology, the activity of collecting, and the politics of colonialism. What, for example, does it mean to an anthropologist when s/he looks in the "material mirror" of another culture? And what does it mean to a civil servant, or a museum visitor? The reflection they see will include something of themselves, but often this is hidden. This chapter, following Davison's reasoning that the status of objects is not fixed, and that when objects are taken away from their owners and placed in collections (or "recontextualised") they acquire new meanings which are not always

related to their original use and manufacture (Davison 1991:200), examines the complexities of those mirror images.

In a reflection on how we can "both understand things and do full justice to their materiality" Webb Keane (2004:182) warns of the dangers of separating objects from the language used to describe them and the things that both the language and the object symbolise. He points out that objects that are not mass-produced (such as the majority of items in any ethnographic collection) are indexical because they bear the stamp of their makers, somehow holding something of their identity within them, but that that does not prevent different cultures from using the same objects differently. The meanings of things, therefore, are open to interpretation, but they continue to carry with them the maker's intentions (2004:183-7). Davison investigated "material culture within the diverse contexts of museum practice" with the understanding that context operates "at a number of different levels in the generation of meaning". In the process she went beyond a structuralist approach in which objects work as signs in a language, which can be decoded if we have the relevant knowledge. Rather, she saw them as symbols with potential for multiple, complex interpretations, many of which cannot easily be put into words (1991:2, 25). Museum practice can divest objects of much of their polysemous nature because "typological classification … reshapes the order of things and entails a western appropriation on non-western things" in a process in which "*their* objects were sought in order to interpret *our* evolutionary history and to contribute to our ontological well-being" (author's emphases) (Davison 1991:14). The symbolisms of the collection as a whole and of the individual sections within it are explored below.

Davison's thesis contains a sixteen-page examination of a collection of some two hundred and fifty examples of Lobedu material culture in which she gives an overview and an analysis of the collection, but other recent publications do not attempt such analyses. The catalogue for the Torday collection, for example, focuses on a biography of the collector with emphasis on his collecting activities and on his publications (Mack c1990), and the Burton catalogue has chapters on woodcarvings and prehistoric pottery and a full catalogue of the collection (Huffman 1992 and Nettleton 1992). *Catalogues raisonées* can also be found in publications for other collections such as *Art and Ambiguity* (Johannesburg Art Gallery 1991), *The Horstmann Collection of Southern African Art* (Johannesburg Art Gallery 1992), and *Zulu Treasures* (Local History Museums 1996). But none of these publications offers the kind of detailed analysis of the collection that I am seeking here. They do not probe the shapes of collections or the depths and shallows of the combined artefacts, for significance.

Recent debates on the construction, preservation and use of documentary archives, however, offer valuable insights for points of departure. In these discussions documents are examined both for content and for form in order to gain insights into the archives themselves, and they then use those insights to explore the roles played by those archives in the societies that made and preserved them. Stoler, for example, looks at the contents of the documents and the contents of the archives (two different entities which are seldom differentiated) in her work on the Dutch East Indies Company (1998 and 2002). It is difficult to separate the two, but the process offers rewards.

In order to make a survey of the collection, to look for the "distributions of bulk" described by Stoler (1998:10), it is necessary to examine critically both the objects and museum practice. In addition, I look at Fourie's own attempts to order and classify his collection. There are a number of layers of information accompanying the artefacts; from the small labels on the individual items, which give a description of the object and brief notes on provenance such as the name of the group from which they were collected or a place name, to the labels on the boxes, the catalogue cards and the storage systems. These layers are evidence of interventions at different times by different caretakers of the collection, and, when scrutinised, often reveal as much about the cultures of those caretakers as the cultures of the original owners.

Fourie himself made some informal lists of the artefacts in his possession, mainly for the purposes of keeping track of the items he loaned for display at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley but information giving vernacular names, uses, materials used and cultural categories appears randomly in field notes, correspondence and scribbled on scraps of paper (MMSBoxB/5/dd, and BoxE/4).[154] Staff at the museum at Wits made an incomplete list of the collection,[155] but it was the staff at the MMS who formally wrote up a complete register based upon the objects at hand and upon the details written on Fourie's labels from which they began to draw up indexes of objects and tribes. These indexes remain incomplete. Later, staff at the Africana Museum (including myself) began to create a more detailed descriptive catalogue of the collection, attempting to incorporate the information contained in the documents, and adding still more to the layers of interpretation and definition.[156] Only a

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[154] The term "tribe" was used by Fourie, and both the MMS and the Africana Museum as a convenient way to identify the origins of the artefacts. Davison uses "cultural categories" to describe "cultural construct[s] used for convenience by curators". She distinguishes these from "cultural groups" which, she says, "implies a social aggregation and a sense of belonging on the part of fellow members)" (Davison 1991:125).

[155] Now in an unnumbered file at Museum Africa stored with the Fourie documents.

[156] The arrival of the collection at the Africana Museum coincided with the acquisition of a large new exhibition space for which the Museum had been waiting for over thirty years. The efforts of the

very small portion of the collection has been catalogued in depth, which is unfortunate since it was here that all the information should have been synthesised, and the sources for the data used should have been identified.[157]

Fluctuating Boundaries

> ... certain gaps exist and unnumbered specimens were taken over which could not be explained by Mr Boshier or Mrs Berman. These are being investigated. ... (Unnumbered file stored with additional notes for the Museum of Man and Sciences, Museum Africa).[158]

Museums use the term "collection" to imply an immutability that underlies their role as preserver for always of the objects placed in their care. The reality, however, is that the parameters of collections are not constant. The Fourie Collection, for example, has never had fixed borders - there has always been movement of objects into and out of it, and it is not exceptional in that regard. A portion of the Burton Collection of the Department of Bantu Studies at Wits, for example, was burned away in a fire at the University, and another portion has gone missing from storage over the years (Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992:15). In fourteen years of curating the ethnology collections at the Africana Museum I observed that it rarely happened that collections retained one shape and size over a period of time, even in the museum environment. The lack of comment on such movement is, perhaps, an indication of how museologists accept this as an embarrassing fact that they need to suppress, since it is their duty to preserve each artefact for future researchers. It is reported briefly and without comment, for example, in the Burton catalogue (Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992:15). Working with the documentation we can reconstruct some of the movement in the Fourie Collection and thus supplement the information available from the collection as it stands at present. In this way we can shed light on Fourie's collecting methods and on the values placed on different types of objects by the museums in which they were housed.

It is impossible to know exactly how the collection looked in the 1920s. The family's home in Windhoek was built on a slope and had a large 'downstairs' room known as the playroom

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museum ethnologist were concentrated for some eight years on planning and designing displays for this space, and thus the records have remained much as they were when they arrived at the Museum. Archivists might approve of the retention of the original order of the documents, but it must be remembered that there had already been some intervention at the Museum of Man and Science where items had been copied, moved and rearranged. If a careful cataloguing process had been completed the ways in which the collection was stored and exhibited might have been significantly different because objects and their provenances would have been better identified.

[157] The analysis which follows and the detailed indexes in Appendices 8, 9, 12, and 13 go some way to providing the basis for such a catalogue.

[158] This quote is taken from an undated draft Report: "Taking over of Collections from the Museum of Man and Science". The final report would have been given to the Culture and Recreation Committee of the Johannesburg City Council in 1978.

that soon became the study/museum in which the Khoisan collection was displayed and stored. There were objects on the walls going down the stairs, and all over the room. They were displayed for the many visitors who were shown around by Fourie. During his stay in South West Africa Fourie was constantly acquiring new objects, in greater or lesser amounts (Bob Fourie, pers. comm.).[159] At the same time, objects were going out and sometimes coming back again as he sent them to the South African Museum, loaned them out for display, and sent them off for examination and study. A good example is the large collection of "ethnographical specimens" which was sent to the British Empire Exhibition and returned many months later. In 1929 Fourie took some cocoons to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine for identification (MMS40/69/BoxG/ 1928/17; MMS40/69/BoxG/1929/3).[160]

Much of the outward movement of objects speaks of how Fourie's work was deeply rooted in European (particularly British), American and South African networks of knowledge accumulation and dissemination. Inward movements indicate how the collection provided a point at which a number of otherwise unrelated people joined to help make a collection that effectively contributed toward the creation of a Khoisan identity. These included Dr Carl Berger, a farmer at Haruchas, Constable Holloway, a policeman at Gobabis, and, most importantly, Jantjie, Saul and the numerous other informants of Khoisan descent who provided the majority of artefacts and information directly to Fourie. The recursive motif plays in a different key in the sense that the collection was physically shaped by these interactions.

There is no doubt that the Fouries' many moves shaped the collection both physically and in intellectual content. We do not know how many labels came adrift or how many items were lost, broken, loaned and not returned, or given away, during the family's moves to the eastern Cape, Natal and Johannesburg. Nor do we know whether any new additions were made after they left Windhoek. Gaps in the register, and a group of objects not numbered when received by the Africana Museum indicate both possibilities. Some objects have been lost since the last audit in 1979, while a few have been 'found' in the sense that they had lost their labels but have now been matched up with the corresponding numbers.

After the collection left Fourie's hands it continued to be modified. In the last re-distribution of the collection the majority of the artefacts went to the Africana Museum, while some

[159] See also MMS69/40/BoxG/1928/8 & 19.

[160] A further illustration of the chameleon nature of the collection is the separation of the skeletal material from the rest of the collection in 1936 MMS40/69/BoxG/1933:3.

remained at Wits where they were housed in the former Departments of Archaeology and Social Anthropology and at the University Art Galleries. An unnumbered file stored with Fourie's documents at Museum Africa contains a register from the University as well as some lists of items annotated by Fourie.[161] Included in this register are a number of items which are now presumed to be missing, including a pot which is numbered F201/34 (part of a sequence for which I have not been able to find the origin) and noted as being an:

> Historic beer pot. Ukuanyama tribe. This is the pot out of which Mandume drank his last cup of beer and around which he and his chief councillors gathered to discuss their final plan of action an hour before MANDUME [sic] led his men into action which resulted in his death (Hahn).[162]

This information does not appear in the MMS register, and so far no pot has been catalogued which has the relevant number on it. There are other informative notes from this file which are not included in the MMS register, including the names of the people who provided objects and some dates (e.g. 1488, a musical instrument, is said to have been obtained from "Dr S" in January 1926; 1378, a delicately decorated pipe stick came from "Mr Berg" (possible Berger?) in November 1925; and F313/34, a bow, came from Ghansi (sic) and was received from Donald Bain in December 1928).

When the Africana Museum took over the collection the Chief Curator chose not to recall the relatively small group of eighty-three objects held at Wits for a number of reasons. The University had asked to keep them for teaching purposes; the small number of Khoisan items were believed to be duplicated in the main body of the collection and the other items were from groups who were already represented in the collections and were not felt to be the main focus of Fourie's work (H. Bruce pers. comm.). Today, as a result of all this movement, the collection takes one shape on paper and quite another in reality and therefore, while the bulk of the collection is available for examination, it does not, in all its detail, physically resemble the coherent whole which I discuss below.

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[161] This file was given or loaned to the Museum of Man and Science, and was passed on to the Africana Museum when the collections were handed over in 1979. It also contains lists of Luba items, presumably those collected by Burton in the Congo in the 1930s).

[162] Hahn's name in brackets at the end of the short paragraph quoted above suggests that either the information or the pot, or possibly both, were obtained from him. Mandume assumed the kingship of the ouKwanyama in Angola in 1911. He was defeated and killed by the Union Defence Force in 1917. There was much controversy over the beheading of his corpse, and the manner of his death, with the ouKwanyama claiming that he had committed suicide rather than be captured. Photographs of officers proudly displaying their victim have been discussed in some detail in recent literature, but Fourie's friend, Hahn, has not been directly linked with this action, although he would have been serving in the army in the area at that time and had had many dealings with Mandume prior to the battle (Timm 1998:145150; Hayes 1996:173 and 2000:75-79). It is interesting to speculate on the fact that he may have collected this pot as a trophy, and to wonder whether he would have passed it on to Fourie specifically for it to go into the University's collection.

Keeping the register

Keeping track of the collection is best done by referring to the records kept by the museums in which it has been housed. Perhaps the most important tool in this regard is the official register of the Fourie Collection (known as the Accessions Register at Museum Africa), which is used for insurance and legal purposes to denote ownership, or possession of the loan of, individual items in a museum collection. This was originally compiled by the MMS when they took the collection on loan in 1969 and modified by the Africana Museum in 1979 when they received the collection.[163] A rough, handwritten note headed "[Explanation of] Catalogue of Specimens in the Louis Fourie Collection" explains: "This catalogue is near to a verbatim copy of the original. It is slightly edited as far as subsequently added information is concerned" (unnumbered, filed at back of MMS40/69/File F). It goes on to give explanations for some of the terms used, but is unfinished, and so we do not know how to distinguish Fourie's original information from the subsequent additions of the MMS.

The register is, nevertheless, the chief source of basic information for each object, although some objects have labels attached to them that contain similar or, in a small number of cases, contradictory information. Some objects also have information written directly upon them, but these are few and far between because the shape, texture and size of most of the artefacts are not conducive to such permanent marking. Apart from marking each object with its unique accession number in permanent ink in as unobtrusive a way as possible, the Africana Museum's policy proscribed writing information on the objects themselves, the accepted stance being that the artefact should be altered as little as possible in order for it to retain its integrity. The implication was that each object contained knowledge and value which could be discovered by careful scrutiny of the surface; a notion which rested in some part on the practices of private collectors and the dealers who supplied the Museum with coins, medals, and works of art. On the other hand, it was standard for museums to accept that the objects would remain in their collections in perpetuity, and would not be traded again, so that marking them permanently in a small way with a number which would also help to identify them in the case of theft was an acceptable rule (Davison 1991:122).[164] This policy, like

[163] The numbers run from 1 to 3 606 and then from 4 000 to 4 126, the latter being added by Museum Africa to accommodate a number of items which did not have numbers. In the sequence from 2 819 to 2 898 there are no items listed and from 3 541 to 3 606 there are only six items listed. In the rest of the sequence there are a number of items listed as being at the University of the Witwatersrand, or as missing, and there are some which only have a question mark next to them. To complicate matters further sometimes one number is given to a group of objects, for example, 1 418 is listed as "Roasting Sticks (7)". Given these variables it is difficult to arrive at an accurate total for the objects in the collection, but, as a rough guide, the number of items is 3 425 (See Appendices 8 and 9).

[164] Pers. comm. from Hilary Bruce, who had studied museology in London in the 1960s and worked at the Local History Museums in Durban and the Horniman Museum in London before moving to the Africana Museum where she worked for thirty one years until December 2001. Recent developments in museology allow that collections need not be immutable. In 2001, for example, the South African Museums Association circulated to its members a policy document for deaccessioning objects in museum collections.

many others at the Museum, was, by 1979, when the Fourie Collection was received, handed down by word of mouth from one member of staff to another, as part of a body of knowledge aimed at preserving the collections for posterity.[165]

The MMS register, a foolscap size hardcover book, is kept in a safe together with the registers for the rest of Museum Africa's collections. The code of ethics of the South African Museums' Association (SAMA), based upon that of ICOM (International Committee of Museums), places great emphasis on the ownership of collections in perpetuity (Paragraph 4.1, for example, discusses "General Presumption of Permanence of Collection").[166] The register symbolises collective ownership of a hoard of treasures, in this case, for the City of Johannesburg. In many ways it allows the society that supports the museum the status and respect normally accorded to the kinds of scholarly collectors discussed in the following chapter. When registrars enter a collection of objects into the museum register they put a seal upon ownership, and signal the fact that a value has been placed upon them, and, by extension, upon the knowledge they contain.[167] From that point on the collective has bound itself to care for the objects in perpetuity. The register, therefore, forms the starting point for all museum activities.

The information within the MMS register is arranged in a number of columns. The first column contains the number of the object, which always starts with the collection number, followed by the year in which it was received, and then by a number from one upward. All the objects in the Fourie Collection, then, are numbered 40/69/ and then 1, 2, 3, 4 etc., denoting that it was the fortieth collection to be received by the MMS, and that it was received in the year 1969. The sequential numbers (i.e. the last in the series 40/69/1, 2, 3, 4, 5 etc.) were, for the most part, given to the objects by Fourie himself, and are written in his hand on the objects in Indian ink, or on small jeweller's tag labels attached to the objects.

After the column giving the numbers there follows a brief description of the object, and columns for "Tribe",[168] "Locality",[169] "Source" (Fourie's details), "Acquisition by" (in this case donation by Bob Fourie) and "Date" (of acquisition by the museum). At one stage

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165 Hilary Bruce states that the museum had manuals of staff practice which detailed the requirements concerning the registering and marking of new acquisitions which had been handed to all new members of staff. By 1979, however, for reasons that included the longevity of certain members of staff this was no longer the policy.

166 SAMA's archives and documents are housed in the archives at UNISA in Pretoria.

167 The Museum Africa register contains a column for the monetary values of items received by the museum for insurance purposes, but these values are acknowledged to be unrelated to the true value of the pieces.

168 See the section on classification below in which the problems of ethnic identity are discussed. See also the discussion on the groups most represented in the collection, and Appendices 15 and 16.

169 See the discussion below on the areas from which Fourie collected, and Appendices 12 and 13.

Fourie used a system of numbering which involved an initial classification of the object by type and by the group from which it came (MMS40/69/BoxB/ File5:aa). For example B1 followed by a B indicates that the object came from the Naron and is a spear. This is not found universally through the collection, however, and may have been devised solely for the objects he had sent to the Wembley Empire Exhibition.[170] It may be that it became too cumbersome as the collection grew, or that there were too many objects for which he did not have the provenances to provide a code. The information in the register does not use these numbers but combines information from Fourie's labels, sometimes from the artefacts themselves and from the MMS staff who gave descriptions to unidentified objects. Entering the objects into this system involves creating categories of identity for both the original owners and the artefacts themselves.

The register gives information about the what, who and where of the objects but there are many gaps. Over four hundred and eighty numbers do not have any object attributed to them (roughly thirteen percent). One thousand and twenty two objects have no entry under "tribe" (twenty eight per cent), and one thousand six hundred and six have no entry under "location" (forty four per cent). The majority of the eighty-three objects said to be at Wits are not given any description or provenance.[171] In many cases it is tempting to guess provenances based on those given to adjacent numbers in the register, for example in a sequence from 40/69/739 to 813 the majority of objects, with the exception of a few scattered throughout, are described as !Kung. It would seem logical to guess that the unnamed few were collected at the same time and in the same place, but the pattern throughout the register does not support such an assumption. There are other examples in which long sequences are ascribed mostly to one group, with isolated objects coming from others, or in which sequences might seem illogical - 40/69/25, for example, is a ≠Ao-//ein quiver, 26 and 27 are Naron arrows and 28 is a ≠Ao-//Ein arrow.[172] Information from labels and from the lists in the Wits file could fill some of these gaps, but this has not been done in the register yet. In the process of creating a detailed catalogue of the collection some of these questions could also be answered using supporting information from the documents in Fourie's archive. The figures I use in the analysis of the collection, below, are, therefore, inaccurate to some degree. The general profile that emerges, however, is representative enough to allow for certain conclusions to be drawn.

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[170] See Appendix 10 for a list of these symbols and their meanings. They are found on the labels attached to some objects, or sometimes written on the objects themselves.

[171] The total number of objects actually found at Wits (both in the Department of Anthropology and the University Art Galleries) did not tally with the list from the register during an inventory made by staff at the University Art Galleries during the years 1995 and 1996, but a final number was not arrived at (Fiona Rankin Smith, pers.comm. 2002).

[172] Of course it sometimes happens that the objects in these sequences came from the same place, but from different groups, so that it is possible that there are Naron arrows in the quiver of a ≠Ao-//ein man, particularly if they are said to have been collected from the same place.

Museum processing and the selection of meaning

The physical arrangement of artefacts in a collection such as Fourie's, a seemingly prosaic and practical issue, involves a number of choices connected with the interpretation of the artefacts. At the Africana Museum, for example, the stores were initially divided by department. Thus the Fourie items were placed in the "Ethnology Stores", separated by the length of the building from the "Cultural History" stores, which contained artefacts relating to the history and cultures of the white inhabitants of southern Africa. Khoisan artefacts at the Africana Museum (belonging mainly to the Fourie Collection with a small number of items from other sources) were separated from the main body of the ethnographic collection and stored in a different room. Within the Khoisan store the objects were arranged by type, and then by number, so that, for example, leather bags were stored together, as were headbands, necklets, musical instruments, miniature hunting kits and shoes.

This separation was historical, and related to the ways in which the Museum first began to collect and classify the history of the region, but even today it remains a reality which physically marks traditional Africa as being set apart from mainstream history in South Africa and from the cultures of the previously dominant white populations, and marks the Khoisan as being different again within this division. This physical manifestation of a conceptual separation was not exceptional within South Africa. The collections of the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria, the Campbell Collections of the University of Natal, the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg and the McGregor Museum in Kimberley, among others, were (and some still are) divided in the same way as those at the Africana Museum. The collections of cultural artefacts in the South African Museum were divided in such a way that ethnology, or "works of native races", was placed with natural history, while the "works of civilised races" became the Cultural History Museum (Davison 1991:110).

The staff at Museum Africa has been aware that the implications of such a division are problematic for some time. In the early 1990s, when they were preparing to move into new premises and to restructure the displays, they considered rearranging the storerooms but decided not to change the departmental structure for a number of reasons. Some of these involved the logistics of changing a system which covered tens of thousands of objects, but an important consideration was that, as with the photographic collection, the existing system was consistent with the nature of the majority of public queries and the work of researchers using the collection: an important part of the Museum's function. This separation of "ethnographic" collections, and the categories of cultural groups within them, reflected, and continue to reflect, public and academic frames of reference. Fourie and collectors like the Kriges, Torday and Burton, were instrumental in defining and reifying the categories by means of their collections, but were only able to do so because they did not directly challenge

academic and popular frames of reference. My detailed assessment of the contents of the collection combined with a study of the history of its making focuses closely on the relationships between the collector and the people he studied, and shows that the product is as much an artefact of colonial culture as it is a reflection of the cultures of the groups it purports to represent.

To manage its ethnographic collections the Africana Museum utilised a slightly modified version of the classification system devised for the South African Museum by Margaret Shaw, curator of ethnology, and N.J. van Warmelo, government anthropologist in 1933.[173] This scheme placed "Bushmen" at the beginning (00) of a numbered sequence of cultural groups of southern Africa followed by "Hottentots" (01) and then the Bantu-speaking groups arranged roughly in order of geographical location from south to north (1 to 9).

In the case of a large collection such as Fourie's, the sheer bulk of objects requiring space and care leads to them being sorted in such a way that related objects are sometimes separated from each other in the processes of classification and storage. Hunting kits, for example, were split up at the Africana Museum so that the delicate arrows would be stored in custom-made cupboards with the other arrows in the Museum, bows were stored with bows, quivers with quivers and so on. The consequences of such moves are complex. Sometimes, because the register does not specify provenance, knowledge is lost completely once the break-up has occurred, so that classification becomes impossible, and at other times the identification of an undocumented item is made possible when it is placed together with like objects.

Their very physicality, therefore, affects the ways in which artefacts are given meaning in museums, and by collectors. In cultural history museums, proximity and distance testify to perceptions about relationships (or the lack of them) between groups of people, concepts which are often not articulated in policy documents, but which are mirrored in classification systems and the arrangement of exhibitions. Because Fourie had worked within earlier versions of the same paradigm the Africana Museum fitted his collection into their system with little trouble. The artefacts presented few divergences from the categories of "Bushmen", "Ovambo" and so on. Items from acculturated groups, such as the Wakeddi, were placed with the "Bushmen" material, and there was nothing to go to the "Cultural History" store. Apart from the presence of Fourie's camera, which remained with the Khoisan artefacts in the ethnology store, the status quo remained unchallenged.

[173] See Davison (1991:105-6) for a brief history of the creation of this system.

Tribal assignations

Museum systems of ordering collections along ethnic lines in South Africa began to be questioned in the late 1980s, when it was shown that commonly accepted categories of classification did not always "coincide with the self-identities of the people concerned". It is interesting to note that Fourie does not use the term "tribe" in the quote above. A few paragraphs before this he writes of the "Bushmen or related tribes" and then of "each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements" and of the "race" of Bushmen. Later on in the paper he emphasises the fact that these are "language divisions" within which are found "sub-divisions" but that "there is no evidence of any tribal organisation among them". Nevertheless he later refers to the "Bushman tribes of Namaqualand", and thereafter continues to use the term "tribe" to refer to the different groups within the three main "divisions" he gives above. This confusion is reflected to some degree in the Museum register, which has a column designated "tribe" in which identifications at varying levels of relationship are given. The classification system is similarly vague, with no definition of the terms and the groupings being made or used (Fourie 1928:82-83).

The quotation above begins Fourie's outline of the names and distribution of Khoisan groups in South West Africa in a study which summarised a decade of research. In the early years of his studies, however, his orthography was less sure and the terms used on the labels attached to the objects were erratically spelt. This is not surprising, for the literature at the time (and indeed for some time to come) offered no agreement on the assignation of names and affiliations (Gordon 1987). Fourie's published outline of the different Bushman groups in SWA did not include the characteristics he used to define the groups but it seems that he used one or more of the linguistic, physical, historical or cultural (including economic or political) criteria to be found in his description of the Hei-//om:

> They are generally believed to have resulted from the *interbreeding* of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen. ... Their *manner of life* is still that of Bushmen, but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari they have no *language* of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their *original organisation* has disappeared completely (Fourie 1928:83) (my emphases).

It should be remembered that, in writing this article, Fourie was attempting to describe the state of those whom he described as the Bushmen in 1928 and at the same time to show how this related to a hypothetical historical state which is partially revealed in such statements as "a now extinct tribe of Bushmen". Always the true or the pure Bushman is veiled because the living Khoisan have departed from that state:

> The essential quality of bushmen was that they were forever 'vanishing'. One can even treat this as the *sine qua non* of the definition of the 'truest' bushmen: they are never actually encountered (Landau 1996:130).

This being the case there is little wonder that the definitions and classification systems devised to capture the so-called Bushmen for science are confused and vague. In spite of its fuzzy nature, the system used by Fourie was the one which informed the classification of the artefacts in his collection, both by himself, and later by the museums which cared for it.[174]

The identifications of the provenances of objects in the collection were not always necessarily accurate, or easy to classify. An untitled and anonymous document from the MMS summarises the complexities inherent in Fourie's collection as part of an attempt to arrive at a successful categorisation of the objects:

> The ≠Ao-//ein and Naron, especially, apparently are living in mixed groups throughout the Gobabis district, and the Klipkaffir (Berg Damara) are living among the Hei-//om and the ≠Ao-//ein at Sprenger on the Nosob River. Perhaps the most accurate information concerns the locality at which the specimen was collected, while the tribal affiliation is to be doubted. There is apparently a great deal of bartering trade carried on between the Gobabis tribes, as well as intermarriage, and the assemblages of arrows are very mixed, although it seems that the Bushmen may be able to detect the workmanship of the various tribes. The problem here is that it is doubtful what 'tribe' means to the Bushman, since the groups or clans are virtually autonomous. It would seem probable that propinquity is a more decisive influence on technique and relationship than descent from a tribe, and that the ≠Ao-//ein, Naron and Hei-//om tribes meeting in the Gobabis district are far more influenced by each other than by any original tribal skills that they may have possessed. This is borne out by their collective difference from the northern Hei-//om. It also casts doubt on the tribal affiliations/associations noted for each specimen. A district affiliation/association may be more convincing (MMS40/69/BoxB: unnumbered).

The conclusions that propinquity was more important than tribal affiliation; that there had been much intermarriage and bartering; and that consequently there was a blurring of difference in material and other aspects of culture; contrast strongly with the museum's need to assign a tribal identity to each item. This, in turn, contrasts with the blanket term "Bushman", which is used so often to generalise about the culture (including the material culture) of a group or groups that stubbornly defy classification.

In many instances Fourie himself was careful to distinguish between the different groups when labelling objects, or writing about them in his field notes. His field notes hold descriptions of the complex interrelationships that suggest that the people he interviewed could articulate a lineage, ancestral if not current, with which they aligned themselves. The statement by the anonymous MMS writer reflects an ongoing concern to find tribal classifications which could be supported by geographical and other distinctions. In spite of

[174] See Appendix 7 for a list of the nomenclature that the museums used for the objects.

this important understanding of the complexities of the relationships of the people living in the areas visited by Fourie, the MMS and AM continued to obscure it by using "tribe" as a primary marker wherever possible in the classification and cataloguing of the collection. Museum classification systems, however, were not structured to accommodate the complex relationships inherent in Fourie's collection.

When measuring bodies, taking photographs, taking down vernacular names in his field notes or writing the 1928 article, Fourie frequently noted the group name before giving any other provenance. It is possible that in making this collection he was attempting to find in the material culture some way of differentiating between groups, but it may also be true that he was looking for uniformity to support conjecture about continuity of lifestyle and technology through space and time. Whatever the case, his nomenclature, filtered through the lens of the classification system of the South African Museum, forms a major part of the structure of the organisation of the collection at Museum Africa. Fourie's urge to compare and contrast artefacts and technologies, as well as bodies and custom, was important in the shaping of the collection and affected the ways in which the collection was subsequently ordered by museums and read by researchers.

The information Fourie gathered pointed to extensive trade and interaction among the different groups living in the Kalahari but he did not comment upon these findings in his publications. The only interpretative note he wrote was that each tribe was composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the ≠Ao-//ein all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big ≠Ao-//ein Bushman". He found that a similar belief existed among other groups. The "first big ... Bushman" is important in his study of material culture and there are many references to him as being the one who taught the group how to make particular items, or how to use particular materials (Fourie 1928:82, 85).

Almost all the groups using traditional artefacts in 1928, according to Fourie's synopsis, are represented in the collection, if unevenly so.[175] The majority of Khoisan objects in the collection come from the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein of the Sandfontein region (combined they make up almost fifty percent of all the Khoisan artefacts). Fourie chose the Sandfontein area because he believed that it was remote enough to ensure that the people living there retained or remembered a good part of their traditional life styles. Fourie also collected a sizeable number of traditional items from the Hei-//om (18.5%), the Nu-//ein (15.3%) and the !Kung

[175] See Appendices 14, 15 and 16.

(11.6%). Very few items came from those groups he described as being strongly influenced by the Ovambo and Herero: the Wakeddi and the Ovachwagga. Fewer still came from those he found to be almost extinct, such as the Khomakhoin. He used the term "Masarwa" to describe all the Khoisan living in Botswana, outside of his collecting territory, and the Berg Damara (or Berg Dama) were generally believed to be unrelated to the Khoisan, but were thought to have been present in the Protectorate possibly even before them (Schapera.1930:3-4). Saul is said to have been a "Klipkaffir" (Bleek 1928:1) (a common term used to describe the Berg Damara at the time) and may have been the source of the two items labelled Berg Damara in the collection.

Although the representation of the groups appears to be patchy, those which Fourie regarded as having retained much of their traditional material culture are, in fact, quite evenly represented, with the Naron, the Nu-//ein, the Hei-//om and the !Kung all having between eleven and eighteen per cent. The ≠Ao-//ein provided almost double the number of items of these groups for reasons which probably include the fact that they formed the largest number of inhabitants of the original research area, and also, perhaps, because of the relationship between Jantjie and Fourie. It may also be that this group had retained more of its traditional material culture than any other. There can be no doubt, however, that Fourie was attempting to provide a record of as much as he could find of the remnants of traditional Bushman artefacts in South West Africa.

Fourie named the subjects in many of his photographs, but he did not name the creators or original owners of the objects in the collection with the result that they become depersonalised and separated from their social context. This turns them into specimens capable of being examined and manipulated as evidence in the construction of Bushman culture (Davison 1991:116). The social context is partially available in the documents and the literature, but without the personal names the collection and the words become two separate, parallel entities. Photographs, such as those of Hartebeest making rope, go some way to linking these two streams of representation, but museum practice tends to hinder the process to some degree.

Naming places

When considering the original distribution of the items in the collection the most striking feature is that the majority of artefacts with provenances came from Gobabis, between the Windhoek district and the Botswana Boundary (over eight hundred items), and Ovamboland (roughly five hundred). The groups in which Fourie was most interested, the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron, were mostly to be found in the Gobabis area, but the large number of items from Ovamboland needs more elaboration. Fourie's interest in the Hei-//om, who lived around the

Etosha Pan and in the areas adjacent to it, which would have been included in Ovamboland in the 1920s, accounts for the fact that one hundred and sixty eight of around five hundred objects from this area are attributed to these groups.[176] But that accounts for less than half of these objects. Two hundred and nine items from this area have no tribal attribution, and, of the remaining one hundred and thirteen objects, seventy-one are from the Ovambo and related tribes. We have seen how Fourie had many links, both professional and personal, with administrators and missionaries in the area, a fact which must have some bearing on this part of the collection, and that he used the opportunities afforded by official visits to them to augment his collection. The reasons for his interest lie, most likely, in comparative ethnography. These artefacts helped to reify the classificatory differences between the Khoisan and the Ovambo and Herero, and were particularly interesting in the identification of the Wakeddi and the Ovagongola.

If the tables of distribution of the objects collected by Fourie, given in Appendices 9 and 13, reflect in any way the demographics of the time, then ≠Ao-//ein territory was around Epukiro, !Kung at Grootfontein, Naron at Sandfontein and Nu-//ein at Haruchas. This impression is supported by the locations given in Fourie's article and confirmed by his annotated map which shows the Naron around Sandfontein due west of Gobabis, the ≠Ao-//ein at Epukiro and the !Kung to the north-west of Grootfontein. Sandfontein was the location in which Bleek collected information which was later published as a short ethnography of the Naron (Fourie 1928; MMS40/69/ BoxD/2). It was information such as this that Goodwin and others felt Fourie ought to publish.

The collection also indicates a degree of movement and intermixing of the groups, with many locations providing artefacts from up to five different groups. Sandfontein, for example, despite being the home territory of the Naron, was also the location for artefacts from the ≠Ao-//ein (8 items), the Hei-//om (2 items), the Komakhoin (1 item), and the Nu-//ein (2 items) (See Appendix 12). When Fourie was taking down genealogies and trying to work out settlement patterns he frequently noted that there were visitors from a wide area to the homesteads he was studying, and that there had been intermarriage between groups (MMS40/69/BoxE/ 23:58-61, 92, 94, 96). In particular, while the Hei-//om may have had large settlements around the Etosha Pan they were also scattered widely at twenty-six locations throughout the northeast and eastern parts of the country.[177]

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[176] Hei-//om - 86; Ovachwagga - 9; Ovagongola - 49; and Wakeddi - 24 (See Appendices 12, 13 and 15). There are 126 more items from the Hei-//om from nineteen other locations, and none for the rest except for one for the Ovachwagga.

[177] From Keetmanshoop in the south through Grootfontein and into Ovamboland. (See Appendix 12).

Unlike with some groups, there are no major aggregations of artefacts from one locality for the Hei-//om,[178] the largest numbers, among the total of two hundred and fourteen, are fifty three from Okukueyo (on the southern border of the Etosha Pan), twenty-nine items from the general Etosha Pan area, and twenty eight from Keitsaub in the Gobabis district. In addition there are artefacts showing strong Ovambo influence from those groups living in Ovamboland such as the Wakeddi and the Ovachwagga; and the majority of the arrows from the Gobabis district are indistinguishable in shape, size and construction, from those of the ≠Ao-//ein, the Naron and the !Kung. This scattered pattern is reflected in Fourie's opening statements about the group in his "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen" (Fourie 1926:49-50).

The complexities of the provenances of the objects in the Fourie Collection may appear confusing at first, but they can be teased out to provide facets of the ethnography of the region that sometimes support the written interpretations, and sometimes contradict them. It is interesting to note that, despite the scattered and broken nature of the Hei-//om, Fourie managed to find over two hundred items manufactured in the traditional style (making them the third best represented in his collection), and, in spite of an introduction which indicates almost total acculturation, he produced a reasonably detailed ethnography.

The broad spread of places and of groups from which Fourie collected, the attempts to provide comparative material from those Hei-//om he described as acculturated into the Ovambo and related communities, and the material gathered from the latter attest to two major characterisations of the collection. Firstly this was an ethnographic project, in which material culture was used to help identify and differentiate groups among the San, and then the Khoisan from the Bantu-speaking groups. Secondly it was an encyclopaedic project. Fourie's worries about the disappearance of the "primitive organisations" were an important motivation in his efforts to take "careful note ... of any information relating to their present customs or to past customs which were still known to the older members of the various communities" (Fourie 1926:49) and thus to preserve all the information he could gather for future study. This led to the accumulation of the widest possible variety of artefacts in an attempt to document all that had been and was being made.

[178] 259 items from the ≠Ao-//ein at Epukiro, and 196 from the Naron at Sandfontein. The largest numbers for the Nu-//ein (out of a total of 192) are also in the 50s and the 20s, but the locations are all very much closer together. The largest number for the !Kung is 65 from Grootfontein out of a total of 85.

Description and content

The terms used to describe the objects in the "Description" column of the register give almost one hundred and twenty categories of objects ranging from Adzes to Wooden Vessels. Almost all the terms used are English words; vernacular terms are not applied, though sometimes they are listed in the field notes or on scraps of paper in the documentation.[179] This is one of the most effective ways of ascribing and circumscribing the objects' potential for meaning. Fourie did not indicate whether any of the terms used on his labels or in his lists were direct translations of vernacular descriptions.[180] Implicit in the description of many items is Fourie's (or the MMS's) knowledge of their use and significance, gained from observation, informants or from ethnographic publications. A small, unremarkable twig is described as "*materia medica*", for example, and a long, pliable stick with a curved metal piece attached to one end is a "hook for spring hare", a short hollow reed is a "reed for sucking water", and a straight stick with a pointed end is a "digging stick" (MMS40/69/814, 539, 1669 and 1459 respectively). The choice of terms to describe the individual components of the collection, therefore, always involved some form of translation, either directly from the vernacular used by the original owner, or indirectly from the memory of the collector. In either case, the term used was an interpretation, thus problematising the idea that collections such as this can be viewed as primary sources of knowledge. As he added them to the collection Fourie effectively claimed ownership of the artefacts (and at the same time alienated them from their original owners) by naming them in his chosen language in a convention compatible with contemporary anthropological practice and with later museum classification systems.[181]

"Systemic classification of collections tends to reduce the former ambiguity of objects in social circulation and restricts their range of meanings" (Davison 1991:203), but it is easy to see that museums and collectors found it necessary to create categories of objects in order to manipulate the information they believed them to contain. Harris puts it thus:

> Archivists arrange and describe archives in order to disclose their content and significance and to make them available effectively. By arrangement I mean the intellectual and physical operations involved in the organisation of archival records. By description I mean the preparation of finding aids. Arrangement facilitates description; description is shaped by arrangement (Harris 1997:28).

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179 See, for example, MMS40/69/BoxA/File2:c - a list of ≠Ao-//Ein, Naron, Hei-//om and !Kung terms for head ornaments specified by number.

180 MMS40/69/BoxE/File23:pages 86, 87, 88, for example, give numerous examples. In some instances Fourie actually used the vernacular first - as in "tshi-'a A[≠Ao-//ein] Goa N [Nu-//ein] or mantle made from steenbuck skin", and "Ko A 'Om N or small bag used for food, tobacco etc. from steenbuck skin".

181 See Appendix 7 for a list of the terms used.

Museologists organise their collections into groups of related material, and have to use internal and external factors in order to determine what these groups should include and how they should be named. The markers used to identify the groups are words which have been chosen according to an organising principle. Thus, for example, the term "head ornament" has, for the English speaker, the capacity to encompass the */Gu-//omsie* and the *Ga-!Koasi* of the ≠Ao-//Ein and the *Nomsie* of the Naron (MMS40/69/BoxA/File2:c).

The shape taken by Fourie's collection, the kinds of objects he collected and the distributions of bulk, reflected contemporary understandings of the material culture and the cultural organisation of the Khoisan, and conversely contributed to it. In his summary of all published material on the Khoisan, Schapera gave a detailed inventory of San material culture in a section entitled: "Industries and Trade". Here he listed items by the material from which they were made, starting with wood, and moving through reeds, ostrich egg shells, tortoise shells, stones, to skins and others. He gives Fourie's 1928 paper as one of his sources here, but says that the most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in an article entitled 'Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann' by Gretschel (1911-1912). His list could have been taken directly from the Fourie register, so close is it in content to the items in the collection and so similar are the terms used to describe them (Schapera 1930:143-145). This suggests that if Fourie was not familiar with Gretschel's text (and I could find no evidence that he was), he was familiar with the paradigms that informed it, and that these shaped what he looked for and what he disregarded. Fourie did not describe or refer to his collection in any way in his two publications, but it is safe to say that the collection produced no real surprises, and reinforced the extant descriptions. .

While the range of the collection is comprehensive, there is much unevenness in the representation of categories of objects. In some cases, such as dusters, forks and funnels, there are only one or two examples and in others there are dozens and even hundreds (one thousand one hundred and eighty six in the case of arrows).[182] There is a strong emphasis on weapons, which make up forty-one per cent of the collection, and on personal ornaments such as necklets, headbands and armlets, which make up almost twenty-five per cent. It may be that these items were the most ubiquitous and numerous to be found, and that some others, such as wooden utensils for food preparation and consumption, were being replaced by mass-produced alternatives, such as tin cans and plates, as suggested by Schapera:

> The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots made by themselves or obtained by barter, while among the more northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found (Schapera 1930:94).

[182] Dusters - 40/69/2673 and 1764; forks - 40/69/659; funnels - 40/69/3112. See Appendix 9.

Of the forty-eight wooden vessels contained in Fourie's collection, five were ≠Ao//ein and two were Naron, eleven vessels were collected from Ovamboland, and two were Herero, but the rest have no provenance. Similarly of the twenty-five clay pots only two were ≠Ao-//ein, three came from Ovamboland, and the rest have no provenance. The relative rarity of San wooden and clay bowls in Fourie's collection supports Schapera's statement. On the other hand, the total lack of paraffin and paint tins is not consistent with the picture he paints.[183] Here lies the fundamental ambiguity of the collection, constrained by reality in one sense, but consciously estranged from it in another.

Apart from the reference above and one or two others, Schapera does not make much mention of the use of mass-produced goods, such as guns and western-style clothing. Widespread trade routes involving the Khoisan in the western parts of the sub-continent have been well documented for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Goods such as guns, ammunition, textiles, beads and ceramics were traded for ostrich feathers, ivory and services such as guiding or hunting. Prior to that the Khoisan had forged relationships with iron-smelters such as the Ovambo and cattle-herders such as the Herero over several centuries, trading clay pots and wooden vessels and learning how to manufacture them themselves (Gordon 1992:19-28, and Wilmsen 1989:64-96, 116-120). Like Schapera, Fourie, for the most part, avoided such references in his publications. The collection of objects reflects this disregard. In spite of the fact that Fourie himself was sending old clothes to informants and helpers in the field and was photographing individuals who were wearing them, (particularly in the mid 1920s) he accumulated skin loincloths, cloaks, aprons and skirts, all hand made, but no clothing made of textiles (MMS40/69/BoxE/ 7:126). Of the seventeen hats in the collection none are of European manufacture, although the latter can also be seen in several of the photographs taken in the Sandfontein area (MMSp10/69/280, 335, 337-342, 342, 368).

Another pertinent omission from Fourie's writings and the collections is reference to the keeping and herding of livestock. There is one enigmatic mention in a memo book containing notes made on a trip from Windhoek to Tsumeb and the surrounding areas. I quote it here in its entirety (the question marks indicate that the handwriting was not entirely legible) because, in spite of its cryptic nature, it indicates the complex relationships between cattle keeping, political power, and contested ownership.

> B have moved to Okumukanbi[?]. Chief is Sisab, appointed by Mhari[?]. Cattle were taken. Langman by B. at waterhole Nots[?] who said they were taking them to

[183] There is only one reference to tin cans being used as water containers in Fourie's notes, and that refers to the use of a tin to hold water to wash the faces of Hei-//om boys after they had been tattooed during an initiation ceremony (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:69). The notes are scrambled and rough as if they were being taken down verbatim. In his publications the tin is not mentioned.

> Tsamukau[?] ... The cattle did not belong to Longman but were strange cattle (MMS40/69/B0xE/3:38).[184]

The line immediately preceding this paragraph states: "Epukiro 539 Tank empty & filled Kalkfontein", which gives some idea of the location.

Studies of Khoisan history have shown that hunter-gatherers did not eschew the keeping of herds, and that both economic modes were responses to ecological, economic and political stimuli. By the 1890s much of the big game had been hunted out in the north-west Kalahari, leaving with no means of support those Khoisan who had exploited the trade in ivory, ostrich feathers and skins to provide them with a livelihood. One alternative was to work for cattle keepers, to attempt to accumulate some livestock: converting "hunting labour" to "herding labour". Groups such as the Zhu still controlled their ancestral territory, and would hire out cattle grazing rights there, sometimes offering to care for the cattle and receiving calves as payment. In the nineteenth century a certain amount of trading of pelts, ivory and other commodities for cattle also occurred. But, particularly in South West Africa, the German and then the South African settlers were rapidly depriving the Khoisan of their territories. Some responded by raiding cattle from white settler farms, and stock theft had been a common problem for many decades by the time Fourie was travelling in the area. In spite of this Khoisan herders were commonly employed by Herero and European ranchers (Gordon 1992:41, 53, 57, 121, 134-5, 200-203; Wilmsen 1989:131-132, 134, 139).

Fourie's observations about the cattle in the Epukiro area evoke the realities of the economic advantages held by chiefs, who were those who controlled the territories in which a group lived,[185] as well as the fears that the cattle would be considered to have been stolen (and indeed may have been stolen: they did not belong to Longman but were "strange", and were most likely connected with an infamous rustler). Given the widespread experiences of Khoisan with cattle one could expect to find some reference to this in the material culture collected by Fourie. The fact is that there may be, but that it is not immediately obvious. There is a whip in the collection (MMS40/69/3532 - Masarwa), which would most likely have been used for domesticated animals. And there are seven whistles, some of which may have been used when herding livestock in a similar way to the whistles used by the Ovatjimba.[186] Anything else in the collection which may have reference to herding (such as

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[184] This note probably refers to the trip Fourie made to Epukiro in 1922 around the time of the trial of Tsamkhao/Zameko and his band of Aukwe.

[185] Wilmsen (1989:247-252) shows patterns of hierarchies among the Zhu which relate to control of ancestral rights to hunt and gather in particular territories, and the advantages which such control give to those who hold it, resulting often in the ownership of herds of cattle.

[186] These seven whistles are numbered MMS40/69/1401(no provenance); 1403 (Nu-//ein); 1404 (Naron); 1643 (no provenance); and 1644-1646 (Hei-//om). Some of these whistles may have been used in dances. See, for example, Museum Africa 89/603.

the calendars of the Hei-//om (MMS40/69/1396-1398 & 1649) which may have been used to count the days when the cattle were grazing far away from the homestead) appear with no explanation for their use, and so have not been categorised as being related to herder economies. The objects offer no sense of hierarchy, or of chiefly power in the sense that they controlled material resources, and this inconsistency is reflected in the archive as a whole. Received wisdom was that the Khoisan did not have powerful rulers, and that: "No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life" (Schapera 1930:150).

Almost everything in the collection is hand made from materials found in the natural environment. There are, however, some important exceptions. In the groups of materials and tools are fencing wire and other pieces of iron for the manufacture of arrowheads, and a number of files of European manufacture. A number of ornaments and some of the miniature quivers are decorated with glass beads and there are tinderboxes made of ammunition cartridge cases. However, these can be seen to form only a small part of the collection, and their presence goes unremarked for the most part by Fourie. One of the reasons he accepted them into the collection was that they were used in a way that followed a previous pattern which had used local material. For example Fourie recorded the following in some notes on arrow making:

> Bone tips are made from bones of big game by splitting them with a sharp piece of iron on a stone. Iron has been used for this purpose for many generations as long before the advent of the European the B. obtained iron from the Bantu (Ovambo) - they never obtained iron from the ore? (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item 23:14).

The focus of this thesis is too broad to allow for a detailed study of the entire collection, but, in order to convey the implications of Fourie's intensive accumulation of objects, I make a beginning by describing and examining in detail three categories of objects. The reasons for the choice of these categories will become clear as I tackle each one, but the creation of the categories demands some explanation. They are based upon the ordering of the material initiated by Fourie as he labelled and named the artefacts, and then refined by the Africana Museum as it assimilated the collection into the storerooms and the cataloguing system.

The sources for the terms and the groups used by both Fourie and the Museum have never been fully articulated. In the case of the collector I have shown above how he would have been guided by his reading of various texts (both German and English). He would also have used linguistic conventions. So, for example, it is unlikely that, using the English language, he could have chosen any other term to describe the "arrows" in his collection. He would also have grouped together objects with similar physical characteristics, such as the miniature

sets of bows, arrows and quivers, which he termed "Magic quivers" because he knew that they were not used for the same practical purposes as the full-sized equivalents. These were renamed "Miniature quivers" by the Museum, possibly because they would not have considered the term "magic" to be objective, or necessarily accurate. The body ornaments were named and grouped together by the Africana Museum because of their function. Again, the category was guided by Fourie's nomenclature, but not entirely based upon the terms he used to describe them.[187] Hunger belts and other belts, for example, would have been classified as waistbands, bangles as armbands, anklets as legbands and necklaces would have been placed with necklets.

Weapons large and small

> It fell to the nineteenth century to invent its nativity in ancient hunting savagery, which is quite a different thing from simply gaining awareness of its ancient hunting ancestors. ... "Bushmen" were invented in this intellectual environment. They, or something like them, had to be made available to certify the ontological quest (Wilmsen 1989:24).

The most striking feature of Fourie's collection is the abundance of weapons it contains. While I will be looking at arrows as individual artefacts in the following section, it is important to remember that they were used in conjunction with bows and were stored, together with poison sticks and other small tools, in quivers. The total of 1 504 weapons in the collection includes 1 186 individual arrows, 105 bows and 103 quivers: roughly 11 arrows to every quiver, so that the total number of kits (quivers, bows and arrows) would be about 103. Each bow, arrow and quiver is individually numbered, however, and they are not all presented in the register in neat sequences which are explicitly grouped together in bundles of around eleven but are often only single ones, or in groups of two or three.[188] Whichever figure is used, when compared with, for example, the 16 digging sticks in the collection, or the 13 nets used for carrying ostrich egg shells used for carrying water, arrows and hunting kits dominate the collection.

This thickness in the collection can be explained by a number of factors. The dominant paradigm concerning the Bushmen in Fourie's time was that they could be distinguished from

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[187] Terms such as "armband", "necklace", "legband", "gaiters" or "headband". See Appendix 7.

[188] A staff member at the MMS compiled a list of arrows in quivers and another of arrows which did not come in quivers, and began to write an analysis of the arrows, seeking to find similarities and differences along tribal lines. While there do appear to be distinguishing features there are also many instances where the lines are blurred. (e.g. "The Hei-//om of this central region ... use an assortment of arrows similar to that of the ≠Ao-//ein and Naron of the region.") Sadly this analysis does not refer specifically to objects in the collections and it was not completed (Loose notes in unnumbered file stored with Additional Notes for the MMS collections).

their neighbours by their culture as hunters and gatherers. Up until the late twentieth century an interest in Khoisan culture almost inevitably presupposed an interest in the hunting persona attributed to them by the anthropologists of the day. There is a strong emphasis on weapons in much of the contemporary literature on the Khoisan. Schapera summarises this in a chapter on "Economic and Political Life" in *Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, in which he devotes a disproportionate amount of space to describing the construction and uses of various types of arrows; the sources, production and effects of poisons; and the woods suitable for the construction of bows. He then makes brief references to other hunting weapons such as spring hare hooks, throwing sticks, spears and snares, all of which are to be found in the collection.

Fourie's field notes point to an early interest in Bushman hunting techniques and weapons (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item27:2-3), possibly emphasised by his own prowess at the sport. His interviews with informants were directed at this subject and the answers reinforced the perception that these were important elements of Khoisan culture. His field notes contain many references to the incorporation of arrow making and hunting with bows and arrows into male initiation rituals among the Hei-//om (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:60-70, 113). Schapera reflected these findings and he concluded that hunting had been of central significance in San life, to the extent that "hunting bands" (as opposed, say, to groups of kin such as those described by Wilmsen[189]) claimed rights of ownership over territory, and the men "spent the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game" (Schapera 1930:127-137). But he recognised that:

> … with the decrease of the game in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for their means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld (Schapera 1930:140).

Fourie was not only persuaded of the importance of hunting by the same sources that Schapera was using for his book, but he was also prey to the same view that these customs (and by extension the material culture associated with them) were diminishing. His collection of weapons was, in some senses, part of a salvage operation, and in others a reflection of the melancholy that arose as he contemplated this loss. The collection, in a very real sense, became a complex *memento mori*, redolent of the passing of the large herds of game in the territory, as well as of the people who had depended on them for their livelihood.

[189] In a detailed and convincing argument Wilmsen shows how it is kinship ties that give rights to hunt and gather in particular territories (1989:197-225).

Arrows

Description

Fourie's arrows comprise a wide variety of types with a broad range of provenances. They were collected from at least 13 different groups (299 are unidentified, and it is possible that some of these may have come from groups not counted here) including two non-Khoisan groups, and from twenty-seven different locations.[190] Even a cursory inspection indicates that the arrows collected from the Ovachwagga and the Ovagongola groups which Fourie described as having "been largely influenced by Ovambo culture" are significantly different from those of the ≠Ao-//ein, Naron, !Kung and Nu-//ein whom Fourie saw as being "Bushmen of the Kalahari". Surprisingly the arrows of the Hei-//om of Etosha fit into this latter group with no distinguishing features, even though the people came from an area some distance from Sandfontein and had lost much of their original culture (Fourie 1928:82, 83). Such an observation may have led to Fourie to conclude that this group were the least acculturated of all the Hei-//om (1926:49-50).

Almost all the arrows in the collection are very light and small in size, being between 35 and 60cms long (with most being around 45-50cms). They have tips of bone or metal, which are also small and delicate, and very few are fletched. They could only carry short distances with any real accuracy: "Big game not shot over 55-60 yds. A maximum distance arrow will go in full length of tip" (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:33). It was usually the poison on the tips of the arrows which was fatal.[191] The majority of the complete arrows in the collection are composed of four pieces. The ones collected from the Ovagongola, Ovachwagga and Wakeddi are two-piece arrows with metal tips, of a larger average size than those of the Khoisan. Some of them show remnants of poison applied to them. The Ovambo and Ovambuella arrows, made of two pieces, show no use of poison.

The complexity of the structure of Khoisan arrows has been described and discussed by many authors. Schapera's summary devotes four pages to a discussion of arrows and the poison used on them, illustrated by two photographs of weapons from the British Museum. Most of these descriptions detail the fact that the arrows are composite, many being made of four pieces: "head, sleeve, link shaft, and main shaft" and having no fletching. There are also simpler arrows that are made of two pieces: a head and a shaft (Schapera 1930:128-133; Silberbauer 1981:206). These two basic structures appear to have occurred across the sub-continent from Botswana, to Natal, to the Cape and South West Africa where, however, interesting changes can be seen to have occurred (Oosthuizen 1977:78; Schapera 1927;

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190 See Appendices 19 and 20.

191 In some cases arrows without poison may have been used at close quarters to penetrate the prey's lungs (Deacon 1992:7).

Silberbauer 1981:206). The arrows of the Wakeddi and the Ovachwagga differ in fundamental ways from the standard "Bushman arrow" and Bleek describes arrows from the !Kung of Angola which differ again (Bleek 1928:115-116).[192]

Close examination of the arrows in the collection shows that within the parameters of a standard Khoisan arrow there are many fine variations, for example in the use of the materials available, or in the proportions of the different elements (See Appendix 15). In addition there are rare cases in which arrows were made of six pieces (MMS40/69/356); five pieces (MMS40/69/344); and three pieces (MMS40/69/348, 349 and 375). All but one of these are from the Nu-//ein of Gobabis. The five-piece arrow has a composite tip, with a metal blade bound on to a bone shaft, perhaps because of a shortage of metal, and the six-piece arrow is made with the same delicacy and precision as the majority of the four-piece arrows but is so complex as to defy speculation. In the three-piece arrows the metal heads are bound directly onto the link shafts, eliminating the collar. Fourie noted the precise function of each part of the four-piece arrow in his field notes (See Appendix 15). His understanding of the purpose of each piece leads us to believe that he collected these anomalies because he felt that they held some significance, but this is not documented.

Roughly made and badly finished, the three-piece arrows could possibly have been made for the curio trade, a common assumption made at the Africana Museum when presented with items of such crudity. A few two- and four-piece arrows in the collection, however, are similarly rough. One of these is labeled "Young Auin" (MMS 40/69/274) which I interpret as meaning that it was made by a learner. The field notes detail the ways in which young men were initiated into the process of making arrows by their fathers, first out of one piece of wood, and then moving up to the poisoned varieties (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item23:70, 85, 126-127, and 129). It is unusual to find documented examples of early attempts at the making of any object in museum collections because a form of censorship occurs as curators select for 'good' examples. Their presence in Fourie's collection underscores his archiving intentions.

Different types of arrows were used for different purposes, but Fourie does not go into great detail about this in his notes, and nor do any other authors, who mostly focus on the killing of big game such as eland, giraffe, gemsbok and kudu. Most of the four-piece arrows in the collection have traces of poison on the tips, although this occurs in the two-piece arrows. The remnants of the poison vary in colour and consistency but there does not appear to be a discernable pattern for the use of the different types, with all variants occurring on the arrows

[192] A detailed description of the arrow parts, supplemented with Fourie's notes, can be found in Appendix 18.

of all the Khoisan groups. While Fourie collected a fair amount of information on the applications and uses of poison, he does not comment on these obvious variations.

Fourie was very interested in the poisons used on the arrows. He collected forty-one objects connected with poison (Appendix 5, Poison Applicators, Poison Containers, and Poison Sticks) and there are many references to it in his field notes (MMS40/69/BoxB/File2:f&l & File5:f,i&m; and BoxE/Item23:5, 11, 12, 13, 19-20, 22, 33, 66), and his correspondence (MMS40/69/BoxF/1918:1; 1924:3; MMS40/69/BoxG/1928:8, 12, 17). One particular note: "Shot in morning dies at night or sooner. Whole body swells – paralysis sets in", written on the back of a page of notes about the preparation of poison (MMS40/69/BoxA/File5:d) suggests that Fourie's medical interest was engaged by the poison, and this may well be so. He took cocoons of the *Diamphidia* beetle with him to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine[193] for analysis of the poison they contain, but the final report is missing (MMS40/69/BoxG/1928:8).

In addition to a selection of examples of "practice" arrows, Fourie included in his collection an array of the materials and tools used to manufacture arrows. There are several large collections of reeds which would have been used to make the arrow-shafts, pieces of bone in progressive stages of preparation, sinew for binding and numerous tools which are specified as being used for arrow-making (Appendix 5, "Reeds" and "Bones"). The collection also includes 26 poison applicators, five poison containers, ten poison sticks and a match box holding the dried-out bodies of two *Diamphidia* beetles, the larvae of which were a commonly-used ingredient in the making of poison.

Discussion

A comparison of Fourie's list of the groups he considered to be wholly or partly "Bushman" with the list of groups from which the arrows were collected shows that the collection contains arrows from almost all the known extant groups in the Territory.[194] Five groups mentioned in the publication are not represented in the arrow collection, and there are six groups from which arrows were collected which are not mentioned in the distribution list. Of the majority of the unrepresented groups Fourie wrote that there were only a few individuals (or "remnants") still living, or that they "had disappeared completely" (Fourie 1928:83). The collection of arrows, therefore, can be said to cover all the people known as Bushmen at the time who would be producing or using them.

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193 The combination in this name speaks volumes about colonial perceptions of the tropics.

194 Fourie's list (outlined in Appendix 14) is problematic and is not being taken here as authoritative, but it is evidence of his understanding of the situation, and therefore is the appropriate list to compare with the list of people from who he collected arrows.

A common misconception about the Khoisan was that they were the only people in the sub-continent who used bows and arrows (Jolly 1996). While few groups used these weapons in the eastern and central parts of this area, Fourie's collection clearly demonstrates that the same does not hold for the western, and particularly the northern areas of South West Africa. Here it was possible for anthropologists to use these weapons as markers of identity, classifying them by size, style of manufacture, and materials used. Khoisan arrows, as we have seen, were small and complex with heads of bone or metal and reed shafts which were not fletched, whereas Ovambo arrows, for example, were larger and made of two pieces with heads of wood or metal and wooden shafts which were fitted with feathers (Appendix 1 pages 8 and 9). The arrows of those Khoisan groups which had had much contact with the Ovambo were constructed in a similar way to those of the latter, but were smeared with poison, a practice only followed by the former. Poisoned arrows, therefore, could be used as evidence in attempts to classify the San, differentiating them from the Khoekhoe, and other surrounding groups (Schapera 1930:130; Grobbelaar 1967:145; and MMS40/69).

The groups from which arrows were collected but which are not on Fourie's list include the Andoni, the Berg Damara, the Ovagongola, the Ovambo, the Ovambuella, and the Ukualuthi, all of whom lived in or near the territories of the Khoisan Fourie studied. The comparison of technologies was a common study technique in museums at the time, and contributed to the theories of some of the cultural evolutionists whose legacy still lingered in the work of many writers with whom Fourie was in contact. Weapons technology was believed to be particularly important as a marker of cultural evolution, so that Schapera's description of Bushman bows as "small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make" (1930:128), while coming after the heyday of this paradigm, would still be a reflection of this sense that they were extremely primitive. Pitt-River's large comparative collection of weapons is a prime example of the importance attached to this form of technology, and the display of the collection of weapons at the SAM followed a similar pattern (Davison 1991:Fig16 between pages 94 and 95). It would be surprising *not* to find comparative pieces in Fourie's case, and, given the patterns of collecting described above, it is no wonder that they are far more common in the weapons than they are in other parts of the collection. There is, for example, only one non-Khoisan armband and there are no comparative examples of head ornaments.

The presence of the tools and materials used to make arrows and poison artefacts, combined with the fact that Fourie attempted to collect arrows from all the extant Khoisan he could find as well as those which might in some way have been influenced by or had an influence on the Khoisan, indicate a comprehensive attempt at preserving all aspects of the craft of arrow-making in the territory. In the final analysis Fourie created an archive of arrows, which he

himself never fully explored, but which became a resource awaiting explication (and possibly even reconstruction).

The collector's intentions

Interest in Khoisan bows and arrows was not limited to anthropologists. Civil servants and settlers also viewed them as the prime weapons, the economic mainstay and, also, the most dangerous tools in the Khoisan armory. In 1928 the Arms and Ammunition Proclamation was amended to include Bushman bows and arrows so that it became illegal to be in possession of these weapons without a licence issued by the local magistrate.[195] The possession of any other bows and arrows was thus presumed legal, a state of affairs that led to some confusion among magistrates, and it was generally accepted that these became curios as they came into the hands of whites (Gordon 1992:130). According to Gordon no "Bushmen ever applied for licenses, although one farmer did apply on behalf of his Bushman laborers and was turned down" (1992:130).

Since there were no guidelines for identification we can deduce that the motivation was to disarm the Bushmen. Gordon suggests that this was done mainly to deprive Khoisan men of an important means of subsistence in an attempt to force them to work for the settlers, particularly in the Grootfontein district, or to move out of the Police Zone altogether. If this was the case the legislation indicates how the bow and arrow were perceived to be essential to the livelihood of the Khoisan, and this was because the colonial administrators had developed an identikit of them as being primarily hunters. Thus the bow and arrow became an identifying marker of the Khoisan even though firearms, spears, snares, traps and throwing sticks were also used in the hunt, and, in some seasons, the game was run down more than shot at (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:19, 130). The Administration was not equipped to enforce this law and only a few convictions were made, but it served the purpose of providing a legitimate reason for the settler population to classify certain behaviours of the indigenous population as immoral, and to confiscate weapons if necessary, thus obscuring the illegitimacy of repression and colonisation. Such proclamations were important at a symbolic level, making social stratification seem "natural and fair" (Gordon 1998:53-54). That being so, bows and arrows also became markers of the "immorality" of a hunting way of life, relegating it to a lower stratum of the social order.

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[195] In a letter from Oshikango in Ovamboland in 1929 Harold Eedes wrote:

> From the above address you will see that we are now resident in the new station. It is situated near the kraal where we confiscated all the bows and arrows the last time you visited Ovamboland and is four miles above Omafe and 8 miles south of Nomakunde. (40/69/BoxG/1929(2)).

There is no evidence that these confiscated weapons made their way into Fourie's possession during this period, but given the number of contacts and friends he had in the Administration, it is quite possible that they did.

The material on arrows as hunting tools is frequently contradictory in Fourie's unpublished papers, possibly reflecting his own confusion about how to assimilate the information. He repeatedly wrote in his notes on hunting that the killing of animals with bows and arrows was a rare phenomenon, and that they were more often snared or run down "because it is very hard to come close to the game" (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:12). At the same time he took down from an informant that "the young B is taught to make arrows by his father (after he has shot 6 head of big game) (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:129).[196] If arrows were not used to kill smaller game, which were snared, clubbed or run down, and large game were seldom hunted, then it would follow that they would have been seldom used. The large number of them in the collection, and Fourie's extraordinary interest in them appears to contradict this notion, as would the signs of wear on many of the metal arrowheads.[197]

During Fourie's time the killing of large game was restricted by issuing hunting licenses to which only the settlers had access. This effectively limited those Khoisan who subsisted on the land to hunting small game such as hares and birds. The photograph in Gordon's book showing Saul with a band of hunters caught in the act, speaks eloquently of resistance to these restrictions (1992:93),[198] but Fourie's informants would undoubtedly have been less eloquent when asked about the numbers of game they killed. Such caution may explain Fourie's cryptic note: "The Bushman also is afraid now to kill the ostrich" (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item23:12).

These contradictions continued to appear in the literature for many decades after Fourie collected. Silberbauer, for example, claims that:

> The image that popular literature has created of Bushmen as inveterate eaters of prodigious amounts of meat is false as far as the G/wi are concerned, and Lee (1969) firmly established that it is also not true of the !Kung (Silberbauer 1981:204).

Yet in a table giving the numbers of animals killed by one band of the /Gwi of the Central Kalahari he shows that sixteen hunters killed a total of thirty-two head of Eland, Kudu and Gemsbok, in addition to other game in one year (Silberbauer 1981:205). This number is a great deal higher than that given by Fourie's informants, even allowing for variations in the

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196 Fourie may be using the ethnographic present in these statements, thus obscuring the issue further.

197 See for example MMS40/69/276, 282, and particularly 1075a on the label of which is written in Fourie's hand: "Auin. Small tip due to long use".

198 The Hei-//om living around the Etosha Game reserve were, however, allowed to hunt in the reserve, with the proviso that they did not "poison the water holes" and that they reported any poachers, and they were seen as a positive asset in this area (Gordon 1992:54-5, 123-4).

availability of game and freedom of movement. It may be that these informants, when speaking of the small numbers of big game which they killed, were shaping their testimony to fit the poaching laws of the time, bearing in mind that they were not as free to hunt as they had been in the past, and that both Fourie and Silberbauer were members of their respective administrations.

Fourie's informants would have been even more reluctant to talk about the use of arrows on human beings: a subject never mentioned in the field notes. In his publication of 1928 Fourie refers briefly to inter-group conflicts and blood feuds in which deaths are common and the history of the Khoisan in the Protectorate at the time shows that there were frequent cases of violent conflict between them and the German settlers and some Herero and Ovambo groups in which poisoned arrows were used. Several incidents of murder and internecine battles among the Khoisan were also reported (Bleek 1928:34-35; Fourie 1928:85; Gordon 1992:1992:49-55, 92-98, 109-118,127, 128). Given his position in the Administration, and the appearance of reports on some of these incidents in his papers, it is beyond doubt that Fourie was fully aware of these events and so it is surprising that his field notes do not refer to the use of arrows to kill humans.[199]

It may be that the legislation of 1928 was based upon the reports from the magistrates submitted in the survey conducted in 1927 (Chapter 2: 67), although these seldom described in detail the economies of Khoisan groups, but it is safe to assume that it was also premised upon settler perceptions and the kind of writings upon which Schapera based his description in 1930. It is interesting to note that this is in spite of the findings of Fourie and Bleek who were very cautious in their descriptions of the economies of the Khoisan groups they had studied. Fourie, for example, said that: "[t]he source of the food supply varies very considerably in different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the vegetable, in others from the animal kingdom". And, in a discussion of hunting he began: "[t]he methods used in the pursuit of game vary according to the season" and only after a long paragraph detailing various ways of catching and killing animals does he add: "[b]ows and poisoned arrows are used all year round" and goes on to give a brief description of the most common arrows and the poisons used (Fourie 1928:99, 99-100). Bleek claims that the Naron were eating very little meat in the early 1920s, and that the proliferation of game laws was forcing them into a vegetarian diet against their will (Bleek 1928:6). In a section headed "WEAPONS", however, she says: "[t]he Naron's chief weapon is the bow and arrow" and goes on to devote

[199] MMS40/69/BoxA/5/a:2 gives a brief list of poisons including: "Spider dried, powdered and mixed with milk - used to murder people". This is more likely to have been fed to the victim in his or her food than to have been placed on an arrow tip though.

three paragraphs to a description of the construction and use of poisoned arrows (Bleek 1928:13-14).

For many years archaeologists held the view that the Khoisan formed the last living link with the Stone Age. This is based partly upon the manufacture and use of arrows. Stone tools from the Later Stone Age were small and plainly meant to be added to parts made from other, less permanent, materials, such as reed arrow shafts (Deacon 1992:4-5). The Stone Age *modus vivendi* was deemed to be the same as that of the Khoisan, that is hunting and gathering, with a strong emphasis on the former, for which weapons were obviously essential. Stone Age humans, by extension, were believed to have been semi-nomadic, like the Khoisan, needing to be able to transport their few, small and light possessions with them at all times. Péringuey's paper: "The Bushman as Palaeolithic Man", published in 1915, articulated the basis for the assumptions, echoed by Fourie, that the Bushmen were descended from the authochones of the sub-region (Fourie 1928:81). Delicately made Khoisan arrows, on entering colonial collections, became evidence in support of this theory, gaining yet another layer of meaning. Fuelled by such writings, this paradigm held sway amongst many anthropologists until fairly recently. Nancy Howell, who worked as a member of the Harvard Kalahari Project in the late 1960s wrote:

> Here are the hunter-gatherers of the dreams of someone who wants to go to the living source for illumination of the archaeological remains of Early Man (Howell 1986:6-7. Quoted in Wilmsen 1989:35)**.**

In response to this perception of Khoisan weaponry Fourie carefully investigated this link between the Later Stone Age and the Khoisan with whom he came into contact. He frequently asked informants about the origins of their technology or the use of artefacts, but the answers were not always as clear as he might have wanted, and often contradicted or complicated the notion that the distant ancestors of every Khoisan group he questioned had always used bows and arrows. He was told that bows and arrows were traded for (by the !Kung in particular), and that knowledge of stone tools was not endemic, "*Toa* (A) & (N) - grooved stone for straightening arrowshafts born [sic] with N who taught other B. Made from Korichas stone" (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:5 and 89).[200]

(B) is Fourie's shorthand for Bushmen, (A) for ≠Ao-//ein and (N) for Naron. The field notes contain many such cryptic statements, the "born with" phrase occurs frequently throughout

[200] (B) is Fourie's shorthand for Bushmen, (A) for ≠Ao-//ein and (N) for Naron. The field notes contain many such cryptic statements; the "born with" phrase occurs frequently throughout his work and indicates the origins of the craft. Here it means that the use of the grooved stone originated with the Naron - thus placing them as direct descendants from the stone tool makers of antiquity, but separating the other groups from this line.

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The potential of the collection

It is the nature of symbols to be complex, so that they cannot easily be expressed verbally, nor can they be pinned down to one or two simple meanings. Arrows can be classified as symbols because they hold within their many dimensions the contradictions we have found in the writings of Fourie, Bleek, Schapera and their contemporaries. The signs of much use, for example, coexist with the statements of scholars that they were seldom used, and were buried with their owners. The statements that these artefacts were rapidly disappearing contrast with a seeming plenitude in Fourie's time. The scholars' beliefs that they were evidence of links with the Stone Age, and stone tools were used in their manufacture, contradict the words of informants that their groups had not always made bows and arrows.

Arrows are linked with masculine identity among the Khoisan. Fourie's field notes are shot through with references to this point. He learned that men were buried with their bows and arrows and women with their ornaments and digging sticks. Little boys were buried with small bows and little girls with small digging sticks. Learning the intricacies of the hunt and the rules of dividing the meat were an important part of a boy's initiation into manhood, a part of which involved the giving of bows and arrows to the boys who then prepared them for the hunt by covering them with "medicine". Fathers taught their sons, who did not learn this, as they learned many other things, by playing with their peers. It was important that the sinew and bone used in the making of the arrow came from game which had been shot with an arrow. For every buck that was killed with a bow and arrow the hunter cut himself and rubbed the ashes of its burned fat into the wound, a permanent reminder of this act (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item23:11-14, 73, 112-113). The importance of arrows in the social and ritual lives of the Khoisan goes a long way to explaining their continued availability in spite of the constraints placed upon hunters by the Administration.

In a similar vein, hunting, and all the appurtenances that went with it, was a masculine activity among the colonists, but their use of more sophisticated weapons, and their attitude to it as a sport, a recreational rather than a subsistence activity, allowed them to perceive themselves as being superior to the Khoisan (Griffiths 1996:12-13). The ways in which hunters killed their prey were clear indications of their positions within an imperialist hierarchy. In this scenario the arrow became a powerful signifier of the primitive, and thus

inferior, nature of the Bushmen and the game laws and the legislation against the holding of Bushman bows and arrows regulated the stratification of colonial society.

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Anthropologists and lay people alike have long tended to see the bow and arrow as a marker of the true Bushman (MMS40/69/BoxA/5/b:1). The poisoned arrows of the Khoisan were known to cause an extremely painful death, and the marksmen were perceived to be uncannily accurate. As a result Khoisan hunters were regarded with a combination of awe and fear, and the bow and particularly the poisoned arrow came to symbolise that uncomfortable mix. For the Administration, then, the arrows attested to the dangerous nature of the Khoisan, and thereby justified punitive actions taken against them. If awe and fear were among the motivations for the creation of the Arms and Ammunition Proclamation it can also be read as an attempt to disarm a group of people who threatened the safety and stability of the settlers who had taken over territory without recognising the rights of those who had been there before. In contrast to Fourie's view, some of these settlers described the Khoisan as being so primitive as to be in the same category as animals, thus explaining away the violence against settlers and other intruders without causing any painful introspection.

For anthropologists, archaeologists and administrators as well as for the Khoisan themselves arrows were not "simply agents of death". They were "part of an intricate system of beliefs and rituals" (Deacon 1992:1) and for the settlers in particular they represented evidence to support a number of important assumptions. Jeanette Deacon examined the significance of arrows in the culture of the Khoisan in order to analyse a series of arrowheads from Later Stone Age deposits. In the process of her research she came to realise that arrows "are ritual artefacts" that were "essential to the maintenance of society" (Deacon 1992:1 - paraphrasing Radcliffe-Brown 1952:144-152).

Khoisan arrows were, and have continued to be, in Deacon's terms, ritual artefacts even when they are no longer in the hands of their original owners. For Fourie and his contemporaries Khoisan arrows signified the character and identity of the people, and their links with the Stone Age. For Fourie in particular (although he was not alone in this) they were also metonyms for a hunting culture with which he could feel a strong personal empathy. For those who lived after him the 'symbolical rites' of collecting, exhibiting, academic research and writing, popular publications, postcards, television documentaries and films such as *The Gods Must be Crazy* have given a diversity of social values to the Bushman bow and arrow; values which played a role in the maintenance of colonial society.

Popular and scholarly works include allusions to received wisdom on the arrows of the Khoisan in a number different ways. In 1979 Harvard academics interpreted them as being the tools of members of an exceptionally well-adjusted society, indeed one that held out the hope that mankind had the ability to live in peace in spite of the development of nuclear weapons (Wilmsen 1989:37). The contrast of a small hand-made arrow with a nuclear bomb was not articulated, but it stood implicit in the films and popular literature of the time. In 1981 Jamie Uys, a South African filmmaker included them as part of a characterisation that showed the Khoisan to be endearingly primitive and remote from the realities of twentieth-century life (Gordon 1992:1-4). In 1984 yet another filmmaker converted an arrowhead and wore it as an earring, symbolising an intense sympathy for, and association with, a group with whom he had worked.[201]

Griffiths writes of a sense of guilt and regret among European settlers in Australia in the nineteenth century, which led to the "contradiction at the heart of their 'unoccupied' country" which was the combination of "fear and guilt arising from the violent occupation of Aboriginal land" (Griffiths 1996:105). The repression of the melancholy that resulted from those negative emotions created silences in the historical and literary record, but took other forms, all of which can be traced in the history of Namibia, and, perhaps, of any other colonised territory:

> ... selective memory, a troubled conscience, a brazen rationalisation, denial, unconscious habit, the destruction of physical evidence or the erection of monuments. Aborigines ... were historical encumbrances to emotional possession of the continent by Europeans ... (Griffiths 1996:106).

Following this argument the density of Fourie's collection of arrows symbolises a concentration of concern around a set of questions the answers to which were contradictory and fraught with guilt. If, as Derrida suggests, archives are repositories for memories we want to forget, then the arrows now symbolise both the association of the Khoisan with the Stone Age and the wild, and the violence of the struggles for control over the land and resources (particularly the animals) that resulted from their contact with the settlers, the things Fourie wished to remember and the things he wished to forget (Derrida 2002:54). The multiple contradictions in the archive reflect this ambivalence. The archive of arrows came from Khoisan men who had lost much of their traditional culture as a result of the depredations of colonisation, and went to the society responsible for this loss, symbolising appropriation, conquest and defeat. At the same time the arrows held the potential for Fourie to save for posterity some portion of the elemental Bushman who he perceived to be dying before his very eyes, symbolising preservation and extinction.

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[201] Paul Myburgh who created a film entitled: *People of the Sand Face* in 1984.

Miniature hunting kits

Description

The first letter in Fourie's correspondence testifies to his early interest in miniature quivers, and poison. Fourie had sent a quiver full of miniature arrows to the Government Laboratories in Bloemfontein to be analysed, and this letter gives the results (non-poisonous, in fact no evidence of poison to be seen on any of the arrows) (MMS40/69/Box F/1918:1). There are ten "magic quivers" (as they are described) listed for the collection, of which six were collected from the Naron (MMS40/69/1349-1353, 1628), one from the ≠Ao-//ein (MMS40/69/1648) and three have no provenance (MMS40/69/1354). One of the Naron quivers came from Sandfontein, and the ≠Ao-//ein quiver came from Guchus, Gobabis but there are no places given for the rest. Of the total only four could be examined in the stores at Museum Africa.[202] These were compared with twelve kits from the rest of the Museum's collections, most of which came from the Kalahari, and which exhibited many similarities to the Fourie pieces. The kits fall into two main types, those which are smaller and very carefully and delicately made, and in which the arrows differ markedly from standard sized arrows (type one) and those which are miniature replicas, usually made with less attention and care, of the hunting equipment (type two). This division is not a tidy one, however, and there are examples of type one which are very roughly made, and some of type two which have been made with some skill and care. Fourie's informants at Sandfontein told him that: "Those [kits] made by local Auin are large and crude" (MMS40/69/BoxE/Item 23:38), which goes some way to explaining the former.

In the type-two kits the average size is larger, and the arrows are made to be miniatures of the standard two-piece full-size "Bushman arrow", whereas the arrows from the type-one quivers show a deliberate reversal of the normal pattern, a feature I discuss below. Because of the fact that they are usually less carefully made, and somewhat rough, the conclusion is that the type-two kits were made for sale as curios, or that possibly young boys made them as practice arrows. These miniature kits caught the popular imagination, and have been sold for many years as curios, and even today they can be bought at tourist venues in Johannesburg and the rest of the country.[203]

A type-one kit consists of a small quiver (between 3.5 and 10cm in length) in which is found a bow and several arrows together with some grass stalks, pieces of arrows, and sometimes

[202] Two kits (MMS40/69/1647 and 3539) are located at Wits but the whereabouts of the other four are uncertain. Since the late 1990s there has been no ethnologist caring for the collection and there is some confusion in the storerooms which makes it extremely difficult sometimes to find specimens.

[203] Such kits were being sold in the museum shop at Museum Africa in January 2006, and were advertised at www.kalaharicraft.com/bow_and_arrow_products.httm in July 2006.

some beaded sticks. The quivers are made of soft leather, open at one end, stitched down one side, and rounded at the other end. Most of them have a leather loop handle, probably so that their (male) owners can attach them to a belt or a strap upon which they can be carried "concealed about their persons" (Schapera 1930:199). Some are decorated with glass or ostrich egg shell beads stitched around the opening, while others are left quite plain (although one has the edge turned over and tacked with small stitches).

The bows fit into the quivers and are very finely made. Some are not strung, some have the string tied only to one end, and one or two are fully strung. Their delicacy and shape clearly make them more symbolic or decorative than functional. They are made of horn or of bone, and curve only slightly if at all (one, item no. 55/682 is so minimally carved that the ribbed part of the horn is still visible on the outer curve). Varying amounts of very fine sinew binding can be found around the ends and the middle of these bows in much the same patterns as would be found in full-size bows.

Numerous stalks of grass, cleaned of leaves but not worked in any other way, are found in most of the type-one quivers. These are most likely padding to keep the arrows and bows from rattling around and getting damaged or falling out, since they fill the quiver to the point that it is difficult to get anything out. There are 63 of them in 40/69/1349, and 51 in 40/69/1628. They correspond with the sticks and reeds found in full size quivers and are used for the same purpose.[204]

The miniature arrows are made of two pieces; the shaft is of grass and is often shorter than the head which is a conical splinter of horn inserted into the shaft so that the broader blunt end is at the upper end. The shafts are reinforced at the point of insertion with very fine sinew binding, which, in some cases, continues all the way up the arrowhead in an even criss-cross pattern. The proportion of decorated to undecorated arrows (i.e. with the binding running all the way up them) varies from quiver to quiver, but there are always many more of the latter: 40/69/1349 for example has 28 undecorated to 6 decorated arrows; while 40/69/1628 has 27 to 7; and 40/69/1629 has 23 to 6. The arrows are very different from full-size arrows, the blunt end being in direct opposition to the sharp tips of hunting arrows, and the decorative binding indicating that they are not meant to be for normal use.

There was no visible trace of poison, either to the naked eye or under the microscope, on any arrowhead I examined in any of the kits in Fourie's collection or in the rest of the Museum Africa collection. While this corresponds with the report from the Government Laboratory it is contradicted by early descriptions. Schapera's reading of various descriptions led him to

[204] See MMS40/69/BoxE/Item23:22 labelled by Fourie: "Sticks cut to fit quiver & prevent contents from rattling".

conclude that these miniature arrows were used as weapons and that they were tipped with extremely virulent poison. His sources also claimed that the arrows were only used on humans (Schapera 1930:199).

In quiver number 40/69/1628 there are three beaded sticks. Two are horn arrow heads, one of which is plain and has a copper bead wedged on to one end, and the other is decorated with sinew binding and has a small white glass bead wedged on top. The third one is a splinter of wood or a long thorn and has a large red glass bead wedged onto the tip. They look like miniature clubs, but probably have a different significance. Fourie wrote, "The beads on arrows (small quiver) contain the charm wh. does for other people. It is used only by special persons eg doctors" (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:38).[205] Similar beaded sticks are to be found in a few of the quivers in the Museum Africa collection (e.g. 48/6).

Discussion

Contemporary writings on these small quivers indicated that they had magical and ritual significance to the Khoisan, although the accounts are often contradictory and confusing with regard to exactly how they were used. Bleek, for example, wrote of the Naron of Sandfontein that they were used by medicine men and had magical potency (Bleek 1928:28), but she observed among the !Kû of Angola that they used these 'pretence arrows' in games (Bleek 1928a:121-122). Weighing up the published descriptions on these kits Schapera specifically denied the latter description: "They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons" (1930:1990).

Fourie kept in his files an undated excerpt from a translation of a report by Police Sergeant Major Ramm of Gobabis which begins:

> The Bushmen believe in a ghost who kills the Bushmen; they call him "Damara". His residence is near the rise of the Sun. … To kill the Bushmen, Damara uses a bow the length of a finger, and arrows of the same description, made from the horn of a Gemsbuck [sic] (MMS 40/69/BoxB/2/88-9).

He goes on to say that the Bushmen still made these same bows and arrows and that they could use them to kill their enemies "also at very long distances". They were "worn under the loin cloth" and were very hard to find; he only managed to obtain one after paying large quantities of tobacco, although once he had done that he claims that he was offered sixty more. Europeans he had spoken to also said that they had difficulty in obtaining these items.

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[205] By "does for" he probably means kills.

In 1920 Fourie sent a miniature quiver to the South African Museum and received the benefit of an analysis by Péringuey who theorised that the miniatures represented a primitive use of magic, but his speculations, with an emphasis on the cross-cultural importance of sympathetic magic, would fit comfortably into Frazer's *Golden Bough,* or a nineteenth-century ethnography and had little relevance to Fourie's subsequent findings (MMS40/69/BoxF/ 1920:9). In 1928 Fourie published (frustratingly without comment) a complex explanation of the origins of the use of the miniature bow and arrow, taken from a statement made to him probably by Jantjie.[206] It appears, without comment, in a paragraph on divination, inferring that they were used for that purpose and that they did no harm, but Fourie gives no direct link with, or information on, the exact use of the equipment (Fourie 1928:104).[207] The original note from which it was drawn reads:

> B[ushman] revolver ... - Satan[208] gave to the other B ... on the other side and it is used for killing people. The one B killed a gemsbuck [sic], Satan comes (gaugwa) to the place and sleeps with the hunter. Satan says "I have come to you, you need not fear, we can both sleep here. Then after eating & sleeping together the B says "Yes you can give that stuff (tgas)". S: Yes, if I give it what can you do. B. Give tgas & I will give you the horns. Satan makes the new tgas out of the horns. Satan then teaches the B the tgas dance & they separate. The present B make the tgas themselves but their tgas cannot kill others (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:28).

(A little further on he states that the term *tgas* is given as the Naron name for the quiver, with the equivalent ≠Ao-//ein term being *ai*.) Fourie's interpretation in the published version of these notes is a little less cryptic:

> Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gãua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gãua* "on the other side", into the use of the small magic quiver. ... *Gãua* took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time on the Bushmen have known how to use magic (Fourie 1928:104).

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206 Two of the kits in the collection have labels which show that they came from Jantje as late as 1927 (40/69/1628, 1629). It is unusual to find an individual's name given as the source of an object in this collection, and this leads one to think that there was something special about this gift, and that Jantje had been told of Fourie's interest in this particular artefact and had especially kept these for him. They are both very fine examples.

207 An equally frustrating omission from this paragraph is any discussion of the twenty divining dice which Fourie collected from the ≠Ao-//ein, !Kung and Naron (mms40/69/805, 832, 1013, 1017-1021, 1334-1337, 1342-1348, 2672).

208 "Gangwa = satan. They do not know where bad man goes to [after death] but good one goes to Satan. Satan is their god. He has a wife. They do not know whether they are real people. He has two children" (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:47). Bleek (1928) discusses the problem of this translation of the term. She says that Saul translated it as such, but that when she asked among the Naron themselves they said that it meant a strong wind or the spirit of someone who has died, and that it could also mean the supreme spirit who lived in the east. "They evidently connect no ideas of good or bad qualities with either of these beings, and do not seem to pray to them" (Bleek 1928:26).

Fourie did not specify any particular group as having this tradition and it is interesting that he chose to replace the Naron *tgas* with what is presumably the ≠Ao-//ein term //*ai* in the telling of this story. Fourie's explanation for the origins of these "revolvers", so called, presumably, because they are small versions of the full size weapon, is quoted verbatim in Schapera together with a summary of the findings of other researchers up to that time but without comment (Schapera 1930:199).

Other field notes made by Fourie contradict the published account in many ways. The terminology is different, for example, and one informant implied that the quivers originated in the more eastern parts of the Kalahari, while another claimed that they were made in the "interior" and were obtained by trade from the Naron. To add to the confusion, he gives here the ≠Ao-//ein term as *Gam*, and the Naron as *Quaggenai* (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:38). This particular statement is supported by the predominance of Naron quivers in the collection, as opposed to only one from the ≠Ao-//ein. Since the quiver from the latter group was not in the stores and could not be examined, it was not possible to see whether it varied significantly in style, size or materials used. This evidence, in turn, contradicts Naron statements quoted by Bleek in which they deny that they made the arrows and said that the ≠Ao-//ein made and used them. This was supported by her observations that: "Indeed the Auen seem to have far more medicine men than the Naron, and are looked up to in 'magic' matters" (Bleek 1928:28).

The collector's intentions

The references to death, the "other side", Satan, medicine men and healing in Fourie's notes resonate with the interpretation of trance experiences by David Lewis-Williams in his descriptions of rock paintings. Lewis-Williams draws upon information given to J.M. Orpen by Qing, a young Khoisan. Qing used metaphors such as "die", "underwater" and "spoilt" to describe the sensations felt while in deep trance. Orpen published these "fragmentary stories" about the meanings of rock paintings in the mountains around Lesotho in 1873 (Lewis-Williams 1981:34). In Fourie's time the meanings of these metaphors remained opaque, and the significance of trance to San culture remained obscured.

Qing's world was a long way away from South West Africa and I am not suggesting that his group's traditions pertaining to trance experiences were the same as those of the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein, but the methods used to interpret the metaphors he used could equally apply to those used by Jantjie. Space does not permit a more detailed analysis of the use of the "grass arrows" here, but it is clear that Fourie understood that they represented links with the spirit world, that the use of gemsbok horn to make the arrow tips was, in some way, important, that

the grass packing could be profitably explored for further interfaces with the environment, and that they were powerful tools in the armouries of the shamans. He could not decipher the clues, but he could provide the building blocks for later students.

After analysing the collection of full-size arrows, however, and seeing how he took pains to make it representative of all the groups in the territory, we have to question why Fourie did not do the same for these items, and whether this was because he could not obtain miniatures from other groups. It may be that the ritual symbolism of the objects was too potent, and thus they were kept hidden, and not traded freely, and that the Naron informants were not forthcoming when questioned on this subject by Bleek. This uncertainty is characteristic of the mystery surrounding the magic quivers.

Fourie appears to have relished the romance and the mystery held within the little quivers, and valued them quite highly. His search for poison on the tips of the miniature arrows indicates curiosity and speculation. He was clearly intrigued by these so-called "revolvers" and possibly, being unable to understand how the tiny blunt ended little missiles could cause any harm, he suspected from the beginning that they served a different purpose. His questions to Jantjie and other informants revealed that he was correct, but the answers he received were couched in language that was too opaque for him to be able to penetrate the true meaning.

Anyone examining them could not help but be impressed by the appeal exerted by these miniatures. They have been desired as curios and collectors items by many westerners over many decades, even centuries, and the fact that they were such successful tourist commodities points to the universality of that attraction. The impulse to accumulate and to own, as I will show in the next chapter, is frequently a prime motivator among collectors. The miniature kits held magic for the collector as well as for the Khoisan, and now symbolise the romance and the passion that inspired his work.

The potential of the collection

With more than half the collection missing, and the fact that there were so few of these items in it in the first place, the potential of the miniature hunting kits would appear to be severely limited. The contextualising information in the field notes, however, is hard to ignore, and begs further research. An enduring fascination for miniature hunting kits feeds fantasies about their meaning that could (and should) be countered by a detailed study of this information. The fantasies are best expressed in advertisements for miniature hunting kits

that describe them as "love bows" traditionally used in courtship (reflecting cupid's bow in western mythology) (www.theartofafrica.co.za and www.kuru.co.bw/trad_items.htm).

We have seen that Fourie was not alone in being romanced by these miniature kits, and his archive forms part of the body of (confusing) knowledge that built up around them at that time. The informants interviewed by Fourie, his contemporaries and scholars before them, however, were either unable, or unwilling, to articulate the powers held by miniature hunting kits, nor the uses to which these powers were put. Judging by the conflicting reports in the field notes, the Khoisan themselves interpreted those symbols each according to their own circumstances.

The potential of artefacts to convey a multiplicity of meanings according to the viewer is particularly well demonstrated in the confusion and contradictions surrounding the magic kits. Bradford Keeney's controversial text on San shamans: *Ropes to God* (2003) repeats varied and contradictory accounts of trance experience and concludes that it is the spiritual experience more than any need for consistency that was most valued, so that to the non-practitioner there always remained a sense of confusion. Fourie, Bleek and other researchers managed to receive glimpses of the complexities of the magic and symbolism invested in the miniaturising of the already symbolic hunting kit, but the deeper significance was available only to the Khoisan who used them. Their confusion points to the importance of these kits in the spiritual lives of the Naron and the ≠Ao-//ein.

The existence of two types of kits in Fourie's collection, combined with the presence of the beginners' kits, at present lumped with the full-size kits in the collection, could be examined for the possibilities that they served different purposes. Comparing type-two kits with curios would be useful, as would an exploration of the differences between the forms used in full-sized kits with those used in the miniatures.

The metaphors used to describe the origins and uses of these kits, found in abundance in Fourie's notes, bear close scrutiny, and could reveal significant variations on the expression of the experiences of trance and healing among the Naron and ≠Ao-//ein. Such a study would be a useful starting point for an examination of the different interpretations of these kits, and the ways in which they reflect the paradigms and agendas of the writers. In Keeney's interviews with shamans arrows were frequently used as metaphors both for good and evil. Bad arrows were said to hold disease and unhappiness and malevolent thoughts about the shaman are likened to arrows (or thorns). The energies that are released in trance and that spread through the shaman's body are arrows that feel hot (Keeney 2003).

Associations between these metaphors and the miniature arrows hold the potential to illuminate the significance of these kits for the Khoisan.

For colonists, on the other hand, the size and mystery of the little kits made it easy to integrate them into growing romantic notions centered on the small stature of the people themselves, and their mysterious connections with the world of nature. A history of the readings (and misreadings) of their meaning would illuminate the ways in which Khoisan identities were re-invented in the twentieth century.

Ornaments and ostrich egg shell beads

Weapons, and by extension masculine pursuits, form the largest category within Fourie's collection, but feminine interests are also represented. Body ornaments, which were made and mostly worn by women, form the next largest category in the collection, and are mentioned frequently in the field notes. Fourie was particularly interested in the processes of the manufacture of ostrich eggshell beads; he photographed a woman making beads, gathered the tools, and wrote up the details. He also gathered information on their cultural significance. Like the miniatures, ornaments were not linked directly with subsistence, and much time and effort was devoted to their manufacture. Ostrich egg shell beads have been found by archaeologists at many Later Stone Age and Early Iron Age sites in the sub-continent, and have long been looked upon as markers of people living a hunter-gatherer life-style. Schapera went as far as to say that this was "one of the oldest Bushmen industries" (1930:66).

Description and Analysis

Body ornaments form roughly sixteen percent of the total number of objects in the Fourie Collection. This group contains only a little over a quarter as many objects as the weapons (479 to1 504), but it is still substantially larger than the next big grouping (368 domestic utensils). The total of 479 does not include the fifteen tools and materials used to make ostrich egg shell beads (MMS40/69/1194-1205 and 2474-2476). It also does not include a number of the bags, beaded front aprons, cloaks and tortoise shell perfume containers which were decorated to a greater or lesser extent with beadwork.[209] In addition to the ornaments, which covered almost every part of the body from the head to the ankles, the collection also contains eighty-three strings of ostrich egg shell beads with no designated use, which may have been kept by their original owners for later use or for trade. Out of over 400 ornaments and decorated items of clothing and bags, approximately 118 contain ostrich eggshell beads.

[209] Twenty-three aprons, for example, have ostrich egg shell bead decorations on them.

Of the sixty-eight head ornaments, for example, fifty-five were made of ostrich eggshell beads (over 80%). No other material (except perhaps for the sinew used for sewing, binding or weaving) is as well represented in the collection of ornaments.

A remarkably wide range of other materials was also used, sometimes individually but mostly in combination. In the Museum stores today we find, for example, armbands and necklets which include glass beads, grass, gemsbok hide and tail hair, spider's web, lizard skin, cowrie shells, a bird skull, tsamma seeds, and beads of wood, iron, copper and brass to name but a few. The collection is encyclopaedic in extent.[210] Only four out of the forty-four armbands are composed of ostrich egg shell beads and the widest variety of materials is found in this category, but a similar profile can be found among the necklets, with only eight out of ninety-one pieces having ostrich egg shell beads, the rest being made up mainly of wood, metal and skin. The eighty-three strings of ostrich egg shell beads weight the statistics. These are not described as necklets or waistbands but simply as "string of beads" which makes them, by implication, commodities, or supplies awaiting incorporation into an ornament or perhaps to decorate a cloak or a bag.[211] The majority of these strings came from the two Sandfontein groups (≠Ao-//ein - seventeen, and Naron - twenty-five); fourteen came from the !Kung, and the rest from the Hei-//om, Wakeddi and Ovachwagga.

Unlike the arrows, a large proportion of the ornaments is well provenanced. Only ten out of forty-four armbands and twelve of the 109 head ornaments, for example, have no provenance. This is a proportion of roughly ten percent: remarkably lower than the over twenty-five percent for the arrows which remain unprovenanced, or the forty-four percent for the collection as a whole. The reasons for this are not clear, but it may have something to do with the fact that Fourie himself collected the majority of the pieces as opposed to receiving them from numerous donors. There are no letters or notes to show that ornaments were provided by anyone other than himself. There is also no evidence to show whether there were fewer ornaments available, or whether Fourie's contemporaries were simply more interested in the masculine artefacts.

The body ornaments in the collection come from most of the groups mentioned by Fourie in his 1928 analysis, but there is considerable weighting in favour of the ≠Ao-//ein, Naron and Nu-//ein, with fewer pieces originating from the !Kung and Hei-//om. Unlike the case of the arrows, the acculturated groups mentioned by Fourie are barely represented, if at all. There

[210] Glass beads - 40/69/826, 863&1242); grass - 40/69/1207; Gemsbok hide - 40/69/1015 and tail hair - 40/69/1222; spider's web - 40/69/1219; lizard skin - 40/69/1329; cowrie shells - 40/69/1241; bird skull - 40/69/1245; and tsamma seeds 40/69/998.

[211] A string of beads made of delicate blue snail shells in the same style as those of ostrich egg shell, is of a similar size and length and could be included in this category.

are only two items from the Ovachwagga, for example, and four from the Wakeddi. Ovambo groups are represented with a selection of eighteen items (mostly necklets), as are the Ovatjimba with ten items. The largest part of the ornaments for which there are provenances comes from the Gobabis district (143), of which forty-eight come from Sandfontein and Epukiro.[212]

One of the sets of tools for making ostrich egg shell beads was probably collected during Fourie's first field trip in 1919. It corresponds with the set that appears in a series of six photographs of a woman making ostrich egg shell beads taken at that time (MMS p10/49/17-22). Fourie photographed them again pinned to a board for display at the Empire Exhibition. It is possible that the second set of tools in the collection is related to the photographs made by Shortridge in 1926 (MMS p10/49/288 to 292). The tools consist of pieces of stone, a horn, and a roughly made awl with a handle of wood and a bore of sharpened fencing wire, and there are pieces of ostrich egg shell, some with holes bored in them, some with the edges chipped to make a rough circle, and some already polished smooth.

Discussion

Péringuey's discussion on the Stone Ages of South Africa uses ostrich eggshell beads to distinguish between San and Khoikhoi sites, as well as to emphasise the antiquity of the San in the sub-continent. He also believed that the size of the beads, and the diameter of the central hole were significant markers of the geographical origins of the beads (Péringuey 1911:104-105). Being aware of these speculations Fourie would have tried to make a representative collection for comparative purposes. The stone and horn tools in the two sets in the collection supported the posited links with antiquity in some ways, and the presence of the bore of fencing wire could have been explained as a modern replacement for a tool of bone, in the same way that Fourie explained the use of sharpened wire in the making of arrowheads as being a result of centuries of contact with Bantu-speakers (MMS40/69/BoxE/ Item23:14 quoted in "Description and content" above). The eighty-three strings vary in size and in degrees of refinement, with no easily discernable pattern, and there is no evidence in the document collection that Fourie measured or compared the beads in any way.

The presence of other materials in the ornaments, which may have had equal, if different, significance, is similarly not remarked upon by Fourie, and this silence was mirrored by Schapera who mentioned the use of a wide range of materials but discussed only the making of ostrich egg shell beads (Schapera 1930:66-7). Presumably none of his sources had discussed these materials, and certainly Péringuey and Fourie did not seem to think that they

[212] See Appendices 16 and 17.

merited further research, nor that the possibility that these fugitive materials may have been used in the past but had not survived the ravages of time, merited a mention.

A study of the photographic portraits shows that the ornaments adorned the women and that men rarely wore them. The male subjects portrayed by Fourie wore very few ornaments at all. Only a few younger ones (possibly the eligible bachelors) wore a simple necklet of a leather thong, or a handkerchief tied around their necks. It is notable, however, that for the most part the women in the portraits do not wear large quantities of ornaments either, although in the group portraits taken in 1919 there are a number who have head ornaments and necklets (MMSp10/69/2-7). A scrutiny of the images for evidence of how, or by whom, the ornaments in the collection were worn results in disappointment, since very few of the examples are pictured.

The people from whom Fourie was collecting were impoverished and hemmed in by rules and regulations which may go some way to explaining the scarcity of ornaments on the subjects of the photographs. The raw materials they needed to make ornaments were not easily available because of habitat destruction and restricted access as white settlers took over their land. A series of bad droughts had hit the country during the 1920s, and a number of Khoisan groups congregated at missions, such as the Catholic station at Epukiro, in the hope of finding food and possibly bartering what little they owned for it (MMS40/69/BoxB/2/p, t). The Loewenstein Collection at Museum Africa contains a large number of clay figurines and other pieces that were traded for food at the local trading store during a time of drought and depression in Lesotho in the 1930s (MMS collection number 1/67).[213] It is likely that Khoisan artefacts such as the ornaments and the ostrich egg shell beads would have been traded or sold in just such a way to anyone interested enough in the Protectorate in the 1920s. Fourie's collection was built up in these circumstances.

A notable exception to the minimally ornamented subjects of the photographs is "Hartebeest's wife", who wears a sizeable number of beads on her head, neck, arms, legs and waist (MMSp10/69/42; Appendix 1, page 18). This nameless woman has been discussed in Chapter 4 ("Pictures of bodies"). Her status as the wife of a chief may explain the richness of her beadwork, perhaps may have been indicators of rank (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:30, 57, 62, 72, 74, 82). In the series of photographs she divests herself of her clothing, leaving only several strings of ostrich egg shell beads around her hips which are not visible in the image of her fully dressed (MMSp10/69/42-45). Like Hartebeest's wife, other Sandfontein women

[213] Donated to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa by Mrs Loewenstein, widow of the collector, then handed on to the Museum of Man and Science in 1967.

photographed by Fourie wore strings of ostrich egg shell beads around their hips underneath their aprons, which would not then be visible in photographs of them in their daily clothing (MMSp10/69/43, 51-52). The pictorial images, therefore, do not always give an accurate indication of the number of beads that would have been worn. Péringuey, discussing the fact that early writers had omitted to describe the ostrich egg shell bead ornaments worn by the Khoisan of the Western Cape, wrote: "But worn round the waist, in the case of women, they may well have escaped the attention of early travellers" (Péringuey 1911:104).

Fourie makes the point in the field notes that girls are taught how to make the beads as part of their initiation after their first menstruation, and that they are considered the legal owners of any beads they make.[214] The ostrich eggshell bead, then, is placed as a marker of femininity in much the same way as the arrow is a mark of masculinity. In support of this his informants told him that men were buried with their hunting kits and women were buried with their ornaments (MMS/40/69/BoxE/23:47, 106, 123). Fourie also notes that among the ≠Ao-//ein an ostrich egg shell filled with water is left on the grave "to make him happy and he wont [sic] spook" (MMS40/69/BoxE/23:5), a clue that ostrich egg shell ornaments may also have held a supernatural connection.

The collector's intentions

I have shown how South African anthropologists and archaeologists saw the bow and arrow as representative of the Khoisan as hunters who were directly descended from the Stone Age inhabitants of the sub-continent, but as important an identifying marker was the ostrich eggshell bead. By 1920 numerous archaeological sites had yielded these beads almost always associated with stone tools from the Later Stone Age. Although there is no direct evidence that Péringuey requested Fourie to pursue the subject, the field notes show clearly

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214 Kraalmakery leer hulle van die ou vrou wanneer sy vier-maal haar m-s gekry het. Iedere Boesman meid kan krale maak. Party maak beter krale dan ander. Die krale wat hulle maak is hulle eiedom en nie van die man nie.

Lang stringe krale word deur die on[?]bekwame meide <u>in een string</u> van A tot Z klaar gemaak en nee stuk stuk nie. Die krale wat die kopring en ander ornaments van gemaak is word eers in een lang string gemaak dan ingery[?] soos hulle wil he (MMS40/69/BoxE/23: 106)

From the field notes it appears that when informants spoke to Fourie in Afrikaans, he often took their words down verbatim. My translation of this paragraph, based also on information from other parts of the field notes, is as follows:

> They [young women] learned to make beads from the old woman when she [sic] had [menstruated] four times. Any Bushman girl can make beads. Some make better beads than others. The beads they make are their own property and not that of the man/husband.
>
> The girls who are not pregnant make long strings of beads <u>in one string</u> complete from A to Z, and not piece by piece. The beads which will be used to make head rings and other ornaments are first made in one long string and then made up in the way they like.

that when questioning informants Fourie sought to find the origins of the making of ostrich egg shell beads, perhaps hoping to get explicit recognition of the link. Hence the statement that the making of these beads was learned by the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron from the !Kung who learned it from their "First Bushman":

> The Kung [sic] learnt it from their 1st B. There was a first B for every tribe of B. They are not descended from a common first big B. The Hei-um [sic] also learnt the making of the Chore[?] chain from the Kung. Bead making is the work of women (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:89).

In reality these statements give little information about the origins of the craft. In this interview Fourie found instead that there was no sense of a common past among the Khoisan of South West Africa but that there had been considerable interaction between the groups probably over an extended period of time, during the course of which they exchanged technologies. Interestingly there are other references to the fact that the !Kung were master bead makers, and that some ≠Ao-//ein never made them but always obtained them from the !Kung (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:88). Bleek, too, found that the !Kung had a reputation for making beads "especially well", and that they traded these beads for other items all the time (1928:37). The catalogue attributes only a few ornaments to the !Kung, but, if the statement above is true, many of those which are identified as belonging to ≠Ao-//ein, Hei-//om or Naron women are examples of !Kung workmanship.

Fourie's informants also told him that ostrich eggshell beads had been an important trade commodity (hinting that they had almost been a form of currency):

> Clay pipe made by the Makoba who also make the pots. The Bushmen in these regions do not make pots etc at all but the true Auen who live close to the Makoba have learnt to make it. These pots and pipes pass from tribe to tribe for egg beads & of [sic] European beads. The same applies to the assegaai. (MMS 40/69/BoxE/Item23:88).[215]

Later research among San groups in the Kalahari area examined the role of ostrich eggshell beads in a complex exchange (or gift-giving) network (Lee 1978; Marshall 1961 and Wiessner 1977), but at the time of Fourie's research this information was not expanded upon. Schapera, for example, found enough references to outline a thriving and complex trade network, but lamented that very little had been written on the subject (1930:146-7). Fourie did not mention it at all in his publications. The section "Economic Conditions" in *The Bushmen of South West Africa* describes only the customs and technologies of hunting and gathering (1928:98-103). Perhaps his focus on the Stone Age would not allow for an understanding that a sophisticated economy was in place among the Khoisan.

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[215] There are several clay pots in the Fourie Collection, most of which have no provenance. There are two, however, which are labelled ≠Ao-//ein (40/69/2720 and 2722). See Appendix 8 under "Pots" for a list of the clay pots in the collection. Gam was situated very close to the border of Botswana in the Gobabis district.

The ornaments in Fourie's collection are well provenanced and represent a wide range of possible materials, techniques and styles (Appendix 14). Fourie was archiving in earnest here, but there is little in the field notes in the way of explanatory material for the non-ostrich egg shell material, and it is not described in his publications. His sense of the importance of the ostrich eggshell beads, on the other hand, is manifest and was undoubtedly fed by the work of Péringuey and the German writers he read. In this case Fourie's notes reflected what was commonly held to be important, the making of ostrich egg shell beads, but his collection subverts this and holds the potential for different readings because of the wide range of other materials used. The photographs, too, do not entirely support notions about the wearing of ornaments. Although there are two series documenting the making of ostrich egg shell beads, there are very few subjects in the rest of the collection who actually wear these beads in any numbers.

The potential of the collection

Fourie's notes point to a complex system of exchange of goods, skills and technologies, another subversion – this time of the characterisation of Khoisan cultures as being too primitive to contain a sophisticated economy. A reading of the collection of artefacts, their provenances, and distinguishing features together with these notes waits to be done, and has the potential to reveal insights into issues of gender and status as well as economics.

None of the men's loincloths in the Fourie Collection are decorated, but most of the women's aprons are. The photographs show that jewelry was worn by women but not by men, and that women were the manufacturers of the ostrich eggshell beads. The correlation between femininity and ostrich eggshell beads has not been explored, nor has the value of the beads been related to the position of women in their societies, a study for which this collection could provide a springboard. The role of women in the history of South West Africa is still poorly understood. Hayes points to the politics of genderism:

> The concept of embodied power is both useful and intriguing here. It suggests that colonisers from South Africa were politically and culturally conditioned to perceive only what was centralised and concentrated or, on a symbolic plane, masculine and phallocentric. Thus there were difficulties when faced with societies enjoying more diffused forms of power … (Hayes 1998:123).

Such an attitude helps explain, not only the lighter emphasis on ornaments in Fourie's collection, but also the Administration's relationship with the San groups, whose political organisation was not centralised, and among whom women were not as overly dominated as among, say, the Herero. It may also help to explain the colonists' drive to emphasise the masculine elements of these Khoisan societies, as symbolised by their hunting equipment.

Other questions concerning the routes of trade and exchange arise out of a study of the provenances of the beads which show that they were found among the Ovambo and Herero groups living near the Khoisan, and that they were spread widely throughout the northern parts of the Territory. The implications of the fact that women manufactured the product being traded, await examination. Questions of whether women had any control over the trade, and over the fruits of their labour, or whether those women who were more skilled at the work were recognised in any substantive way need to be raised. The question of whether some women substituted bead making for gathering in the way that could be called "the beginnings of specialized labour" as some iron workers had begun to do, has also not been addressed (Gordon 1995:22, 117; Schapera 1930:145-6; and Wilmsen 1989:116, 117, 199).

It is unlikely that Fourie foresaw that questions of this nature might one day be a focus of Khoisan studies, but his aim was to gather all the information he could find. The fact that this section is better provenanced than, say, the weapons, suggests that the collector was more closely connected with the accumulation of the items, and that he was keen to ensure that it would be possible at some future date to detect styles or techniques from the archive he had built.

The extensive collection of body ornaments has not been researched in depth here, but I have pointed to the significance they held not only for their makers and their wearers, but also for Fourie the collector and his contemporaries. Péringuey was firmly of the belief that the Khoisan were savage, primitive remnants of the Stone Age, an opinion which his discussion of the ostrich egg shell beads gave him the opportunity to express. For him the continued use of ostrich egg shell beads by the "Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert ... these most degraded, or perhaps, most primitive people" (Péringuey 1911:104-5) was part of the proof which, by analogy, endorsed the superiority of the European settlers in southern Africa. The collection of such items was a departure from the colonists' preoccupation with weapons and poison described in the discussion on the arrows but it dovetails with the concerns of the academics of the time. The extras, the armlets of spiders' webs, for example, or the necklets of perfumed wood, the references to the spiritual significance of ostrich egg shells and the economics of exchange, were more idiosyncratic, and reflect Fourie's concern to create as complete a record as possible in spite of the fact that the information did not fit within accepted paradigms. They suggest a small, quiet rebellion against colonial cognitive boundaries.

Conclusion - "Such skilled workmanship"

> Having been saved from oblivion, the ethnographic fragment needs also to be rescued from triviality. One way of doing this is to treat the specimen as a document (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991:390).

Treating the specimen as document implies that it holds meaning which can be read by anyone knowing the language. It should therefore be possible to catalogue and store an object as if it were a written document, and then, using the appropriate interpretative tools (such as Fourie's field notes) to access it at any time in order to unlock the information it holds. This was an attractive notion for western academics in the modernist tradition, who used ethnographic fragments to embody memories of lost cultures, using them as metonyms. Such a reading is, however, subverted by the multiple layers of meanings and the many inconsistencies revealed by a detailed analysis of only three of the sections of this collection. Reading Fourie's objects as a collection reveals that it does, as Davison maintains, hold the potential for multiple, complex interpretations. Sometimes they are mutually contradictory, such as the two types of miniature hunting sets, and sometimes they suggest new and unexpected possibilities, for example the six-piece arrows. Reading them against the documents and the photographs we find further complexities and hints at elements of Khoisan history (extensive inter-group contact), politics (status and wealth expressed in the wearing of numerous ornaments) and economics (trade not only in ostrich egg shell beads, but arrows, pots and wooden bowls) which went unexplored by Fourie.

In this study I have taken the entire collection and treated it as an archive. However, in reading the collection within its broader historical context, I have tried, not to *re*construct a memory, but to show how the making of the collection played a role in the *con*struction of a memory. Thus the collection became a reification (however imperfect) of Fourie's image of a Khoisan culture untouched by modernity. Fixed in the grain of the collection, however, we find subversions of the commonly held image of the primitive hunter-gatherer. Six-piece arrows, gemsbok tail-hair armbands, stories of trade between different groups, hints of feminine power and control, and opaque descriptions of the origins of magic arrows hint at a counter image for those who want to find it, and at Fourie's failure (whether by choice or by inability) to reconcile this image with the contemporary descriptions and interpretations of Khoisan culture.

The contrariness of the disjunctures in Fourie's collection can be contained in a collection, but would have been very difficult for Fourie to express in a publication. It is possible that Fourie never really intended to write up his notes and knowledge of the material culture he had collected and studied intensively. Instead he wanted to make sure he had a comprehensive collection of examples from different tribes and different places in order to preserve them for

future anthropologists. A consequence of his failure to link the information he collected with the artefacts, however, has been the loss of that part of the archive that existed in his memory. As a result, his ability to organise and supplement the knowledge held in the collection based on his understanding of the circumstances in which he worked is lost. The ways in which we view the collection today are circumscribed by that loss.

The colonial context in which Fourie was working was complicated by the fact that South West Africa was the spoils of war for South Africa, and the latter's hold on the Territory was always contested and uncertain. The Administration was constantly called upon to prove its good intentions and its efficiency. Within this uncertainty a motley group of settlers (mainly farmers), and administrators, speaking English, or Afrikaans, or German, attempted to create an identity for themselves. In the absence of a university or any other higher institutes of learning intellectual life turned on the contributions of amateurs like Fourie and his friend Hahn. Fourie's intellectual performances (and I use the word advisedly) safely presented the culture of the Khoisan. Material culture could be more easily manipulated or censored than the photographs and the words of the informants, so that viewers were not confronted with uncomfortable reminders of the daily realities of Khoisan life, in order that the melancholy could be kept at bay. Thus weapons and adornment could speak to ideas of the Khoisan as dangerous and as enjoying status and wealth, in contradiction to their powerlessness and impoverishment.

The circumstances in which the objects were gathered (drought, confiscation) are difficult to read in the objects themselves, and are obscured by the accepted systems of labeling which identify the objects and describe the tribes and places of their origin. Dates of manufacture and use are also ignored, thus leaving the objects to float in time, depriving them of a place in history. Traces of evidence of cross-cultural contact, technological innovations using mass-produced materials such as wire or glass beads are glossed over by reference to contact with, not, as was the case at that time, the white traders, missionaries and speculators who now dominated the country, but the Bantu-speakers who had moved in some centuries before.

The combination of Fourie's ability to speak all three of the colonists' languages, his personality and his position, would have been enough to place him as a respected citizen. But his collection added another element to his identity. He became a guardian of and spokesperson for the Khoisan, and his collection provided tangible evidence of his specialist knowledge. It represented his trips into the remoter parts of the Territory and simultaneously created links outside of the Protectorate's boundaries as he supplied South African museums with artefacts, and sent displays to be exhibited in London. Through the process of making

this collection Fourie became an important figure in the articulation of identities for the settler community and for the Khoisan.

The question of agency is complicated in this instance, and relates to a form of recursivity that included not only those who more formally studied the Khoisan. Although it belonged to one individual, this collection was a communal construction, contributed to, and shaped by both settler and Khoisan societies as members of both groups provided the objects and the information that went with them. Its very existence depended on the personality and talents of Fourie but its preservation depended on the ways in which his community valued collections of this nature.[216] Colonial, anthropological, archaeological as well as personal interests turned it into a western artefact, an archive that owed much to the uneven power relationships between the colonists and the Khoisan. As it stands, the collection now holds the potential to indicate something about the culture of the Khoisan, and about the settlers' perceptions of their identity while simultaneously representing the processes of the production of knowledge by colonial culture.

The status of the Khoisan themselves provides an important element of the context within which Fourie collected. As he himself noted, there were wide variations in the degrees to which the different bands had been acculturated or had retained their traditions. Hei-//om bands living among or near the Ovambo and related tribes had taken on much of the material culture of the latter. Others had lost these physical markers of their identity as they had become farm workers. The ≠Ao-//ein and Naron of Sandfontein were favorite subjects for study because of the remoteness of their territories and the retention of many of their customs. The preponderance of material from these two groups and from the Gobabis area is a function of Fourie's selecting for the traditional.

Implicit within the salvage paradigm discussed above was the notion that traditional artefacts became mnemonics, standing for the people and their culture. Further, they functioned as ethnographic documents "closely tied to life, even a reconstructed life, and more meaningful in large numbers and series than as single creations" (Grabar 1976 quoted in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 19:391). The densities of the arrow and ornament collections exhibit a search for meaning in large numbers that include examples of as many variants from as many tribal groups and locations as possible. Fourie was attempting to document a Khoisan culture that he himself had not witnessed, but which was a composite he had created from the literature he had read, the oral testimony of his informants, his own observations, and the objects he collected. The collection of this knowledge was to provide the potential to reconstruct this

[216] Here I follow Webb Keane's understanding that agency means that an individual or a group of people have to be seen as the cause behind any manifestation of material culture (Keane 1997).

construction. As such, the collection becomes a monument to a Khoisan culture that may never have existed. But a study of the composition of the collection shows that it could not support such a project. The vast numbers of objects with no provenance, incomplete sequences, and cryptic and unexplained references in the field notes are sometimes as eloquent as the artefacts themselves, but they can not be used to build a virtual hunter-gatherer reality.

Saul and Jantje, the interpreter/informants upon whom Fourie relied, were interlocutors who had learned to negotiate the settlers' worlds but who lived in the Khoisan world. They brought with them their own concerns, enthusiasms and understandings of the ways in which their world had been. These are not made explicit in the documentation, but can sometimes be read beneath the surface. The provision of the two magic miniature hunting sets by Jantje together with the metaphor-laden explanation of their use, for example, expresses his understanding of their importance and provides a rare window into the processes of collaboration between collector and collected. If, as the evidence shows, these artefacts were sacred and secret, the presentation to Fourie speaks of a relationship of trust between the two.

When Fourie's personal proclivities coincided with the interests of his informants the effects can be read in the collection. The most obvious of these examples is the sizeable category of weapons, but he also had an interest in medicine which is reflected in a number of items of *materia medica* (a difficult category to collect since many of the examples were made of fugitive materials such as blood, meat and vegetable products.) His stated interest in technology, too, is reflected in a wide array of tools used in the manufacture of the artefacts in the collection. He collected ninety seven tools for manufacturing objects, and two hundred and seventeen examples of the raw materials used, such as bones, grasses, ostrich eggs and tortoise shells, (of which one hundred and fifty six pieces were intended for making arrows).[217] These artefacts are supported and explained in the collection of photographs of rope making, ostrich egg shell bead making and arrow making made by Fourie in 1919 and 1927.

Fourie's perception of the workmanship being so skilled was also a departure from the generally accepted view of Khoisan identity which perceived a limited and primitive material culture as the result of a foraging and peripatetic lifestyle. Schapera's description of the "Industries and Trade" of the San begins:

> Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic (Schapera 1930:143).

[217] See Appendix 8.

To this sparse and utilitarian inventory Fourie has added ornaments, divining dice, *materia medica*, cosmetics and magical miniature hunting kits. In his investigations he uncovered a less pragmatic approach to the material world than had been summarised by Schapera, but this approach has yet to be fully researched and published.

Gender played a role in the shaping of the collection. I have shown how Fourie did not gather much information on the significance of ostrich eggshell beads, but seemed to prefer to focus on the technical aspects of their production. This may have been because ornaments were not a masculine subject, but it would also have been more difficult for him to establish a rapport, and to gather detailed information from women. There may, of course, have been some reticence among the women Fourie met, who likely found gender to be an issue themselves, and would not, therefore, have forged relationships with him in the same way as Saul and Jantjie did.[218]

Reading along the grain we see that the collection covers, comprehensively, a range of traditional artefacts from the majority of groups Fourie identified as Bushmen in South West Africa, and from a wide range of localities. We discover that the artefacts can yield many layers of ethnographic information and that they utilised, in most imaginative ways, many materials from their natural environment. We would be forgiven for assuming that hunting was the key element of their economy. From the magic arrows we see a fine attention to detail and a mysterious reversal of the norm, which speaks of a belief in magic and the supernatural. In such a reading the collection is descriptive of a generalised Bushman culture, with some comparative pieces (such as Ovambo and Wakeddi arrows) to highlight particular characteristics of the artefacts that are peculiarly Bushman.

Reading between the grain, to see the matrix that holds the collection together, I have shown that Fourie's intention to create a comprehensive archive of Khoisan material is manifest in the variety of ornaments, the anomalous six-piece arrows and eleven miniature hunting sets. His selection of the artefacts was influenced by current notions of Khoisan identity, such as their primitiveness, their links with the Later Stone Age, their hunting prowess and the threat their poisoned arrows posed to the settlers. But Fourie also collected information which contradicts some of these characterisations and which supports new ways of thinking about the Khoisan. His work on miniature bows and arrows was a world away from Péringuey's analysis. He found a wealth of ornamentation that was not made of ostrich eggshell, and some arrows which did not fit the standard two- or four-piece pattern.

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[218] For example, in the A4 notebook in BoxE (item number 23), gathering and veld foods are mentioned on twenty pages, as opposed to hunting and meat, which are mentioned on forty-six pages.

On the other hand, reading against the grain, Fourie left out of his collections almost all artefacts showing the advent of European and South African settlers in South West Africa. There are a number of reasons for such a pattern: it was accepted practice for the time; Fourie was looking for the traditional, salvaging it because he thought it was disappearing; and, perhaps subconsciously, he was rejecting certain memories, avoiding evidence of the guilt and irreconcilable contradictions inherent in the life of an administrator who doubles as an ethnographer.

Reading against the grain we also see in the miniature bows and arrows evidence of the collector's passion for the artefacts and their mystery and romance. We see, too, that accounts of the symbolism of these items and others are filled with inconsistencies and contradictions, both within Fourie's archive and in accounts of other anthropologists such as Bleek and Schapera. Such inconsistencies give a glimpse into the relationships between Khoisan (and Berg Damara) informants and administrators and anthropologists. There were times when informants may have been economical with the truth, such as when discussing the numbers of animals they killed, because they feared repercussions. And there were others when their metaphors and symbols were incomprehensible to their listener, perhaps deliberately so, such as when they discussed the use of the "magic" arrows.

Museum processes form a context within which artefacts gain meaning. Classification and description become tools to appropriate and manipulate the knowledge and the people symbolised by the artefacts. Treating collections of objects as archives helps to deconstruct the ethnography. This is a reversal of the ways in which the artefacts were examined, for example, in studies of the Torday and Burton collections, where the ethnography was used to explicate the collections (Mack c1990, Nettleton 1992, and Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992). Both methods have their value, and not all collections would lend themselves to such readings. Museum anthropologists need to find new ways to process their collections in order to avoid treating them as artefacts with fixed single cultural meanings. An archival approach to artefacts may be one way in which the intricacies of their polysemous nature can be contained without restraint.

Chapter 6

Turning Passion to Science: Institutionalising the hobby of collecting

> Shortly after my arrival in South West Africa in September 1916, my attention was drawn to the Bushmen of the Territory by certain implements which came into my possession. These implements showed signs of such skilled workmanship that I decided to devote any spare time at my disposal to the study of the culture of the existing tribes (Fourie 1926:49).

Introduction

There is no word that captures the ways in which collectors are consumed by an interest in the subject of their choice. Anthropology was not Fourie's main business so the study of Khoisan culture and anatomy, one of his most absorbing occupations, was a hobby. Yet there is also a sense that he felt a calling, almost a vocation, to this work, which made it an avocation, (the word derives from the Latin *avocare* – to call away – and thus implies something that takes the practitioner away from his or her everyday life). Fourie's collection served a complex mix of functions, and, as I will show, this was common among private collectors of ethnographic artefacts. At the same time as providing pleasure and a chance to "get away from it all", the activity of collecting ostensibly performed a public service, and fulfilled a sense of vocation. This chapter explores cultures of collecting in western societies in order to tease out some of the characteristics of the archive (in the Foucauldian sense) that framed Fourie's collecting activities. In particular it examines the processes of collecting ethnographic material, because these processes have impacted on the meanings given to the artefacts in collections that are found in institutions today.

The Fourie Collection includes almost every tool, weapon, article of clothing, ornament and household utensil that could be called traditional to the Khoisan but there are very few objects that show any hint of western influence. Among the roasting sticks, sieves, skin scrapers, ornaments made of ostrich egg shell beads, the tools used to make the beads, bows, arrows and quivers and the wooden needles for making carrying nets, we find only some fencing wire, glass trade beads, and a few brass cartridge cases converted into tinder boxes. This is not unusual and the collection fits comfortably with the pattern of many other collections made in the first half of this century, including those made by museum professionals. The search for so-called "authentic" or "traditional" pieces was, in part, predicated on the concern that these were falling out of use, and that they had to be gathered before they disappeared. This meant that objects reflecting the influences of other groups, and most particularly of the West, were sifted out. In Fourie's time, if it was noticed at all, this selectivity was seen as correct and proper. The ultimate effect, however, has been that later, when museologists and scholars came to utilise these collections for exhibitions or for research, the abundance of traditional material and the scarcity of transitional materials allowed museums to follow the

convention of "speaking" in the anthropological present, and to avoid touching on the socio-political contexts which allowed for the accumulations of the objects in the first place.

In a metaphor which is doubly apt in the case of Fourie, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett likens ethnographic collectors to surgeons because of the way they excise objects from their original world. She says the object is "defined, segmented, detached and carried away", and thus becomes "ethnographic" – "for disciplines make their objects and in the process make themselves". Ethnologists also create the notions of cultural wholes that form the subjects of their study (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:388-9).

She suggests that we should speak of the ethnographic "fragment", in order to remind ourselves of this separation, and goes on to say that the ethnographic fragment is informed by "a poetics of detachment" which serves to distance the object from its original context. As an example Kirschenblatt-Gimblett cites the fascination with classical ruins in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from which great pleasure could be derived because temporal distance precluded any emotional response. In the case of ethnographic fragments it is spatial distance that creates this "poetics of detachment" and allows the viewer/owner to ignore the circumstances of the original users of the artefacts, to aestheticise the artefacts in isolation, and to take pleasure in a romanticised understanding of difference (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:388). The very act of ethnographic collecting, in this interpretation, is saturated with romantic melancholy.

Kirschenblatt-Gimblett also writes about things which could not be carried away, and says that these were inscribed in words and photographs and borne home in a different form. Here they were "displayed" in ethnographies that constructed contexts in words and pictures that served the purpose of classifying the information and the people it concerned. The contrast between *in situ* and *in context* is crucial in this respect, and is what gives rise to the disjunctures we find when we attempt to recontextualise the fragments in displays. The displacement of objects from their social contexts into collectors' domains involves a number of conceptual shifts, expressed in the actions of classifying, storing and exhibiting (Davison 1991:121). Museums use labels, charts, diagrams, photographs and other tools in exhibitions to exert cognitive control, classifying the artefacts, and, by extension, the people who made and used them. They cannot reconstruct the circumstances in which the artefacts were found although they might be able to reconstruct something of the moments in which they were found (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:390).

While recognising the powerful effect of agency in collecting, however, Kirschenblatt-Gimblett tends to disregard the agency of the original owners of the objects who had their own culture and their own motives for parting with their possessions (the same disregard, in

fact, which Kirschenblatt-Gimblett criticises in the early ethnographers). Recognition of this level of choice and action with regard to the artefact adds a significant layer of meaning in the processes of acquisition and curation of collections.

Davison mined the seams of meaning resulting from the consequences of the recontextualisation inherent in museum practice where the significance of objects varies as they go from one environment into another. In this process, however, she recognised the equal relevance of the original context of the objects (Davison 1991:198). Thus objects can be read as signs of the lives of those who made them, **and** as ethnographic fragments. A conclusion which neither she nor Kirschenblatt-Gimblett reaches, however, is that, because of the multiple layers of meaning, these ethnographic fragments thus hold the potential to become points at which contexts may meet. The artefacts collected by Fourie created a space in which Windhoek and Johannesburg could encounter Sandfontein in the Kalahari. The terms are not equal, and the readings are not set, but the possibilities are opened up when the excised fragment is examined in its new context with a consciousness of its provenance.

Collecting Ethnographic Information

Fourie's statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter is his only remaining direct comment on his collecting activities. The link between the detection of "skilled workmanship" and the "study of the culture of existing tribes" shows that in 1926, ten years after his interest was first engaged, he saw material culture as an integral part of culture as a whole. He consciously identified the project as ethnography, which, according to Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, would make the photographs, objects and documented information ethnographic fragments. Undoubtedly, however, he had other, unarticulated, motives for collecting, some of which were connected with his status within the Protectorate, but others almost certainly were informed by cultural and psychological factors. Clearly, Fourie valued these materials very highly. After procuring them (in their thousands, in the case of the artefacts) he cared for them and then went to the expense and trouble of carrying them with him for thousands of miles around the sub-continent. Further, he retained an interest in them long after he left South West Africa. If we are to comprehend the nature of Fourie's investigations into the traditions of the Khoisan then it is necessary to explore the perceptions and values of his contemporaries and later the inheritors of his collection.

Three thousand artefacts, three hundred and fifty photographs and reams of documented observations and interviews did not just "come into" Fourie's possession. The processes by which they were selected, obtained, filed and displayed were dictated by his fascination for the Khoisan, his position as a member of the Administration and by government policies and the prevailing paradigms in archaeology and anthropology. A comparison with two large

ethnographic collections, one made shortly before and the other shortly after this period, will show striking similarities in the methods used, personality traits of the collectors, and in the compositions of the collections. In endeavouring to understand why this is so it is necessary to examine some of the most commonly held beliefs about the gathering of knowledge and the workings of culture in the worlds outside the west. It is also useful to examine the roots of the culture of collecting which was so much a part of the modernist tradition, with a particular focus on how studies of material culture (which includes photographic representations) and technology fitted into mainstream anthropology as it developed in the twentieth century.

Searching for meaning and performance in material culture

In a sense, material culture is history and culture embodied in the physical world. Many social scientists have attempted to understand how human beings find meaning in "things". In recent writings on materiality scholars have grappled with the theorising of material culture, or the "theory of things" that "transcend the dualism of subjects and objects" (Miller 2004:3-4). Miller argues that:

> The less we are aware of [objects], the more powerfully they can determine our expectations by setting the scene and ensuring normative behaviour, without being open to challenge. They determine what takes place to the extent that we are unconscious of their capacity to do so (2004:5).

This characteristic of objects (their ability to "remain peripheral to our vision") helps to explain why many anthropologists have regarded material culture as trivial and inconsequential (Miller 2004:5-6). The recent theories provide interesting insights into the ways in which cultures deal with the material world which constitutes their environment and their identity, but they do not offer useful avenues to explore why large collections of objects continued to be amassed by institutions and private collectors over the past several centuries. To understand this we need to turn to earlier works.

M. Csikszentmihalyi and E. Rochberg-Halton, in their book: *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self*, examine the ways in which we turn objects into symbols (1981). They begin with Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung and the depth psychologists who followed them, who showed how individuals imbue objects with symbolic meaning and then dream about, fantasize over, and use these symbols in myths and the arts to convey feelings and attitudes not easily expressed in language. For Freud many symbols were connected with those needs for physical gratification that were socially unacceptable and led to internal conflicts between "formless libidinal drives" and "the stern censor of the superego". There is not enough evidence available to support an exploration of the

significance of Khoisan artefacts to Fourie's psyche (although there is doubtless something to be said about his focus on arrows!)

By symbolising these desires, Freud believed, we could fantasize and dream without fear of censure. Jung looked beyond physical needs and explored issues connected with the urge to attain "spiritual union with the social and physical environment" which was expressed in archetypal symbols such as swelling seas, and the rising sun. Jung's view links with Émile Durkheim's explanation of religion, in which, he theorised, could be found the mysterious sense of sociability of human beings symbolised in sacred objects such as totems. They agreed, too, that symbols were essential in the process of integration of the individual with the group. Apart from the fact that Durkheim was looking for meanings in groups rather than in individuals, he differed from Jung in the sense that he saw an interaction between objects-as-symbols and human beings. For Jung and Freud it was the **perception** of the object that was important, and not the object itself, and thus the relationship was not interactive. Durkheim and anthropologists in the twentieth century described the importance of objects-as-symbols in the expression of highly valued behaviours and character traits. Evans-Pritchard, for example, demonstrated the ways in which the Nuer saw a spear as representing virility, strength and vitality. In many cases the symbols not only expressed the desired qualities, but also helped to bring them about. Like the Khoisan arrow, the spear made its owner more efficient as a hunter and a fighter. It therefore had active as well as symbolic virtues (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg Halton 1981:21-27, 33-34. Evans-Pritchard 1956:233 quoted in Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg Halton 1981:26). In the cultural context of a collector, of course, the symbolism of the spear would be very different, but echoes of the original values would linger and attach to the latest reading. A collection of spears would also, in its entirety, symbolise something about the collector in his or her own cultural sphere.

It is not only objects that are turned into symbols, however. Human beings can also be perceived as symbols, and thus become objectified. Recent writings on historical anthropology have explored just such a process pertaining to the Khoisan. Perhaps the most contentious of these has been the critique of the works of Laurens van der Post who constructed a Jungian archetype out of a generalised, and sometimes inaccurate, popular understanding of the Khoisan. He symbolised the San as the ultimate self **and** the ultimate other because of what he perceived as their unadulterated primitiveness. Although he was arguably the most eloquent, Van der Post was by no means the first to make these people into symbols and thus into objects, and nor was he the last. For a period of over two centuries living exhibitions of Khoisan individuals and families have played a role in engendering a seductive mix of feelings of curiosity, fear and superiority. As recently as 1993 there was a

display in Cape Town of a small group of Khoisan who, at that time, were employed at the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Western Cape. This group, labelled "nearly extinct Bushmen", camped in a stage set of skins, grass huts and reeds at a trade fair held by Captour (the Cape Tourism Authority) to promote tourism in the area. Before that major exhibitions in South Africa included one held at the Van Riebeeck Festival in Cape Town in 1952 where over 165 000 spectators viewed a group of Khoisan; and the earlier display at the Johannesburg Empire Exhibition in 1936 which so horrified Fourie (Barnard 1996:39; Gordon, Rassool and Witz 1996:257-258, 263). And the fascination continues. An item on SABC 3 news on Wednesday 27 April 2005 showed that the South African stand at a trade fair in Japan contained a large exhibition on the San, dominated by larger than life photographs of people in traditional leather clothing. And in October 2006, a group of San men, women and children performed a dance for the opening of an exhibition of works by San artists held at the South African National Gallery to coincide with the biennial conference for Africom (the African division of the United Nations' International Council on Museums).

Although the motives for mounting these exhibitions were different, the final results were remarkably similar. The provision of a small grass hut, the carrying out of daily tasks, such as making arrows and ostrich egg shell beads, and the apparel of a minimum amount of animal skins worn to show a maximum amount of human skin, together with the notion that the people should be displayed at all in such a way, speaks of a deep-seated sense of otherness which allowed the organisers to override the humanity of the Khoisan participants, and precluded interaction. Much has been written about the gaze on their almost naked bodies but less attention has been given to the emphasis on the traditional material culture that contributed to this characterisation of the Khoisan in a particular way. Outside the rough grass shelters, which offered little or no privacy, bows and arrows were shown off as men adopted the posture of shooting at game, while women used simple tools to turn ostrich egg shells into beads, while wearing examples of the ornaments into which they would later be incorporated. The selected artefacts became symbolic props highlighting the theatrical expression of the concepts symbolised by the Khoisan.

The Khoisan have provided entertainment for western spectators in different ways over many years.

> Entertainment, as Victor Turner pointed out, converts the mundane into a symbolic playing field in which the audience-participants can act out their innermost attitudes, beliefs and values. We ignore the impact of such celebrations at our own intellectual peril. In the bushman exhibits, in both 1993 and 1952, it was the spectacle of the live bushman body, organised generationally and sexually, that characterised the visual terrain. There were corporeal encounters in an exhibition space si(gh)ted in a plane of knowledge which marked a boundary of 'civilisation' located in spatial and temporal terms in 'another time and another country' (Gordon, Rassool and Witz 1996:259).

In a similar way viewing a collection such as the one Fourie has made, either in his home or, and probably more pronouncedly, in a museum, turns the mundane artefacts into symbols through which are expressed "innermost attitudes, beliefs and values". Placing artefacts and photographs on display in exhibitions such as the one at Wembley in 1925 that contained Fourie's material entails a measure of theatrical showmanship in spite of the fact that the actors are not physically present. Select objects and photographs, now separated from their original owners and subjects, served to stand in the place of the people themselves, and to symbolise the qualities those people were believed to embody.

In a different development of the concept of objects as symbols Clifford Geertz showed how objects help us demonstrate that we matter and make a difference in the world and thus become status symbols. Status is defined as the power to "set the standards and norms by which others will act" and to "control ... psychic energy because those who have it can count on the attention and to a certain extent the compliance of those who have less". Objects become status symbols for a variety of reasons, including great age (as in antiques), rarity, the ability to attract attention, and high monetary value. Status symbols thus stand as a measure of the owner's ability to obtain and possess such highly valued items, and thus of his standing in the community (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg Halton 1981:27-41).

If, in this context, we consider Fourie's collection as an object itself, it is interesting to measure it as a status symbol to determine if it had the desired effect of giving him standing in the community. The salvage paradigm, which was so often reiterated by Fourie and others, would have implied that objects like the ones in his collection were seldom being manufactured by the time he was collecting, and that it would soon be impossible to find any more, thus emphasising their rarity. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett goes so far as to say that the collector induces rarity by the act of removing items from circulation, but as a counter to that "... the very ubiquity of the kinds of objects that interest ethnographers contributes to their ephemerality ..." because they are used, worn out, and replaced or thrown away, but are not saved for posterity by their original owners. She goes on to say that collectors create a demand for certain categories of objects by emphasising the challenges they pose to acquisition (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:391).

The fact that Fourie's artefacts came from places considered to be remote and inaccessible also implied that the brave collector had battled great odds to bring them to the city for the sake of scientific study.[219] Fourie received accolades for his work of collecting from

[219] See Wilmsen (1989:8, 25) on the creation of the myth of the remoteness of the Khoisan which occurred at the end of the nineteenth century.

members of the South African Museum and the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town. After he left the Protectorate his collection was sought after by the East London Museum, the King William's Town Museum, and the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. The ability of the collection to attract attention can also be measured by the high number of requests received by Fourie for information and assistance, and in the fact that he frequently gave tours to visitors to his home. Fourie had the power to set standards as he directed attention and enquirers to objects, people and places he considered to be of interest and intellectual value. At the same time, the collection successfully ensured that attention was frequently focused on Fourie.

There is certainly no evidence that Fourie gloried in or abused this power and his influence was not unlimited, but it is clear that, at least to some extent, his status as a man of intellect and importance was expressed through this extensive collection of objects. It is ironic that it was seldom recognised that many of the objects, for example the arrows and the ornaments, had been expressions of status in an entirely different cultural system before they had been excised and removed to a suburban bungalow in Windhoek to become part of a larger artefact.

Human interactions with objects are more multi-dimensional and flexible than the assignation of status symbol implies, however, and objects can also become symbols of social integration and, paradoxically, of social differentiation. The objects we own and display can be used to show how we stand out from others, but at the same time perform the task of helping us to integrate into our chosen community. They "serve to express dynamic processes within people, among people, and between people and the total environment" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg Halton 1981:43).

Symbols of social integration can simultaneously act to differentiate one group from another. Flags, for example help to express a sense of loyalty to one specific nation as opposed to other nations, and the cross and the crescent respectively express belief in one religion as opposed to the other. Fourie's collection distinguished him from others in the Protectorate, but at the same time helped to consolidate his friendships and his identity as a member of an elite group of influential civil servants. Read in this context, the nuances of the Fourie Collection become extremely complex. Many of the objects in the collection probably originally expressed deeply felt understandings of the relationships of the original Khoisan owners to each other, to supernatural powers, and to the world around them. Yet, once they entered colonial society these nuances were lost and new ones taken on.

It is possible only to surmise how Fourie himself read meaning from the objects he collected. Apart from the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, I could find no other direct statement concerning the processes of collecting, and organising his collection. In the mid-twentieth century some anthropologists (such as Evans-Pritchard, Geertz and Turner) described in detail the use of symbolic objects in pre-literate groups (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg Halton 1981:44), but Fourie worked in the early years of structuralism and it is doubtful that he would have had as sophisticated a view of material culture.

It is more than likely that, by the mid-1920s, Fourie had imbibed elements of the cultural-evolutionist approach to material culture, but was unable to find a compromise between that and the approach of the structural functionalists whose work he was reading at the time. So, while he continued to collect ethnographic objects, and to make anthropometric photographs, he seems to have been unable to articulate them within any contemporary paradigm. In the following section we see how Fourie's work was being carried out at the same time as many South African anthropologists had begun to marginalise, in particular, the role played by objects and technology in cultural and social structures.

Collecting and Ethnography

The activity of collecting has a long pedigree in Western Europe and North America, going back to the cabinets of curiosities of the aristocratic and intellectual elites of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These cabinets of curiosities contained a mixture of "mirabilia" (unusual oddities), ethnographic objects, antiquities and "All maner [sic] of Beasts and fowells and Birds ... Seeds ... Shells, Stones, Bones, Egge-Shells Withe What Cannot Come Alive" (Letter from John Tradescant Sr. to Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Navy, c. 1625 quoted in Jardine 2000:254). Such collections still have some influence on museums and notions of collecting today. The founding collection of the British Museum in London, for example, was "an extraordinary collection of rarities and curiosities of every kind" assembled by the physician-entrepreneur Sir Hans Sloane who had acquired the collections of a number of well-known British scientists and scholars in his life time, and had opened his collection for public viewing in the early 1700s (Jardine 2000:271).[220]

It is important to recognise that the urge to collect can be so powerful that often the activity becomes an end in itself. The collections of Ashmole and Sloane evidence this passion. The major part of Ashmole's collection consisted of a large number of plants, coins and other rarities put together by John Tradescant Senior. Ashmole had been asked to catalogue this

[220] Sloane was an extremely successful society doctor and entrepreneur (he developed the commercial production of chocolate in Britain) and he used his considerable fortune to further his avocation of collecting everything he could (Jardine 2000:270).

collection and had been so taken by it that he somehow negotiated a deed of gift in lieu of payment for his services so that he could take over the collection on the death of Tradescant Junior. Even before that event Ashmole was unable to stay away and was a constant, unwelcome, visitor in their home. In a similar way, Sloane's avidity was such that: "By the end of his life [he] had siphoned up practically every major botanical collection, 'dried garden' and cabinet of curiosities whose owner was prepared to relinquish it" (Jardine 2000:257-258, 270).[221] In the mid 1800s R.E. Johns, the Australian collector "could not stop himself from collecting, and ... a museum sprouted wherever he went" (Griffiths 1996:52). At the end of the nineteenth century Emil Torday was, at one stage, so keen to collect what he called "significant" Kuba artefacts that he was almost left destitute and wrote: "I am working strenuously on my bankruptcy" (Quoted in Mack 1990:67).

Bob Fourie has commented on the passionate interest his father took in the world around him and the strength of his need to know more about it. The numerous letters from friends and colleagues in the civil service, giving information and accompanying objects, suggest that Fourie's enthusiasm was such that he spoke of it to everyone he met. The bases of passion may have been different for each collector. Freud, for example, was a collector of antiquities and described the activity as a sublimation of the need to have a series of mistresses, an activity for which his father was well known. Johns (the Australian mentioned above and discussed in detail below) was a shy man who "mediated his own society and personal relations through his museum". All of these collectors expressed their identity in and gained status from the objects they accumulated and their collections often created a space where passion could be safely expressed as scientific enquiry (Fourie 1985:190; Griffiths 1996:52).

By the late Victorian period collecting had become embedded in middle-class respectability, particularly the collecting of items of natural history, and, in the colonies of the western powers, the collecting of ethnographic curiosities. The important development in the modern period was that this learning, which had remained the preserve of a self-defined community of specialists, now became accessible to a wider audience. There were, however, differences, over time and space and between academics and populists, in the ways in which collections were used and understood. In particular, in the modern age, those who lived in the metropolitan centres had different priorities from those who lived in the colonies from which much of the material was gathered (Pearce 1995:132-3; Jardine 2000:317).

[221] His acquisitiveness was also prompted by the possibility that among the plants that he collected he might find another which could be exploited for commercial purposes.

Popular ethnography

Griffiths has shown how the collecting of aboriginal material in Australia contributed to the creation of a popular or public history of contested territory, which allowed the settlers to legitimate their place in the landscape, and to assuage an unspoken communal guilt for taking land which belonged to Aborigines (Griffiths 1996:21). Although he does not expand on this point it becomes clear that, in this sense, anthropology and history are elided. The popular history he describes was shaped by news reports, novels, poetry, music, pictorial images and museum displays, all of which identified the Aborigines by defining a communal culture that disallowed individual agency or specific actions and then placed that culture firmly in the Stone Age past.

In a similar way Fourie's collection of Khoisan material contributed enormously to what could be called a public anthropology of the Khoisan. In South Africa the divide between popular and academic was sometimes blurred. Dart, for example, was a great populariser of palaeoanthropology and believed that the role of the layman was important in the production of science.

> Every South African is, willy-nilly, an anthropologist. At every turn in his daily life, academic or industrial, he encounters his coloured brother and is driven to contemplate in his or her peculiar fashion the how, why and whither of racial and social divergence. Every back-veld farmer or poverty-stricken prospector happens, sooner or later, upon implements of stone, paintings and carvings or actual human skeletal remains and is irresistibly led to the same mental questionings. Show me a South African who has never pondered on any of these matters and we will look upon one without ordinary mental equipment (Dart 1925:74).

There is no doubt that Fourie was fitted with more than average mental equipment, and that his collecting can not be compared with the "activities of a back-veld farmer" (although he was often out alone in the "back-veld"). Nevertheless, he was an amateur, and the curiosity that was so colourfully described by Dart, that fuelled the "mental questionings" and which can be linked with the impulses described by Griffiths (incidentally writing of Dart's first home) cannot be ruled out as an impetus to his research. I would argue here, too, that Fourie's collecting began as part of a private passion to apprehend (in both senses of the word) the Khoisan.

The story of the collector, Randolph Eveleigh Johns, a bureaucrat who lived in central Victoria, Australia, in the 1850s and 1860s, demonstrates the enduring importance of collecting and of the patterns followed by collectors who were heirs to a western tradition which privileged the owners of large quantities of objects, and, by extension, of information. Johns was a government employee and amateur anthropologist who collected skeletal material and artefacts of the local Aborigines, often drawing upon contacts and friends for

help and contributions and corresponding widely with a number of Australian experts. Like Sloane and Ashmole in London two centuries before him, having carefully labeled the objects, he opened his collection for public viewing and it "became a community resource, created and used by a widening circle of people". He sold the collection to the Beechworth Burke Museum for £25 in 1868 and immediately began to put together another, similar, collection. The Museum sent several items to be exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition in 1878 where they were placed at the very beginning of a section entitled: "The history of labour", in order to proclaim the primitive nature of the Aborigines (Griffiths 1996:28-52). Johns' collection contributed toward the creation of a definition of Australian Aborigines, who, like the San, were set at the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder, but at the same time he articulated an identity for himself that lent him prestige in the community.

> Gathering and possessing, classifying and cataloguing were essentials of Johns' life, central to his identity. They were appropriate middle-class pastimes, entirely fitting for a clerk of courts who later became a police magistrate with a wife, children and a servant. ... Collecting, then, could be supremely social and worldly. Johns 'played the showman', at first to his neighbours and then to the world, partly because it was his chief means of being social (Griffiths 1996:50).

Like Johns, Fourie was collecting from a group of people whose culture was rapidly changing as they were pushed to the periphery of a colonial economy. Fourie was, however, collecting half a century later, during a time when South African scholars were beginning to develop confidence and pride in the international value of their own work. There was a growing awareness that there was much potential for research in the region:

> … whereas in 1905 the educated scientific public in South Africa was tiny and highly dependent on the imperial connection, by 1929 it was far more self-assured and possessed of a distinct sense of national pride and achievement. Within the rapidly growing university system, the production of knowledge was becoming institutionalised and disciplinary boundaries were becoming more precise (Dubow 1995:12-13).

Fourie's role as a collector at the margins of the metropoles (of both western and South African academics) is difficult to assess. He was closer to the coalface (so to speak) and could therefore accumulate a collection of vast proportions. In addition, he could build up a network of sympathisers who augmented the collections of artefacts and photographs, and offered information on some topics. In a sense his collection opened a space for him to be an interlocutor between academics and amateurs, physical anthropologists and social anthropologists, administrators and anthropologists, Khoisan and colonists, and even between the South West African Administration and Britain and the League of Nations. The collection served to underpin his authority as an expert on the Khoisan and, when it was displayed, it provided access to the Khoisan, and the opportunity to receive wisdom about the Khoisan, for layman and scholar alike. In proving that local colonists were doing research and were trying

to reach some understanding of the local people, the collection helped to create an identity for the Administration that went some way toward legitimising its continuing rule over the Territory. Certainly, without the collection Fourie's status as expert would have had a distinctly different character. He would have had to have written and published more, possibly have had to have sold his photographs, or given public lectures. The collection provides evidence of his research and expertise in lieu of other articulations.

South West Africa was administered by, but was not, South Africa. In the 1920s there was no university, and the Protectorate depended on South Africa for academic support. In spite of their positions at the margins, however, and whether they chose it or not, intellectuals like Fourie and his friend Hahn were treated as *de facto* South Africans in the world of anthropology at that time, a subtle form of colonisation. As we have seen, Fourie, while remaining a South African, was a prime mover in attempts to forefront local knowledge, in part by founding the South West Africa Scientific Society. In exhibiting his collection both in his home and at the Empire Exhibition in London he was displaying to the world not only the Khoisan, but also the potential of South West Africans to do valuable local research.

Ethnographic collections need to be read in the broader context of a colonising culture that was constantly attempting to legitimise and bolster domination and suppression. An intellectualising of a prevailing sense of otherness played an important role in the legitimising project, and it was important to define the conquered groups, and then to order them by degrees of primitiveness in order to reify inferiority. The paradigms of cultural evolutionism contained within them the desire to classify and order cultures so as to underwrite the inevitability of domination by cultures with superior technology (i.e. western European cultures). In spite of the rejection of these paradigms by social anthropologists in the twentieth century, for many years the essence of anthropology in all its forms was to define, classify and describe the cultures of the other. The presence in Fourie's collection of a few items of Ovambo origin, and of some from Khoisan groups he claims to have been most influenced by the Ovambo, would almost certainly have served as comparisons in any attempt at a classification scheme, but, for the most part, Fourie focused on trying to represent all the San groups in the Territory, and his 1928 publication shows how he tried to create a comprehensive outline and classification of those groups.

Central to this project was the need to discover the form and nature of these cultures as they had been before contact with the west, or with Bantu speaking Africans. Fourie's frequent questions about the origins of technologies and behaviours and the respondents' references to founding ancestors (the first Bushman or Naron or ≠Ao-//ein, for example, cited in Chapter 5)

are situated squarely within this endeavour. The information contained within the references that pointed to much contact between all the groups in the Protectorate are omitted from his published works because he was attempting to look beyond, or behind (or before) the contact to find the original forms of their cultures.

I have discussed above archaeologists' needs for confirmation of their theories concerning the cultures of the Later Stone Age, and the ways in which these helped shape Fourie's collecting activities, and the need to define the Bushmen as different, not only to the Khoekhoe, but also to the Bantu-speakers (who were described as having arrived in the sub-continent only a few centuries ago). This evidence placed the Bushmen as technologically primitive, and, by analogy, they were seen as having a simple and unsophisticated culture. The Khoekhoe were an intermediary group, with some knowledge of the forging of metal, and with a cattle-herding culture that was seen to be more sophisticated than that of the San. The Bantu-speakers, on the other hand, were workers of metal, belonged to the Iron Age and were seen to be more sophisticated. The title of George W. Stow's early ethnography is eloquent in this respect: *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* (1905). These paradigms had a material effect on the shape of Fourie's collection, ensuring that he paid particular attention to weapons and ostrich egg shell beads, for example, and to the tools and technology used to make them. It may have been these paradigms that prevented him from pursuing in depth evidence about religion, shamanism or healing rituals. It is difficult to compare Fourie's collection with collections of material culture from Bantu-speaking groups in southern Africa because there are few contemporary collections in South Africa which attempt the same comprehensiveness, and which have been documented in any detail.

Eileen Jensen Krige, for example, intended to make a comprehensive collection to reflect Lobedu material culture in the 1930s, and amassed two hundred and eighty-four artefacts, covering a similar range of categories to Fourie. These included utensils, dress and ornamentation, pottery, musical instruments, weapons, smoking and snuff-taking and girls' initiation. The published ethnography by Krige and her husband, and subsequent notes and correspondence, show that at least forty-eight items are not represented in the collection. Additionally, a large number of the objects had not been used, but had been manufactured for sale to the Kriges; partly because she was reluctant to ask people to part with their own personal possessions, and partly because her purpose was to show the range of items to be found, rather than the ways in which they were used (Davison 1991:114-7). Patricia Davison's PhD thesis gives some idea of the contents of the collection, but does not give a detailed treatment of this topic. Unlike Fourie, Krige did not try to represent sub-groups, or

variations within the group of dress, ornamentation, or any other form of material culture. Like Fourie, however, Krige was not interested in collecting artefacts not directly related to the past traditions of her subjects (Davison 1991:117-8).

In spite of his early loyalty to South West Africa, as evidenced by his interest in forming a local museum and the Scientific Society, Fourie did not leave his collection behind when he moved to South Africa. This would have been, in part, because there was no institution or individual in the Territory capable of caring for it in 1929. In addition, however, his disillusionment with the Administration is likely to have played a role in his decision to take the collection with him when he left. The consequences of this move are hard to calculate. Certainly, the official archives for that period are scanty and would have benefited from the addition of Fourie's papers and photographs, which would have been more easily available to historians. The Khoisan collections in the national museum, too, would be considerably improved by the addition of Fourie's collection. Both institutions would have gained in prestige and stature if they had held and been able to make good use of the entire collection. Anthropologists and historians of Namibia have lacked a rich source of information as a result of this instance of the colonisation of a font of knowledge.

It is interesting to note that, in the end, it was Hoernlé who asked for Fourie's collection to be housed in her own department at the University of the Witwatersrand for "teaching purposes", and that the collection remained there for many years. Hoernlé was one of the founding members of the social anthropology movement, having studied at Cambridge, where she was influenced by Rivers and where she met Radcliffe-Brown, and then at the Sorbonne with Durkheim. This new paradigm had no place in it for the study of material culture (Hammond-Tooke 1997: 37-38; Davison 1991:113). It is, perhaps, a measure of the small size of the anthropological community in South Africa and the fluidity of ideas in those years that, in spite of this, she supported the collection of material culture. Fourie's collection was not an isolated case. Hoernlé also corresponded with W.P.F. Burton, a missionary in the Congo, from the late 1920s until she retired, encouraging him to send a superb collection of Luba artefacts to the museum in her department (Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992:15-16, 20). During the 1940s Hilda Kuper, of the same department, continued to collect for the museum. Accompanied by Miss H.G. Olivier of the Africana Museum she travelled to Swaziland where they gathered material for the departmental museum as well as for the Africana

Museum.[222] And Gus Silberbauer, Government Anthropologist in Botswana, deposited a collection of G/wi material in the university museum in the early 1960s.[223]

Once he had begun to collect, Fourie was encouraged and supported by his own Administration, and by numerous academics and institutions around the country (even the diplomatic service) for a number of different reasons. The Administration, for example, needed the information for the smooth running of the Native Administration Department, and for the claiming of the mandate (See: "After Windhoek, 1930-1953" in Chapter 7). The SAM wanted more casts and photographs, and they sought evidence for a particular strain of evolutionary theory. Fourie's work was needed as much as he needed assistance in carrying it out.

Other Collectors in Africa in the Early Twentieth Century

At the time when Fourie was working in South West Africa there were other collectors in Africa who combined their passionate interest in a particular group of people with an interest in academic and museological practice in very similar ways. I have already mentioned Torday and Burton who both worked in the southern regions of the Belgian Congo gathering together collections of objects, photographs, and information. Torday was a Hungarian who worked in the Belgian Congo and had very little formal anthropological education, but maintained a strong link with the British Museum, and particularly with T.A. Joyce, the curator of the ethnographical collections.

> At the prompting of his mentors in the British Museum Torday gradually transformed himself from an untrained and unsystematic observer into a detailed and precise recorder of cultural data (Mack 1990:14).

Torday's field work in the Congo comprised three interludes during the years 1900 to 1909 at the time when the study of anthropology was beginning to move out of museums and into universities. He also provided artefacts for the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University and was linked with A.C. Haddon at Cambridge University in spite of the fact that they disliked each other and that Torday rejected Haddon's theoretical standpoint (cultural evolutionism). After he left the Congo, Torday continued his involvement in the anthropology of the Kuba of the Congo from his home in London, drawing on his field notes to publish extensively (Mack 1990:21, 24).

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[222] See Additional Notes for 42/437-474 and letter from the museum to Miss H. Kuper 10 February 1942 at Museum Africa.

[223] Probably as a result of this paradigmatic dissonance this collection was not catalogued and was poorly stored and cared for until recently.

Like that of Fourie, Torday's collection included information in the form of photographs, notes, and recordings as well as material culture. Unlike Fourie, Torday published several articles and his work is now referred to in that form, but both collectors were forgotten for many years after their deaths. Torday collected around three thousand objects, but these were not all for himself. Although he apparently maintained a private collection, most of the items he collected were sent to the British Museum for curation, display and publication, and he supplied other institutions. He published extensively in journals and monographs, but, like Fourie, he integrated the information on material culture into discussions on cultural phenomena. In addition to this, however, his detailed studies of design elements added a new dimension to conceptions of woodcarvings, which had become the territory of the art historians at the time. His financial and family circumstances meant that Torday had the freedom to devote a large part of his time to the study of anthropology. In 1907 he worked full time on an anthropological project, leading an expedition for the British Museum to conduct research in the Congo and to collect objects for them. After leaving the Congo he had the means to continue working on the subject of the Kuba, doing mostly archival and historical work until his death. Torday was writing at a time when the study of material culture was unquestioned as a legitimate concern of anthropologists, which made it easier for him to write up his research than it was for Fourie only a decade later (Mack 1990:15).

In 1914, five years after Torday left the Congo, the missionary W.F.P. Burton arrived there and was stationed at Mwanza in the south to work among the Luba people. Unlike his colleagues in the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Church he developed a great interest in the language and customs of the people among whom he worked, and soon began to study them in depth, partly in order to facilitate the work of converting them to Christianity, but also because he "grew to love and respect Luba culture". At some stage (it is not known when) he contacted Hoernlé at Wits and repeatedly requested guidance for the work of studying "feature[s] of native life" (Haarhoff: 1992:8; Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992:19). As a part of this interest, Burton began to collect artefacts from the Luba, and to sell them to the university, attempting to "... provide a selection of objects which was representative of as wide a cross-section of Luba cultural life as possible" (Liebhammer and Rankin-Smith 1992:15).

By 1940, when his last contribution was registered in the Ethnological Museum Accession Book, he had supplied 342 items, of which 275 were located for the writing of a catalogue published on the occasion of the exhibition of Burton's work at the University of the Witwatersrand Art Galleries in 1992. The exhibition also included a selection of some of the 424 photographs taken by Burton and stored at the university, a few of the many watercolours he had made during his forty-five year stay in Mwanza, and samples of his correspondence

and publications, giving some idea of the two projects of gathering information and spreading Christianity in which he was engaged (University of the Witwatersrand Art Galleries 1992:75).

Torday, Burton and Fourie were all consciously collecting to create a record that they hoped would be as comprehensive as possible, and would form an archive of material that would somehow embody the culture of the people among whom they worked. They were not alone in their fields. Mack describes Torday's sense of competitivenes with Frobenius who was collecting in the same area (Mack 1990:49), and Fourie was directing various researchers to his own stamping grounds: the Sandfontein area. All three collectors were in close contact with academics, and were deeply involved in the stocking of museums. While it appears that Fourie was the only one of the three who collected mainly for himself, I have shown that the constant contact he had with museums, and his own interest in forming one in Windhoek, meant that he collected with the intention that the objects would one day be in an institution.

As distinct from the cases of Torday and Burton, who, because they were collecting for institutions were more self-conscious in their record keeping, Fourie was his own log book and consequently it is difficult to reconstruct his methods of collecting. We know he gathered objects in the field and that some of them appear in the photographs of the manufacture of rope and ostrich egg shell beads. We also know that he received artefacts from numerous sources. He noted provenances and explanations about use and nomenclature but there is very little detail of the processes of exchange – of how and how much he paid for them, for example – and he did not think it necessary to record the name of the owner or the maker of an object as part of its provenance. The documentation of the provenances of the objects collected by Burton and Torday is notably more detailed and orderly than that of Fourie, who had all the information he needed at his disposal but never wrote it up. Perhaps if he had been collecting to send items directly to a museum he would have done so, but he put off the task too long, and when he moved from Windhoek in 1929 with the work not done, the chances of his making more detailed order out of the chaos lessened with each passing year.[224] The objects were either in packing cases or at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, and his medical research and public health work took up more and more of his time.

[224] See his correspondence with Hoernlé about doing this work at the University of the Witwatersrand. (MMS40/69/BoxG:1932 and 1933).

Artefacts in Anthropology

Until the early twentieth century the area of study known as anthropology embraced an undifferentiated interest in all aspects of the cultures of groups of what were mostly termed natives, including comparative anatomy, material culture and social behavior. Anatomy and culture were seen to be facets of the same project, and were linked with evolutionary theories. Material culture was collected together with photographs and skeletons, to be placed in institutions where they would be cared for and made accessible to scholars who had the expertise to interpret and elucidate them (Stocking 1987).

Material culture played an important role in the early development of the discipline of anthropology. In particular theorists of the diffusionist school, one of the dominant paradigms at the turn of the last century, used artefacts as markers of technological development, or to show how borrowing took place.

> Diffusionism involved the belief that cultures were essentially collections of elements (or 'traits') that had developed over time both through internal development and through borrowing, the latter being by far the most important. Explanation of the present state of a culture could therefore only be achieved by reconstructing the history of this borrowing. The almost total lack of written records meant that diffusionist scholars had to rely on the comparison of cultural items in societies scattered over wide geographical areas in order to reconstruct the movement through time of these borrowings (Hammond-Tooke 1997:21-22).

Artefacts were among the "cultural items" which were gathered together for comparison, and were thought to provide particularly potent evidence of borrowing. During this period most scholars believed that culture traits were rarely inventions, but had been passed along through time and space. The extremists of this school held that a set of traits had been invented in one place at one time, and that these traits were then spread throughout the world by both migration and by borrowing. These notions formed the basis for the theories of cultural evolutionists who comprised the majority of anthropologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (De Waal Malefijt 1979:160-161).

Cultural evolutionists held that cultures could be ranked by the degree to which they had progressed along a line that ultimately led to the sophistication of western European civilisation. Theorists such as E.B. Tylor (sometimes called the founder of modern anthropology), L.H. Morgan and James Frazer posited a number of stages of cultural development, such as savagery, barbarism, and civilization.[225] While the origins and bases of

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[225] Tylor (1832-1917) wrote *Primitive Culture* first published in 1871, and *Researches in the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* first published in 1865.

Morgan (1818-1881). See *Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* first published in 1877. This book influenced the work of Karl Marx and of Friederch Engels (De Waal Malefijt 1979:153).

cultural evolutionism are not directly linked with the biological evolutionism of Darwin[226] – with the former having its base in Christian dogma and the latter causing the established churches much trouble – they were often used interchangeably to support racist theories as the twin streams of cultural and physical anthropology developed. The theories of cultural evolution provided an arena in which material culture could be collected, studied and theorised.

Several unquestioned assumptions flowing from diffusionism and cultural evolutionism are clearly evident in the quest to identify and separate a true so-called Bushman from the so-called Hottentot and the elusive Strandlooper, which formed the dominant *leitmotif* of the work of the South African Museum and of Raymond Dart and the anatomists from the University of the Witwatersrand. These included the notion that humans are, by nature, seldom inventive and often imitative; it would follow, therefore, that cultures would be static until contact was made with new cultures; and that cultures could be ranked in a hierarchy going from more to less sophisticated. Hence the Strandloopers were rated at the most undeveloped level, upward to the Bushmen and thence to the Hottentot. Fourie's collection, unlike that of, say Pitt-Rivers, does not show an attempt to compare the material cultures of the three groups, but that does not necessarily mean that he did not operate using the same assumptions. He stated quite clearly that his main concern was the Bushmen part of the trio, thereby leaving others to study the additional groups, but setting himself the task of creating a detailed base for comparison. He probably recognised that such a comparative undertaking would be a forlorn task: received wisdom at the time being that the so-called Hottentots had lost a great deal of their traditional culture, including much of their material culture. He would have known that the Strandloopers, having died out some time before, could only be comprehended with archaeological evidence (Hoernlé 1985:23, 27, 45; Péringuey 1911:180-2, 195-6, 214-215; Shrubsall 1907:205-208).

The salvage paradigm was an offshoot of the theories of the evolutionists and the diffusionists who assumed that cultural changes, which resulted from the meeting of "primitive" groups with western colonists, led to rapid dissolution and inevitable decay. As in the case of Johns in Australia, this assumption was applied to many of the so-called "primitive" cultures encountered by European travellers, missionaries, traders and colonisers in the nineteenth and

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Frazer (1854-1941). Most famous for his twelve-volume work *The Golden Bough* first published in 1890.

[226] There can be no doubt, however, that many of the anthropologists writing at the time would have been familiar with Darwin's theories as laid out in *The Origin of Species*. Morgan, for example, wrote of how he at first resisted the theory of biological evolution by natural selection, but later came to accept it.

twentieth centuries.[227] Fourie's motivation for collecting was based partly on precisely these assumptions.

> It soon became evident, however, that the primitive organisation of most of the tribes living in proximity to the settled portions of the country was very rapidly disintegrating under the change of environment caused by contact with other races, and that in some instances it had disappeared completely (Fourie 1926:19).

The disappearance of the "primitive organisation" of the Khoisan, however, must have happened more slowly than most commentators judged; how else to explain how Fourie managed to collect so many artefacts, made of fugitive materials such as reed, leather, wood and bone, from these 'rapidly disintegrating' cultures?

The salvage paradigm continued throughout the twentieth century, albeit in different guises, firstly because it sat comfortably with the theories of the social anthropologists whose ahistorical descriptions of cultures as integral wholes implied that change in any one social "fact" would have disturbing ramifications throughout an entire society. Later came a growing interest in African art which added value to material culture which had previously been dismissed as having only ethnographic interest, and which led to the need to gather items which were perceived to belong authentically to particular cultural patterns and to be rare or irreplaceable.

In the absence of an intellectual infrastructure in South West Africa, South Africans dominated and often absorbed any such work from the territory at this time, at first through museums, and later through universities. In 1919 various universities in South Africa had requested funds to add departments of African studies, in part to contribute to the training and work of personnel of the department of Native Administration (Davison 1991: 19-20; Hammond-Tooke 1997:58, 111). These departments were positioned to take advantage of the "special opportunities [South Africa] afforded for comparative research" on race that had attracted international interest for many years. Their work was also needed "for a solution to the 'native question' which, in essence, was the justification for racial segregation" (Dubow 1995:13-14). In 1922, when A.R. Radcliffe-Brown opened the School of African Life and Languages, the University of Cape Town became the first university in South Africa to teach anthropology. In the same year Wits was granted university status, and it opened its Department of Bantu Studies, in which Winifred Hoernlé taught for many years, in 1923. Until then anthropologists in South Africa had either been amateurs who, as a result of their professions, worked closely with indigenous people, or professionals who worked in

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[227] For example the attempts in the early twentieth century by the British Association for the Advancement of Science to create an archive of photographs of all the living cultures on earth before they disappeared (Poignant 1992:63-64). At the Africana Museum this argument was frequently used as the justification for purchasing new items for the ethnographic collections right up until the late 1980s (See AMAC Minutes).

museums and universities in other capacities. Péringuey, for example, was an entomologist with a strong interest in archaeology at the South African Museum, Dart was an anatomist at the University of the Witwatersrand, Wilman was curator and archaeologist at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley and Goodwin was an archaeologist at the School of African Life and Languages at the University of Cape Town (Hammond-Tooke 1997:1-24, 34, 40).

Given the broad scope of the information and the material being collected in the name of anthropology, it is not surprising that the development of departments in universities that specialised in this subject was slow to happen. The period 1880 to 1920 has been called the "museum age" of anthropology (Jacknis 1985:75) although the term "age" is somewhat misleading, in that it implies that there was a reasonably tidy end to the process, and that it was homogeneous. Jacknis uses the term to show how, in the absence of university departments devoted to the subject, cultural and social anthropology was practised in the United States of America by museum professionals. He subverts his own definition somewhat by revealing how problematic anthropological studies had become in the museum environment by 1905 when Franz Boas (a German geographer who became one of the USA's leading anthropologists) was employed at the American Museum of Natural History. Nevertheless in broad terms it is a useful generalisation. The work of such amateurs as Fourie and Hahn, among others, well into the 1920s and 1930s, indicates that anthropology continued to be practiced outside of both university structures **and** museums for some time.

During the 1920s the rise of the school of social anthropology saw the study of material culture slowly being marginalised by many mainstream anthropologists, who, having abandoned the theories of cultural evolution for which material culture provided important evidence, behaved as if the material world was peripheral to culture and social structure. This new paradigm could be said to have begun in Cape Town when Radcliffe-Brown was teaching at the university there.[228] Initially versed in the diffusionist tradition, Radcliffe-Brown was strongly influenced by the work of Durkheim whose methodology was firmly modelled on that used by natural scientists. Instead of cultural traits he described "social facts" which performed specific functions to maintain societies as working entities and which were independent of consciousness. These social facts were interconnected and could not exist separately from each other – thus making each society a stable, integrated whole. Radcliffe-Brown's adoption of this theory led to his coining of the name "social

[228] In 1904 Radcliffe-Brown had graduated in psychology and philosophy at Cambridge, after which he spent some time studying the Andaman Islanders living just off the coast of India, and then between 1910 and 1912 he studied Australian Aboriginal kinship systems. During the influenza epidemic at the end of World War I he was extremely ill, and doctors recommended that he move to South Africa. He lectured in psychology at the School of Mines in Johannesburg and then was appointed Curator of Ethnology at the Transvaal Museum in Pretoria in 1921, before moving to the University of Cape Town.

anthropology", a discipline which he distinguished from ethnology and cultural anthropology, both of which, he said, used the historical method as opposed to the inductive method which informed social anthropology. The latter, because it was more scientific, was the only one that could produce general laws, and the former, he believed, were too conjectural because the societies which were being studied had no written histories. The conjectures leading to the reconstruction of the paths of borrowing and migration were often based upon the use of material culture, and so the term "conjectural history" became a "knee-jerk put-down" in social anthropological circles (Hammond-Tooke 1997:27). It became clear that, as the discipline of anthropology developed, the study of material culture would not be acceptable in English-speaking academia in South Africa but this process did not occur overnight. The Kriges, Schapera, and other South African anthropologists such as Hugh Stayt and Audrey Richards, made reasonably large collections well into the 1930s.

The study of material culture was more sympathetically viewed in most of the Afrikaans medium universities in South Africa which followed a cultural approach more closely akin to German and American schools of thought. W.W.M. Eiselen established anthropology as a subject at the University of Stellenbosch in 1926. He had studied ethnology and African languages in Germany and based his courses mainly on the German tradition of cultural history. He added references to American cultural anthropology but alluded only briefly to the new theories of social anthropology. The result was a strong ethnographic course, with little emphasis on sociological theory (Hammond-Tooke 1997:57, 60-61). This presaged the development of cultural anthropological studies at most of the Afrikaans medium universities. This approach provided the research and the personnel to underpin the 'racial science' which was used to govern and which ultimately led to apartheid (Dubow 1995:16; Hammond Tooke 1997:63-67). While Fourie was familiar with works on the Khoisan by German anthropologists, there is no evidence to show that he had any contact with Afrikaner academics in this field.

> The ascendancy of social anthropology, coinciding with the formative years of academic anthropology in South Africa, no doubt goes a long way to explain the relative lack of interest in material culture studies, which were associated with the outdated evolutionist and diffusionist approaches (Davison 1991:21).

Davison goes on from this statement to examine the politics of ethnicity, and the ways in which English-speaking academic anthropologists attempted to prevent their work from being co-opted to support political ends. English-speaking universities avoided material culture studies, with their potential links to comparative ethnographies. Afrikaans medium universities, teaching ethnology, allowed for descriptive work, but gave no social theory in which generalisations could be made and tested (Davison 1991:184; Hammond-Tooke

1987:3-4; 1997:38, 60-62). This goes some way to explaining why Fourie's collection, which had been produced in an English milieu and was focused on South West Africa, was not researched and written up, either by himself or by anyone in any of the institutions in which it was housed after his death.[229] In 1987, for example, when working at the Africana Museum, I approached Professor Hammond-Tooke at the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand to ask if I could register to write a dissertation on this collection. While he was sympathetic to the idea he did not really consider the collection an appropriate topic for an MA in social anthropology, and suggested that it could possibly form the springboard for a project on the social structure of a San group in South West Africa.[230] That same year he had written that museum anthropologists felt:

> … rather marginal to the anthropological mainstream, almost like country cousins. ... Conversely, I myself have been embarrassed by the fact that my Department has a small ethnological museum, inherited from my predecessors, which, quite frankly, I do not know how to use effectively, either for teaching or research (Hammond-Tooke 1987:4).

By 1989 attitudes had changed so much that Hammond-Tooke himself worked on no less than six articles dealing directly with material culture, although they were ostensibly connected with studies of African Art (Hammond-Tooke 1989; Hammond-Tooke and Nettleton 1989(a) and (b); Hammond-Tooke, Nettleton and Ndabambi 1989; Hammond-Tooke and Nettleton (eds.) 1989; and Nettleton and Hammond-Tooke (eds.) 1989).[231]

The years in which Fourie collected saw the beginning of the end of the prominence of material culture in the discipline of anthropological studies. Having read the works of both German and British anthropologists, being a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute and having evinced interest in the American Anthropological Society,[232] Fourie found himself caught between paradigms, and unable to position his collection in a convincing theoretical framework. He must have felt strongly that the material culture which, according to him, was rapidly disappearing, had value and needed to be preserved, and this feeling was bolstered by the interest shown in his collection by a multitude of scholars in the field. In spite of this he did not write up the specialised knowledge he must have gained in the process of collecting and curating, and the concerns that shaped his collection can now only be guessed at.

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229 The MMS intended that the material culture would form only a supplement to the book it planned to write based on Fourie's field notes.

230 He told me that a Master's degree in social anthropology required at least 6 months of fieldwork.

231 All these references are linked with two publications: *African Art in Southern Africa: from Tradition to Township,* and *Catalogue: Ten Years of Collecting (1979-1989)* (Standard Bank Foundation Collection).

232 He joined the Association in 1928 (MMS40/69/BoxG/1928).

Fourie as collector

Recently many scholars have examined the question of "agency" in the formation of collections. Pearce quotes several attempts to define "collections" in which a common theme is that they are subjective and contain items which the collector perceived as fitting because of the value he attributed to them (Pearce 1995:20). This would seem self-evident, since the collection would not exist at all if the collector did not find value in certain objects. We need then to seek the reasons why the collector found value in a particular group of objects, and what that value was. Obviously some of these are personal, but others reside in the culture of the society with which the collector identified him/herself. In addition, it must be taken into account that collectors changed and developed with time. Fourie was aware of, if not actually a part of, the shifts of interest and emphasis in anthropology in the 1920s. There is evidence that his own approach to the collection developed accordingly, moving from an evolutionary approach to a salvage approach and ultimately to an emphasis on social structure which placed the objects outside of his written ethnographies.

In the quest for the paradigms and motives that influenced Fourie, the absence of artefacts that connote contact between Khoisan and colonists is an important clue. Fourie was keenly observant in many areas of his life – he had been trained as a doctor to detect symptoms; an expert hunter – he could discern spoor and interpret animal behaviour, and later his pioneering work on bubonic plague and malaria indicated that he observed causes and effects without being prejudiced by knowledge of current theories and paradigms. Fourie's brushes with authority, discussed in Chapter 2, arose in part because he was a discerning and independent thinker who was not prepared to pander to those more powerful than himself if he felt that they were wrong. Combined with Fourie's statement that Khoisan culture was "rapidly disintegrating" and "in some instances had disappeared completely" his history suggests that the collector was not blind to Khoisan social realities but was concerned to save only what he thought would otherwise be lost forever, and that he deliberately ignored the items which were ubiquitous and freely available in his own environment (Fourie 1926:19). This salvage project was based on Fourie's observations that the material culture was becoming scarce, but, paradoxically, shaped a collection that, without the presence of its maker to interpret the context, contradicted the reality. We must conclude, then, that Fourie did not want this collection to reflect that reality.

Fourie's photographs of the display boards prepared for the Empire Exhibition show a didactic intent in which the artefacts were used to illustrate traditional lifestyle and technologies. The wide range of objects indicates that he had already accumulated a broadly representative collection by 1924. As we have seen, he also gathered material for several

individuals and institutions. In so doing he took on the role of protector of dying Khoisan cultures. In 1919 he sent "Auin and Naron curios" (and "manacles used by the Germans") to the South African Museum in Cape Town and in 1920 he expedited the work of Bleek and Drury of the South African Museum when they gathered information and objects from the Sandfontein area (MMS40/69/BoxF/1919:7; MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:April). In 1921 the South African Museum further requested items of dress, ornaments and bundles of the kinds of twigs and branches that would have been used to build a small hut. They also asked whether Fourie could arrange for Drury to make casts of rock engravings, and were very interested in doing a survey of Rock Art in the Protectorate, but were put off this project because Maack had already done the work (40/69/BoxF/1921:August).[233]

In spite of the pleas of Gill, Dart, Goodwin, Hoernlé and others, Fourie did not publish anything on the collection or on the technology which had so enthralled him at the beginning of his studies. In 1925 Gill and Barnard of the SAM wrote up the research they had done in South West Africa for a report for the Administrator and also for publication in their *Annals*. Drury's notes on the material culture of the people living in the Sandfontein area were sent to Fourie for him to read over and comment on, but he claimed that they plagiarised his own work. Gill wrote in January 1926 that they would not publish Drury's report at all, preferring to excise it rather than antagonise Fourie (MMS 40/69/BoxF/1926:2).[234] Around that time there was talk of a report being written by Fourie to be published instead, but as a result of an emergency visit to Ovamboland to deal with an epidemic of influenza, this did not come to fruition (MMS40/69/BoxF/1925:3). We have seen how, when Fourie finally did publish his 1926 paper on the Hei-//om of the Etosha region he discussed material culture only in passing (apart from a long paragraph on the making of poison for arrowheads). The 1928 chapter was equally as unforthcoming about material culture.[235]

A review of the documents in Fourie's archive shows that while his interest in the Khoisan remained strong throughout his time in South West Africa, his focus shifted from one aspect of their culture to another over this period. At first there was a heavy emphasis on material culture and particularly on hunting equipment, poison, and miniature hunting sets. The earliest letter to be found in the correspondence is from the Government Laboratories in Bloemfontein, to which Fourie had sent a "quiver full of 'Bushman pistol' arrows" for testing

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233 Sadly the report written by Maack appears to have been lost and was never recovered. As an extension to his passion for the Bushmen Fourie had an interest in rock art himself and encouraged others in this area. See for example 40/69/FileF/1925:13 and 1926:9.

234 Of course the case was not so simple. Previous correspondence between Barnard and Fourie indicates that Drury was falling out of favour because he was growing "a bit too big for his boots", and that Barnard had had to rewrite much of Drury's work for the report in the first place MMS40/69/ FileF/1925:3.

235 See the section: "Two Articles" in Chapter 2.

(MMS40/69/BoxF/1918:1). Journal entries for the early days of his first trip to the Gobabis area are full of notes on material culture and also show a preoccupation with hunting equipment (MMS40/69/BoxE/File 23:11-26). References to material culture are dotted throughout this book, and are found on scraps of paper, and in other notebooks scattered throughout the files.

Book lists, reprints and publications in his collection show that at first Fourie was keen to read all the ethnographic works on the Khoisan he could find, and we find many translations of German articles, some of which were done by Fourie himself, such as a paper on the poison made from the lava of *Coleoptera* by Trommsdorff in 1911 (MMS40/69/BoxA/ File1:1).[236] By the mid-twenties he had had access to more theoretical writings and developed an interest in social theory. In that year Goodwin sent Fourie a list of suggested readings, all in English, which included Radcliffe-Brown's *The Andaman Islanders*, and Boas's *The Central Eskimos*. At the end of the letter Goodwin suggests a number of questions which Fourie could ask about kinship terms and the constitution of a band which are directly related to social anthropological interests (MMS40/69/BoxF/ 1925:12). The files also contain copies of three of Hoernlé's papers, including: "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of Southwest Africa" (Hoernlé 1925) which has Goodwin's name written on it.[237]

I read this pattern of references to mean that Fourie had begun by intending to write up the collection of artefacts, but then became more interested in the social structure of the Khoisan. His close association with Hoernlé, and his exposure to the work of other social anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown, led to his viewing cultures as functioning units in which all elements supported their continued existence, and in which social structure was key. His later paper pays close attention to social organisation (twelve pages of a total of twenty-five), and neither paper discusses material culture as a separate entity. In fact they rarely refer to specific artefacts, and when they do it is in the context of the activities for which they were used, or the materials from which they were made (Fourie 1926:52, 53-54 and 61; 1928:87, 99, 103).

The quotation at the beginning of this chapter says much about the passion which seems to have been kindled by the study of these objects and which took on an almost obsessive quality at times. It also shows, however, that Fourie's passion was not only for the material culture. With the photographs, bones and information he gathered he symbolically

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[236] In MMS40/69/BoxG/1928 item 8 is a handwritten list of works on the Khoisan in South West Africa and the Kalahari which includes articles by Vedder, Fritsch, Passarge, Schultze and Theo Hahn.

[237] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the readings in Fourie's documents, and for an analysis of his two publications on the Khoisan.

"collected" the Khoisan whose "primitive organisation" was somehow embedded in these objects and images. His passion was for the people themselves – or for an imagined version of their lives, "the culture of the existing tribes", of which only traces could still be found. Perhaps it was that very elusiveness which fuelled the passion. Fourie, the doctor and man of science, used the methods and terminology of anthropology to describe and define his passion.

Conclusion

Fourie was heir to a long and highly respectable tradition of amateur collectors, but the period in which he was working coincided with a fundamental paradigm shift in the theorising activities of British anthropology. In 1916, when his interest began, this shift was still nascent, and in the early years Fourie read German works on the Khoisan of South West Africa, thus imbibing the precepts of cultural evolutionism from the source. By 1923, however, he had begun a friendship with Hoernlé, and was reading works of social anthropology, which included her articles on the Nama. In 1926 his article on the Hei-//om showed a strong focus on social structure and only mentioned a few items of material culture in passing. And yet his collection continued to grow. This paradox may be partially explained by the passion to acquire which often becomes an end in itself among collectors. The reasons for this are directly connected with the ways in which collectors read meaning and find significance in physical objects. For Fourie, as for other collectors, the act of making and caring for the record was as important as the record itself. The continued encouragement he received from Hoernlé and others in the field must also have played a role. The collection, therefore, bridges paradigms, and speaks of the slippages within the history of anthropology, and the continued need to make sense of the physical world, which allowed collections such as this one to remain intact through many decades.

The physical reality of objects makes an impact which is sensory and often emotional but which requires expression in intellectual terms. If objects form "a bridge between undifferentiated divinely charged nature, from which they come and to which they belong, and the world of men" (Pearce 1995:86), then it is necessary to comprehend them in some way so that we can understand our place in the world. In seeking similarities and differences, for example, we are alive to texture, balance, weight and size, and we cannot help but be aware of the aesthetics of the objects. When we deal with artefacts from cultures other than our own our knowledge of their provenances draws emotional and intellectual responses and we make judgements based on those responses, in addition to our senses, which draw us closer to the original owners. On seeing the loose ends of the small pieces of sinew which bind the segments of an arrow we gain an insight into the time when its maker was in a hurry

or too lazy to finish off the binding correctly; or when we find pieces of hair still caught in the beads of a head ornament we are directly reminded of the moment when the piece was removed from the head to be transferred to the collector. Patterns of wear, idiosyncrasies in weaving techniques, decorative touches, and identification marks are the minutiae while the broader picture is found in the repetitiveness of style, technology and pattern.

This physical reality is what gives objects the power to affect individuals in profoundly significant and compelling ways. Although they cannot articulate the feelings in words, collectors are very often individuals who are highly sensitive to the potential of objects to symbolise this complex combination of sensual, emotional and intellectual stimuli. Their collections speak of the colonists' comprehension of, and relations with, a particular part of the world in which they live. The multivalency of the objects, and the lack of fixedness of meanings is particularly important, for these qualities create space for ambivalences, paradoxes and tensions to coexist. Fourie's fascination and sympathy with the traditional lifestyles of a group who, for the most part, were reviled by his fellow colonists, could safely be expressed in the activities of collecting and ordering these artefacts, without affecting his social standing. Paradoxically, the collection enhanced his status, an effect which would not have been achieved had he had social relationships with specific Khoisan individuals. The artefacts were tame, acceptable representatives for real people - substitutes which could be displayed, examined and manipulated in the comfort of his home.

Being keenly observant Fourie would not have been unaware of the effects of colonial policies and prejudices on the lives of the Khoisan, yet he himself was a part of that Administration. His compulsion to study the Khoisan, and to collect the last remnants of what he viewed as their deteriorating culture was, in part, an attempt to reconcile these realities, and to legitimate his place in the landscape of this new South African Protectorate. In the activity of collecting, too, Fourie was selecting the memories he wished to retain, and, by extension, suppressing others. This was not necessarily by conscious intention. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett speaks of the "ubiquity of the kinds of objects that interest ethnographers" (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:391), and this may have been true for collectors like Torday and Burton, but, in a sense, Fourie's situation was a reversal of this. In conducting a salvage operation his attention was focussed on the artefacts he believed would soon be unavailable. His perception was that western style material was being used to the exclusion of the traditional, and was, therefore, not worthy of attention. Whatever the reason, the impression that remains is that the artefacts were intrinsically interesting *because* of the fact that they were untainted by contact and change. By extension, therefore, the owners of such artefacts would be interesting for the same reason, but once their cultures adjusted to the

arrival of the collectors and their compatriots they would also be devalued. The tragic irony is that Fourie's culture's modernity was causing that very devaluation.

Individual collectors seldom worked in isolation from their communities. Johns, in Australia, Torday and Burton in the Congo, and Fourie in South West Africa, all received encouragement from museums and universities which were only too pleased to receive the fruits of their labours, and which did not suggest that they seek out artefacts which reflected the massive cultural changes which were occurring around them. Their collections reflect not only their own passions but also the preoccupations of their peers.

Since the 1980s South African scholars from the disciplines of history, art history and anthropology have turned to photographs and material culture in collections such as Fourie's to help find "ways to view ... society from a perspective other than that of the colonisers" (McKittrick 1998:241). There have been several exhibitions with extensive catalogues which have made conscious attempts to allow the traces of those who had been suppressed to speak of their histories using material culture which had been collected, catalogued and possessed by the oppressors, including, most notably in the case of the Khoisan *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushman* (Chapter 1: "Creating the Bushmen").[238] The use of selected artefacts is often mediated by an understanding of the significance of their histories of collection and documentation. The new interpretation adds yet another layer to their accumulated meanings, and shows that these collections continue to provide a source for those in search of nuances and hidden truths in the history of the relationships of people from different cultures.

Such an understanding of Fourie's collecting, in the contexts of his own interests and the broader interests of the colonial society in which he operated, give the lie to Pearce's somewhat simplistic explanation of the value of the collections made in the modernist era.

> The early modern collections, in particular, are now perceived as what they are: important moments in the history of thought through which the characteristic modernist gaze of material analysis which yields truth by physical comparison and inference took much of its shape (Pearce 1995:142-3).

Although the objects within collections supply evidence (in some cases the only evidence) of the existence of cultural practices which have passed out of living memory, the Fourie Collection, and others like it also provide, over time, evidence of interactions between the

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238 Other exhibitions include: *Ubumba: Aspects of Indigenous Ceramics in Kwa-Zulu Natal* (Bell and Calder 1998), *The Neglected Tradition: Towards a New History of South African Art (1930-1988)* (Johannesburg Art Gallery, 1988), *Zulu Treasures: of Kings & Commoners* (KwaZulu Cultural Museum and the Local History Museums, 1996) and *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaire* (Schildkrout and Keim 1990).

colonised and the colonisers. In this space a multitude of conflicting interpretations can overlap and coexist, allowing, as *Miscast* so cogently showed, for their descendants to express guilt, outrage, sadness and identification with a heritage which was, for long, reviled by the dominant sectors of society. Collectors, whether they were aware of it or not, carefully preserved the collective's conscious memories and the forgettings, both conscious and unconscious, of the colonising project.

Chapter 7

Referring to Fourie: His work and its influence on Khoisan studies

Introduction

The foregoing chapters have established that Fourie's ideas shaped and were shaped by existing and developing ideas in the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology. The collection thus contains many of the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in the colonial rationale of the day. The recursive element worked at other levels too, as Fourie shared knowledge, photographs and objects with fellow civil servants and friends. With the passing of Fourie and his contemporaries the knowledge to be found in the collection was incorporated in different ways into changing identities of the Khoisan. I argue here that as the collection passed through a number of institutions, they learned from it and were influenced by it, and then, in turn, moulded it to suit their particular needs. I have alluded to its progress at a number of points in the thesis, and this chapter now draws the references together to focus on the trajectory of the collection's vapour trail, a wonderful metaphor coined by Willumsun because it speaks to the ephemerality of the trace which "is difficult to track in some places, more clear in others and obvious at its intersection with the object" (Willumsun 2005:62). In so doing, it explores some of the implications of such a process, both for the collection itself and for the meanings we can draw from it today.

It could be argued that the collection began its life as an integrated unit, with Fourie himself performing the role of catalogue and detailed index for all the materials he collected and which he held together in his home and in his mind. When it moved to the King William's Town Museum Fourie himself initiated a process of splintering the collection so that the objects were left to stand on their own. Over the years the collection metamorphosed, losing the bones to the Department of Anatomy at Wits, gaining copies of the photographs in the Department of Bantu Studies, growing as the MMS took over a selection of Fourie's documents and so on. These processes were continued at the Africana Museum, and even as Museum Africa adapts the catalogue for new software the changes continue. In fact, the writing of this thesis is a part of that process – as I add newly made lists, and rearrange the order of the materials. During this journey the collection has been shaped and re-shaped as a result of the needs and agendas of those who were responsible for it. Those agendas were, in turn, shaped by the shifts in perceptions of Khoisan identity, which were being written and re-written in ethnographies, novels, films and media coverage. These re-writings were frequently, however, underpinned by an accumulating Khoisan archive, a portion of which included the Fourie Collection. Thus, in a complex, spiralling sequence, the process of creating and supporting an identity for the Khoisan relied on selective readings of an archive

at the same time as the archive was being created and organised. In Foucault's terms the history of the document is the history of the archive.

Fourie in Windhoek 1916– 1928

The recursive nature of the formation and use of Fourie's collection occurred at a number of different levels; firstly in the sphere of academic theorising; secondly in the formation of a public ethnography; and thirdly in the political arena. The latter two are closely linked, for they turn on the issue of racism and its role in the creation of what was termed native policy, and will be discussed together in the following section.

I have discussed how Fourie was collecting at a time when a sea change was occurring in British anthropological theorising, and two major streams of thought influenced his work: cultural evolutionism and the emerging paradigm of structural functionalism. The theories of cultural evolutionism had three major effects on his collecting activities. The first ensured that Fourie's anthropological work was comprehensive and included physical and cultural studies that incorporated material culture as an important element, together with some linguistics and some archaeology. As a result the collection is all encompassing. Secondly, and concomitant with that, he spent much energy on gathering photographs, bones and detailed measurements of the physiques of the Khoisan, the results of which formed a prominent part of his collection. Thirdly, Fourie worked with the theory that the Bushmen were autochthonous, descended from the people of the Later Stone Age and, therefore extremely primitive. This can be used to account for the collections of arrows, ostrich egg shell beads and the tool-kits used to manufacture theses articles, as well as the information from the field on these topics.

Just less than half way through his collecting career the paradigms of structural-functionalism began to dominate social anthropology, and Fourie happened to develop a close working relationship with one of the prime movers in the field in South Africa: Winifred Hoernlé. Reading lists among his documents show that he kept up to date with these developments, and one of the results of this was that, when he wrote what was to be his only ethnography of the Bushmen of the Protectorate, he devoted a large portion of it to social practices, hinging them around the institution of the sacred fire. At the same time, however, he was providing help and information to anatomists like Raymond Dart and Victor Lebzelter, and his association with the South African Museum continued until at least 1927. Fourie's collection contained elements from both of these paradigms, and there is no evidence that he tried to disentangle them or to combine them in his publications.

The other side of the coin of recursion is equally complex. In Chapters 2 and 3 I have enumerated the times and ways in which Fourie aided, in practical ways, the research of many scholars who visited South West Africa, but the extent of his influence on anthropological theorising at this time is impossible to gauge because much of it involved informal exchanges on field trips, or in Fourie's home as he offered hospitality to, for example, Bleek, Goodwin, Hahn, Hoernlé and Lebzelter (among those that we have documentation of, but there were probably several others). The blandishments of Hoernlé, Barnard and others show that they believed he had more than enough information and mastery of that information to publish what would be a substantial contribution to Khoisan studies at the time. They presumably received that impression from discussions with Fourie, but there are no records of these conversations, or of the ways in which his work may have subsequently influenced the works of those who had partaken in them. Bleek, for example, does not mention Fourie at all in her publication: *The Naron* (Bleek 1928). Nevertheless it is quite safe to say that within a short time after his avocation began Fourie was a figure of some stature in the small community of anthropologists in southern Africa.

The correspondence shows that Fourie's position as amateur anthropologist affected some of his fellow bureaucrats and colonists, but he did not appear to have used this influence to better the lot of the Khoisan. Gordon has shown that the legislation that was passed during Fourie's time had only deleterious effects on the Bushmen (1992:101-103, 129-131). As Eedes commented, no policies were formulated concerning Khoisan rights to land, education, clinics or other services. Eedes's assumption that Fourie would be interested in his report on the "Bushpeople of Karakuwisa" (40/69/BoxA/File4/ a:3) indicates that he knew that he was agitated about that state of affairs, but is the only clue we have, apart from Bob Fourie's description of his father as a champion of the Bushmen, to show that Fourie's opinions ran contrary to official policy.

Fourie's friendship with Hahn was mutually influential. The correspondence indicates that the two discussed anthropological matters in detail, and that Fourie encouraged Hahn to join the Royal Anthropological Institute and edited his chapter on the Ovambo in *The Native Tribes* (Vedder *et al* 1928). They both learned a great deal about the subjects of each other's interest and both made use of each other's anthropological insights in the course of their work. Fourie appears to have been a mentor to Hahn in some ways, but his own photographic

style changed and became bolder during a trip to Ovamboland when he worked with Hahn, and there was doubtless a two-way process of influence.[239]

Fourie's influence on prison conditions for the Khoisan has been slightly better documented. The use of prisoners in the projects to measure, make body casts and study language, may not have had a profound effect on the settlers' perceptions, but they would have made a material difference to the lives of the Khoisan themselves, and possibly on the attitudes of the warders and prison officials. The extent to which this led to the objectification of these subjects cannot be measured, and there is also some doubt about the degree to which the staff's understanding of the cultures of their charges was enhanced. The warder who sent the outlandish statement on cannibalism from a convict in Windhoek certainly showed no sign of this (MMS40/69/BoxF/1919:6).[240] On the other side, Fourie believed that he had been responsible for saving the lives of many prisoners because he had ordered that they be moved out of enclosed, dank cells and into more open enclosures, thus preventing lung diseases. Such a step, presumably, was predicated on his perception that the Khoisan were habituated to living in the open.

Publications on the Khoisan

Fourie's first official publication was the medical chapter in the Blue Book. This work, however, was only tangentially concerned with the Khoisan, and concentrated mainly on the penal system of the German Administration of the Territory. It was the article published in the *Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society* that finally launched Fourie's work into the wider world. It established Fourie as the "leading ethnographer" of the Hei-//om and its contribution to Khoisan ethnography (Barnard 1992:248) ensured that early Khoisan studies frequently referred to information on a group whose culture Fourie claimed was almost non-existent by 1926. An interesting point to be noted here is the fact that it appeared in the first official number of the *Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society* which Fourie had been instrumental in founding, and not in the *Annals of the South African Museum*, published in Cape Town, or *Bantu Studies*, published in Johannesburg. The choice to publish this way was not accidental. Fourie's concern that South West African local knowledge and expertise was being overlooked or under-acknowledged is manifest in the correspondence. Yet the circulation of the journal he chose for his first foray would have been a great deal smaller than that of the others that had invited him to publish. This may have been a

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239 See for example Fourie's letter to Hahn in which he discusses how he told the Executive Committee of the Administration about "the necessity of upholding the authority of the Ovamboland officials which, if undermined, would lead to endless trouble and confusion" (MMS40/60/BoxG/1927 12 October).

240 See Chapter 2: "One of the Boys".

deliberate strategy on Fourie's part. He was nervous of publishing at all, and his apology at the end of the article indicates not so much self-deprecation as a fear of criticism.

Very little of ethnographic interest was subsequently published in the Society's journal. Gordon claims that this was because there were very few enthusiastic amateurs in the Territory. This was partly the result of the South African government generally "discouraging their officials from taking an interest in local customs". He goes on to say:

> The only significant colonial publication was the book *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* by Hahn, Vedder and Fourie, which, while well received by the League of Nations, did not enjoy wide distribution in the territory itself. In retrospect, it is clear it was used more to establish South Africa's credentials for administering the territory than in the actual practice thereof. This book was treated as so definitive that it was used as a rationale for discouraging research in these areas. Indeed as late as 1980 the United Nations Institute for Namibia still regarded this text as seminal (Gordon 1998:68-69).

Gordon does not support this statement in any detail, but the implication is that the Administration did not thereafter fund any anthropological research. Fourie would have found this outcome distressing. The apologia at the end of his 1926 article was an injunction to others to do more research in this field.

Fourie's 1928 piece was published by the Administration at a time when his disillusionment was growing. In 1926 he had asked Goodwin and Hoernlé to read through his paper before publication, and had sent out numerous copies and offprints of his article after publication, for which he had received warm appreciation and some accolades (MMS40/69/BoxF/ 1926:6, 7). He sent copies of the 1928 chapter, however, mainly to non-anthropologists, and kept no record of opinions on his work by the academics of his circle. The extent to which these two published works were recognised and discussed in subsequent anthropological works will be discussed at different points later in this chapter (MMS40/69/BoxG/ 1928:2, 5, 6, 9, 10; MMS40/69/BoxG/1929:10).

1930–1953

Fourie's status as expert on the Khoisan survived for some years after his move from Windhoek even though his personal influence on Khoisan studies was on the wane. During his stay in London, however, he continued to pursue his avocation and to be recognised for it. He was invited to a cocktail party at Buckingham Palace because he provided the South African High Commissioner with two albums of his photographs for the library in South Africa House in 1928 (probably also because he was the holder of an MBE). In this year, too, Fourie was invited to submit an article on the Khoisan, with photographs, to be published in

the *Illustrated London News*. His reply to this request is not in the papers, but we know that no article was published (Fourie 1985:31).

In that year, too, Fourie visited Geneva where he met Hahn to appear before the League of Nations to present a report on "native customs" which formed the basis for their book: *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (1928). The book, therefore, was a document of administrative power as well as an ethnography, and is the ultimate symbol of the extent to which Fourie's anthropological work was appropriated by the Administration in the context of the most crucial aspect of its work: the keeping of the mandate. Correspondence between the two men from 1927 until 1929 concerns the preparation of this report, and suggests that they felt that they were not being given enough recognition for the work that had frequently been carried out in their spare time (A450 1/29: Letters 27/4/1928 and 20/12/1929; NASA GES 3049 Staff Records for Louis Fourie).[241]

But perhaps the most far-reaching development to take place in London was the request by Schapera to use some of Fourie's photographs in his forthcoming publication. Schapera's work went on to become one of the most widely read sources on the Khoisan in the twentieth century (Tobias 1978:2) and this effectively meant the diffusion of Fourie's work, particularly on the Hei-//om. The inclusion of Fourie's photographs in this work has already been detailed in Chapters 3 and 6, but what I wish to discuss here is the effect the text of this publication had on the widespread use of Fourie's work. Schapera's book was introduced as: "[T]he first in a series designed to provide in a scientific manner a comprehensive survey of what is at present known about the racial characters, cultures and languages of the native peoples of Africa" (Schapera 1930:v). As such it was a synthesis of previously published works on the Khoisan, including those of Fourie. Schapera refers to Fourie on at least forty-eight of the first two hundred and twenty pages[242] quoting verbatim long passages on some topics such as homesteads; giving birth; male and female initiation; and collecting veld food. (Schapera 1930: 34-3; 75-7; 87-8; 93-5; 98; 103; 106-7; 110-1; 113; 115-8; 120-4; 132-3; 140-1; 143; 150; 156; 158; 162; 168; 183; 187; 198-9; 200; 201-2; 204-5; 214-6; 218). At three or four points Schapera writes that Fourie's articles are amongst the most reliable and detailed accounts on particular aspects of San life.

[241] See also NNA Letter Hahn to Fourie 8/xi/28 in the bundle of unnumbered papers awaiting placement at Museum Africa.

A consequence of Fourie's choice to write about the Hei-//om is that Schapera quotes their customs frequently but the ≠Ao-//ein are not included in the publication.[243] As a result Schapera characterises the San of South West Africa as follows: "Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared" (1930:34). Fourie's work among the Naron and ≠Ao-//ein of the Sandfontein area would have given a more finely nuanced view of the population, but was not published and so was excluded.

The style of *The Khoisan Peoples* differs greatly from that of Fourie's two pieces. Of the latter the 1926 article is informal and discursive, and the 1928 chapter is written for popular consumption. Schapera's is a more scholarly work; he gives references and footnotes and points out contradictions and disparities in the records under discussion, sometimes suggesting that accounts may be improbable, or are not corroborated. In the section: "Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring" Schapera cites, indirectly and without acknowledgement, Fourie's findings about Khoisan prisoners suffering from tuberculosis (Schapera 1930:214).

Schapera's work is cited in the lists of references of the majority of Khoisan studies since the 1930s, although two important and widely consulted works of the time do not quote either Schapera or Fourie (Dunn 1931 and Dart 1937). These two works are widely different in tone and content from each other and from Fourie's and Schapera's publications. Dunn was an amateur who had gathered his information in the late nineteenth century, while Dart led an expedition for the University of the Witwatersrand in the 1930s. Both, however, came to Khoisan studies with what today we perceive as racist attitudes, the former's expressed in sometimes derogatory or belittling language (for example: "The Masarwas never wash, and, thus owing to their dirty habits suffer from various diseases" (Dunn 1931:140) and Dart writing in the language of physical and cultural evolutionism.

The Fourie Collection at the University of the Witwatersrand

In 1930, when the family moved to King William's Town where Fourie began his pioneering work on the control of bubonic plague, he took his collection with him, and in 1931 he loaned it to the museum there, having refused an offer to purchase from the East London Museum. There are no records of an exhibition of the collection in King William's Town, but Fourie was invited to sit on the board of trustees for the Kaffrarian Museum, perhaps in gratitude for the loan (NASA GES 3049, Staff Record for Louis Fourie; Telegram 24/3/30). In 1932,

[243] Bleek's work on the Naron of the Sandfontein area is also heavily quoted so they, at least, are represented.

when the Fouries moved to Durban, Hoernlé was negotiating to borrow the collection for the Department of African Studies at Wits (previously Bantu Studies), but Fourie seems to have been too busy to organise the transporting of it from King William's Town in time and it travelled to Durban with him. In 1933 the Fouries moved to Johannesburg, bringing the collection with them. A letter of thanks for the loan of the collection came from the Registrar of Wits on 30 August 1933 (MMS40/69/BoxG/1933:4). There it was kept in boxes for quite a while, waiting for the new Ethnological Museum to be made ready. Hoernlé wrote in July 1933, "I am hoping to have a brand new exhibition case for the collection. ... I am to have a room in the new library which you will see being built when you come up" (MMS40/69/File G/1933:2).

In May 1939 a letter from Audrey Richards at the university indicated that Hoernlé and Richards intended to use the collection as a teaching aid but Wits did not borrow the entire collection and many boxes of objects were returned. Sadly their letters did not detail how they were planning to do this, and there is no record of the extent to which the students were shown the collection, or asked to discuss it (MMS40/69/BoxG/1932:2, 6; 1939:1, 3). The location of the collection at Wits meant that it was unavailable for research by students from other institutions. In 1967 B.J. Grobbelaar wrote an MA dissertation for the University of Pretoria on the technology and economy of the !Kung, in which he dealt a great deal with material culture, but did not refer to the Fourie publications, documents or artefacts.[244] Possibly he had no access to them or perhaps he was ignorant of their existence. Up until 1969 the collection was, to all intents and purposes, dormant, since a large part remained with the Fourie family, and the rest was held in a small museum at Wits, in a department that did not make use of material culture in its study programmes.[245] During those years, Fourie's work was available only through his publications and Schapera's interpretations of them. In 1966 the government of South West Africa reissued *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*.

After his death Fourie's widow was keen to sell the collection but was dissuaded from doing so by her son, whose dedication to keeping the collection in South Africa and in the public eye was a way of honouring his father's memory. After Micky's death, when he made it known that he was seeking a home for the collection, Bob Fourie received "a spate of requests from museums". Some of these requests came from outside the country, but Bob elected to lend the collection to the MMS (Fourie 1985:142-3. MMS Add Notes at Museum Africa: Letter L. de Wet to Professor J. Blacking 1978).

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244 *'n Ondersoek na die verandering van die lewe van die !Kung op tegnologiese en ekonomiese gebiede.*

245 See the quotations of Professor Hammond-Tooke on social anthropologists' (mis)understanding of material culture during this time in Chapter 4 (pages 152-3).

The Museum of Man and Science

In 1967 Bob Fourie wrote to Professor John Blacking of the Department of Social Anthropology at Wits to thank the Department for housing and looking after the collection for many years, and to say that he had decided to donate it to the MMS "in association with the University of the Witwatersrand". The collection would retain links with the Department, which would keep a selection of artefacts for display and teaching purposes, and would assist with the documentation and organisation of the entire collection. Professor Phillip Tobias and Dr Andre Brink were on the board of the MMS and had clearly been persuasive in a meeting with Bob whose letter makes it clear that they had emphasised the importance of the collection in terms of its potential to aid in the "further study of primitive man", thus finding in it the echoes of Péringuey and Wilman, and missing the subtleties of Fourie's independent and changing understanding of the problems of typologies. Bob goes on to mention the "visual record of our fast disappearing Tribalised African culture", and his perception (gained from the meeting with Brink and Tobias) that the MMS was going to focus on that field. The collection was seen to be a useful tool for the re-construction of a Khoisan identity, which had been "rapidly disappearing" since the 1920s. In a reversal of the progress of its creation, the collection was moving out of social anthropology and back into an older paradigm which conflated race with culture, and placed Khoisan material culture and physical anthropology squarely in the Later Stone Age.

The MMS had begun as a private initiative driven by the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa (ISMA) and a number of prominent academics from Wits, including Tobias, in 1967. ISMA had already accumulated a number of collections of anthropological and archaeological interest and was looking for a place to exhibit them. The Johannesburg City Council supported the museum for a number of years, but eventually pulled out, citing a conflict of interest with the Africana Museum as one of its reasons. The museum had high hopes of raising enough funds to build a large exhibition centre on Melville Koppie in Johannesburg, but was never able to do so, and moved through a series of premises offered by the City Council and later by the Carlton Centre. The museum was strongly influenced by the interests and theories of Dart and Tobias, most evident in the booklet it published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Taung skull. Eventually it was forced by a lack of money to close down and to re-distribute its collections in 1978.[246]

[246] There are no published histories of the MMS, and much of the correspondence and documentation, which was handed to the Africana Museum, was embargoed for fifty years. This summary and the following discussion is based on conversations held with Hilary Bruce, of the Africana Museum, who was instrumental in the handover of the collections, and with Nigel Mandy, who offered the MMS exhibition space at the Carlton Centre on behalf of Anglo American Properties.

Tobias was Professor of the Department of Anatomy at the Medical School at Wits, and was a disciple and champion of Dart and his theories at that time. The MMS displays on Dart's osteodontokeratic theory of the development of early hominids and on the Khoisan owed much to his input and encouragement. Dart's identification of the Taung skull had given great prestige to South Africa's scientific community, and Tobias was devoted to maintaining the reputations of Dart, Wits, and, by extension, scientists living in a country that was fast becoming a pariah in international circles (Dubow 1995:13). Thanks to Dart's support Tobias had taken part in twenty-one expeditions into the Kalahari to study and describe the Khoisan in ways that linked them with the earliest inhabitants of southern Africa and with the hunting lifestyle of early man. "By 1975 over seventy scientific publications had resulted from the work stimulated by him or carried out under his aegis" (Tobias (ed.) 1978: Foreword). As an anatomist Tobias looked at the bodily structures and features of the Khoisan in an attempt to define them as a race (Tobias 1978: Chapters 1, 2).

The MMS made extensive use of the Fourie Collection, which was displayed together with a selection of life casts of Bushmen made by the staff of the museum. One of these casts was modeled upon the photographs of rope-making taken by Fourie, and was exhibited together with these photos both by the MMS and later by the Africana Museum. Such a display, although done with contemporary materials, harked back to the time when Drury made life casts for the South African Museum to use in research, based on the tenets of Social Darwinism (Dubow 1995:9).

In the mid 1970s the MMS was given a display space in the busy shopping area of the Carlton Centre, a multi-story office block in the centre of Johannesburg. Here it mounted displays on the Taung skull, the Khoisan and on divination, the latter two using life casts, to attract the public and to generate publicity for the museum. Numerous cuttings from *The Star*, *Beeld* and various other newspapers show that the displays and the work being done on the Khoisan by the MMS created a great deal of interest.[247] There are no surviving visitor statistics from the MMS – in fact it is unlikely that there had been a count made of those who had passed through the displays in the busy shopping mall, but the publicity in the newspapers ensured that even those who did not visit the exhibitions would read about them and know of their existence. The MMS used the Fourie Collection to disseminate to a wide audience a Khoisan identity that fitted comfortably with the racism inherent in white Johannesburg society.

The Director of the MMS was Dr Andre Brink (a geologist and amateur anthropologist), and the anthropologist was Adrian Boshier, a qualified diviner and herbalist. Brink was the mentor of Credo Mutwa, who wrote *Indaba My Children* during this period.

[247] See general file for MMS40/69 at Museum Africa.

> Patterns of paternalism and prejudice have been deeply embedded in the collective mentalities of white South Africans, for whom notions of superiority, exclusivity and hierarchy exist as more or less conscious 'habits of mind'. Together they comprise a folkloric amalgam of popular beliefs and traditions in which the idea of human difference has been accepted as natural and incontestable (Dubow 1995:5).

The display of hunter-gatherers with bodies and a culture that defined them as a distinct race which was almost extinct, but which had been, in its heyday, the very pattern of the earliest manifestations of human beings, fed upon and into the "folkloric amalgam of popular beliefs and traditions" about the Khoisan, and helped boost the viewer's sense of superiority.

The exhibition, which was taken over almost verbatim by the Africana Museum, emphasised the Khoisan characteristics which have been discussed at numerous points above: physical features (illustrated in photographs of women, and life-casts of men); a hunting and gathering culture (life-casts of a man shooting with a bow and arrow and a man throwing a spear adjacent to a panel showing a range of bows and arrows); the manufacture of ostrich egg shell beads (photographs together with the collection of tools and pieces of ostrich egg shell showing beads-in-the-making); and tentative links with rock art (tied in with decorated ostrich eggs). A slightly different slant was added by the inclusion of the activity of rope making and numerous other decorated ornaments such as tortoise shell perfume containers and decorated pipe sticks. The labels for the exhibition, copies of some of which are to be found in a file of notes in Box B, followed very closely the tone and content of the booklet that accompanied it.

The general public invariably associated the MMS with the Khoisan because so much of its publicity material included them in one way or another. In 1975 the MMS published the booklet: *The Bushmen* in which they used a number of photographs from and of Fourie's collection to accompany a text based largely on research done by Dart and Tobias. The bibliography in the booklet, for example cites six references by Tobias, and Dart's 1937 publication of his work in the Kalahari. Seventeen photographs (more or less 75% of the illustrations) in the booklet are copies from the Fourie Collection.

The text of *The Bushmen* was written by James Clarke of *The Star*, a well-known Johannesburg journalist who specialised in ecology, and had an introduction by Tobias which began: "See them, the last wrinkled Bushmen filing in from the wilderness – lured by the creaking farm windmill and the message of an easier life". The introduction made a strong case for salvage anthropology, and also for the importance of studying this group in order to "discover something about ourselves and the origins of our own strange and often disastrous behaviour patterns", echoing Fourie's beliefs, stated many years before in his report on anthropology in South West Africa, that anthropological studies "may lead to a deep insight into the mechanisms of our own vastly complicated society ..." (MMS40/69/BoxF/1923:5). It

also coincides with the paradigms that dominated Khoisan studies from the 1950s to the 1970s, particularly the works of the Harvard group, which were set against the background of the Cold War and fears of a nuclear holocaust.[248]

The booklet's opening words are a long quotation from Laurens van der Post's *The Lost World of the Kalahari* in which he describes the anatomy of the Khoisan and situates them as people suited to living in the wild:

> ... when on the move he hardly ever walked but, like the springbuck [sic] or wild-dog, travelled at an easy trot. There had never been anyone who could run like him over the veld and boulders, and the bones of many a lone Basuto and Korana were bleaching in the sun to prove how vainly they had tried to outdistance him (Museum of Man and Science 1975:3).

The works of Van der Post were enormously influential in creating public awareness of the Khoisan in the second half of the twentieth century. He offered the quintessence of the romantic melancholia that had simmered beneath the surface of Khoisan studies for some decades before the 1950s. This romanticism was premised on an interpretation in which the so-called Bushmen were mystically attuned to their environment because of a set of physical abilities, but were inherently unable to cope with the rapacity and insensitivity of twentieth-century Europeans who were systematically destroying their, and everyone else's, environments (Barnard 1996:242-243).

Fifty years after he had made his photographs, the interpretations of Fourie's images produced a narrative that differed from the one he would have envisioned, but which, in some crucial ways, sprang from the same premises. The links with the Stone Age, the emphasis on hunting expertise, and the examination of the physical anatomy for evidence of an evolutionarily primitive state sat as comfortably with the paradigms of the 1970s as they did with those of the 1920s, hence the ease with which the photographs could be utilised by the display artists at the MMS. The emphasis on ecology, while it may have been expressed in a different language, was also based on the premise that these were people who lived as a part of nature (or the wilderness). However, the corollary of that, for the later period, was that this was a group of people who had somehow retained a primal link with the mysteries of the cosmos, in direct opposition to westerners who were destroying the planet with their greed and sophisticated technology. The romantic view was that the Khoisan's mystic symbiosis with the earth was something that had once belonged to all mankind. Thus to study them was to begin to find a way to return to our primitive roots. To preserve the artefacts and the images of the Khoisan, therefore, was to preserve the last evidence of this ability.

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[248] As discussed in the Kalahari Debate, and first laid out in detail in Wilmsen 1989: Chapter 2. See also Barnard 1996:242-243.

The Bushmen contains Fourie's photographs as individual images without reference to their relationship to the collection as a whole, or to the captions written by Fourie. The photographers are not acknowledged, and only one or two pictures have captions, and these are mostly self-evident and uninformative. For example: "A group of 24 Bushmen from an encampment in the northern regions of South West Africa" and: "Less well-known hunting weapons – clubs, spears and hooked spring-hare sticks". Like the artefacts in the exhibition the images were taken out of the context of the collection, and of the history of its making, to be used in a narrative composed by the staff of the MMS. This was (and indeed still is) common practice in the use of photographs as illustrations, and in the use of artefacts in museum displays.

The text presented a romantic and essentialised portrait of the Bushmen, written in the present tense and often using forms of the masculine singular pronoun in descriptions. A paragraph from the conclusion gives the general tenor of the writing:

> One of the most intriguing questions regarding the Bushman is, from where did he come? Archaeologists are at a number of sites in Southern Africa piecing together a continuous picture which may take his story back 50,000 years, well into the Middle Stone Age. But before then? Did he migrate down Africa from the Mediterranean region or did he evolve here? What are his affinities to the Bantu? (Museum of Man and Science 1975:26).

The "unsophisticated Bushmen" are described as "the world's last innocents" (Museum of Man and Science 1975:26). This is a major departure from the view of the Khoisan held by Fourie and his contemporaries, perhaps because they were witnesses to the violence and chaos of the last vestiges of resistance to colonisation by the Khoisan.

Elements of Fourie's photographs were enlarged and printed in sepia to support the text by providing circumstantial evidence. A pair of wide-set eyes, squinting into the sun, forms a heading for the section on hunting methods, as if to emphasise the eagle vision of the "last really ecologically 'tuned' man" (Museum of Man and Science 1975:7, 26). Four views of a half-naked woman, front, side, back and three-quarter, appear opposite the page which describes the anomalies of Bushman anatomy (light-coloured, but wrinkled, skin, steatopygia, wide nose to cool the hot desert air and light body weight) (Museum of Man and Science 1975:5).[249] The images are clear and aesthetically appealing, carefully cropped to exclude too much extraneous desert, but leaving just enough to suggest the wilderness. The fact that the photographs were taken fifty years before the text was written is not mentioned, and the subjects are not identified as Naron, Hei-//om or ≠Ao-//ein. Fourie's photographs are used

[249] See also Appendix 1, page 19.

here to represent a generalised description of the Khoisan of southern Africa living in the historical void of the anthropological present.

Such a presentation of the Khoisan resonates with Dart's and Tobias's writings in *The Bushmen: San Hunters and Herders of South Africa* (1978). In his foreword Dart describes this book as: "a glamorous, synthetic over-view of the Bushmen: who they still are, and where; and what their significance has been from their most remotely known past until today". The MMS booklet was also "glamorously" produced, being of high quality paper, with high-resolution illustrations and beautifully designed. This appears to have been part of a drive to bring the Khoisan to the attention of the public. Both of Fourie's publications are cited as references in the section: "General and/or Popular Works" of the bibliography.

Tobias's "Editor's Foreword" for the book begins by stating the case for salvage anthropology and for the importance of the Khoisan's links with the deepest possible human past:

> *The Bushmen* is a book about aboriginal southern Africans who, until the present century, lived the life of hunters and food-gatherers. It was a means of subsistence that had been followed by Man's fossil ancestors, ever since the appearance in Africa of *Homo habilis* shortly before the onset of the Pleistocene epoch. A way of life dimly foreshadowing this may have been pursued even by some of the later Pliocene populations of *Australopithecus africanus*, the probable ancestors of all later forms of humanity. Yet, although this way of life had stood Man in good stead for at least two million years, the last quarter of the 20th century may well see its final disappearance from the face of the earth (Tobias (ed.) 1978)

This emphasis on the antiquity of the San *modus vivendi* is carried throughout his writing, and is mirrored by descriptions of the long lineage of the San anatomy. Tobias's introductory chapter focuses on the problematics of identifying and defining the "Bushmen" or "San" (Tobias (ed.) 1978:1-3). He ends the introduction by dealing with possible future policies to help the surviving San, but states that policy-making needs to be based upon "a clear picture of the present state of the San", such as an accurate demographic study, and an understanding of the current state of their survival strategies. Nowhere does he suggest that consultation with those he defined as "San" would be a useful step.

Tobias also wrote the first chapter, entitled: "The San: an evolutionary perspective", in which he deals with the anatomy and genetic distinctiveness of the Khoisan, and speculates on how and why this may have arisen. He goes on to state that the typical San anatomy is "a peculiarly African line of evolution" (Tobias (ed.) 1978:21, 23, 29). The clear message is that the Khoisan are different and distinct from all other inhabitants of southern Africa, including, and perhaps especially, those who are of European descent. This approach to the Khoisan clearly influenced the direction taken by the MMS in the preparation of its booklet and of its

exhibitions. Later, Hilary Bruce used the book as one of the references for the preparation of the displays at AMIP, and the Museum's education officers and I, in my work as curator of the ethnographic collections, used it to prepare for school tours, educational programmes and lectures to tour guides and many others.

The Africana Museum

In 1978, in spite of the large amount of news coverage and publicity it had generated, the MMS ran out of funds and had to close down. The owners of the collections were contacted and many of them agreed to allow their objects to be transferred to the Africana Museum. On 3 October 1978 Mrs Louise de Wet, the Chief Curator of the Museum, wrote to Professor Tobias at Wits to say:

> Dr. H. Fourie, son of the late Louis Fourie, called at the Africana Museum on 28 September 1978 in order to clarify the status of the Louis Fourie Collection as he was not sure who owned the collection. ... He wanted the collection to have a permanent home where it would not be endangered by dispersal, and where it could be seen and enjoyed by as many as possible. Many institutions, both here and abroad, have approached him.
>
> You will be pleased and relieved to know that he decided that the collection should be an outright gift to the Africana Museum. He asked me to tell you of his decision. He also said that he did not want press publicity in this regard (MMS Additional Notes).

The Africana Museum already had a display on the Khoisan in the ethnographic gallery in its original premises in the Johannesburg Public Library, but it immediately mounted another one at the new premises it was developing in the old halls of the fresh produce market of Johannesburg. It followed the design and layout of the MMS display, using the same life casts, enlargements of Fourie's photographs, and in many cases the same labels. The exhibition thus continued to position the Khoisan in an evolutionary continuum, siting them, in the manner of Tobias and the MMS, as straddling the Stone Age and the present. This was emphasised by the positioning of the display, between a section on Stone Age archaeology and a section on the Bantu-speakers of southern Africa, and opposite a display of rock art. In addition copies of the "Bushman" booklets were sold from a booth nearby. The photographs continued to portray the Khoisan in the ways described above for another ten years until the Museum was closed for building operations at the end of 1988.

In the early days of the display at the Old Market (re-named the Africana Museum In Progress, or AMIP) an average of three hundred visitors a month was passing through the doors. By about 1984, however, that figure had grown to between two and three thousand, approximately half of whom were schoolchildren who were learning about the "Bushmen, Hottentots and Bantu" as part of their history syllabus. A rough tally shows that over 60 000

school children learned about the Khoisan from this exhibition and another 60 000 adults, including local and foreign tourists passed through the Museum (Statistics given in monthly reports on AMIP now filed at Museum Africa).

In addition to the exhibition in the Old Market, I mounted a temporary exhibition entitled: "The San: Ecologists of the Kalahari" in the Main Hall of the Johannesburg Public Library to coincide with World Environment Day in June 1984. This display utilised artefacts and photographs from the Fourie Collection in a continuation of the image of the Khoisan which was expressed in the MMS booklet described above. The number of visitors to this exhibition was not tallied because it was situated in the entrance foyer to the library, a space too busy to allow for accurate observation of visitors.

At the end of 1988 the collection went into storage where it has since remained available to researchers but out of the public eye. In 1994 a few artefacts (mainly hunting equipment) were used to illustrate the hunter-gatherer life-style of the Later Stone Age in southern Africa in a small archaeological display. Within Museum Africa the decision to utilise these items in this way was strongly contested at the time, by myself and the museum's archaeologist, but the display remains, and the Fourie Collection continues to shore up an image of the Khoisan as people of the distant past.[250]

Citing Fourie

So far as I have been able to ascertain, apart from the MMS's preparations for a monograph, the documents of the Fourie Collection only began to be used as source material in the mid 1990s when Marion Wallace consulted them during research for her PhD thesis (1997).[251] Since then the collection has been cited a number of times, including by Gordon in *Picturing Bushmen* (Gordon 1997). Silvester, Wallace and Hayes refer to the Fourie Collection several times in their introduction to *Namibia under South African Rule*, citing the documents as well as the photographs and mentioning the skeletal material (1998:44, 45, 69).

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[250] This display was meant to be a temporary one, put up for the opening of the new premises at the Old Market in 1994. In 1996 Andy Brown, a previous museum archaeologist, and I presented a review of the display to the museum with suggestions on how it could be rearranged, which included a *caveat* about the use of objects from the 1920s to represent the Later Stone Age without, at the very least, a mediating label. However, a serious lack of funding and a dearth of qualified staff has meant that it has remained as is, and will do so for the foreseeable future. In 2006 the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage Services appointed a new museum chief curator, Ms Dawn Peters, who began to take down the old displays, but she resigned within a few months and so the Khoisan section remains.

[251] Subsequently published as a book: Wallace 2002.

Up until that time the only references to Fourie's work had been to his publications, which were regularly consulted by anthropologists for both academic and popular works. As a rule these works referred to Fourie's details of ethnographic description. They do not question his paradigms, nor do they draw on his interpretations (few as they are). There are too many to list them all here, but a good cross section would include: *Peoples of Namibia*, a brief ethnography published for general consumption (1995);[252] *The Bushmen* edited by Tobias, cited above (1977); Barnard's *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa*, which describes Fourie as the Hei-//om's "leading ethnographer" and quotes from both his publications (1992:25, 59, 87, 206, 214-217, 248); Lee's *The Dobe !Kung* (1984), which refers erroneously to an observation by Fourie that there were chiefs or headmen among the !Kung – Fourie was discussing the Hei-//om – (Lee also quotes Schapera's *Khoisan Peoples* at this point, leading to the conclusion that he had not read Fourie's work, but had seen that Schapera had cited him as a source in the section on "Regulation of Public Life") (1930:149-50); Lewis-Williams's *Believing and Seeing* (1981:67, 71, 73), which quotes Fourie's work on the Eland Bull Dance and on hunting; and Silberbauer's *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert* (1981), which lists Fourie's 1928 work in the references.

There are also some academic works which surprisingly do **not** refer to Fourie, a good example of which is Skotnes's *Miscast* (Skotnes (ed.) 1996). This is an important contribution to recent Khoisan studies and it is a sign of the extent to which the Fourie Collection has remained obscured in the storerooms of Museum Africa that it was not exhibited or written about in this exercise. Another monograph in which Fourie's collection is conspicuous by its absence is: *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the making of Namibian history* (Hartmann *et al* 1998). There is no reference to Fourie's photographs here, although his friend Hahn receives a great deal of attention.

Conclusion

In a quiet and understated way Fourie and his collection impacted on the lives and work of numerous individuals and institutions in the sub-continent and in Europe. His work had a more subtle impact than the popular renditions of Khoisan identity such as the film "The Gods Must be Crazy" or the novels of Laurens van der Post, which reached millions of people all over the world and which makes its effects harder to trace. Researchers drew upon the collection (primarily of photographs and lately of documents) as an archive of ethnographic and historic material to create museum exhibitions and publications that went on to tell their own stories about Khoisan lives and cultures. The archive, like all archives, was and remains,

[252] The book serves as an updated version of *The Native Tribes of South West Africa.*

vulnerable to misinterpretation and control because, by its very nature, it contains contradictory and seemingly chaotic knowledge. That is its strength but that is what makes any direct effects on Khoisan studies so difficult to define.

Researchers may have used the Fourie material to support their own hypotheses, but it is interesting to note the many links between later interpretations of Khoisan identity and the assumptions and interpretations to be found in Fourie's material. The physical features used to describe and define race by Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, Laurens van der Post and the MMS, for example, while romanticised to some degree, are the same as those used in the work of Fourie's contemporaries, and, even though Fourie was reluctant to commit himself entirely to this paradigm, the collection contained enough material for the museum to use as evidence in its publication and its displays.

Fourie's collections of the tools used to make arrows and ostrich eggshell beads were displayed by the MMS and the Africana Museum as evidence that Khoisan technology did not differ markedly from that found in the Later Stone Age in the sub-continent. By the 1920s Peringuey, among others, had done enough work for such an hypothesis to have been perceived as proved beyond reasonable doubt. The weapons and the hunting behaviours Fourie described were repeated in Schapera and from there became almost "common knowledge" as a result of the widespread use of his *The Khoisan Peoples…*,[253] contributing to the characterisation of the San as the ultimate hunters and trackers. The thesis has highlighted many other examples of such links, and the subtle and not so subtle transformations of the various elements that made up Khoisan identity for the public and academe over the decades.

The body of this thesis begins with a biography of Fourie and ends with a biography of the archive he made, with the assumption that the two are separate (as indeed they had to be after Fourie's death). While not denying that they combined to produce a powerful voice in the articulation of Khoisan studies, this approach demonstrates that the collection exerted an influence of its own. In discussing the dialectics of theories of material culture, Miller warns of the dangers of reducing our relationships with artefacts to subjects and objects. As an extension of this tendency he describes theories that deny any form of agency to artefacts "where our primary reference point is to people and their intentionality behind the world of artifacts" (2004:13). These theorists infer that objects contain an embedded human agency, so that they (the objects) become the "distributed mind[s]" of their creators (2004:13-14). Miller prefers to follow the line that dissolves this dualism, and I would argue here that such

[253] In 1978 Tobias described this book as "the standard reference" on the Khoisan (1978:2).

dissolution leads to an understanding that artefacts can have an agency of their own. In the case of the Fourie archive (viewed as a composite artefact) this biography signals ways in which objects can become actors. In addition, the interactions between the collection and those who worked with it had a complex and recursive effect upon both of them.

The sheer size of the collection, its physical presence, its history, and its relationship to the Khoisan lend to it the power to command attention, to demand a space where it can be cared for, conserved, and explicated. This power rests in its composition and contents, which may be open to a wide range of interpretations but which also restrict interpretations. It exerted itself particularly at those moments when the collection was between homes, when there were always numerous offers to house it, care for it and make use of it. It exerted itself on me as I worked with it and felt that it needed to be described and explored so that its potential could be realised by more research and exhibitions. As it was accumulated, exhibited and described and illustrated in publications the collection left its trace, ensuring that, while it might lie dormant in a storeroom for some time, researchers would turn to it again and again.

It is instructive to hypothesise that the collection has had (and continues to have) both a public and a private life. The former would be manifested in exhibitions and publications (and references to those publications). By inference, this is the better-known face, but it shows only a portion of the materials or the knowledge held in the collection, and that in a mediated form, in which the exhibitor/author selects, then interprets, the material and restricts its meaning. At first glance the private life of the collection appears sprawling and chaotic, with an accumulation of information in a variety of forms, and with many repetitions, organised in a somewhat haphazard manner. It is here that the changing shape of the collection has manifested over the years, and here that we hear the voices of Fourie and his fellow colonists and, if we are careful, some whispers of Khoisan voices. The private life holds potential for any number of interpretations.

This hypothesis leads to questions that have become hardy annuals in the history of museum practice. First, how to present large collections so that their potential is made available for public scrutiny but without creating boring and repetitive displays such as those we associate with eighteenth and nineteenth century exhibitions of, for example, rows and rows of spears or bows and arrows. An extension of this is the question of how information should be presented so that the interpretive element is made evident enough to allow the viewer to understand that there may be other points of view. This latter question arose in the late 1980s and is best exemplified in the Post-Modernist approaches of such authors as Bennet (1992), Crimp (1993) and Karp, Kreamer and Lavine (1991) and (1992). Finally, museums have to

question whether they have a responsibility to display large collections at all, if they are not relevant to the messages they wish to send to their audience. If the answer to that question is negative, then the collections serve an archival purpose, and they remain private.

This Chapter has shown how Fourie's collection has been physically present in a number of widely dispersed loci in southern Africa (and Europe) over a period of almost ninety years, beginning in Windhoek. It is notable that in all the requests and negotiations for the use and care of the collection, attention was never paid to the possibility that the Khoisan people of South West Africa might have had an interest in the future of the fragments which had been "surgically excised" from their cultures (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991:388-9) – a testament to the marginalisation of both the Territory and the people, and to the racist assumptions prevalent in South Africa.

Chapter 8

Collecting an Archive to Save the Bushmen: Conclusion

> That is the nature (and culture) of collection. It appropriates and propitiates.
> It is a form of ventriloquism that imposes and demands distance (Griffiths 1996:25).

Introduction

Fourie's collection rendered the Khoisan as relics of prehistory by avoiding any hint of their contemporary lifestyles, and by electing to gather larger numbers of certain types of artefacts (arrows and ornaments). The effect was that the Khoisan were placed at a chronological and cultural distance, and denied the humanity that would make their maltreatment genocide. As I have explored the distance between settlers and Khoisan thus imposed, I have sought evidence of some form of Colonial Melancholy, and have found that the distance itself can be read as evidence of a need to obscure, and thus escape from, the unpleasant realities of the colonial project.

Those psychologists who advocate theories of personality integration claim (in a rough nutshell) that, in order to attain mental health, we need to "embrac[e] the things that are hidden" and face our "shadow selves". We strive hard to forget or ignore those feelings and actions that society and we ourselves deem to be "bad". Bringing them out of the darkness of the subconscious and into the light of consciousness enables us to turn them into strengths, "remove the stigma of guilt" and heal our psyches. By avoiding the darkness we block our growth and create unhappiness (Ford 1998:1-2, Meeks 2002, Norton and Goldfield 2003 10-11). I would argue that the disastrous displacement of the Khoisan caused by colonialism was something that Fourie and his peers attempted strenuously to hide. The starvation, pain and death suffered by those who Fourie was studying were the dark side of the colonial project, which he wished to avoid confronting. Fourie's avocation did not integrate the shadow side of his reality with his sense of himself as a man of honour, integrity and kindness – all qualities his son highlights in his biography. On the contrary, the process of suppression demanded a distortion of that reality. This lack of integration created a constant sense of unease, a melancholia that could not be laid to rest. The fundamental shape and character of the collection, in its assiduous concentration on the old and its silencing of those objects and images that spoke of contemporary realities, therefore, makes it an artefact of melancholy.

A more poignant silence, in this interpretation of Fourie's collection, is that of the Khoisan themselves. Their voices are muted by the disorder and incompleteness of the field notes and documents. In Griffith's terms they became the ventriloquists' (Fourie's and other

anthropologists') collective dummy. Their artefacts and images were manipulated to speak of an imagined culture and a contrived, essentialised human form. This in spite of Fourie's final inability to publish a detailed version of his own interpretation of the information he had gathered. Such a silence was appropriate in the context of the dominant values and mores of the colonial and academic workers communities within which Fourie worked.

The main question posed by this thesis has been: to what extent was the Fourie Collection shaped by contemporary perceptions of Khoisan identity, and how did it contribute to the further development of that identity over the greater part of the twentieth century? The exploration of the collection, its making and its maker, however, has not supplied an answer that can provide a simple quantification. Nevertheless, it is clear that the collection did form a part of the foundational matrix that underpinned and was in turn supported by the endeavours of archaeologists, anatomists, linguists and anthropologists who were engaged in studying the Khoisan at that time. Fourie's correspondence and contacts with the experts in the field ensured a give and take of ideas and knowledge that is most clearly reflected in the documents. The thesis has shown how knowledge about the Khoisan was constructed in a recursive manner, and how scholars in academia and in museums (and these are shown to have been two separate streams of thought in the discipline of anthropology for many decades) were selective in their uses of the collection when they described and discussed the bodies and cultures of the San, particularly in forums aimed at the general public. Evidence of their work has been incorporated into the collection, which, as a result, has continued to mutate over the years.

The making of the collection was also an integral part of the making of *Fourie's* identity, and, further, his perception of a past Khoisan identity played an important role in the making of settler identity in South West Africa. His collection gave Fourie status among a group of men in the Administration, and among the academics who visited him in his home, or who asked to house the collection in their institutions. But it had a more personal value for Fourie, since it helped him to express his fascination with the Khoisan, and, in a way perhaps less obvious even to himself, a small, but insistent, dissident and iconoclastic streak which could not be voiced aloud. Such a suppression, I speculate, was another element of his melancholy.

The archive also provided a point to which colonists - many of whom had a more sympathetic approach to the Khoisan than the views of those colonists who, like the settler family living in the Gobabis District, feared and hated them so much that they shot them on sight - could send Khoisan artefacts which, they believed, had value and should be preserved (Gordon 1992:98). The collection, therefore, also becomes an expression of communal confusion.

The nature of collections as symbols is that they hold the potential for a myriad of different interpretations. Some would have been able to see this collection as evidencing the primitive nature of the people they despised, which contrasted with their own superiority. Others would have marvelled at Fourie's skill and persistence, and still others would have felt regret at the passing of a distinctive way of life. The collection attests to the heterogeneity of the colonial approach to the Khoisan and the ways in which degrees and variations in racism could sometimes exist even within one man.

In attending to the collection's "distributions of bulk … to the veracities lodged in its sheer volume, to its marginalia, its selective repetitions, its revised accounts, its intertextual densities, its competing and dissonant claims" (Stoler 1998:6), it is possible to see that Fourie's deep involvement with southern African anthropology in the first third of the twentieth century was both informal and formal, personal and professional. The knots in his network of friends, colleagues and fellow anthropologists were strengthened by social visits, practical assistance in the form of offers of places to stay or the oiling of the bureaucratic machinery for obtaining permits and permissions, and shared experiences in the field. In this way, Fourie shaped the itineraries and agendas of those whom he helped. At the same time he exchanged books and other information, read widely and asked others to read his works, which he circulated once they had been published.

Fourie's assistance in the fieldwork of Hoernlé, Bleek and the SAM, the extensive citation of his work by Schapera, the publication of his photographs by the MMS in their *The Bushmen* booklet and the use of his material in exhibitions, gives an indication of the direct effects his work had upon southern African anthropology. In addition his expertise and his collection formed part of the body of work available for both academic and public constructions of versions of Khoisan identity. The collection also moved among institutions which kept it in the public consciousness where it "played a crucial role in moulding the topics and the sources which [were] later available for academic study" (Carruthers 1996:261).

The process of collecting, like the process of creating identity, was neither smooth nor continuous. Reading the collection in relation to the history of its making and its sojourns in various institutions reveals that it holds within it many ambiguities and paradoxes. Faint whispers of Fourie's horror at the suppression of the Khoisan are contradicted by other, less appealing behaviour. He was capable of the cold-blooded objectification of the bodies of the Khoisan; writing to Péringuey, for example "Of the Kung only five specimens have found their way into the local gaol and of these three have died and their graves have been marked

[for future collection of the bones]" (MMS40/69/BoxF/1920:5). He made his work available as a tool for the Administration which, at times, seemed determined to eliminate the Khoisan altogether. At the same time he was concerned for the well being of Marcus, the Rehoboth Baster prisoner, and went out of his way to help him and others in the Protectorate. His concern, admittedly, frequently appeared to be paternalist, but there was no liberal tradition or pattern available for him to follow in Windhoek at that time (although, it has to be remembered, his friendship with Winifred Hoernlé exposed him to a South African liberal viewpoint.) These complexities and contradictions were reflected in the archive in much the same way as they would be in individual artefacts, and my study has begun to interpret some of the many meanings of which it is capable.

Fourie's role as a senior member of the Administration of the South African Protectorate of South West Africa served to both help and hinder his research and collecting activities. The converse effects (where his research and collection have helped or hindered the Administration) have also been described, and it is possible to see that, for a short while, Fourie's avocation had an effect on the treatment of the Khoisan, and on the formulation of policy, but that this effect was minimal and did not last as the bureaucracy grew and consolidated. His last chance to have a direct effect on policy-making was lost as he forewent the opportunity to chair what was subsequently named the Schoeman Commission on the Bushman, which deliberated on the possibilities of providing land for the Khoisan. Subsequently, his influence, through his collection, on government policy can only be descried in obscure and tangential ways.

After the collection left Fourie's hands, those who used it as a resource for studying and presenting the Khoisan turned a blind eye when presented with some of the uncomfortable realities represented in the collection. This because they worked within paradigms which increasingly foreground notions of the traditional and muffled those aspects of the lives of the Khoisan which did not fit this template. The silences thus produced were a product of a selective deafness that hints at a collective melancholy. The documents, artefacts and photographs form a record of both that which Fourie and his fellow colonists chose to hear and record, and that which they chose not to. But this tangible evidence of what they valued as being denotative of Khoisan identity has been preserved for seventy years because it was seen by a range of interested parties as an archive from which could be drawn the material needed to underpin their own interpretations of that identity. Museums order their collections in the belief that their catalogues, lists and indexes are as comprehensive, and therefore as neutral, as possible. They are frequently unaware that these acts of organisation are also acts of creation, and sometimes of destruction.

The MMS and the Africana Museum did not process this collection in a way that would satisfy the dictates of museum discourse, partly, perhaps, because they could not find a theoretical framework upon which to hang all the knowledge it contained: for example, the statistics of deaths in detention of Khoisan prisoners among Fourie's documents, or his photographs of "very emaciated" Naron rebels. If they had processed the collection as purely ethnographic, those dissident voices would have had no place and would have thus been obscured. While some elements of museum practice conspired to restrict meaning (the physical and conceptual separation of the different components of the collection from each other and then from the historical collections, for example, or the classification of the photographs), the failure to complete the cataloguing of the artefacts, and the absence of organisation of the documents ultimately left open avenues for new and changing interpretations.

The Africana Museum, being closely connected to the Johannesburg Public Library, had a strong ethos of service to the public. It looked outward; attempting to be a reference source in much the same mould as a specialist library, and eschewing research by its staff on its own collections other than the making of lists and catalogues.[254] In this sense it was unlike most of the other major museums in South Africa which encouraged fieldwork and research. It did, however, follow museum practice in that items were not grouped by provenance, but were processed so that each artefact was indexed and stored by a set of criteria based upon the categories taken from the disciplines of history, geography or ethnography. The knowledge made available was based on the content of the collection. In contrast, archives practice focuses more closely on the circumstances of the acquisition of the collections, which is termed "provenance". Thus, if the Fourie Collection had been processed as an archive all its components would have remained grouped together and date, place and details of the collector would be foregrounded.

The monocular views of collections held by museums and archives have their limits, but this combination of the two establishes dimensions hitherto unexplored. My study of the role played by the Fourie Collection in creating a body of knowledge on the Khoisan has focused both on content and provenance, attempting to make the "two eyes one in sight" (Robert Frost

[254] The majority of the Africana Museum's publications consist of detailed catalogues and descriptions of segments of its collections. There is no formal list of these publications, but they can be obtained from Museum Africa or the African Studies section of the Johannesburg Public Library. The most notable catalogues are the seven volume *Catalogue of Pictures* (1966-1972) and the two volume *Catalogue of Prints* (1975-1976) both of which are still available for sale at Museum Africa. The quarterly journal *Africana Notes and News* (discontinued in 1993) contains many articles describing objects in the collections.

quoted in Parini 1998:289). Context inevitably shapes content but in historicising the Fourie Collection it becomes clear that content likewise affected the context of Khoisan identity in an iterative spiral.

The Collection as Archive

A central challenge in the answering of the thesis question has been to find ways to read the collection *as a collection*, taking into account its multidimensional format, its large size, and the lack of organisation. The many forms of the materials in the collection relate to a number of different bodies of research into the interpretation of knowledge, particularly in the case of ethnographic and colonial representation. I accordingly divided the collection and assessed the parts separately by using recent research on documentary archives, colonial history, photography, material culture and museums. Interestingly many of the practices and concerns of these approaches coincide, and, together with my focus on the Khoisan, provided a method for dealing with the collection as a whole that was best embodied in debates around archives.

The term archive embraces a number of disparate entities (buildings, collections of documents and the activity of preserving documents), all of which relate to bodies of information being preserved outside of their original provenance. Post-modern debates, however, have broadened the definition of archive a great deal. The concept has been used (and stretched) by such thinkers as Baudrillard, Foucault and Derrida who have reflected on the foundations of our "knowledge" and the unspoken assumptions which underlie the theorems and paradigms of the different disciplines, or, indeed of our own daily lives (Belyea, 1992; Brothman 1991:78 and 1993:209; Foucault 1972 Chapter 5; Harris 1996). The Fourie archive forms a noteworthy part of the foundation of western knowledge about the Khoisan, and now holds a significant corpus of knowledge to which the descendants of the subjects of his enquiries might refer when conducting their own searches for their histories and identities. Or, at least, they could if the collection was available to them; a result of the occupation of South West Africa by South Africa is that this archive now serves to remove knowledge from the site of its production, making it inaccessible to the people it most directly concerns.

Each of the diverse elements that go to make up this archive gives its own specific rendition of knowledge but is linked with the others in a complex interrelationship. We rely on the documents, that part of the collection that is least ordered and most fortuitous, to fill in the silences that gather around, for example, the thousand arrows, or the numerous images of unsmiling faces. The documents offer the only evidence of the skulls and other bones that once formed yet another element of the collection. Fourie's words are powerful tools in the exegesis of the collection, but the other parts of the collection, in turn, bring the words to life,

fleshing them out, supporting and sometimes even challenging them. The documents also tell us about colonial practices of knowledge creation, showing how official reports mix with correspondence and publications in a jumble from which a progression of administrators selected those which supported their policies.

I argue that it is *because* of the multiple forms that it takes that we need to look upon the Fourie Collection as an archive. There is little doubt that the papers and the photographs would be accepted into any archiving institution as historical documents, and the case for their forming a record can easily be made. Taking these facets in isolation, however, limits the knowledge they contain. When they are examined together with the artefacts they are enriched by additional nuances and layers. Similarly, the objects, when analysed in isolation, are deprived of a great deal of their context. Even if the collections are not housed together in the same institution they are linked by virtue of their common origins, and their multitudinous references to each other. Taken in combination, they form a record which is more historical than anthropological, but which could contribute to both areas of study.

There are cogent practical reasons for managing archives and museum collections differently but it is crucial to be aware that the ability to impart meaning can be restricted by the traditional ways of ordering and separating the knowledge. Incorporating the dimensions of knowledge, which can be gained from a study of photographs as photographs, or artefacts as artefacts, the approach of this dissertation has been to combine the study of all the materials to give a multi-shaded reading of the Fourie archive. In the old paradigms it was impossible to posit that a more complex relationship may have existed between the knowledges held within the different forms of word, object and image. Studying the collection as a whole offers a way to look beyond the limits imposed by museum and archive practices – a way to fracture the reifications which they previously represented – and thus to open up the collection for other interpretations. As the notion of archive is refigured we see that it embraces the materials and methods we use to store memory for a multitude of purposes, so that collections such as Fourie's can be ordered and interpreted as archives in the broadest sense.

Archives and memory

It has been understood for a long time that archives are banks of social memory and that they serve as mnemonics, aids to memory selected so that we can forget those things that make us uncomfortable, such as, in the case of Fourie's archive, the slow annihilation of the Khoisan (Harris 1997:4). Their role in actually **shaping** memories, however, has not been fully recognised until recently. Memories in archives were (and indeed still are) shaped not only by the items selected for preservation or by the absences left by those which were excluded,

but also by the categories used to describe and store both the knowledge and the physical vehicles in which it had travelled to the present.[255]

> Archivists are engaged in the practice of deciding how and what is to be saved for, bequeathed to, our children. ... What documents – what images, sounds, and texts; in other words, what signs - will we choose to represent us?…Is Helen Samuels' well-known question, "Who Controls the Past?" not another form of the question, "Who Controls the Present?" or, perhaps, "Who Controls the Future?" (Brothman 1993:205).

This study of the history of the making and ordering of the Fourie Collection has gone one step beyond Brothman to ask, "Who controls the controller", or, perhaps, "What controls the controller", and "In what ways do the controls change over time"? The maker of this archive did not work alone, and was subject to a wide range of influences, both external and internal, and the museums that used it worked within different (if related) paradigms.

We have seen how museum practice has affected the way we read the Fourie archive today. The documents, for example, present a sometimes confusing, but very open-ended, multilayered resource, in which on maps can be written lists of landmarks and sources of petrol, or tables of measurements can be on the same page as details of tattooing and its meaning. Fourie's own attempts to organise his collection (or at least those which have survived the passages of time) were confined to the listing of some items, and providing titles for some of the files, captions for the photographs and names and brief provenances for the artefacts. The consequence has been that subsequent caretakers of the collection had few constraints when they came to fit it into their own systems.

A key point is that it is not only archivists who are engaged in selecting and discarding evidence of the past. Museums and private collectors process knowledge, albeit in forms unlike those which are conventionally recognised as archives. Anthropologists, too, are constantly deciding what to preserve for their future study, and what to discard. They further refine these selections when they write them up for public perusal. This point is one of the important issues to have been raised in the Kalahari Debate. Wilmsen, for example, on some of the classic ethnographies of the !Kung of the Dobe area, says:

> Reading them, one does not see San people sitting on Tswana doorsteps, entering Herero houses without specific permission, supplying labor for domestic and commodity production for everyone around regardless of what they are called, finding themselves forgotten by ethnographers who are not looking for them (Wilmsen 1989a:xiv-xv).

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[255] These vehicles include artefacts held in museums. In the case of museums-as-archives the classification systems would have directly affected the presentation of the object in exhibitions.

Like Stoler, Wilmsen here reads Khoisan ethnographies as much for what is excluded as he does for what is included. He employs a critical eye, searching for internal inconsistencies and disruptions. Similarly Coombes reads between the vitrines of museum exhibitions and Edwards and Pinney read outside the frames of photographic collections for imperial agendas, for evidence of relationships of power, for the use of these creations to underpin the formation of an identity for both the maker and the object of the memory.

The anthropologist's field notes, when presented raw as Fourie's are, yield glimpses of the "San people sitting on Tswana doorsteps". We see the lists of gifts for informants, the numbers of animals shot for their meat, contradictory interpretations of the use of magic arrows, and the impossibility of making neat definitions of groups. A reading of the collection as a whole adds more such glimpses. The negatives of the photographs contain, half-hidden, the commonplaces of clinics and western dress which Fourie wished to exclude from the record. The artefacts complicate the search for defining characteristics of named groups, and hold small contradictions within the details of a composite arrow. The composite archive disrupts attempts to order, and therefore to control, knowledge.

Recent works on archives and their role in colonial rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempt to go beyond content to examine the ways in which the documents, pictures and artefacts which are now stored in institutions throughout Europe were gathered, classified and stored in order to assist in the control of the people whose memories and lifestyles were being incorporated into the new state structures. Archives are shown to have been used, both directly and indirectly, as tools for the classification and control of the colonised. Fourie's compulsion to find and define all the different groups of the Khoisan, using their social structures, material culture and anatomies bespeaks a drive to categorise and differentiate. The government published his work to help justify their occupation of contested territory. The collection itself was used in exhibitions perpetuating notions about the Khoisan that supported a social evolutionism which fitted comfortably with apartheid ideologies.

Archives are also seen as products not only of 'experts', but also of their local assistants and informants: complex combinations of the knowledges and memories of the conquered, filtered through the desires and agendas of collectors. We have seen how Fourie worked with a wide range of local informants and experts. Jantjie, Saul, Lehmke, Eedes, Hahn and others are not acknowledged directly by Fourie, but the field notes and the correspondence are clear about their contributions.

Fourie and his contemporaries were haunted by the notion that the Khoisan were "fated to perish" (Theal quoted in Penn 1996:82) in the same way that their South African counterparts had apparently been a few decades earlier, and there are frequent inferences in Fourie's writings that the process of disappearance was already well under way. This imminent extinction, which was directly related to the colonisation of Khoisan territory, was justified by descriptions of their so-called primitive nature, which substantiated the perception that they were unable to cope with western technology and modernity. Fourie's collection was shaped by and then went on to support those prejudices. Because he believed that they were unable (or incapable) of doing so for themselves, Fourie chose **for** the Khoisan the signs by which they would be identified and remembered both in the present and in the years to come. Griffiths highlights the irony of a similar situation in Australia:

> In the 1990's, with Kooris resurgent, there is a genuine contest between ways of knowing, between forms of history-making. This is a conflict between white disciplinary science - centred on artefact and text - and black oral knowledge. What happens when 'the sacred' is made into 'heritage'? How do we measure the claims of Aboriginal views of the past against those of white professional history?
>
> The two, of course, are interdependent. A consequence of dispossession is that the old culture often only survives to the extent that it has been appropriated and preserved by the new. The archaeologists and collectors ... are both friend and foe to the indigenous people, both violators and mediators of their past (Griffiths 1996:99-100).

There is an argument about archives that parallels the notion that artefacts have meanings imposed upon them by individuals and groups and otherwise remain inert (see Chapter 7: "Conclusion"). This states that the documents within archives, in themselves, are meaningless and that meanings are read into them by those who interpret them. Harris, for example, holds that archives have no "inherent meaning, significance or value" but that archivists' **use** of the records makes them active shapers of social meaning (Harris 1997:5). The discussion at the end of Chapter 7 complicates this argument by arguing that artefacts can have an agency of their own, and that their composition and size (shaped by their personal history) contain within them a range of meanings and demands for attention. Embedded within composite archives such as Fourie's are the intentions of not only their principal collector, but also the original owners of the individual items within the archive, and those who have cared for it over its history. Brothman contends that the order that is imposed on the archive gives it meaning – so that an examination of the ordering system itself yields insights into the society out of which the archive arose (Brothman 1991:80-81). In this way the collector, for example, directs attention to the knowledges he believes to be held in the artefacts. But such a view is limiting. Archivists point to the provenance of the record as

being of prime importance, museologists point to cultural or historical origins. In the event, neither can prevent new or contradictory meanings from emerging in studies such as this one.

This study has shown that the collection shaped perceptions of Khoisan identity because it was supported by interpretations by Fourie, the authors who quoted from his interpretations or used his images and later the teachers and anthropologists in the museums who ordered it for researchers and exhibited it for the general public. The form and the content of the archive clearly could only allow for a limited range of interpretations. If, for example, Fourie had focused on collecting nothing but evidence of the ways in which Khoisan groups were dealing with the demands of the colonial state, the interpretations of his archive would have been very different. Of course this would have been unlikely. The form of the archive as it stands reflects a pattern that would have been recognisable to Fourie's contemporaries, who would have felt justified in reading from it only that information which conformed to the paradigms of their day.

Assembling the archive

Ethnographies of archives highlight the taken-for-granted processes and procedures by which they were made, and make them strange in order to investigate the implications of their later use by officials and academics. Fourie prided himself on his professional approach and his scientific neutrality, but the selection and ordering of these archival building blocks was clearly not an objective enterprise. Researching the history of the making of the collection has revealed much about this process. It goes without saying that it is impossible to be utterly comprehensive when gathering information on a topic, and so selection is essential. The degrees of consciousness in this process of shaping and filtering vary. Said argues that the histories of conquests and the conquered were erased from official archives once colonial rule was firmly in place (Dirks 1992:280) and Harris has shown how South African government policies directly affected the national archives in a very deliberate way (Harris 1996:7). However, there were many collectors who worked either partially or entirely outside the official systems, and who aimed at what they believed would be encyclopaedic contributions to the archives. Such collectors tended to go beyond the bounds of official archives, seeking not to keep records of events and circumstances that would be of immediate use to the state, but to preserve information they perceived to be important and possibly to be in danger of being unsalvageable in the not too distant future. The compilers of these archives were frequently members of the colonising powers that were creating the circumstances that gave them the authority and freedom to gather the information, and they seldom questioned the foundations of that power. Nevertheless, their collections, when read against the grain, hold

subaltern voices and subversive counters to the official versions of the histories and cultures of the time.

Colin Mackenzie, surveyor and cartographer in Madras, India, created such an archive in the years between 1790 and the late 1820s. To do so he set up a network of "collectors" who gathered texts, genealogies, myths, religious tales, and oral histories helping him to create "the largest set of sources for the study of the early modern historical anthropology of southern India" (Dirks 1992:280, 281). Like Fourie, Mackenzie was a government agent whose avocation led him to use his time, contacts, and resources to gather information he perceived to be in danger of being lost. In a study of Mackenzie's archive Dirks focuses on the processes by which the collection was made, and finds that there are important implications in the methods of appropriation of this information.

> When local documents were collected, authority and authorship were transferred from local to colonial contexts. The different voices, agencies, and modes of authorization that were implicated in the production of the archive got lost once they inhabited the archive (Dirks 1992:300-301).

The appropriation of indigenous knowledge was an important part of the colonial project, and, while the Khoisan did not provide documents, their knowledge was inscribed in their anatomies and their material culture. Fourie vociferously championed the work of local experts in South West Africa, but he was thinking of the settlers and not of Khoisan informants. Their subaltern voices are not so easily accessed in the archive; they have been appropriated and become part of the colonial context.

Unlike, for example, James Stuart, who collected a comprehensive archive of Zulu history and culture, Fourie was not grappling directly with the problem of finding the most efficient and feasible way to make use of Khoisan political and value systems in the creation of efficient "native policy" (Hamilton 1998:148). Although his work had an impact on the politics of control over the Khoisan, an investigation of political power is notably absent from Fourie's field notes, and from his published articles, perhaps, in part, because all that he had read led him to believe that, in spite of his own observations, this was not an important part of Khoisan culture.[256] His examination of the dominant role played by the central fire among

[256] Winifred Hoernlé's text on the social organisation of the Nama, for example, refers only briefly to the institution of chieftainship. Further, she states: "But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed". She therefore does not detail political powers at all (Carstens (ed.) 1985:46).

the Hei-//om, for example, alludes to the fact that it can only be kindled by the chief but does not explore the implications of his control over this fundamental cultural symbol.[257]

Hamilton describes the intense discussions Stuart had with many amaZulu informants, conducted in isiZulu, a language in which Stuart was fluent, and frequently centred on questions of the nature of political power. Stuart used rigorous methods of "cross-examination", based on his experience as a magistrate, nevertheless:

> His respondents were themselves able to negotiate the interview situations with skill, alert to the need to insert information they wanted recorded and quick to contest his assumptions (Hamilton 1998:152).

Although he knew some vocabulary, Fourie was not fluent in the languages of his informants and relied on the services of Saul or Jantjie to interpret the words of those who could not speak English, German or Afrikaans.[258] His informants would have had less opportunity to "negotiate the interview situations", either because they were not speaking their own language, or because the interpreter (Saul or Jantjie) was mediating their words. The circumstances of the gathering of the information, therefore, frequently disallowed any intervention on the part of the Khoisan. There is nothing to support speculation as to the reasons why members of Khoisan groups agreed to be informants or the subjects of Fourie's photographs. The words and images remain silent on this score.

Although some of the information he sought was related to memories of traditions no longer being practised, Fourie's main aim was not to explore oral history. His intent, therefore, was to create a complete record of the remembered cultures of the Khoisan. Thus the archive holds memories filtered through an historical anthropological lens.

Classifying knowledge

In spite of the fact that the task was never completed there is much in the collection to show how Fourie and later the MMS and the Africana Museum intended to classify and describe the artefacts and the photographs. We have seen how Fourie labelled his artefacts with small tags, devised a classification system for the artefacts, and kept lists of his photographs. He

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[257] Fourie 1926:52-53. He makes only two direct references to political organisation. "These Hei-//om, like other organised Bushman tribes, consist of a number of closely related family groups. Each group (//gaub) has its own territory or hunting ground, knows as !hub" (1926:50). And at the beginning of the paragraph on the settlement pattern of the Hei-//om in which he states: "At the head of each group is a chief or big man (gei-khoib)". He goes straight on from there to say: "All the members of the group live in a common encampment or werft" (1926:50-51).

[258] His notes do indicate an interest in the languages: he tried to keep details of the vernacular names for pieces of material culture and odd lists of vocabulary are to be found dotted throughout the files. However, he does not appear to have become conversant in any of them.

spelled out his interpretation of the relationships of Khoisan groups within South West Africa in his 1928 article, using a classification system based partly on his own research and partly on publications and the documents he found in the records of the German Administration of the Territory. Subsequently the museums took those categories at face value, and incorporated them into their records.

And so the Fourie Collection, itself shaped by contemporary classification conventions, helped shape the practices of the MMS and, to a lesser extent, the Africana Museum. The wide range of artefacts and photographs prompted the staff to devise categories based upon Fourie's nomenclature. The language used to describe the items in the collection exerted a powerful claim to ownership and power, appropriating them to a new cognitive universe, shaping the readings of meaning and allowing for certain interpretations whilst making others appear doubtful. Fourie selected English terms over Naron, ≠Ao-//ein and Hei-//om terms, and the museums did the same. By doing so they shaped the memory for colonial society, so that it was not only the selection of artefacts, images and cultural behaviours, but also the classificatory processes that shaped and were shaped by perceptions of Khoisan identity. These processes were (and still are) an integral part of the collecting enterprise and Fourie's participation in the anthropological paradigm formations of the day facilitated the smooth incorporation of his collection into museums.

In spite of the interventions of those museums the Fourie Collection contains many disjunctures that hint at a reality other than the one which was frequently presented. The field notes speak of intermarriages and settlements of mixed groups, and the artefacts and the photographs show that groups were not found at discrete locations, but appeared to have moved from one locality to another, and that their material culture was very similar in many respects. Colonial preoccupations with the classification of human groups were based on the need for control, and anthropologists, exerting control over knowledge, mirrored the process. Defining the group to be studied and its relationships to other groups was an essential exercise in cultural evolutionary studies, and has remained so in ethnographic museums.

Form and context – interpreting the archive

The concept of contextualising ethnographic collections in museums rose to prominence in the late1980s, with exhibitions and publications such as those on Torday's and Burton's collections of material from the Congo (Mack c.1990, and University of the Witwatersrand Art Galleries 1992). It is now generally agreed that photographs, objects and archives cannot be fully analysed and interpreted without a good understanding of the histories of their

production. Detailed assessments of archives in the search for meaning can only take place once this contextualisation has begun (Poignant 1992; Stocking 1985).

Historical anthropology has grown in popularity and colonial archives are providing rich sources of information. In order to make the best use of these resources anthropologists now apply an understanding that archives are not reservoirs of uncontested knowledge. They have begun to "bring ethnographic sensibilities to bear" upon them, to examine the cultures from which they sprang, seeking the unspoken assumptions which underlay the choices which brought these particular groups of material together and then preserved them for the record.

Ethnographies of archives demand a scrutiny of the form taken by the archive to seek patterns and absences of patterns. Such a study of the artefacts in the Fourie Collection has revealed emphases on the masculine pursuit of hunting and the manufacture and use of ostrich egg shell beads, and a somewhat enigmatic collection of items related to medicine and magic. The photographs focus heavily on the Khoisan body, and contain very few, if any, references to acculturation, cattle-keeping or women's roles in trade. In descrying the form in the content I have glimpsed hints of the complexities of the relationships between Fourie, his friends and colleagues in the Administration, the Khoisan, intellectuals and others studying the Khoisan, and European settlers in Namibia. I find that there were tensions and disruptions within the Administration, caused by internal politics and a lack of resources, and that the Khoisan did not meekly accept the depredations of colonisation. Importantly the descriptions expose evidence of changes over time in Fourie's practice of anthropology, in the paradigms of the discipline, in the structure and character of the bureaucracy, and in Fourie's relationship to it so that as official support for his project waned, so Fourie's avocation weakened. It may appear to be a truism to say that process is embedded in the nature of research, but it is a truism that needs to be borne in mind when analyses of archives are carried out.

Unlike published writings, archives can hold records that may be mutually contradictory. James Stuart was wary of publishing his own research:

> His notes show that he understood that research of the kind he was undertaking to be by definition constantly changing and far from the final truth. "For this purpose some method must be established which is always *continuous* and *accumulative*. I write today what I know, tomorrow 1 or 1000 others may add to it. And so it is an open book I desire to start which shall become the central authority". ... Effectively his archive is such an "open book", to which Stuart constantly added new material ... cross-referencing but never merging, never synthesizing or ironing out contradictions, and never rounding off what ought not to be completed (Hamilton 1998:150).

While Fourie's understanding of his own enterprise was never expressed as elegantly or understood as clearly, it is likely that he would have agreed with this understanding of record-keeping. It may be that this open-endedness was desirable precisely **because** it did not require synthesisation and the ironing out of contradictions.

Archives and ignorance

Recent studies of the contexts of the accumulation of collections have revealed the complexities of what constituted knowledge in colonial societies. Gordon states that: "Knowledge is power but power defines what knowledge is", but goes on to argue that in South West Africa "ignorance rather than knowledge [was] power" and that the ambivalence of colonial life required that settlers depend on what he terms "knee-haltered" or "shadow" knowledge in which "complexity is glossed over in a unidimensional monochromatic blank" (Gordon 1998:75-76). In such a society Fourie, with his curious and observant nature, was unusual in his venturing to gather detailed information on a group of people whose existence would have offered a permanent reproach to the settlers. His studies could have made it less easy for them to fall back upon their "shadow knowledge" but his collection was shaped to a large degree by the epistemologies of the day, which circumvented such a situation.

I have ascribed the hiatuses and exclusions of information that occur throughout the collection to a similar "colonial melancholy" to that which Griffiths believes arose out of the sense of guilt and sadness felt by Australian colonisers as they contemplated their virtual annihilation of the colonised. As an extension of this Gordon cites a complex explanation for self-delusion in which a fascist is likened to a performer who is:

> taken in by his own act, convinced at the moment that the impression of reality which he fosters is the one and only reality. ... It will have been necessary for the individual in his performing capacity to conceal from himself in his audience capacity the discreditable facts he has had to learn about the performance; in everyday terms, there will be things he knows, or has known, that he will not be able to tell himself (Goffman cited in MacCannell cited in Gordon 1998:76).

Discussions of both the artefacts and the photographs acknowledged their performative nature and the ways in which they "acted out" for the collector/photographer and a select audience (which did not include the subjects in the images) a number of tropes. The carefully selected objects or subjects and their backgrounds (a blank wall or the Kalahari desert devoid of any signs of western intrusion) reified the knowledge required to make sense of the relationship between Khoisan individuals or groups and the anthropologist/settler/medical officer. In the light of Goffman's argument, however, it is possible to see not only Fourie, but also the collection, as performer, acting out a version of the Khoisan for the Administration, the academy and the "general public". In this performative role Fourie and his collection

concealed what he had learned about the plight of the Khoisan, and of his own complicity in creating that plight. They also concealed the dynamics of gathering the knowledge he selected for his script, in which his privileged role as the dominant administrator created a relationship in which the Khoisan played the role of "informants", or "subjects" in the photographs, or "providers" of objects. In spite of the disjunctures and the hints at something other in the archive, and in spite of being a product of imagination this version was enough to fetter imagination and to guide it away from Khoisan realities so that colonists could continue to justify their occupation of the lands and lives of others (Gordon 1998:69 and 75-76).[259]

The study of Fourie's documents and publications has given ample evidence of the symbiosis between anthropologists and government in South West Africa. Gordon has commented on the ways in which, during the inter-war years, anthropologists "... did not analyze the policies applied to the Bushmen by either the Germans or the South Africans while they were doing research" and particularly on the ways in which they ignored the devastating effects of diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis and syphilis (Gordon 1992:153). Fourie was no exception, in spite of the fact that he was better informed than most on the state of health of the Khoisan population. His silence on this score was partially dictated by the conventions of writing ethnography at the time, and, perhaps, to some degree by loyalty and the constraints of belonging to the civil service. It should be taken into account, too, that the silence may partly be the result of the shaping of the archive by the staff at the MMS who selected only what they believed to be relevant to the making of an ethnography of the San. Given their muted responses to the hardships of life among the Khoisan it is not surprising that anthropologists failed in their attempts to have land set aside for the Khoisan, or to alleviate the prejudices which led to the impoverishment and displacement of the Khoisan.

The contours of the archive, when placed in the context of its production, therefore, also yield details and insights into the psyche of the collector and his community. The Fourie archives reflect a man who at first was caught up in the romances of the colonising project, and of the Khoisan, people who, like himself, were reputed to be great hunters and to have a special empathy with the wilderness. The 'hobby' that led to the creation of the archive became something which tied him to the Administration in complex ways, adding more prestige to his already important status as Medical Officer, and bringing him new contacts and friends, many of whom appeared to be impressed by the magnitude of his collection. The archive has also been shown to be a community project, containing contributions from a wide spectrum of

[259] Gordon suggests that the fettering of imagination and the dampening of thought in South West Africa led to the "excruciatingly dull settler literature of that era" (1998:76 footnote 94).

academics, fellow civil servants, settlers and Khoisan individuals and groups. The unevennesses, which make up its form, are a reflection of the multiple agendas, differences of opinion, and degrees of knowledge of the communities in which Fourie worked.

Fourie, like Stuart, Mackenzie, Burton, Torday and many others who collected in colonial places, witnessed the effects of colonisation upon those in whom he was most interested. In the case of the Khoisan the effects were, for the most part, disruptive and devastating. Hunger, imprisonment, disease and depravation were common. Somehow, Fourie suppressed or denied much of what he saw as he made his collection, but whispers are to be found in the records of deaths in prison, or in photographs of emaciated men and women, or in the pass-armband and the confiscated bows and arrows. In creating an archive, Fourie did not have to explain the contradictions between the notions of Khoisan identity and the realities he encountered, he did not have to "round off" the discrepancies between the laws which prevented the Khoisan from carrying out what his own descriptions showed to be the most important activity in their culture and he did not have to examine the role played by the colonists in the diseases he encountered among the Naron, ≠Ao-//ein and Hei-//om. His archive performed as "the archive of the repression of the archive" (Derrida 2002:52) because it was as much a receptacle of forgetting as it was of memory. The selection he made came as much from what Freud describes as an "instinct of destruction" (Harris 2002:67) as it did from the desire to salvage. Such an archive served as "moral and psychological pacifier", "a mechanism for the colonisers to grant themselves self-absolution" (Gordon 1998:75). Those who implored Fourie to publish could not have known that it was beyond his power to do so – for what could he write that could contain all that his archive held?

Archives and obscurity

While Fourie's collection has been a reference point over the years, I have also alluded to a certain amount of obscurity. Fourie's published ethnographies are incomplete, containing detailed information about only one of the three groups he studied in detail (the Hei-//om, leaving out the ≠Ao-//ein and the Naron) and omitting, for example, the information he had gathered on material culture, technology, anatomy and the search for the information which was received from the "First Bushman". The archive, as an entity, has not been written about or explored in detail, the book proposed by the MMS did not get published, the bones at the University were not important enough to be remembered, and, for the most part, the collection of artefacts has not been exhibited since 1988.

Part of the reason for this obscurity rests on the identity of the archive as a museum collection, with the emphasis falling mainly on the artefacts. The documents were not

consulted for many years because scholars did not go to the museum to look for them, and they did not go to the museum because they did not expect to find useful information in objects of material culture. But perhaps the most telling point concerning this obscurity is that it comes as a result of the anonymity of museum collections. When provenance is overridden by subject matter museums are free to select portions of collections and to display or publish them in ways that separate them from the histories of their meanings and their making.

The notion that artefacts and photographs stood metonymically for the Khoisan is important in the communication of identity. Thousands of visitors to the two museums were expected to read them as such, encouraged by the powerful presence of a number of life-casts arranged on a floor of thick sand holding examples of the artefacts which were displayed in the showcases surrounding them. The ways in which information was manipulated were obscured by the quasi-scientific presence of the vitrines, and the printed labels. At first glance these appeared to be necessary obstructions to the visitor's experience of the display, there to protect the precious and valuable artefacts and images. What they also served to do, however, was to frame the images and direct attention away from the disjunctures. They distracted from the fact that the exhibition could only be an interpretation and nothing more. The Fourie Collection provided an abundance of artefacts which could be used to speak eloquently of the image of the soft-voiced Bushman of Elizabeth Marshall Thomas's *The Harmless People.* The museums believed that the Khoisan could not speak for themselves, and so used these devices to make the collection speak for them.

For many years Fourie's collection functioned to control the history of the Khoisan by denying that there was such a thing. The collection presented a culture that stood as a timeless reminder of the ways in which our human ancestors survived in the wild, untamed land of the time before history. The breadth of it, and the profusion of arrows and ostrich egg shell beads lent authority to such an interpretation. There are no references in it to the kinds of events with which history deals, such as wars, the rise and fall of power groups and powerful leaders, or migrations and changes in lifestyle. The "First Naron", or the "First ≠Ao-//ein" are introduced as mysterious progenitors whose identities and circumstances were not explored because they were lost in the mists of time.

Conclusion

In spite of the fact that Fourie frequently used the opportunities offered by his medical work to study the Khoisan, the evidence of the archive shows that he failed to integrate the two strands of work. But it is the nature of archives to hold the complexities, layers, paradoxes

and contradictions that collectors and their societies could not reconcile. And this is despite, or perhaps even as a result of, attempts by the collector to offer a seamless text. Instead the archive speaks of the politics and expediencies of ethnography, and the impossibility of separating the creation of the cultural category of Bushman from the need to control and justify that control.

In keeping with the flexibility of archives is the non-fixedness of their contents. In the discussions on all sections of this archive, I have shown that their contents have not remained stable since the inception of the collection. Artefacts have been and gone, photographs have been copied and censored, bones are no longer recorded and documents have been added and interpreted. All of these materials are subject to deterioration and some may not last for many more years. Institutions work hard to avoid these fluctuations, but they need to pay attention to them for they are rich evidence of the histories of those archives and their keepers.

Gender has also emerged as a sub-theme as the study progressed. It played an important role in the selection of material in the archive, both by Fourie and by those who contributed to his collection or asked for donations. Griffiths wrote on the "masculine interior decoration" of collections of spear, arrows and other implements of the hunt or warfare, and the close relationship between hunting and collecting, while Landau wrote of the similar close relationship between shooting guns and shooting photographs in the pursuit of trophies to bring home from the wild. The Fourie Collection is filled with these trophies, and the inclusion of the skeletal material in this regard is not surprising when we consider the unseemly scramble for bones in the early part of the twentieth century, and the work of such men as Donald Bain, who hunted for bones in the Kalahari. I have also speculated on Fourie's uneasy relationship with the female subjects of his photographs, and the passive role of women such as his wife in colonial society.

Fourie's archive highlights the ways in which South West Africa hovered on the margins of South Africa in terms of intellectual and other developments. This led to a certain amount of discontent that the expertise to be found in the Protectorate was being used without acknowledgement by visiting experts from South Africa (and elsewhere). Such a fear was quite likely justifiable, but is also an indication of the somewhat parochial nature of the work being carried out there. Fourie combated this isolation in a number of ways but his failure to publish may well have been the result of a lack of incentive and local competition.

The role of individuals and their personalities in the creation of such collections is made clear as we follow the history of the Fourie archive, but the power of their culture is also made

evident. We see how his powers of observation, his remarkable energy, and his commitment led Fourie to develop into the consummate acrobat, whose performance balanced the duties of a civil servant with the demands of the discipline of anthropology. Against that, however, we see that, in spite of his ability to question the medical orthodoxies of his time, in his avocation he was unable to break out of the prevailing paradigms and prejudices that pervaded contemporary anthropological thought. Quite the reverse, these were powerful energies in the shaping of his collection.

Ironically this same collection feeds into the larger archive upon which today's descendants of the Khoisan draw in a search for identity and the validation of claims to autochthony which may bring some reparation for the genocide of their ancestors. If the practices of museums and archives could be modified in the light of the insights gained from reading along, against and between the grain, perhaps they might understand that the babble of colonial voices has effectively silenced any utterances made by Saul, Jantjie and the other Khoisan who discoursed with Fourie, the traces of whose lives are now anonymously preserved in the quietness of the archives. Such archives cannot stand alone as holders of history or identity, but can claim to hold important materials for those who wish to explore such matters.

The passion of the collector, and the importance of anthropology to Fourie's status in the colony are evident in this archive. To label Fourie an 'amateur' anthropologist, or to call his avocation a hobby, does not do his work justice. James O'Toole, in a discussion of the symbolic significance of archives, describes the ways in which the classical aristocratic practice of writing epitaphs was revived in the twelfth century. As they became more elaborate they presented a great deal of information about the subject's life and death, and often invited "a dialogue between the dead writer and the living reader". In this sense they were a "symbolic evocation" of the deceased, a biography of his or her "life with all its peculiar characteristics and actions" combining useful information and symbolic significance (O'Toole 1993:240). Fourie collected in this spirit, but, rather than providing an epitaph for the Khoisan cultures he encountered in South West Africa, his archive has become a multi-layered epitaph symbolically evoking both an imagined Bushman, and, perhaps more vividly, himself.

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Documents

40/69/Boxes A to G

Correspondence and field notes from the Fourie Collection stored with Additional Notes to the collections at Museum Africa, Johannesburg.

In the correspondence files (Boxes F and G) letters to and from Fourie are placed together in chronological order by year, and within each year the letters are numbered from one onwards unless they are photocopies of letters in other collections, in which case they are simply detailed by their dates. In the other boxes items are placed in files numbered from 1 onwards.

AMLFOU

Adler Museum of Medicine's Louis Fourie papers.

AMLFOUP

Adler Museum of Medicine's Louis Fourie photographs

MA Documents from the correspondence and Additional Notes files at Museum Africa

NASA

Papers from the National Archives of South Africa in Pretoria.

NNA

Papers from the Namibian National Archives in Windhoek.

NNA/MA

Bundle of papers labelled: "Fourie family papers to be placed with Museum Africa". Sorted by date.

SAMA (South African Museums Association)

SAMA's archives are stored in the library of the University of South Africa.

Photographs

10/69/

Stored with the photographic collections at Museum Africa in Johannesburg, the photographs in the Fourie Collection are numbered P10/69 (being registered in 1969 as the 10th collection of photographs to be received by the Museum of Man and Science), and thereafter numerically from 1. I have dropped the P in this dissertation for the sake of brevity. The method of filing the photographs at Museum Africa does not follow this system exactly. In order to access the photographs there it is necessary to state that they are Fourie photographs and then to give the last number in the sequence, for example the 203 in 10/69/**203,** for specific pictures. Another set of the photographs is classified by subject using a modified version of the Dewey Decimal System (e.g. 572:00 Bushmen, Crafts and Utensils)

Artefacts

40/69/

Stored in the Ethnology Department of Museum Africa in Johannesburg, the artefacts from the Fourie Collection retain the numbering system of the Museum of Man and Science. It was the fortieth collection they received and was registered in 1969. The objects were then numbered individually from 1 onwards.

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