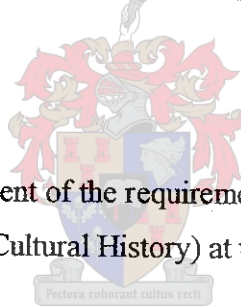


**ELIM:  
A CULTURAL HISTORICAL STUDY OF A  
MORAVIAN MISSION STATION AT THE SOUTHERN  
EXTREME OF AFRICA**

**Liane van der Hoven**

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
(Department of Afrikaans Cultural History) at the University of Stellenbosch

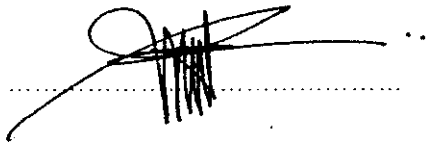


**Supervisor: Dr Matilda Burden**

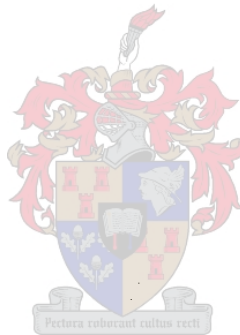
**March 2001**

## DECLARATION

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY DECLARE THAT THE WORK CONTAINED IN THIS THESIS IS MY OWN ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY IN ITS ENTIRETY OR IN PART BEEN SUBMITTED AT ANY UNIVERSITY FOR A DEGREE.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large loop followed by several vertical strokes, positioned above a horizontal dotted line.

SIGNATURE



1. 2. 2001

DATE

## SUMMARY

Elim, a mission station of the Moravian Church, was established in 1824. The settlement is situated 48 kilometres from the southern extreme of the African continent. On the historic Vogelstruiskraal farm, in a sparsely populated area, a unique community has developed where the congregation is the community and the community the congregation.

The district of Elim has a remarkable botanical wealth, which contributed to the declaration of the Agulhas National Park. The natural environment included some fauna species which have become extinct.

The past and present people of Elim are grouped under the headings: missionaries, Khoikhoi, slaves and white farmers. The missionaries' background, the particular contribution of founder missionary Peter Hallbeck, the private and official daily lives of the missionaries as well as the deculturalising and cultural enriching effect of the mission process are investigated. A background to the indigenous Khoikhoi people and the slaves precedes a discussion of the remaining traces of these groups.

The study also investigates the various influences on Elim's town planning as well as water sources and other public services. The development of the mission station resulted in the establishment of outstations at Houtkloof, Sondagskloof, Spanjaardskloof and Buffeljags.

The nucleus of the town is the *kerkwerf* (church and surrounds). An intensive study is made of the buildings and a variety of commercial activities, which helped finance the missionary efforts. The management of Elim has since 1824 offered compulsory, quality education on a non-racial basis. This schooling privilege was in contrast to education in the rest of the country.

A discussion of the Elim cottages, trades and activities of the people of Elim forms an important part of the study.

## OPSOMMING

Elim, 'n sendingstasie van die Morawiese Kerk, is in 1824 gestig. Die nedersetting is 48 kilometer van die suidelikste punt van die Afrika kontinent geleë. Op die historiese plaas Vogelstruiskraal, in 'n ylbevolkte gebied, het 'n unieke gemeenskap ontwikkel waar die gemeente die gemeenskap is, en die gemeenskap die gemeente.

Die Elim-omgewing beskik oor 'n besondere botaniese rykdom wat bygedra het tot die verklaring van die Agulhas Nasionale Park. Enkele uitgestorwe diere het vroeër deel uitgemaak van die natuurlike omgewing.

Die huidige sowel as vroeëre inwoners van Elim se verlede, word in die volgende groepe gedeel: sendelinge, Khoikhoi, slawe en wit boere. Die sendelinge se agtergrond, die besondere bydrae van stigter-sendeling Peter Hallbeck, die private en amptelike daaglikse lewens van die sendelinge sowel as die kultuurstropende en kultuurverrykende uitwerking van die sendingproses word ondersoek. Agtergrond tot die Khoikhoi en slawe word gevolg deur 'n bespreking van die groepe se nalatenskap.

Die studie stel ook ondersoek in na die verskillende invloede op Elim se dorpsbeplanning sowel as waterbronne en ander openbare dienste. Die ontwikkeling van die sendingstasie het gelei tot die vestiging van buitestadies te Houtkloof, Sondagskloof, Spanjaardskloof en Buffeljags.

Die kern van die dorp is die kerk en kerkwerf. 'n Intensiewe ondersoek word gedoen na die geboue en 'n verskeidenheid van sakebedrywighede wat die sendingwerk help finansier het. Die bestuur van Elim het vanaf 1824 gehalte onderwys op 'n nie-rassige basis aangebied, wat in kontras was met onderwys in die res van die land.

'n Bespreking van die Elim-huisies en die bedrywe en aktiwiteite van die mense van Elim vorm 'n belangrike deel van die studie.

## DEDICATION

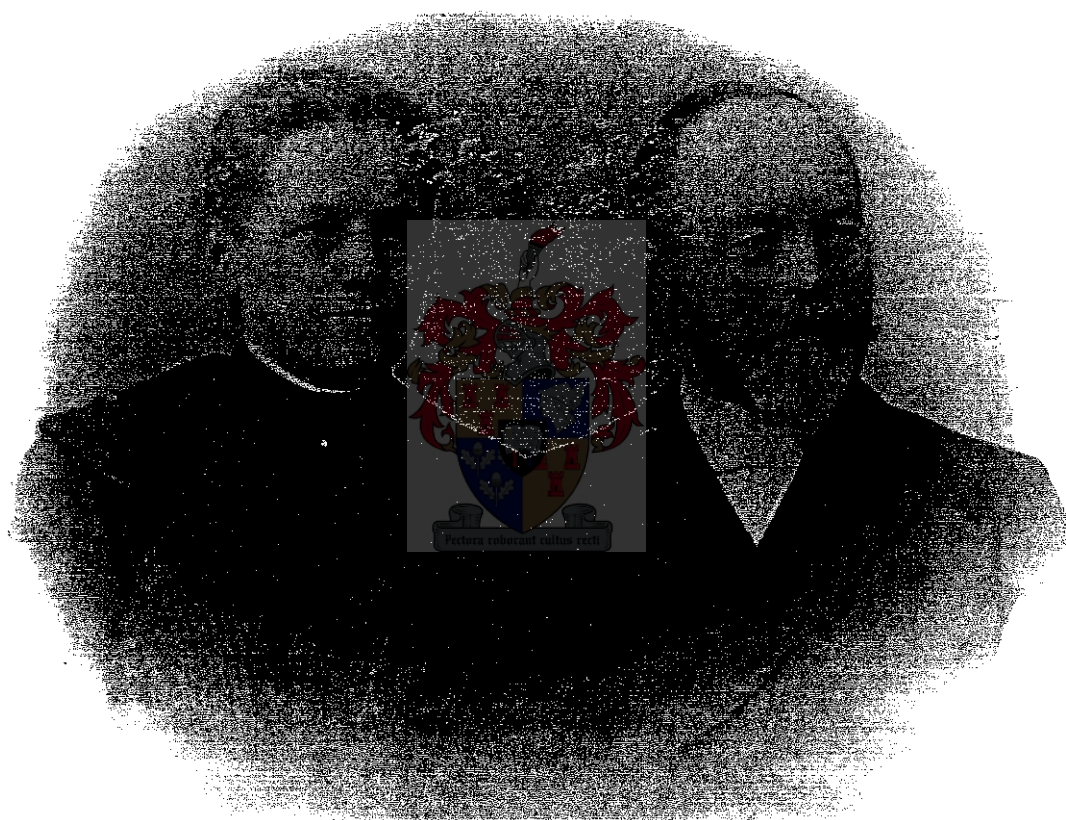
This work is dedicated to my great-grandfather and great-grandmother. Friedrich Karl August Sack was born in 1857 in Brandenburg. His wife, Martha Helena Minna Kröning, was also born in Brandenburg to a well to do family of bakers, in 1864. After school Karl joined the German army and served in the 35<sup>th</sup> Brandenburg Regiment. He had already been promoted to the position of paymaster assistant when he felt a calling to become a missionary. He received his training at the Berlin Mission Society and was sent to South Africa in 1886.

He arrived by ox wagon at Botshabelo in the Waterberg, where he bought provisions at Beuster's shop and resumed his journey by ox wagon to Makgabeng. Makgabeng had long been deserted but the ruins of the buildings that missionary Baumbach had built, were still standing. Karl built a sturdy rondawel in which he locked up all his precious provisions. He returned to Botshabelo where missionary Nauhaus married him to his bride, who had just arrived from Germany. When the newly weds arrived at Makgabeng, they discovered that termites had not only devoured all the provisions but the doors and windows too. Karl contracted *swartwater* (the most advanced stage of malaria when the patient's urine turns black from the high blood content) on two occasions. Martha miraculously nursed him back to health with only maize meal at her disposal.

From there, the couple was sent to Skoolplaas on the outskirts of Pretoria in 1890. By that stage Karl had a working knowledge of nine languages: Afrikaans, English, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Latin, Tswana and Zulu. Because of extensive homeopathic knowledge, which was part of the missionary training, President Paul Kruger offered him the opportunity of practising as a doctor, which he declined. During the Anglo Boer War Karl obtained permission to distribute goods collected in Germany to the women and children at the Irene Concentration Camp.

Karl retired with pension at the age of seventy five. He then served the Pretoria European German congregation. With the salary paid to him for this service he bought a parsonage

for that congregation. At the age of eighty he gave his last sermon. He died at the age of ninety three in 1948 and Martha at the age of ninety four in 1955. Despite Karl's unwavering dedication to mission work, he felt sure by the end of his career of only one person who had converted to Christianity due to his efforts. However, to the end of his days he was convinced that the most worthwhile thing to do in this life, was to do something good for another human being.



*Figure 1: Karel and Martha Sack (Cape Archives Depot:AG10411)*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

South African National Parks for financing the author's initial university registration fee.

The Stellenbosch University 2000 Merit Bursary went some way in covering the substantial eventual costs of the project.

The author's husband, Tino Ferreira was also largely responsible for financial support, without which this work could not have seen the light.

Auntie Maggie Schippers, whose friendship, knowledge and love for Elim made a big contribution to this thesis.

All material collected since January 1997, including original photographs, were kept in the author's offices at the Village Square in Hermanus. On 12 December 1998 the building caught alight and was virtually destroyed. By a miracle the material was unharmed by the flames and later by the fire fighters' water jets. The author has experienced the protection and guidance of the Almighty through the five years that this study has taken to complete.

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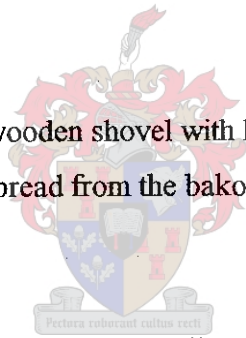
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## GLOSSARY

algemene kerkkas	general church coffer
afdak	lean-to roof
aya/aia	term for a black or coloured female
afwit	white washing with lime mixture
akker	cemetery
bakoond	enclosed fireplace used for baking
basuinkoor	brass band
boerseep	home made soap
blousel	bluing
bolig	fanlight
boomsaag	tree saw
brandsolder	fire loft
broodspaan	flattened wooden shovel with long handle for inserting dough and removing bread from the bakoond
broodwortel	bread root
bulsak	bolster
burgerskap	citizenship or the right to live at Elim
dagwoorde	daily church texts
dennepitte	pine kernels
dienaars	term for male church council members
dienaresse	term for female church council members
dominee	reverend (Dutch Reformed Church)
driepoot	three legged saucepan support
eerwaarde	reverend
fynbos	literally “fine bush”
gemeente ordeninge	congregational ordinances
greinhout	American pines or deals
harpuisseep	resin soap
heer	m’lord



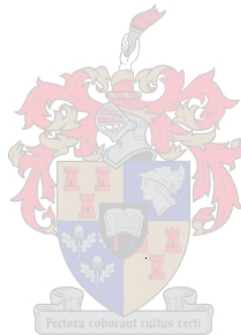
holbolgewel	convex concave gable
huurpennie	rental penny
jonkvroukas	young woman's cupboard
jonkmanskas	young man's cupboard
jubel	jubilee
juffrouw	mrs
kakebeenwa	ox wagon
kapkar	hooded cart
kees	wooden fishing reel
kerkkamer	church room
kerkkantoor	church office
kerkraad	church council
kerkwerf	church complex
klamat	rising damp
kleibolle	clay balls
koffieketel	coffee pot
konsistorie	vestrie
kraal	enclosure used for animals, but also for people
kuilsaag	pit saw
leraar	term for missionary
leraresse	term for missionary's wife
lynkatel	bed of which the matrass support is made of string
mark	market
meester	term for teacher
moer- en kinderbalke	mother and child beams
mosbolletjies	undried aniseed rusks
mud	three bushel measure of grain
muurkas	wall cupboard
op lyn sit	rope and peg
opsienersraad	Elim local government body
opgenoem	introduced to the congregation in church



perlemoen	abelone
raamsaag	frame saw
renosterveld	rhinoceros shrubland
sewejaartjies	everlastings
rib	rheebok
riempie	leather thong
spaansriet	Spanish reed
spreilagie	spread out layer of thatch
tapyt	printed sheets of vylon plastic
touleier	term for person leading a team of oxen
verafgeleë plek	remote area
viervoet	four legged saucepan support
veld	veld/field
voorhuis	front room
voorstander	term for congregation as well as community leader
waenhuis	coach house or garage
waterbankie	bench used for storing water under or on top of
wit water	water uncoloured by fynbos roots
wolfneusgewel	thatch following contour of a small rounded gable above the front door
wolfentgewel	thatch protruding over the gable walls and sloping like hanging shoulders

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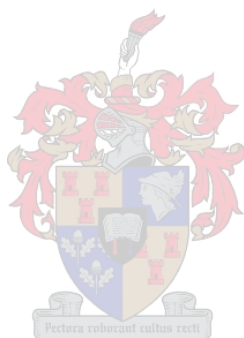
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## INTRODUCTION

### Problem formulation

In 1996 South African National Parks embarked on a process of investigating the possibility of a contractual national park on the Agulhas Plain with Cape Agulhas as focus. This investigation was based on the threatened and remarkable botanical wealth as well as the geographical significance of the area at the southern extreme of the African continent.

In 1997 the Agulhas National Park Planning Forum was created to assist and advise SA National Parks in this regard. Three work groups which included the Landowners and Fynbos Working Group, the Marine Working Group and the Cultural History Working Group, were created to investigate and to report back to the Planning Forum.

The following bodies were represented on the Cultural History Working Group: Portnet Light House Services, SA National Parks, Suidpunt Angling Club, Agulhas Light House Museum, Ship Wreck Museum – Bredasdorp, Robben Island Museum, Elim *Opsienersraad*, Elim Tourism Association, Quoin Point Community, National Monuments Council, Lanok (*Landelike Ontwikkelingsmaatskappy Beperk*) and the Fynbos Eco-Tourism Forum. In the minutes of the first meeting of the Cultural History Working Group, held on 17 September 1997 at the Agulhas Lighthouse, the function of the Working Group was formulated as follows: *to identify and record those cultural historical features of the Southern Overberg that could make a contribution to local, national as well as international tourism.*

Botanical studies had revealed that due to the poor soil conditions, frequent fires, strong salt laden winds and summer droughts the area had developed a remarkable and unique flora. Similarly, due also to geographical conditions, a stable and unique culture developed in this area, at the southern tip of Africa. An often disastrous and truly cosmopolitan sea route between Asia and Europe hems the area. In contrast, it was undisturbed by road traffic because its extreme southern location positioned it off the traffic routes between Cape Town,

Swellendam and beyond. The problem this study addresses is the lack of cultural historical information, which became more apparent as a result of the investigations brought about by the possibility of a national park.

Another factor which contributed to this study was that the author had resided in Wolvengat (also known as Viljoenshof, a hamlet thirteen kilometres from Elim, towards the sea) for three years. In the 1970s Tino Ferreira had stumbled upon a wooden sign lying in the grass near the Wolvengat cemetery, with the words *Mission Store* on it. A few years later he found another wooden sign with the word *Viljoenshof* on it. He discovered that the two pieces made one complete sign. In 1995 the author bought a derelict thatched building which appeared to have cultural historical value. The building had been the *Viljoenshof Mission Store*. The author visited the Elim *kerkkantoor* (church office) and found that no light could be shed on the Viljoenshof Mission Store. Apparently no records or documentation existed about this chapter of history. The author realised that Elim's rich history was a closed book for its community and visitors.



*Figure 2: Tino Ferreira replaced the sign to its rightful position (L van der Hoven 1995).*

The problems this study addresses were summarised by Reverend Hans of Elim in a fund raising motivation letter (see figure 3) as follows:

- lack of an educational resource for future generations
- a way of life and traditions are vanishing because an older generation's knowledge is not recorded
- tourism potential is unharnessed
- need for informed conservation guidelines
- absence of a development impact monitor

### **Objectives of study**

This study is a self-initiated project encouraged and influenced by the Agulhas National Park. During the 1990s the South African National Parks created a Social Ecology Division to promote and practise an integrated approach to nature conservation that recognises both ecological, cultural and socio-economic issues as critical to park management.

One of the purposes of this new division, and the first objective of this study, is to develop and present cultural heritage resources. By recording the culture of the community, the culture is preserved, rendered accesible to the community and the cultural tourism potential is revealed.

It is envisaged that an adapted version of the thesis will be published in order for the study to contribute to the cultural identity of its subjects. The people about whom the information had been recorded, will hopefully be enticed to process the information and in so doing deepen their understanding of their own roots. If this objective is achieved, the researcher obtains the additional role of facilitator of an exchange of mutual benefit between the researcher and the community.

A book of this nature should also contribute to the training of local tourist guides at Elim. Sales of the book will render the cultural history of the area accessible to tourists.

MORAVIAN CHURCH IN S.A. (W.C.P.)  
**ELIM MISSION STATION**

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 7284                                7284

MOTIVERINGSBRIEF:

Soos saamgevat in die werkstuk vir die voorstel tot befondsing, is ek as ondergetekende, bekend met die geestelike leefwyse van Me. LIANE VAN DER HOVEN asook haar belangstelling en werksaamhede tenopsigte die bewaring van endemiese plantegroei, kultuur historiese- en geestelike nalatenskappe.

Namens my gemeenskap, sy leierskappe en omliggende buitestadies en plase, bepleit ek u goedkeuring van befondsing vir 'n Onderzoek van die Kultuur Historiese erfenisse en Evaluasie van die Agulhasplein.

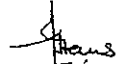
Verdere navorsing in kultuur en geestelike geskiedenis, sal baie waardevol wees vir die moontlike vestiging van 'n nasionale park, vir die mense van hierdie streek binne 'n radius van 150 km<sup>2</sup> en vir die ontwikkeling van gemeenskappe en hulpbronne. Ek is van mening dat Me. Liane van der Hoven bekwaam genoeg is vir hierdie projek omdat sy alreeds oor informasie beskik, die streek en sy mense ken.

Verdere voordele sal wees:

- \* 'n bydrae tot die opvoeding van geslagte wat nog moet volg,
- \* dit skets 'n leefwyse en tradisie van vervloë dae,
- \* dit dra by tot toeriste potensiaal van ons streek,
- \* bydrae tot bewaringsriglyne,
- \* as 'n maatstaf vir verdere ontwikkeling.

Ek vertrou dat hierdie motivering, 'n bydrae sal lewer vir die goedkeuring van befondsing vir hierdie projek en indien dit u sou welgeval, sal u 'n groot bydrae maak tot die bewaring binne ons streek, gemeenskappe, plase en kuslyn.

Ek dank u by voorbaat  
 die uwe



Eerwaarde F.A.Hans (Predikant en Bestuurder : ELIM)

27 MAART 1998

*Figure 3: Funding motivation letter by reverend Hans.*

## Field of study

Because the Agulhas National Park was in a planning stage and it was foreseen to become a contractual park with private landowners, clear boundaries did not exist. The Park was to be based on the botanical heritage with the three areas of highest conservation merit forming a triangle: Agulhas, Elim and the farm Hagelkraal. Initially, the research area of the study was also based on this triangle. It followed historic farm boundaries (see figure 4) and covered approximately one hundred and fifty square kilometres. It stretched from the farm Hagelkraal in the west to Cape Agulhas in the east, in a semi circle to include Elim as well as fifty kilometres coast line, an area known as the *Strandveld*. To structure the material collected from such a vast area the following five geographical divisions were made:

1. Elim
2. Agulhas
3. Wolvengat
4. Farms
5. Quoin Point, Buffeljags and Die Dam.



A wealth of material was collected on the tangible as well as intangible culture of this area with the result that the first draft of this thesis comprised around one thousand pages. In order to arrive at a realistic topic for degree purposes, it was decided to concentrate on Elim, as this settlement had been the spiritual and economic focus of the original field of study until the early 1900s. As a result of the wide, initial research, Elim could be placed in context of its vicinity.

The point of departure with this study was the structure of the town, not from a town planning perspective, but from a cultural historical perspective. Therefore, Elim's tangible culture became the focus of the study. However, the study material did not always fit exclusively and neatly into only the tangible or intangible categories. Transport, food preparation practices, education and trades, for instance, could fit into either category. It was found that a rigid enforcement of this division detracts from the material. Sometimes it was necessary to include

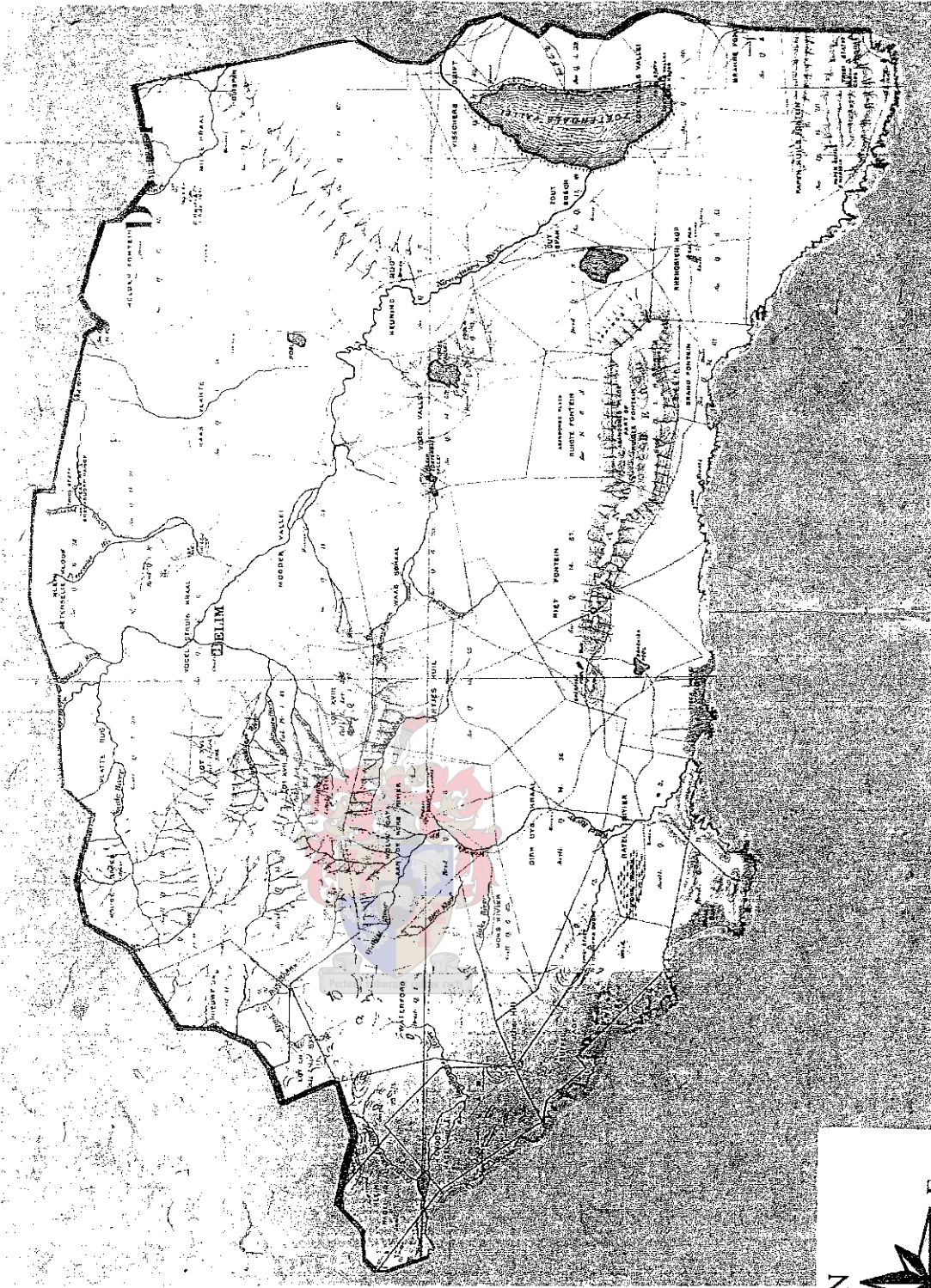


Figure 4: Initial research area indicated on a late 1800s map (Surveyor General).

some non-tangible culture in order to fully appreciate a tangible cultural aspect. The information already collected, would be sufficient material for another study which focusses on the intangible culture of Elim and the Strandveld.

As the geology, indigenous fauna, flora and people of the area impacted on Elim's cultural development, it was deemed necessary to offer some introductory information. Elim's history between 1824 and the present (2000) forms the main focus of this study. Relevant German, English as well as Afrikaans culture was studied.

### **Definition of concepts**

A definition of Cultural History is elusive. In 1991 an international congress was held in the Netherlands with the theme *Main trends in cultural history* after which Melching and Velema conclude: *Cultural history flourishes as never before. [...] Yet despite all this enthusiasm and activity, nobody seems to know what exactly cultural history is. To the general educated public, the term seems to indicate either high culture (art, literature, music, great thinkers) or everything that is left over once political, social, and economic topics have been discussed. [...] The increasing sophistication of the academic debate about this discipline has not even begun to lead to a consensus about its proper methods or scope* (Melching 1994:1).

In search of an inclusive representation of the concept "Cultural History", Burden offers a three dimensional model of the various components (see figure 5). She points out that not only are the connections between the various components the terrain of the cultural historian, but also the components themselves (Burden 2000:17). In applying the model, it is important that divisions remain fluid so that adjustments can be made. Dotted lines are used to indicate this flexibility (Burden 2000:16).

The following subjects among others, could be found in the upper half of the circle, which represents intangible culture: zeitgeist, beliefs, genealogy, heraldry, intellectual influences, communication, arts, rites of passage, natural sciences, law, theory of related disciplines and

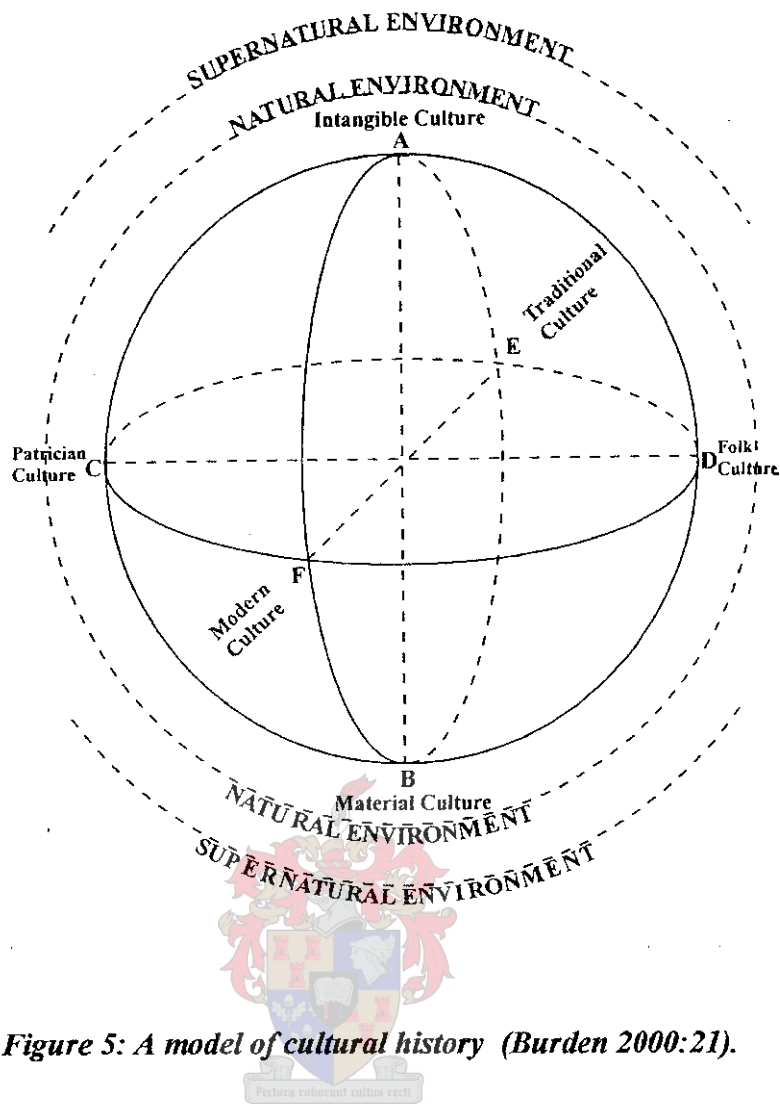


Figure 5: A model of cultural history (Burden 2000:21).

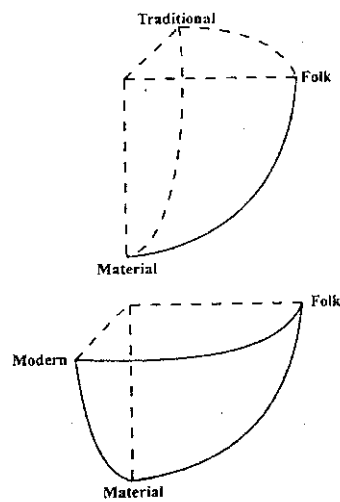


Figure 6: The relevant sections of the model (Burden 2000:22).



language. On the bottom half of the AB axis, which represents tangible culture, the following subjects may be typically found: trades and crafts, protection and defence, architecture, commerce, interiors, clothing, furniture, public services, personal care, technology, transport, food and drink (Burden 2000:26).

According to the model this study focuses on the bottom right quarter of the circle (see figure 6). However, certain patrician aspects as well as intangible cultural aspects permeated through the dotted dividing lines and are also included in the material to follow.

Mission stations are settlements created and managed by christian denominations for the furtherment of the christian gospel among non-believers. Various missionary societies extended their activities to the Cape during the 1800s. The Moravian church, however, established its first station at Baviaanskloof, presently known as Genadendal (see top left corner of figure 8) as early as 1737. The third sibling mission station spawned by Genadendal was Elim, in 1824. A more detailed discussion of this subject can be found in chapter 2.

## **Research methodology and evaluation of sources**

The field of study was so vast that financial constraints threatened the realisation of the project. The Cultural History Working Group appealed to business and government for funding, without any success. Instead of abandoning the project a more cost effective data collection method than individual interviewing had to be found. Tape recorders were also found to inhibit informants from this technologically shy community and writing down as the informants spoke, jagged the flow of the interview.

The Working Group identified twenty five key persons representative of all five geographical areas, informed them about the project and organised a workshop at Elim on 14 October 1998. At this meeting the author explained in detail what type of information was required. The need and methods of referencing were also discussed.

Two follow-up workshops were held at the Elim mill on 25 November 1998 and 20 January 1999, at which much information was committed to paper. It was found that this process allowed the informants time to reflect as well as a joyful and stimulating opportunity to look at old photographs, and talk about the past with peers. Valuable information and leads to other people who were reported to have information or photographs, were also gained.



*Figure 7: The Cultural History Working Group at the Elim mill, on 14 October 1998 was attended by: Johan Albertyn (Brandfontein), Nico August (Elim), John Basson (Portnet), Mattheus Daniels (Elim), Piet Fourie (Die Dam), Barry Heydenrych (South African National Parks), Patrys Human (Moddervlei), Andree Joorst (Elim), Carl Lohann (Agulhas), Wessel Moolman (Wolvengat), Christoph October (Elim), Maggie Schippers (Elim), Elsa Uys (Buffeljags), Hendrik van As (Wolvengat), Boet Swart (Rhenosterkop), Piet van As (Strandveld) Hercules Wessels (Strandveld) and Liane van der Hoven (researcher)(L van der Hoven 1998).*

According to circumstances, all the abovementioned methods of data collection were eventually used. References state whether information had been collected during an interview or from a written communication. The list of sources also continues this distinction, even though both methods were used for a number of informants. The gender of informants is stated in the references in order to give deserved recognition to contributors, for clarity sake in view of Elim's complex and repetitive genealogy and because the gender of an informant sometimes adds to the significance of imparted information.

Most of the informants at Elim do not have clearly defined professions, as many Elimmers worked at a variety of jobs as opportunities arose. For this reason occupations are not included in the resources. It was also found to be inappropriate to question a number of informants as to their dates of birth, and in order to be consistent, dates of birth have not been included in the resources either.

An initial study was made of the available secondary literature sources. Krüger's *The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737 – 1869* and *The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869 – 1980* by Krüger and Schaberg, illuminated the Moravian Church background. Balie's comparative study of Cape Moravian mission stations between 1808 and 1919 shed light on the cultural history of the various mission stations during that period. De Villiers's sociological study of Elim in 1948 proved particularly thorough. In addition a number of studies from other fields, such as Marine Archeology, Architecture, Regional Planning, Botany and Sociology, each contributed to a wider understanding of the subject.

The Elim Mission Store shop records as well as school fees register were discovered by the author among heaps of dust laden printed material in the attic of the old shop. These documents, dating from 1858 were labeled, studied and found to have been meticulously kept. Commercial records are particularly objective and offer a realistic, panoramic view that a study of church and government records, which are mostly subjective, could not have revealed.

Moravian archival records had been thoroughly researched by Krüger and Balie. The Cape Archives Depot contributed the Ravenscroft photo collection which was extensively used as a primary source. These unfortunately vaguely dated photographs, proved to be invaluable memory joggers for informants.

A box containing old photographs that had been passed from one person to the next was traced by the author. The box has since been returned to Alliston Appel, who is in charge of the Work for Water Project at Elim. This collection contained no dates or any further information. The Birnbaum mission family, however, seems to have been the main contributor. The collection was a valuable verification of information as well as illuminating recordings of events described by the church records. No reference is given for photographs from this collection, which were included in the study.

It was found in general that informants were particularly meticulous and clear about oral and written information. This may be because most informants were born and bred Elimmers who led relatively simple lives where small details were noted and remembered. All informants were co-operative and generous with their information.

### **Presentation of material**

Elim is a unique settlement where the arrangement of material posed a particular challenge. The settlement was found to have two distinct parts, the *kerkwerf* (church yard) and the cottages. Each part forms a unity, whereas in other communities the activities and buildings would have been spread out through the community and not centralised, as is the case with Elim. The study material follows this division, rather than the more common thematic arrangement. Chapter 4 discusses the buildings and activities on the *kerkwerf*, including some trades services offered by the church. The school is the link between the *kerkwerf* and the cottages and a discussion of education follows in chapter 5. The cottages and private trade services are discussed in chapter 6.

Although Elim is predominantly an Afrikaans community, English is the lingua franca of international academics, tourists and the Moravian Church. It is doubtful that the English medium will prove to be a barrier to Elim's youth. It is only some of the Elim elderly who do not understand English well enough to read the study. It is possible that the study be presented in Afrikaans to the *Bejaarde Klub* (Elderly Club).

Quotations were printed in italics to distinguish it from the rest of the text. Verbatim accounts were given where possible, as they reveal more than the meaning of the text: the speaker's attitude, level of education as well as the intrinsic value of the language are qualities often lost in transcriptions. English translations follow the Afrikaans quotations.

Afrikaans nouns were used where English translations seemed inadequate. These words are printed in italics. A translation placed in brackets follows the first appearance of the word in the text. A glossary makes translations available to readers not following the text from the beginning. Afrikaans proper names were not included in the glossary. Their first appearance in the text is italicised and followed by a translation in brackets.

Racial differences had an important impact on the layout, development, and indeed the very existence of the Elim mission station. Although this study was conducted in a post racially dicriminative era it was unavoidable to refer to concepts such as whites, Europeans and coloureds.

A total of 274 photographs and schematic representations is included. The value of photographs as a primary cultural historical resource is tremendous. It is hoped that the inclusion of these photographs will contribute to their preservation and future use.

# CHAPTER 1

## NATURE

### 1.1 Orientation

Elim is a Moravian mission station situated in the southernmost region of the African continent (see figure 8). The settlement is 46 kilometres from Cape Agulhas, which is at the most southern extreme. Elim is situated more or less in the middle of a sparsely populated area. The closest neighbouring towns are Gansbaai (40 kilometres), Bredasdorp (36 kilometres), Napier (30 kilometres) and Stanford (35 kilometres) (Overberg Tourism map 2000). There are no tarred roads to Elim.

### 1.2 Geology

The most important geological formations in Elim are the Table Mountain Sandstone and Bokkeveld systems. The Table Mountain system comprises thin layers of sandstone displaying great resistance to erosion. The Bokkeveld range is eroded, resulting in the rolling landscape surrounding the town. Higher concentrations of nitrogen and phosphorus occur in the Elim soil type than in the Bredasdorp mountain soil type (Ulster 1974:9).

### 1.3 Plants

Elim's unique atmosphere and rich cultural heritage are in many ways plant related. The settlement has a remarkable and unique botanical heritage that forms a sub category of a vegetation type called *fynbos* (fine bush). The *Elim fynbos* occurs only on the Agulhas Plain, and only in a few small patches and has the smallest land surface of any vegetation type in South Africa. It usually occurs on brown-red gravel soils, formed from the breakdown of silcrete and ferricrete rock and are more fertile than most soils on which *fynbos* occurs, but not as fertile as the shale soils on which *renosterveld* (rhinoceros shrubland) occurs (see figure 9). In some ploughed areas, it seems that the soils only supported a crop for a short period before losing the little goodness they had (Kilian 1996:16).



Figure 8: Section of the Overberg Tourism Map of the Overberg (2000).

● Bredasdorp

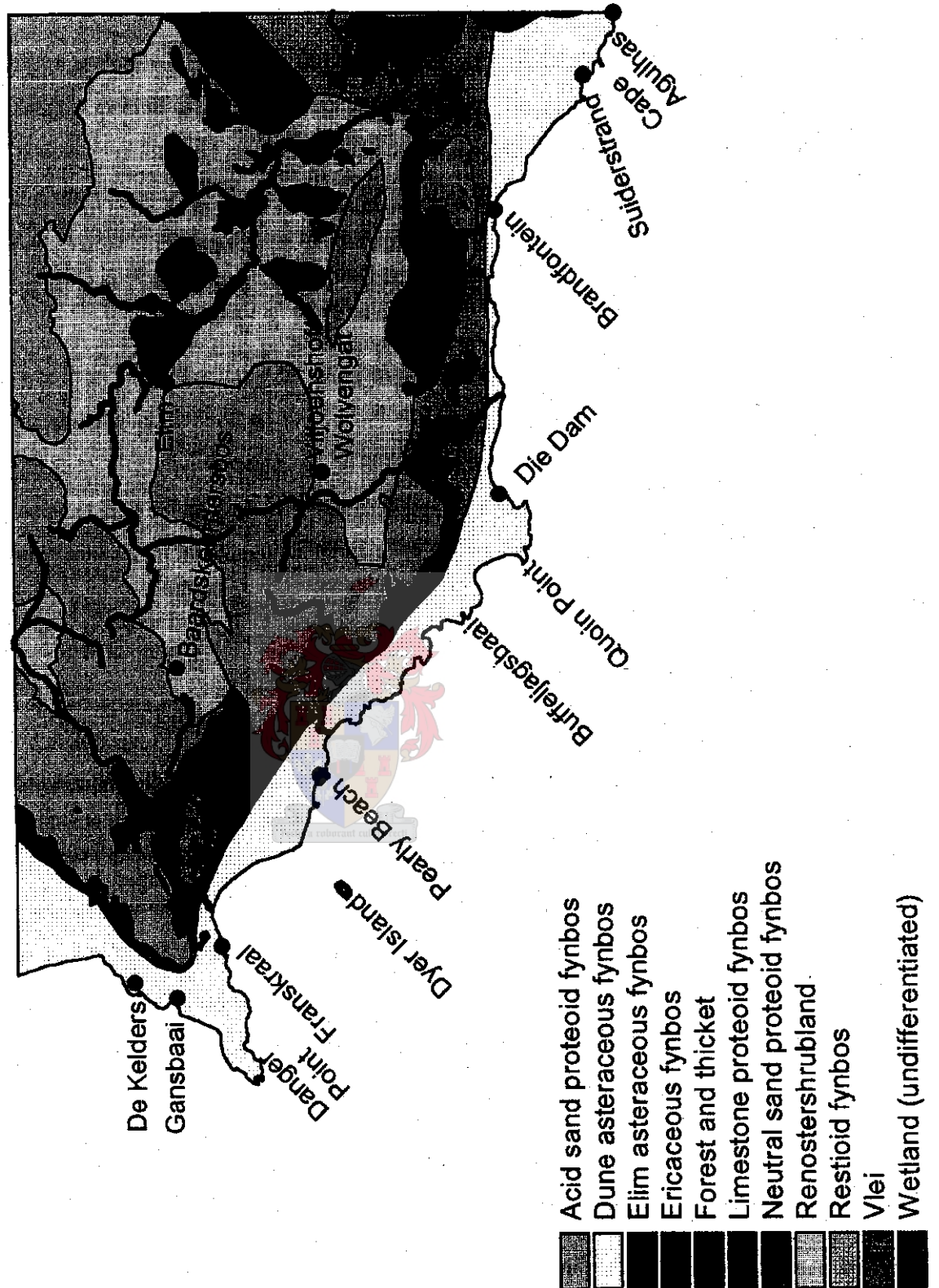


Figure 9: Vegetation types of the Agulhas Plain (Biological Conservation 1997:1102).



European settlers arrived in the area in the later 1700s and introduced crop plants which could grow in this winter rainfall area. This enables cereals and fodder crops to be cultivated in the more fertile *renosterveld* soils. Land was divided and most of it became privately owned, with fences marking the boundaries. The practice of grazing in enclosed camps had greater impact on the natural vegetation than the previous nomadic grazing practices of the indigenous population had had, and some areas became degraded (Kilian 1996:17).

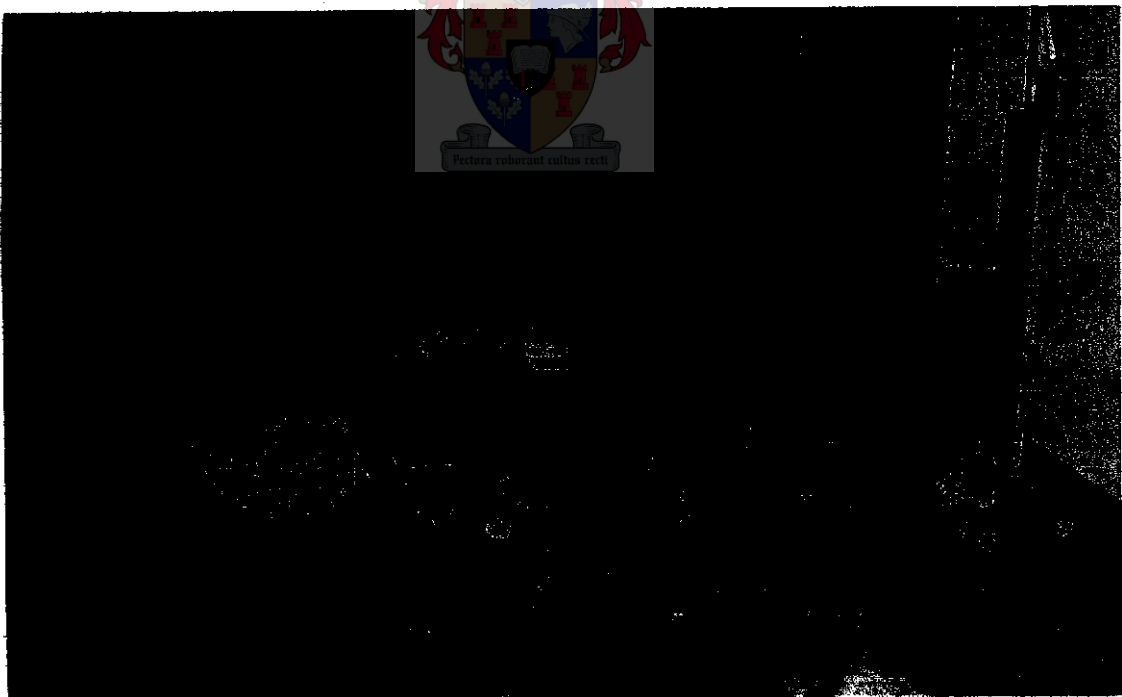
When Elim was purchased by the Moravian church in 1824, fixed farm boundaries, settled stock farming, and the cultivation of wheat and vegetables were already established farming practices in the area. Initially, agricultural practices at the new mission station concentrated on vegetable gardening and stock farming. More extensive areas were later ploughed for wheat, using oxen and donkeys. The mechanization of agriculture following World War I led to an increase in land under cultivation, and most *renosterveld* was ploughed and sown to grain (Kilian 1996:17).

By 1996 about half of Elim's 6 500 hectares had been cultivated. The other half, with less fertile soils, retains the undisturbed indigenous fynbos veld in which there are many unusual and rare plant species. A total of 315 plant species had been recorded by 1996. Those included seventeen rare Red Data species and fifteen species endemic to the Agulhas Plain. This natural veld is used as pasture, but its real value lies in its interesting and beautiful native plants. According to Kilian's 1996 report, *Elim Fynbos deserves urgent conservation attention because of these rare species, because it is a rare type of vegetation, and because of factors such as alien invasive plants and ploughing, that threaten to destroy it. Two Elim areas stand out as conservation priorities: the low hill, Geelkop, to the north-east of the town and Die Berge, a hilly area to the southwest* (Kilian 1996:14).

There are four categories of Elim fynbos: asteraceous *fynbos*, acid sand proteoid *fynbos*, *renosterveld* and wetland. The distribution of each of these vegetation types is determined by their preference for different soils (Kilian 1996:15). Acid sand *fynbos* occurs on acidic, sandy, highly infertile soils derived from a breakdown of sandstone and quartzite. It is the most common type of vegetation in the Agulhas area and is also the most important vegetation for

the harvesting of *fynbos* flowers from the veld. At Elim, acid sand *fynbos* mostly occur on *Die Berge* (The mountain) (Kilian 1996:16).

With the aid of the World Wide Fund for Nature - South Africa and South African National Parks a hiking trail, signage and a brochure were developed in 1998 for the *Geelkop* (yellow hill) Nature Reserve. The reserve derives its name from the mass of yellow-flowering plants, which covers the hill in spring. Stretching over about 450 hectares, it offers visitors a circular drive as well as hiking trails. Geelkop Reserve is host to a large number of endemic *fynbos* species, particularly members of the Protea family. Some of these are: *Leucadendron elimense* (Elim cone-bush), *Leucadendron laxum* (*vleirosie*, marsh rose), *Protea pudens* (bashful protea), and *Paranomus abrotanifolius*. There are also patches of acid sand *fynbos* interspersed with Elim *fynbos*. Some of the acid sand *fynbos* species found here are *Leucospermum cordifolium* (pincushion), *Protea compacta* and *Brunia laevis* (silver brunia) This results in an interesting floral mosaic from July to December (Brochure: *Geelkop Private Nature Reserve* 1990).



**Figure 10: Building massed flower displays at the Spring Flower Festival (1 October: 1998).**

Elimmers have put *fynbos* to a variety of uses: as early as 1877 everlastings were harvested on large scale and sent to Cape Town for export to Europe. This made a small but significant contribution to employment and the economy of Elim in the early days (Kilian 1996:17). Everlastings were also used by Elimmers for stuffing mattresses and making funeral wreaths. Reeds and bulrushes were used for plating baskets while *Protea repens* branches were used to construct *kraals* (animal enclosures)(Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998:interview).

*Fynbos* flowers and foliage are also picked to decorate the Elim graveyard at Easter and the church is decorated for the Children's Festival in August. The biennial Flower Festival in September attracts tourists to the town, and fosters a conservation ethic among Elimmers.



**Figure 11: Processed plant material is packed into boxes for export (Die Burger 20.5.1999).**

At the South African Dried Fruit factory in Elim, dried flowers are treated with dyes and glycerin to enhance their appearance and prolong their life. These treated plant materials are chiefly exported to Germany where grave decorations must by law be bio-degradable. The factory was built in 1995 on the agreement that the enterprise will become the property of the Elim community in fifteen years' time (Mr L Schreiber 2000:interview).

Thatch was used by the indigenous Khoikhoi people to construct dome shaped huts, and later by European settlers to thatch roofs of most houses up until the late 1800s. At Elim all of the original houses were thatched, using *pannetjiesriet* (*Chondropetalum tectorum*) collected from the banks of marches and rivers, but this source has been depleted (Kilian 1996:23). *Wyfieriet* (*Thamnochortus erectus*), a useful thatching reed, is found in small quantities in the well drained sands near the *Nuwejaarsrivier* (New Years' River). Thatchers from Elim are well-known throughout South Africa as skilled craftsmen. Thatching teams from Elim have worked in the Middle East as well as in some north African countries. Thatch is presently collected as far afield as Albertinia, 212 kilometres east of Elim. (See chapter 6 for a description of the thatching procedure.)

### 1.3.1 Medicinal Plants

From the earliest times, plants have been a source of medicine. With the increasing influence of modern medicine, however, knowledge and use of traditional plant medicines have declined. Kilian could find no records of early plant medicinal use at Elim. However, at the Moravian Mission of Genadendal (see top left corner of figure 8), the assistant preacher from the year 1900, Louis Rudolf Schmidt, recorded 77 plants which he used to provide medical care. He had learnt the use of these plants from the elderly inhabitants of the town (Kilian 1996:52-53). The Elim *fynbos* is home to a few plants that are used medicinally.

The main reasons for the continuing use of medicinal plants seem to be the high cost of modern medical care as well as a perception that plant medicines have a special quality lacking in modern medicine (Ms M Schippers 1998:interview). Kilian lists the following plant species with *confirmed* use at Elim:

Heuningtee (*Asteraceae* – an everlasting of undetermined species): the leaves are brewed for the treatment of stomach complaints.

Hotnotsvy (*Carpobrotus edulis*): the leaves are crushed and the juice applied to sore eyes and mouth sores.

Klaasloubos, paddabos (*Asteraceae* – species not determined): the leaves are brewed to treat stomach ache, ulcers, and high blood pressure. Boiled with milk, it is used to treat worms.

Hotnotskooigoed (*Helichrysum patulum*): the leaves are brewed to apply externally to the stomach for stomach pain. Other recorded uses include the treatment of high blood pressure, stress, asthma and gynecological problems.

Wildedagga (*Leonotis leonurus*): the leaves are brewed to treat a variety of ailments including chest trouble.

Salie (*Salvia*): the leaves are brewed for the treatment of a variety of complaints, including colds, fever, high blood pressure and earache.

Keurtjie (*Sutherlandia frutescens*): the leaves are brewed to treat a variety of ailments.

Wilde Als (*Artemisia afra*): is indigenous to the Cape but does not occur in the Elim area. It is cultivated in the Elim gardens. The leaves are brewed and the mixture taken orally or applied to the skin for the treatment of colds, coughs, fever, stomach complaints and headaches.

Camomile (*Asteraceae* – species uncertain): this exotic herb from Europe is planted in Elim gardens. An infusion from the leaves is used for a variety of purposes.

Slangbossies (*Stoebe plumosa*): the leaves and branches are brewed to treat weak bladders and gynaecological ailments.

Renosterbos (*Elytropappus rhinocerotis*): the tops of the branches are brewed to treat stomach cramps, ulcers, cancer and gynaecological problems.

Bokboegoe (*Lobelia pinifolia*): leaves and branches are brewed with *Ysterhouttoppe* and sugar to treat gynaecological problems.

Everlastings, moerbossie (*Syncarpha vestita*): the leaves are brewed to treat gynaecological ailments.

Suikerbos (*Protea repens*): the nectar is used to prepare a cough syrup.

Mrs Caroline Apollis recorded the following herbal remedies, not all of which are restricted to indigenous plants:

Paddabossie – Klaas Louw: a brew is used to treat infection and gastric fever.

Als: used to break fever.

Wynruit: used in the treatment of winds, infection, high blood pressure, convulsions, tight chest as well as rheumatism.

Kooigoed: high blood pressure and gout.

Kamelle: useful for teething babies as well as bladder ailments. Bloodshot eyes can be washed with a brew prepared from this plant.

Pietersielie (*Petroselinum crispum*): useful in the treatment of wounds and bruises as well as jaundice and stomach ulcers.

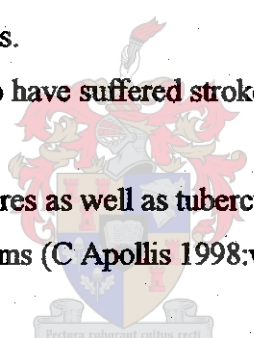
Klipdagga (*Leonotis leonitis*): used for the treatment of cancer and diabetes, high blood pressure as well as anaemic patients.

Wilde dagga: used for persons who have suffered strokes, have stomach cancer or jaundice.

Kakiebossie: used for tuberculosis.

Vye-bossies: used to cure mouth sores as well as tuberculosis.

Salie: used to alleviate back problems (C Apollis 1998:written communication).



### 1.3.2 Invasive alien plants

Many plant species were brought to the Cape from other countries, Australia in particular, for various purposes, and while most of these have proven useful, there are a few species that have created more problems than solutions. Invasive alien plant species are the greatest threat to the remaining *fynbos*. By 1998 most of the Elim river valleys had become invested with dense thickets of aliens, while scattered clumps were found throughout the hills, and were spreading rapidly. In 1996 Kilian predicted the following: *If nothing is done to stem the tide there will be little left of the Fynbos at Elim within 50 years. This means no flowers for the flower industry, fewer options for nature tourism, less water flowing from the hills, increased soil erosion, a greater fire hazard and the loss of unique beauty. Together these factors mean not only the loss of nature as we know it, but eventually also large financial costs. However, clearing aliens is also very expensive, and this cost needs to be weighed up against the cost of*

*implications of not clearing aliens. The decision not to clear aliens today will limit options for the future because the problem will only get worse and be more expensive to deal with later on. It has been calculated that preventative management is up to 100 times cheaper than letting the alien problem get out of control and having to face a rapid deterioration of the land and huge clearing of dense thickets in future (Kilian 1996:20).*

The spread of some alien species has been stemmed by importing natural occurring pests from the species' natural environment. Port Jackson willow (*Acacia saligna*), is attacked by a fungus from Australia. The disease may eventually kill most large trees and seedlings. Kilian state in 1996 that this fungus was already a common sight - a brown rust hanging from the branches. The long-leaf wattle (river Port Jackson, *Acacia longifolia*) appears to be effectively controlled by an Australian wasp. The wasp lays its eggs in the flowers, and, instead of seeds, a ball-like gall forms, on which the wasp larvae feed. This results in fewer seeds being produced. Black wattle (*Acacia mearnsii*) poses a real danger of becoming a major pest along the rivers. On the hills around Elim the most immediate threat, however, is from the rapid invasion of rock hakea (*Hakea gibbosa*) and the cluster pine (*Pinus pinaster*). There is no biological control for either of these species and they will have to be cleared by hand. Rock hakea presents a particularly thorny problem because it spreads quickly and its spiky leaves make clearing difficult. Pines are relatively easy to clear (Kilian 1996:27).

Other serious invasive plants include Australian myrtle (*Leptospermum laevigatum*), rooikrans (*Acacia cyclops*) and spider gum (*Eucalyptus lehmannii*), which are found both in the valleys and on the hills. These species do not invade as rapidly as the previously mentioned species, but can still become a problem in the long term, especially the myrtle. Other aliens include blue gum (*Eucalyptus grandis*) and poplar species, but they are not notably invasive in this area (Kilian 1996:26).

The shortage of timber for building, furniture and transport in the early days of the Elim Mission station necessitated a plantation and *Pinus pinaster* was chosen. At present the *opsiengersraad* (Elim local government body), wishes to replace the old *Pinus pinaster*

plantations with *Pinus radiata*, which gives a superior wood product. *Pinus radiata* also invades *fynbos*, but not as vigorously as *Pinus pinaster* (Kilian 1996:28).

Invasive species have several uses at Elim: notably for building material, to provide shade and wind shelter around the village, for firewood, and the pines are logged and sold to companies elsewhere for paper pulp and poles. In recent times, invasive aliens have also provided much needed employment. In 1998 Elim received funding from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry as well as the Norwegian Government for an alien plant eradication program. Approximately 70 people work in five teams to clear the alien plants. By May 2000 approximately 2 700 hectares had already been cleared (Mr A Appel 2000:interview).

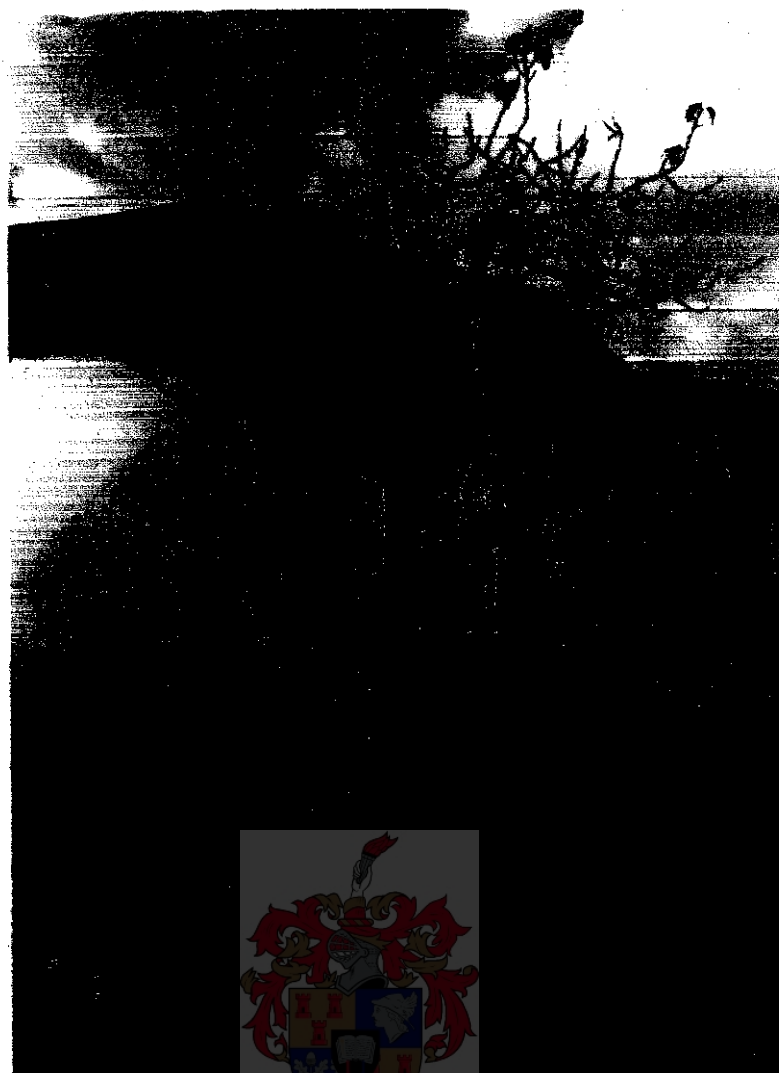
### 1.3.3 Beautifying the town

The abundance of water, the total absence of trees in the naturally occurring *fynbos* as well as the European missionaries' tree-filled memories of home, must have inspired them to take up tree planting with some zeal. The Bible often mentions fig trees and this could account for Elim's streets having been lined with figs. Apart from the symbolism, this tree grows easily from cuttings and bears brown figs or *Adamsvye* around Easter time. White figs were planted in the back yards of the cottages (see figure 207) (Mrs M Schippers 1999:interview).



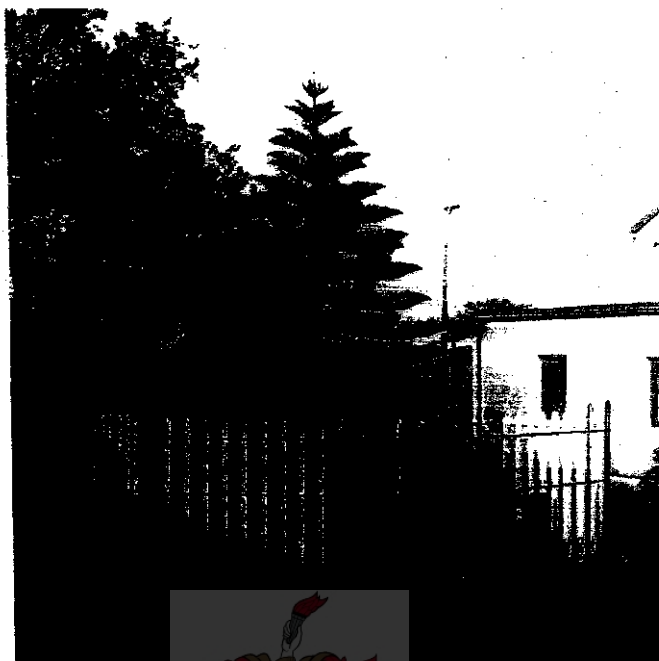
**Figure 12: Fig trees line the main road of Elim around the turn of the century (Cape Archives Depot:R519).**





**Figure 13: A gnarled surviving fig tree in Boom (Tree) Street (L van der Hoven 2000)**

Oak trees were planted in front of the original farmstead (see figure 80) and later at the mill (see figure 142). More oaks grace the front of the present shop (see figure 119) and the business staff residence (see figure 92). Willow and poplar trees were planted next to the stream on *Waterkant* (Water side) Street on the northern border of town (see figure 64). These were cut down in 2000. A stately bluegum avenue lines the walkway between the cemetery gate and the graveyard itself. These trees were cut down approximately two metres from the ground in 1999, but have all resprouted (see figure 178). Pines grace the present cemetery (see figure 115). The original graveyard in *Die Heer se Bos* (The Missionary's Wood) seems to have been planted with three Cyprus trees. One of these has survived (see figure 114) and judging by the spacing of the graves and the remaining sawn off stump, it seems that it had been the Trinity symbolism that inspired the missionaries. More Cyprus trees graced the missionaries' end of town (see figures 86 and 89).



**Figure 14: Missionary CH Birnbaum and his wife in front of the Norfolk pine and plaque  
(Cape Archives Depot:R502).**

In the Bible, Elim is described as the place of twelve springs and seventy palm trees (Exodus 15:27). The Israelites came upon this lush oasis during their desert journey. Not surprisingly, palms were planted on the *kerkwerf* (church yard). That tree planting was taken seriously by the missionaries, is clear from how they chose to commemorate Elim's one hundredth birthday in 1924: They planted a Norfolk pine and erected a plaque, both of which survive to this day. The inscription reads: *Geplant ter nagedagtenis van die eeufees van Elim* (Planted in memory of Elim's centenary festival).

#### 1.4 Animals

When missionary Hallbeck initially inspected Vogelstruiskraal in 1824, he found large herds of Bontebok as well as leopard and hyena on the farm (Balie 1992:11). In his book *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa*, published in 1840, Captain Cornwallis Harris

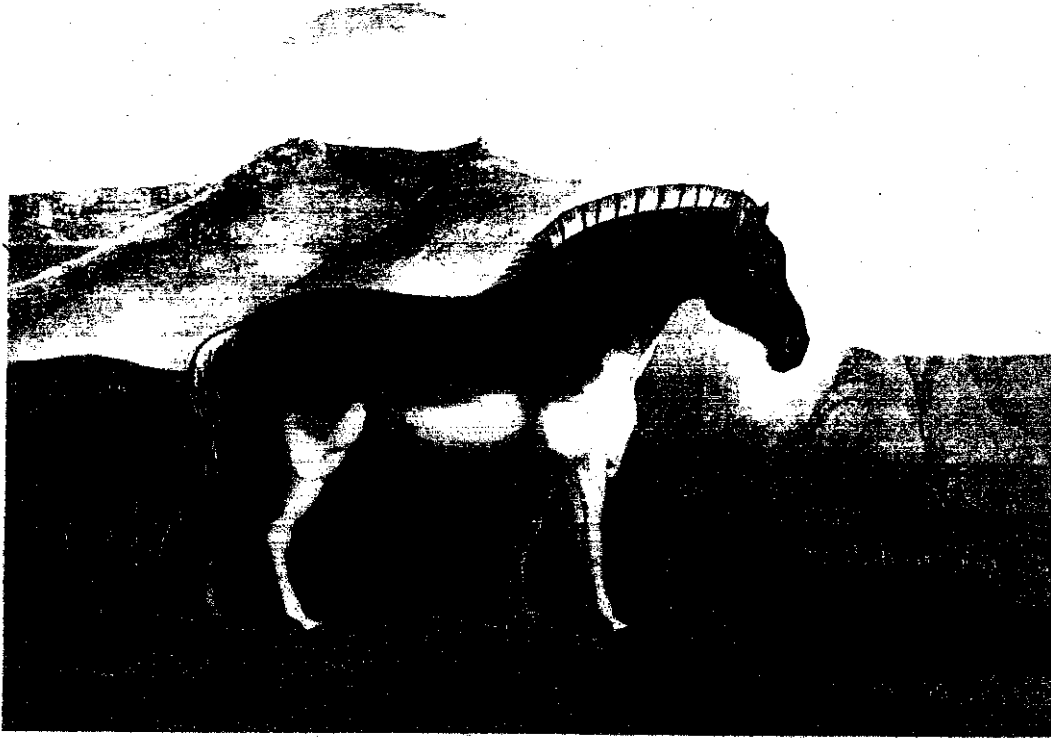
describes various animals that have long disappeared from the geographical area of study and farm names are often an incredible reminder of the abundance of a particular species found there by the pioneering European settlers. Approximately ten kilometres north west of Elim for instance is the farm *Tierfontein* (tier being a settler Dutch misnomer for a leopard, fountain). Colonial hunter and author Captain Cornwallis Harris expresses his opinion about the settlers' animal naming in his introduction as follows: *In open defiance of Pliny, Buffon, Cuvier, and the whole fraternity of Natural Historians, whether ancient or modern, the Dutch Colonists of the Cape of Good Hope have set up for themselves a classification and nomenclature which, whilst it is certainly no improvement upon the old system, is in most instances sufficiently preposterous. [...] they have dubbed the Hyena a Wolf, and the subject of the annexed portrait (a Leopard), forsooth, a Tiger!*

Animals of prey were of particular consequence to the settling farmers. Cornwallis describes it as follows: *Common throughout the Colony, the Leopard is much dread by farmers on account of the ravages he commits amid their sheep, and during the breeding season, also among the foals and calves. [...] But the nocturnal predator is not infrequently outwitted, and being ensnared in a cage constructed of stones and timber, upon the principle of the rat-trap, is sentenced without trial by Judge or Jury to be worried by every dog that the country round can contribute; for no Dutchman choosing to hazard an attack upon the intruder, when at large, unless he be backed by some dozen canine coadjutors, it is of course desirable to give these latter a foretaste of the animal's tactics. Accidents in the chase are frequent in those districts which abound most in this species, and during my short sojourn in the Colony, I hear of the occurrence of more than one* (Cornwallis Harris 1840:159). As recently as 1995, Boet Swart of the farm Rhenosterkop, close to Agulhas, shot a leopard after the animal killed a number of his sheep. The skin of this beautiful animal now hangs over Boet's sofa (B Swart 1997: interview).

The original name of the Elim farm was *Vogelstruiskraal* (ostrich enclosure). Cornwallis describes ostrich hunting and the universal value of ostrich products as follows: *Those of the Dutch Colonists who resided on the borders of the Karroo and other remote districts of the Cape, formerly made the chase of the Volstrüys one of their principal and most profitable*

occupations. As they destroyed them at all times however, without any regard to the breeding seasons, their numbers are now greatly brought down, and in a few years the race will probable be altogether extirpated within the boundaries.[...] From the earliest periods, whether amongst rude of civilized nations, the downy plumes of the Ostrich have been in such universal request, that the value of the spoils more than compensating the labour of the pursuit, this swift-footed bird has held out to the hunter the greatest possible temptations. The Roman soldier often wore Ostrich plumes on his helmet, an they still continue to form an ornament for the head of the warrior. Among the ancient Egyptians a religious veneration for the long white feathers, as symbols of truth, so enhanced their value, that, together with the eggs, which were regarded as emblems of watchfulness, they formed a part of the tribute imposed by the Kings on the conquered countries wherein the bird abounded – the nobles of the land invariably adorning the rich trappings of their horses, as well as their own person, with a profusion of the choicest. [...] The purpose to which the eggs were applied is not so well understood; but from the religious prejudice which exists in their favour among the Christians of Egypt, it may be inferred that some superstition was formerly connected with them, and that they were suspended in the temples of the ancient Egyptians as they still are in the Churches of the Copts. [...] the Hottentots, who, be it known, are no despicable connoisseurs in Ostrich plumes, and wear them on all occasions when desirous of making a conquest (Harris 1840:44-47).

The beautiful true Quagga (*Equus quagga*) also deserves to be mentioned. The skins of these animals are reported to have made particularly good bags in which to transport wheat, with the result that the species is now totally extinct (M & A Scott 1999:interview). This species of wild horse was called Quahkah by the Khoikhoi, imitative of the animal's call (Skead 1980:21). It was generally found in numerous herds and mostly accompanied by hartebeest and ostriches. They had various markings: some had waved stripes on the neck only, others had bands across the shoulders, and others were marked on the haunches, somewhat like the zebra. Fortunately illustrations have survived.

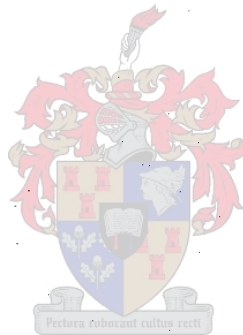


*Figure 15: The Quahkah (circa 1803) by artist Samuel Daniell and published in African Scenery and Animals, 1804-1805.*

The large extinct blue antelope (*Hippotragus leucophaeus*) (Skead 1980:15) also inhabited the area of study, but very few details of what it looked like could be pieced together from records: *It is unfortunate that so little road traffic passed south of Caledon and Swellendam into the Bredasdorp District. Had it done so records of the blue antelope there might have come to light and extended our knowledge. The probability that they were there is strong* (Skead 1980:536). The last specimens recorded were around 1800 and unfortunately very little information about this species seems to have been recorded.

For many years Elinners supplemented their diet with game and fowls (Balie 1992:60). Dogs were often used in the hunt at full moon. Snares were also used to trap animals. Mrs Magdalena Schipper's recipe to prepare a porcupine is included here: After the porcupine had been thoroughly cleaned it is rinsed in vinegar and boiled for approximately two hours or until it is soft. The water is poured off and potatoes, onions and curry powder added. The dish is served with rice and a fair sized animal will feed a family of ten. Porcupine pie filling can be made by adding cloves and some lard to the meat.

However, the preservation of wildlife has of late become a priority to many Elimmers. The following observations were recorded by Mr Alliston Appel in progress reports of the alien plant eradication programme: *The effect of clearing, fire and the noise of machines on wild life need to be studied, because it is astonishing to us. In some instances the effects seem to be negative as well as positive. E.g. Birds nests: less protection of birds and nests, changes in habitat for reptiles, and animals of prey (wild cats, etc.) (Report Work for Water 5/6/1998).* Mention of spiders and snakes, hawks and tortoises are made in the 5/6/1998 report. The 28/8/1998 report has the following entry: *Ribbokke [Rheebok]: A lovely sight to watch in our newly established Private Game Reserve is the  $\pm$  10 ribbokke who are always together. Some of the visitors over the festival weekend were very impressed with them.*

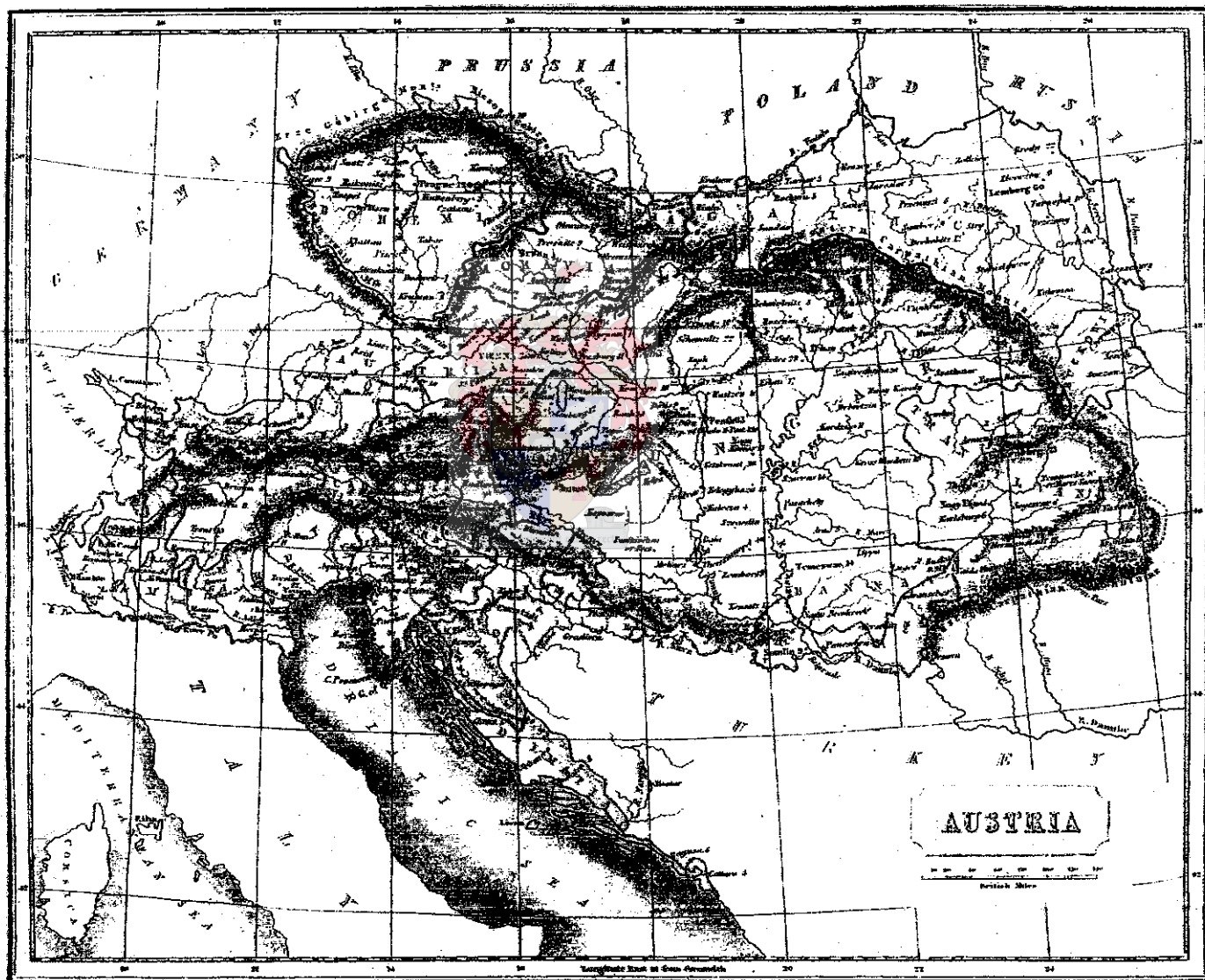


## CHAPTER 2

### THE PEOPLE OF ELIM AND SURROUNDS

#### 2.1 Missionaries

##### 2.1.1 Background to the Moravian Church



*Figure 16: An 1856 map of Central Europe shows Moravia, which is roughly the present day Eastern half of Czechoslovakia (Chambers 1856:43).*

During the Thirty Year Religious War (1618-1648) in Germany between Catholics and Protestants, the Moravian Church fathers fled from Moravia in a westerly direction towards Germany and found refuge just beyond Bohemia's northern border (present day western half of Czechoslovakia) in the then province of Saxony. Here they established a community on the estate of a nobleman, Count Zinzendorf. They named it *Herrnhut* (Lord's shelter). This community became a self-sufficient economic entity; a variety of trades were practised by the members. To this day it is the church headquarters and the blueprint on which all their mission settlements were based (Ds D Botha 2000:interview). Herrnhut can be found on present day maps between the cities of Görlitz and Zittau where the German, Polish and Czechoslovakian borders meet (Mr S Baadjies 2000:interview).

From here, missionaries were sent all over the globe to establish Herrnhuts and spread the Christian gospel in places like Greenland, Labrador (in the north of North America) West Indies and Suriname (in the North of South America). Other mission houses such as the Rhenish Mission Society (which arrived in South Africa in 1829) and the Berlin Mission Society (which began its work in South Africa in 1833) did not share the Herrnhut self-sufficiency blueprint and largely depended on financial support from contributing members to finance their missionary endeavours (Ds D Botha 2000:interview).

The smaller and poorer Moravian Church financed their efforts by keeping cost to a minimum, for instance by not paying salaries and sending only qualified trades people to the mission fields. The missionaries received no salaries, until 1840 - when they received one pound pocket-money per year (Krüger 1966:181). Count Zinzendorf sent the pioneering missionary, George Schmidt, to the Cape Colony in 1737, with the following instructions: *he should not accept presents and honours, but work for his living. He should begin with those heathen, who understood Dutch. For the rest he should follow the guidance of the Saviour in all things* (Krüger 1967:17). Apart from their spiritual mission, these missionaries were expected to generate an income from their trade and pass the knowledge on to converts as soon as possible. The following trades were practised by the Moravian missionaries in South Africa: knife maker, copper-, tin- and

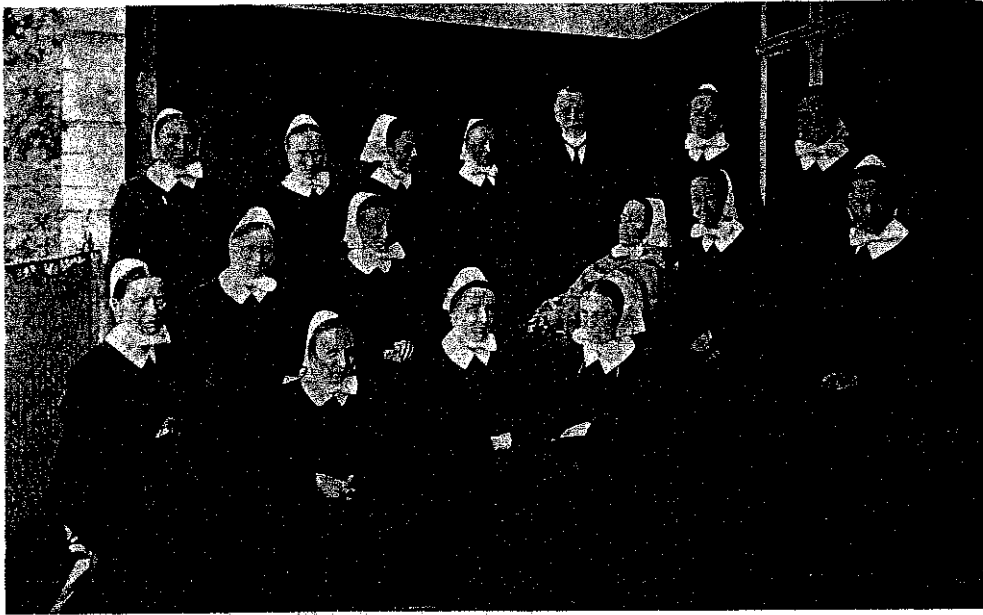


blacksmith, harness maker, wagon maker, carpenter, cooper, glove and purse-maker as well as tailors (Krüger 1966:181).



***Figure 17: A print of the Rhenish Mission in 1884, probably printed to entice new donors and to gratify previous donors. It includes illustrations of buildings and boats. The central picture is of Missionhaus zu Barmen and below it is the Johanneum in Gütersloh and the Pension in Stellenbosch. Arranged around the central images, the smaller illustrations are titled (clockwise from the top): Otjimbingue, Ombolata, Fumun, Denniger, Palma, Bandjermasin, Pea-radja and Keetmanshoop.***

The mission to the Dutch East India Company's Cape Colony started in 1737 with the establishment of Baviaanskloof (Krüger1966:18). This mission station was established on land granted by the colonial government and later re-named Genadendal (see top left of figure 8). This pioneering station was abandoned seven years later and re-staffed in 1792. Since that time it has been the head quarters of the Moravian church in South Africa. At present (2000) the historic and extensive *kerkwerf* as well as a few properties in the suburbs of the settlement belong to the Moravian Church. The rest of the property is held in trust by the minister of Land Affairs for the Genadendal community (Mr A Potberg 2000:interview).



*Figure 18: These photographs were found among Missionary Birnbaum's photographs and probably date to the early 1900s. "German Sisters" is written on the back of the photographs. The images capture the discipline, simplicity and orderliness of the missionaries' background.*

The following is a chronological list of subsequent Moravian mission stations and metropolitan congregations. Some of these stations were established by other mission societies and at later dates transferred to the Moravian Church:

2	Mamre	1808
3	Enon	1818
4	Elim	1824
5	Wupperthal	1830 (Rhenish)
6	Clarkson	1839
7	Goedverwacht	1845
8	Wittewater	1859
9	Pella	1869
10	Moravian Hill	1886
11	Moravian Hope (Salem)	1898
12	Matroosfontein	1899 (Rhenish)
13	Wynberg	1900 (United Congregational)
14	Maitland	1903
15	Bellville	1926 (Rhenish)
16	Goodwood (Bonteheuwel)	1928 (Rhenish)
17	Blueliliesbush (Thornham)	1935
18	Lansdowne	1936
19	Wittekleybosch	1940
20	Fairview (Arcadia)	1944
21	Steenberg	1950
22	New Brighton	1951
23	Moutonsvallei	1951
24	Ebeneser	1959
25	Elsiesrivier	1959
26	Groenland	1960
27	Newclare	1960
28	Bridgetown	1962

29	Gelvandale	1967
30	Pietermaritzburg	1968
31	Emmaus	1972
32	Maranata (Manenberg)	1973
33	Herrnhut	1975 (Krüger 1984:167-181)

*A self-supporting church of indigenous people* had been the aim of the Moravian Church from the beginning (Krüger 1984:126). But financial self-support proved to be very difficult due to external factors. The mission stations had been built on the foundation of trades. In the late 1800s the Industrial Revolution eroded this source of income and threatened the mission work. A decision was then taken to send professional businessmen into the mission field in order to replace the lost income. Rich rewards were reaped from this change of direction until the First World War (1914 – 1918), followed by the Depression (1933), drove the Mission businesses to their knees. The goal of independence was finally put into motion by the Church Conference of Lansdowne in June 1949, on condition that all real estate be transferred to the *Broederkerk* (Church of Brothers as the South African Moravians were called) and that the Broederkerk was to demonstrate during the transition period that it was able to carry on the work hitherto engaged in, using its own resources. It was to receive an annual maximum subsidy for salaries of seven hundred Pounds per year and had to table definite plans for progressive reduction (Krüger 1984:125). By 1960 the goal of an independent church had been reached when the highest authority became the South African Synod (Krüger 1984:126).

### **2.1.2 Hallbeck's contribution**

In 1824 the Swiss-born head of the Moravian Missions in the Colony, Hans Peter Hallbeck (later to become a Moravian Bishop) was to become the founder of Elim. He was stationed at Genadendal between 1817 and 1840. His influence on Elim was fundamental and can be traced through such diverse aspects as the physical layout of the town, to education, law and order and more.



*Figure 19: Founder of Elim, Hans Peter Hallbeck (Genadendal Museum).*

Once Hallbeck had decided to purchase Vogelstruiskraal, he started compiling a set of rules or ordinances regulating the temporal as well the spiritual life for the new mission station. In these *Gemeente Ordeninge* (Congregational Ordinances), Hallbeck stated specifically that the missionaries derived their authority from the congregation. Evidently, he considered it desirable to counteract the inclination of the inhabitants to devolve every responsibility on their teachers, and the tendency of the missionaries to act in an authoritarian manner. He wanted a brotherly relation of mutual trust between both parties. On the other hand, he stressed the authority of the Lord in all matters. The extensive first part of the ordinances is a detailed exposition of the Christian duties in a congregation, based on the ten commandments and centred round Christian worship. A separate part is dedicated to marriage and education, which suggests that Hallbeck considered family life of particular importance.

As an educationalist he explained the reasons for various regulations and coupled inhibitions with positive practical guidance, like Luther in his *Small Catechism*. He further stressed the need for neatness, cleanliness and industry, and even warned against

unnecessary visits to other stations, by which precious time was lost for work (Krüger 1967:153).

There are many examples of how Hallbeck's ordinations have shaped and regulated Elim to the present and will become clear in the pages to follow.

### 2.1.3 Elim missionaries

Although missionaries seldom stayed for longer than seven years at a particular station, there were instances of missionaries returning to serve Elim for three terms as did Lemmerz, Poiet, Birnbaum and Tietzen. Samuel Will, manager of the Mission Stores was another exception. He was stationed at Elim for 42 years from where he managed all the business concerns of the other stations. Mission business staff members are marked with asterisks in the following list of missionaries. There were always at least two mission couples at a station; the leader of the team was called the *voorstander* (term for congregation and community leader (Moos 1985:31-32).

For one hundred and forty years (1824 -1964) the mission was under the leadership of European men who were addressed as *Heer* (M'Lord) such and such. The following 35 years (1965 - 2000) the mission station command was the exclusive privilege of indigenous men who were addressed as *Eerwaarde* (Reverend).

Most missionaries and later reverends were assisted in no small ways by their spouses who were addressed as *Juffrou* (Mrs). Little has been recorded of their input with the result that their contribution has been overlooked. A few photographs of the missionaries and their wives are included in the following list in order to present a more just picture. In 2000 the first ordained female preacher was appointed to Elim (Eerw Hans 2000:interview).

Johann Gottlieb Bonatz	1824 - 1827
Christiaan Thomsen	1824 - 1825, 1827 - 1829
David Luttringshauser	1825 - 1826, 1832 - 1853
Christiaan Ludwig Teutsch	1826 - 1839
Carl Fredrich Nauhaus	1829 - 1832, 1853 - 1857
Heinrich Bernhard Schopmann	1834 - 1835
Hermann Fredrich Meyer	1835 - 1842
Wilhelm Christian Genth	1840 - 1844
Johannes Arnoldus de Vries	1842 - 1843
Johan Jacob Müller	1843 - 1872
Johann Fritsch	1844 - 1852
Christian Theodor Küster	1846 - 1848, 1861 - 1864
Carl August Lemmerz	1848 - 1854
Johann Friedrich Wedemann	1851
Johannes Wilhelm A Stolz	1851 - 1858
Ernst Heinrich Kschischang	1855 - 1862
Johann August Miertsching	1857 - 1861
Gustav Heinrich Grasse	1857 - 1866, 1886 - 1891
Fredrich Wilhelm Stolz	1864 - 1870
Ernst Gustav A Schärf	1866 - 1872
Philippe Emile Hickel	1870 - 1880
Adolf Emil WL Schmidt	1872 - 1877
Heinrich August Kunick	1872 - 1898
Carl August Wagner	1877 - 1886
Ernst August Fischer	1880 - 1881
Johannes Gustav Wedemann	1881 - 1889
Ernst Rudolf Lemmerz	1889 - 1905, 1906 - 1915, 1919 - 1921
Paul Otto Henning	1891 - 1892
Karel Gustav P Mosel	1892 - 1893
* Emil Samuel Will	1893 - 1935
Emil Poiet	1895 - 1896, 1900 - 1901, 1912 - 1913





*Figure 20: Probably the Poiets.*



*Figure 21: The Birnbaum family.*



Carl Herman Birnbaum	1897 - 1900, 1914 - 1919, 1921 - 1939
Franz Chleboun	1901 - 1910
Theodor Daniel L. Schreve	1904
Richard Johannes Marx	1905 - 1906



*Figure 22: The Marx family.*

*Johannes Rapparlic	1908 -1920
Friedrich Wilhelm Gericke	1910 - 1913
Walter Theophilus Winckler	1913 – 1917, 1919 - 1921
* Christian Albert Geiger	1921 - 1924
Gustav Theodor Tietzen	1922 - 1924, 1925 - 1927, 1950 –1959



*Figure 23: An aged Juffrouw Tietzen.*

Paul Willibald Schaberg	1930 – 1934
Karel Rudolf Knöbel	1937 – 1939
Gerhard Hettasch	1934 - 1935, 1939 - 1940
Hans Freymark	1939 - 1950
Meinhard Reichel	1959 - 1961



*Figure 24: The Reichel family.*

Kurt Heinrich Bonk

1962 - 1964

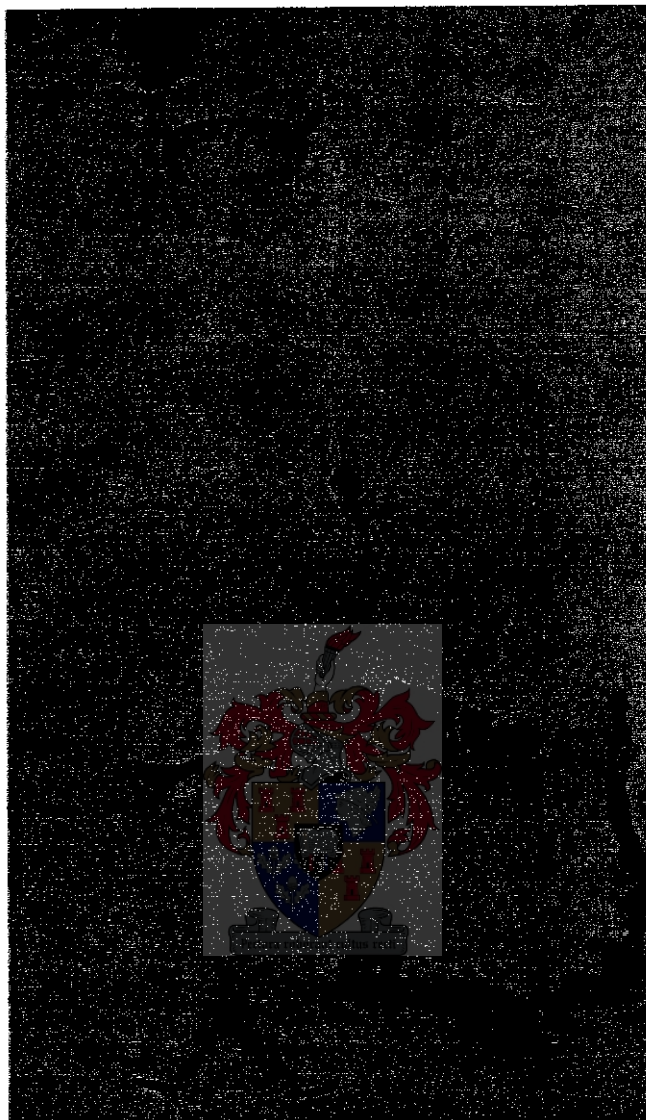


*Figure 25: The Bonks.*

Jacobus Johannes Ulster	1965 - 1974
Wilfred Griebel (assistant)	1968
Peter Josias Jansen	1968 - 1969, 1979 - 1980
Augustinus Barnby C Habelgaarn	1969 - 1973
Karel Thomas August (assistant)	1973 - 1978
Christian Johannes Collins	1975 - 1980
Errol Sydney Moos	1981 - 1988 (Moos 1985:31-32)
Frederich Albertus Hans	1982 - 1984, 1992 to present
John Cloete (assistant)	1985
Rael Hiram Isacs (assistant)	1986
David Cunningham (assistant)	1987
Daniel Tamboer (assistant)	1988
Jacobus Johannes Wynand	1988 - 1991
August Human (assitant)	1988 -1991
Nicolas Edson (assistant)	1992
Rachelle Petrus (assistant)	1993
Heflin Houlie (assistant)	1994 -1995
Ursula October	2000 to present (Rev Hans 2000:interview)

In the early years missionaries' children were sent to Herrnhut for their schooling at the age of eight: *Each child being thus removed, was like a piece of his heart torn away, for in many cases they never see them again on this earth* (Balie 1992:77). Missionaries longed that their children should follow in their footsteps. Reverend Carl August Lemmertz, who served at Elim between 1848 and 1854, had five sons and wrote about them in the *1833 Periodical Accounts: May they become and remain the property of Jesus* (Balie 1992:77). His wish was granted as Ernst Rudolf Lemmerz was to become missionary at Elim from 1889 to 1905, 1906 to 1915 and 1919 to 1921. While Ernst was stationed at the Moravian Hill Congregation in Cape Town during World War One, he wrote a letter to congregation members Augustinus and Paulina Hans of Elim. This letter is included here (figure 27) because it illustrates the very cordial relations between the missionary and his previous flock.

When faced with a decision, the Moravians believed that fate or chance offered the Lord an opportunity of acting directly in their lives. According to Numbers 27:21 and Acts 1:26 Zinzendorf wished for a means to check his inspirations and to give way to the lead of the Saviour. He applied it, however, with great restraint and careful consideration whether, when and how a question should be put to the Lord (Kruger 1966:14). The *lot* remained the most important decision making tool for many years. Important matters such as admissions to mission stations, confirmations, promotions as well the missionary's choice of a spouse, were all decided in this way. At the synod of 1836 Hallbeck made a groundbreaking suggestion: the brides of missionaries should no longer be selected by the lot and the children of missionaries should no longer be sent to Europe. Hallbeck proposed to educate the children of the missionaries together with selected coloured children. However, the Synod was reluctant to abandon the example of childlike trust in the Saviour, which was expected from brethren in the mission fields. The Board was given the authority to make exceptions only in special cases. The following Synod took the next step by leaving it up to the missionaries which method to choose. For other matters, such as the calling of mission workers and the promotion of members, the lot remained in official use for a long time (Krüger 1966:183).



*Figure 26: Soldier Paul Hans mentioned in the letter in figure 27, in his Cape Corps uniform in September 1917.*

By the late 1800s industrialisation resulted in the decline of trade employment opportunities. As trades formed the backbone of Moravian mission stations this had serious implications for the communities. In order to alleviate the established mission

Kaapstad den 5. Mei 1917.

Lieve Augustinus en lieve Paulina,

Hartelijk dank voor uwen brief van den 3. dezer, heden veilig ontvangen.-- Aangaande het lezen van den geboden van ~~wwe~~ kinderen, zoo was ~~my~~ het eenvoudig mijne plicht, het te doen, omdat de landswet dit eischt.

Wij waren verblijd, van uwen welstand te hooren en hopen, dat dezelfde mocht aanhoudend zijn. Bij ons gaat het ook zoo ver noch wel, afgezien, dat mijne keel mij in den laatsten tijd wat plaagt. Hartelijk dank ook voor de vriendelijke uitnoodiging, ter bruiloft van Hansie en Lizzie. Het zoude ons een groot genoegen wezen, tegenwoordig te kunnen wezen, maar het is ons onmogelijk. In den tegenwoordigen tijd gaat men maar op reis, als het volstrekt noodig is.

Jammer, dat u van Paul maar zoo min hooren kunt; mocht de Heer hem bewaren en veilig weer naar huis brengen.

Wij wenschen u van harte geluk en zegen ter bruiloft van Hansie en Lizzie. De Heer vergezelle hen geheel hun leven en make hen gelukkig, door dat zij Hem iederen dag uitnoodigen bij hen te blijven en met hen te gaan.

Hartelijke groete ook aan uwen ouden vader, dien wij nooit zullen vergeten. Ook beste groete aan al de burens van u.

Gelief zoo goed te wezen, ingesloten brief aan Hansie en Lizzie naa de trouwkerk te geven.

Met hartelijke groete, ook van Jufvrouw, en u eenen gezegenden dag op de bruiloft toewenschende en met beste groete ook aan uwe schoonmoeder

Uw Leeraar

E. R. Lemmertz

K. M. M.: He hoort van hem, dat hij in het huwelijk is getrouwd te Kaapstad. Hij is nu met zijn vrouw op reis. Hij is nu in de stad. Hij is nu in de stad. Hij is nu in de stad.

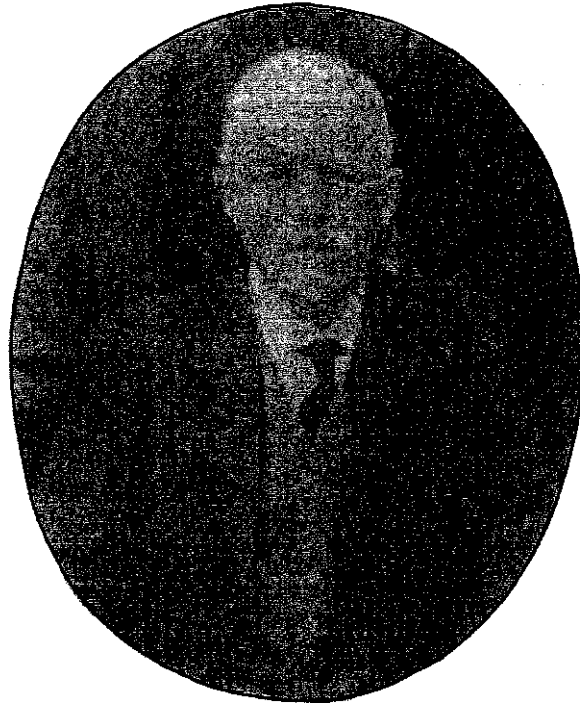
E. R.

Figure 27: Letter written by missionary Lemmertz during his term at the Moravian Hill congregation in Cape Town.

station's drain on central and precious resources the 1899 General Synod resolved that all mission fields *have a duty to aim at full autonomy* (Krüger 1984:104).

Charles Buchner was elected as a member of the Mission Board at Herrnhut with particular consequences for Elim and surrounds. Striving for autonomy, the payment of regular contributions by congregation members was of paramount importance. On a visit to South Africa in 1893-3 Buchner explained to the congregations that the contributions were for the furtherment of the Kingdom of God and not for the personal use of the missionaries. His efforts to increase the income from this source was met with some success, but the money for mission work came mainly from the mission stores and the mills. Buchner further wanted to make the mission work in South Africa self-supporting through interest earned on capital placed by the Mission Board into enlarged businesses run by professional businessmen. This seemed more prudent than investing the capital in Europe and sending the earned interest to the Mission field, as was the practice before. Therefore, on his return to Herrnhut, he sent out a few capable businessmen for the larger mission stores. They were not ordained, but served under the same conditions as the missionaries and became members of the local missionary conferences. Samuel Will became inspector of all the businesses, with Johannes Rapparlie as manager at Elim, Paul Andrag at Genadendal and Paul Brindeau at Mamre.

The fact that Samuel Will settled at Elim and not at the main station of Genadendal is of interest. Presumably this decision was taken as Elim offered the most lucrative business opportunities of all the stations. Elim and its environs are isolated, which created opportunities for the mission particularly to provide services to the surrounding farming community. In 1902 Will united all small Moravian stores and other business undertakings in the *Business Department of the Moravian Mission Society in South Africa West* (Krüger 1984:44). The profits of these enterprises were paid into the *Algemene Kerkkas* (General Church Coffe) for the benefit of all Moravian congregations in South Africa West (Ulster 1974:13) and came to replace the dwindeling income from trades.



*Figure 28: Samuel Will, after Peter Hallbeck probably the most influential figure in Elim's history.*

In 1966 a home for mentally and physically challenged children was started at Elim. European general volunteer workers and workers with special vocational training have since served at the *Elim Tehuis*. Rolf Rühle for instance, served at Elim between 1984 – 1989. He is both an occupational therapist as well as an electrician. As Elim was then starting the process of electrification, this appointment by the Lutheran Evangelisch Mission Work in Südwest Deutschland was of great assistance (Mr R Rühle 2000:interview).

German was the missionaries' home language, with German hymnbooks, Bibles and other reading matter such as *Das Tägliche Brot 1903 – 1906*, a publication by the Genossenschaftsdruckerei, Zurich prevented a deterioration of the command of the native tongue. Most missionaries retired to Herrnhut after their missionary careers. The missionaries were expected to master the local language of the stations they were sent to, but remained Germans and lived a European lifestyle, judging by the photographs of missioner Birnbaum.



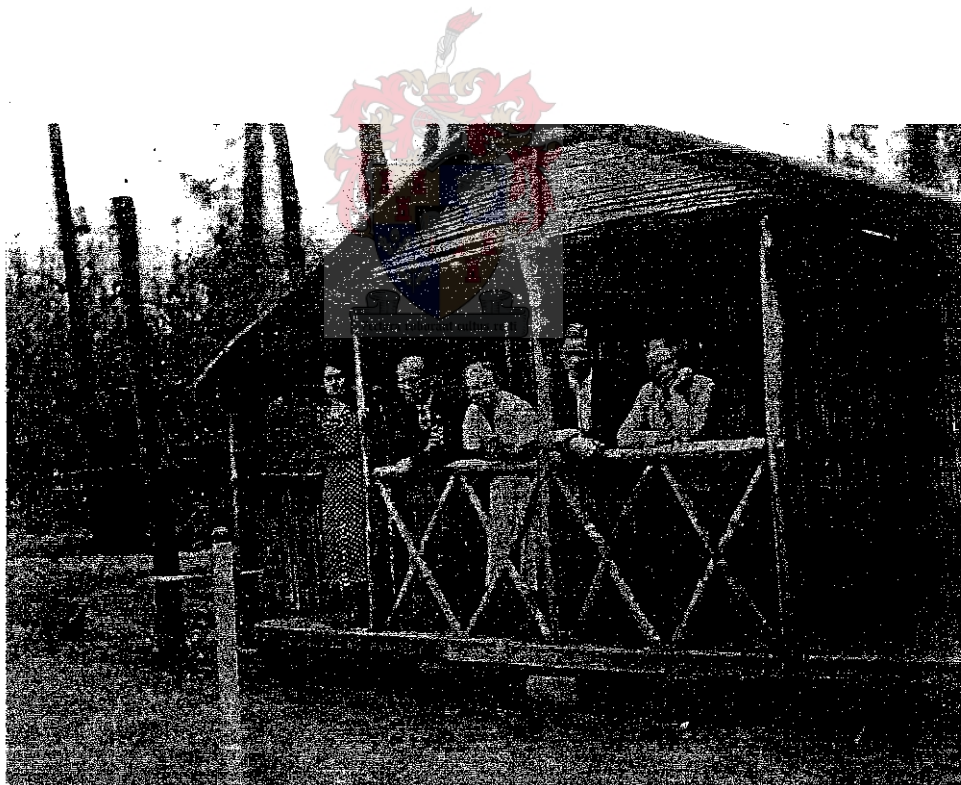


*Figure 29: Reverend Birnbaum's daughter behind the piano in the parsonage. Note the books as well as collection of postcards against the wall.*



*Figure 30: Juffrouw Birnbaum and her daughter reading.*

For relaxation the missionaries had a private area called *The Bush*. Elimmers called it *Die Heer se Bos*, which included the original cemetery and the millpond. This area was completely out of bounds for Elimmers except once a year on the last Sunday in November called *Ewigheids Sondag* (Eternity Sunday), when the brass band and congregation visited the two cemeteries to pay tribute to members of the congregation who had passed away during the previous year. The Elim children eagerly looked forward to this occasion when they could scout around for *dennepitjies* (pine kernels) (Mrs M Schippers interview:1998). Because of the thicket the missionaries could relax here without inquisitive onlookers. They built a tennis court with a wooden spectators' booth as well as benches along the paths.



*Figure 31: The spectators' booth.*



*Figure 32: Tennis players in The Bush.*



*Figure 33: Juffrouw Birnbaum poses with her daughters on a bench under an oak tree. Behind the figures is a young Port Jackson willow. This species was in time to swamp the area into total disuse before it was reclaimed in more than one sense by the Elimmers of the 1990s.*



*Figure 34: Cape Agulhas visited by friends or family of the Birnbaums in the early 1900s.*

#### 2.1.4 An ecumenical approach

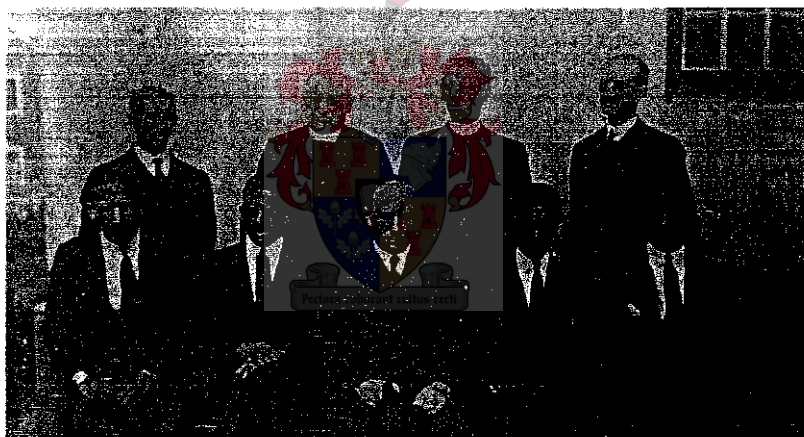
Bonatz, the first missionary appointed to Elim, had the task of putting Hallbeck's ideas into practice. He endeavoured from the beginning to give the congregation an ecumenical outlook. When the first Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church met in Cape Town in November 1824, the little flock of Elimmers congregated in the lounge of the farmstead, then serving as church, to intercede on its behalf (Krüger 1967:154). This outstretched hand of friendship to other Christian groups remained through the years. It was not surprising to find among the photographs of missionary Birnbaum a note from the bereaved Viljoen family, thanking the recipient for condolences expressed at the death of *Dominee* (Reverend) Viljoen. Ds DJ Viljoen had served the Bredasdorp Dutch Reformed congregation from 1904 to 1934 while Birnbaum served at Elim 1897 to 1900, 1914 to 1919 and 1921 to 1935.

Another example of ecumenical co-operation was the Bible study classes offered by Reverend (later to become a Moravian Bishop) Schaberg who taught Moravian as well as Berlin Mission Society students in the Elim *kerkkamer* (church room). Superintendent R

Marx and Schultz of the Berlin Missionary Society took down the exams, immediately after which another course would start (Moos 1985:19).



*Figure 35: The “thank you” note from the Viljoen family.*



*Figure 36: Probably a Bible exam class of the 1940s. Seated from left: Dick Erasmus, unknown, Schaberg, unknown, Mr Essau. Standing from the left: William Johannes, Missionary Birnbaum, unknown, Mr Diederiks.*

### 2.1.5 Authority and executive powers

Count Zinzendorf wanted the Herrnhut community to be a *Christocracy*: *Congregations are not founded on reason and do not fancy to subsist by themselves, but they depend on grace and are ruled by an invisible head ...* Herrnhut was the model of a village boldly founded on the Saviour (Krüger 1966:14). The whole life of the community served only

one purpose: to be at the disposal of the Saviour for his plan in the world under the leadership of the Holy Spirit. In order to ascertain his guidance, the lot was used. Zinzendorf himself introduced this practice, in accordance with Numbers 27:21 and Acts 1:26. By using the lot he wanted to check his inspirations and give way to the lead of the Saviour. However, he applied the lot with great restraint after careful consideration of whether, when and how a question should be put to the Saviour. Another specific usage were the watch-words issued for each day by Count Zinzendorf, starting in 1728. *They were daily paroles for the warriors on guard for the Lord, which put them by means of biblical or similar texts in a concrete manner under the command of their general* (Krüger 1966:14).



***Figure 37: Missionary Birnbaum in his study, the chief focus of spiritual as well as temporal executive powers at Elim until 1994.***

The *voorstanders* were therefore under the command of the Saviour and in their turn they held the supreme authority at Elim, albeit assisted by the congregation in brotherly co-operation as described by Hallbeck. Because the farm was neither a government grant nor a traditional Khoikhoi settlement, any person who decided to settle there had to do so by the rules of the Moravian Brothers. This was to lead to a new beginning and methods at the mission stations. Hallbeck drafted the new regulations for Elim and at the 1825 Synod these ordinances were accepted for all the other mission stations too (Prins 2000:2). These ordinances were often read aloud in public. The missionaries did not hesitate to ban residents who used foul language, drank alcohol or were involved in fights, even if

such events occurred outside the mission station. Elim's isolation, lauded by the missionaries when Vogelstruiskraal was considered an option for a mission station, contributed to its unique and peaceful atmosphere (Balie 1992:67).



*Figure 38: The 1924 female kerkraad. Separate photographs were taken of the men and women. Seated from left: Elizabeth Hendriks, Constance Engel, Phillipina Abrahms, and Paulina Hans. Standing from left: Emma Oktober, Francina Cloete, Maria Wyngaard, Adonia King and Francina Willis.*



*Figure 39: The 1924 male kerkraad. Seated from left: Jacobus Hendriks, Herman Engel, Joshua Daniels and Andreas Jonker. Standing from left: Hendrik Cloete, Augustinus Hans, Daniel Valentyn, Gustav Arends and Martin Wyngaard.*

Since 1824 the *voorstander* has been assisted in spiritual matters by a *kerkraad* (church council) of nine male and nine female members. Members of this council are chosen by the congregation for a three year term. In order to ensure continuity, six of the total of eighteen members are re-elected each year (Rev Hans 2000:interview).

Since 1824 the *opsienersraad* has assisted the *voorstander* in performing the duties normally performed by local government bodies such as village management boards and later municipalities. The *opsienersraad* comprised twelve male members. For the past 170 years the *voorstander* has automatically been the chairman of the *opsienersraad* so that Elim's temporal and spiritual aspects were under the same authority, namely the church. For the first time in 1994 council members chose a chairman from their own ranks. James Engel was the first elected chairman. Similar to the *kerkraad* members, the *opsieners* are elected for a three year period with four members elected each year. In 1996 the ordinances were further altered so that twenty five per cent of the total members would be female. However, Mrs Stephany October and Mrs Christina Afrika have been the only females elected to this council to date (Rev Hans 2000:interview).



**Figure 40: The 1996 Elim opsienersraad with its first female member. Front, left to right: Chairperson J Engel, S October, P Swart, middle: J Cloete, J Joemath, H Cloete, back row: K Cloete, L October, M van Breda, T Engel and R October.**



The *opsienersraad* has an especially good relationship with the Overberg District Council. Jointly these bodies have seen major infra-structural improvements such as a fully water borne sewage system successfully installed by 1999.

The *Gemeente Ordeninge* compiled by Hallbeck, were often read in public to remind residents about the codes of conduct (Balie 1992:149). Before a person was allowed as a resident they had to sign or make a cross in the Admission Register. Such a register dated 1867 - 1882 was found in an attic at Mamre and has the following heading: *Ondertekende verklaren hierdoor, dat ons de Reglementen van het Instituut van Mamre: zoo als herzien en vermeerderd in 1857 – duidelyk zijn voorgelezen geworden, en wij belooven door deze onze handtekening, omdezelve te gehoorzamen. The undersigned declare herewith, that we have heard the Rules of the Institute of Mamre, as revised and extended in 1857, clearly read to us and we promise by our signature to obey these rules ourselves* (Balie 1992:149).

In order to punish disobedience to this undertaking, a number of exclusions were in place. Less severe punishment could amount to a warning and an exclusion from a Holy Communion service. A person could also be excluded from communion for longer periods (Balie 1992:175). Serious disobedience could be punished by banning the individual from the mission station. Such a person could not enter the settlement without a note of permission from the missionary.

On 13 August 1859, the Elim community was deeply shocked when a drunken rider fell to his death from his horse. In 1871 it is reported with dismay that some Elimmers had been seen in public under the influence of alcohol (Balie 1992:151). In 1873 it was reported that *de geest der wêreld is diep ingedrongen in onze gemeente* (a worldliness had crept deeply into our congregation). In 1886 a special bench for banned persons was designated in the church (Balie 1992:150). In the 1893 *Periodical Accounts* a complaint about *tabak rookende kinderen* (tobacco smoking children) and persons allowing their bitches to roam and by so doing, *aan de kinderen aanstoot en ergenis te geven* (offending the children). At harvest time people came together to help each other to dry

pears and to remove mealie pips from the cobs. These occasions sometimes turned into parties and an *opsiener* was given the task to keep order: *de gemeente voor onorde te waarschuwen by peer en mieliejobben* (Balie 1992:166) (by warning the congregation against improper behaviour at pear and maize processing).

The 1863 *Periodical Accounts* has the following reports on church discipline: *The general speaking in September was attended by 107 married couples and 379 single people and widows; and the general impression was a favourable one [...]. At the close of this month, however, we were under the painful necessity to exclude five persons from church-fellowship on account of transgressions of various kinds* (1863:626). On page 625: *While thus enabled to rejoice that the good Shepherd had succeeded in bringing some to His fold, we had also about this time to make experience of the constant attempts of the enemy of souls to seduce the feeble human heart. Thus we were under the painful necessity of excluding two young people for immorality: and, as the parents of one of them had connived at the deed, they had also to be subjected to the exercise of church-discipline. Reproof had also to be administered to two women of the congregation, who had been guilty of theft, and who persisted in denying the crime; nor were these the only cases in which it was evident that the evil one is ever endeavouring to destroy the work of God* (1863:625).

The 1863 *Periodical Accounts* further states on: *For some time past much distress in temporal matters has prevailed in our neighbourhood. Money is scarce, and wages low, while the price of provisions rises daily. In consequence of this state of things, cases of theft have not been uncommon* (1863:626). Cases considered by the missionaries to be of a criminal nature were handed over to the authorities. It will become clear in chapter 4 that the missionaries were very careful not to give offence to the surrounding white farmers because of a symbiotic commercial relationship detailed in chapter 4. On the following page this account is reported: *On the 17<sup>th</sup>, we were grieved to discover an instance of theft on the part of a young man, the son of a member of our congregation, though not himself connected with it. He had killed and taken away part of the flesh of a sheep, the property of a neighbour, concealing the remainder wrapped in the skin in a*

*hand, intending probably to remove it when opportunity offered. The owner, however, discovered his loss, and, suspicion (sic) falling on the real culprit, he was convicted of the crime. Our representations of the heinousness of his sin seemed to make no impression on his hardened conscience. He was taken before the field-cornet at Bredasdorp and sentenced to six months hard labour (1863:627).*

As the missionary's authority was final, the only rebellion Elimmers had was subversive humour. Nico August relates the following accounts of how the missionaries' German accents turned pious words into possible lewd interpretations, which sent some congregation members giggling: At the opening of a bazaar the reverend Schaberg was to have said: *Liewe Gemeente, ja, dit is nie vandag my of juffrou se pushaar (bazaar) nie, dit is die gemeente se pushaar. Hier is lekker kalakontes (kalkoenne), pustaai (pasteie) en lekkernaai (lekkernye)* (Mr N August 1998:interview).

The white Strandveld community were also amused by the missionaries' puritanism. The following two narratives were recorded from that community: A person was to have asked one of the missionaries if dancing was truly sinful and received the following answer: *Dans is tog nie sonde nie, maar die pens teen pens maak die vlees ontstuimig* (Wessel Moolman 1999:interview) (Dancing is not really sin, but the rubbing of tummy to tummy awakens the flesh.) At the funeral of a woman from Elim whose conduct displeased the missionaries, one of the missionaries is reported to have said: *Daar legt sy. Opgeblaas soos 'n blouwildebeest. Geen pyp vol twak was vir haar te sterk nie. Geen bottel brandewyn was vir haar te sterk nie. Wie zegt dat sij zalig zijn die zegt ek dat hy liegt!* (Wessel Moolman 1999:interview) (There she lies, swollen like a wildebeest. No pipe full of tobacco was too potent for her. No bottle of brandy was too potent for her. To any person who says that she has received salvation I will reply that he's lying!)

### **2.1.6 Deculturalisation and baptism**

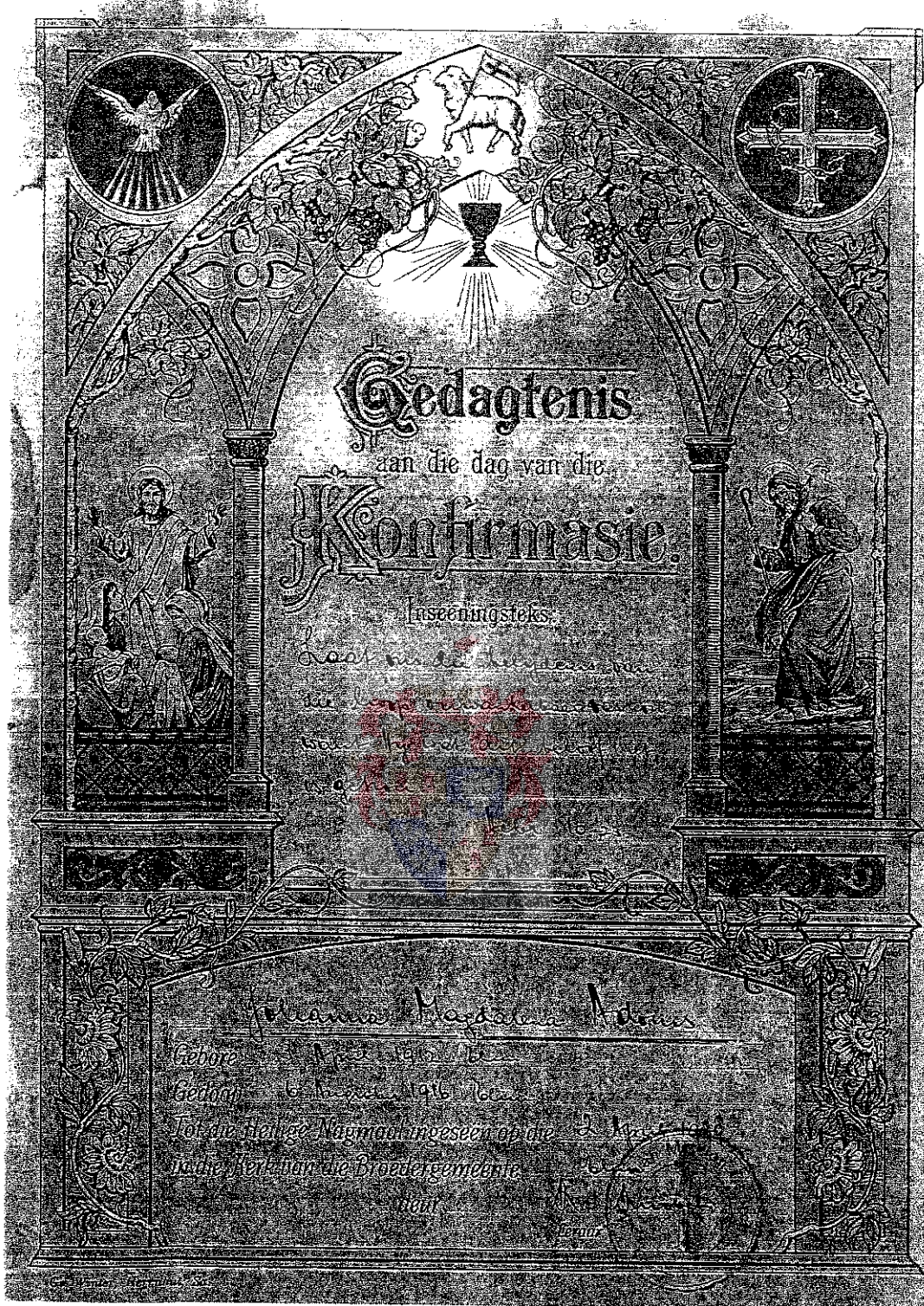
Through European colonisation the Khoikhoi's livelihood as well as self-respect was slowly eroded with results similar to those of the abrupt process of slavery which

instantly robbed captured individuals of their heritage and identity. Through baptism these rootless individuals were clothed in a new and respected European Christian identity.

The 1863 *Periodical Accounts* of September records the *Memoir of the Hottentot Brother August Klein, who departed this Life at Genadendal, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1862* [...] *Though he could neither read nor write, he by no means manifested the stupidity commonly attributed to the Hottentots. He was accustomed to think, and extended this habit to spiritual things likewise* (1863:608). In the original text the word *think* is printed in italics for emphasis.

In effect the mission stations became havens for persons divested of culture. At the stations respect could be earned through obedience to the authorities. The 1863 *Periodical Accounts* continues its report on departed Brother August Klein: *He was not ashamed of the name of Christ. His character was universally respected, not only by his fellow believers, but even by those who had not yet decided for Christ. Very impressive it was to meet the old man, and to hear him raise his powerful voice, and speak somewhat after the following manner: - 'Yes, Mynheer, the love of the Lord Jesus Christ is indeed great' [...]* *He held the office of doorkeeper in the house of the Lord, and discharged the duties connected with his office with exemplary faithfulness. To be in time to ring the bell for the early meeting, he would occasionally be found sitting near the church as early as three o'clock in the morning* (1863:609).

The fear of dying without being baptised was indeed a strong tool of persuasion in the hands of the missionaries. When an unbaptised soul passed away, the body was buried in silence in that the church bell was not rung and that no burial service was held in his or her honour (Balie 1992:36). The *Periodical Accounts* relates many a just-in-time-baptism account, for example the one in the September 1863 edition: *On the first of August, a young married woman from Zuurbraak, had come hither on a visit to her sister, departed this life. She was not herself in connection with our Church, but had married a*



*Figure 41: A confirmation certificate printed in Herrnhut and issued in 1934, visually displays the importance of these church ceremonies. The full colour print makes lavish use of gold and is a rare Moravian indulgence in decoration.*

*man who had formerly belonged to us, but who deserted her shortly after marriage. She was naturally of a very amiable disposition, and, from the beginning of her stay with us, seemed to feel quite at home. She was constant in her attendance at the meetings, and listened attentively to what she heard, and it was soon evident that a work of grace had commenced in her heart. She often declared that in this place she had found the Lord. She took cold one day when washing clothes in the stream; violent fever set in, by which she was confined to her bed, and in a few weeks she was so wasted that it became evident both to herself and to us that her end was not far distant. Shortly before her death she expressed the wish to be baptized, declaring that her only hope of salvation rested in the merits of Christ. She trusted that the Lord had removed from her the guilt of sin, and would receive her as a pardoned sinner. Her request was granted, and, not long after her baptism, she gently fell asleep, as we trust, in the faith of Christ (1863:626).*

Former slaves were eager to attend the church and school and be baptised and confirmed also because these were the very privileges denied to them before (Ulster 1974:14). Churchgoers were expected to make a spontaneous decision about their wish to be christened. Children as well as adults were eligible. Persons wishing to be baptised usually confessed their sins and then they become christening candidates. All candidates were not necessarily baptised, but were kept under surveillance by the missionaries. It could have taken anything from weeks to years before the missionaries were satisfied by the candidate's spiritual development. There was fierce competition as being baptised was regarded as a special privilege. At the christening service the candidate received a new name and was taught how to pronounce it (Balie 1992:32).

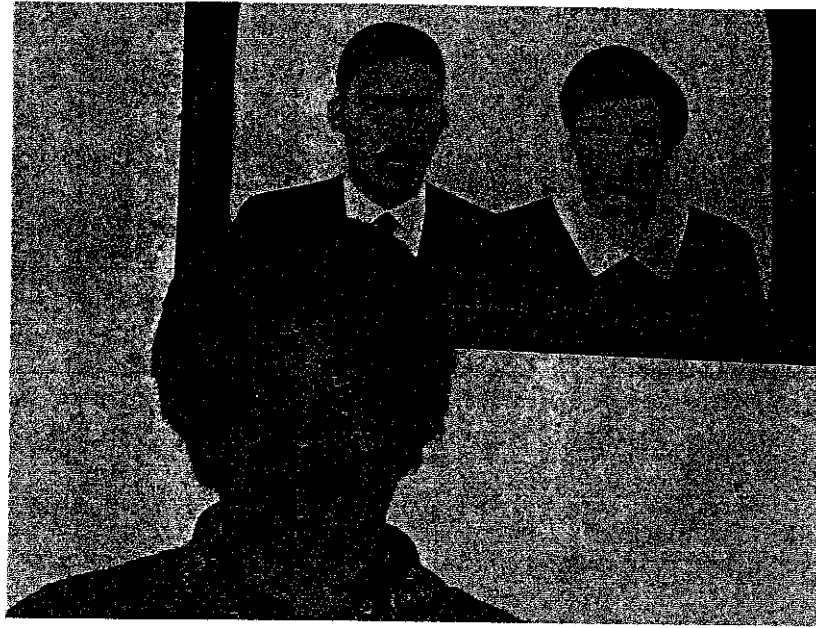
The first christening sermon at Elim was held by Johann Bonatz on 9 October 1825 for Cobus Britts, a resident who had been a christening candidate at Genadendal since 1824. His new name was Immanuel (Balie 1992:34). The *1863 Periodical Accounts* has the following report on the subject of christening: *On the 20<sup>th</sup>, in the afternoon, four adults, having previously been instructed in the Christian faith, made a public profession of their desire to renounce the service of sin and Satan, and to devote themselves wholly to the*

*Lord, after which they were baptised into the death of Jesus, the presence of the Lord being sensibly felt during the solemn transaction. One of these men had been a candidate for baptism for no less than thirty-two years, and the other upward of eight; but their conduct, till of late, had not been such as to warrant our admitting them to the sacred ordinance. May they now remain faithful in their vows!* (1863:625). The following figures for the year 1863 appear on the next page: *At the end of the year the congregation at Elim consisted of 399 communicants, 279 baptized adults, 530 baptized children, 94 candidates for baptism, 107 new people, 18 excluded:- Total, 1 427* (1863:626).

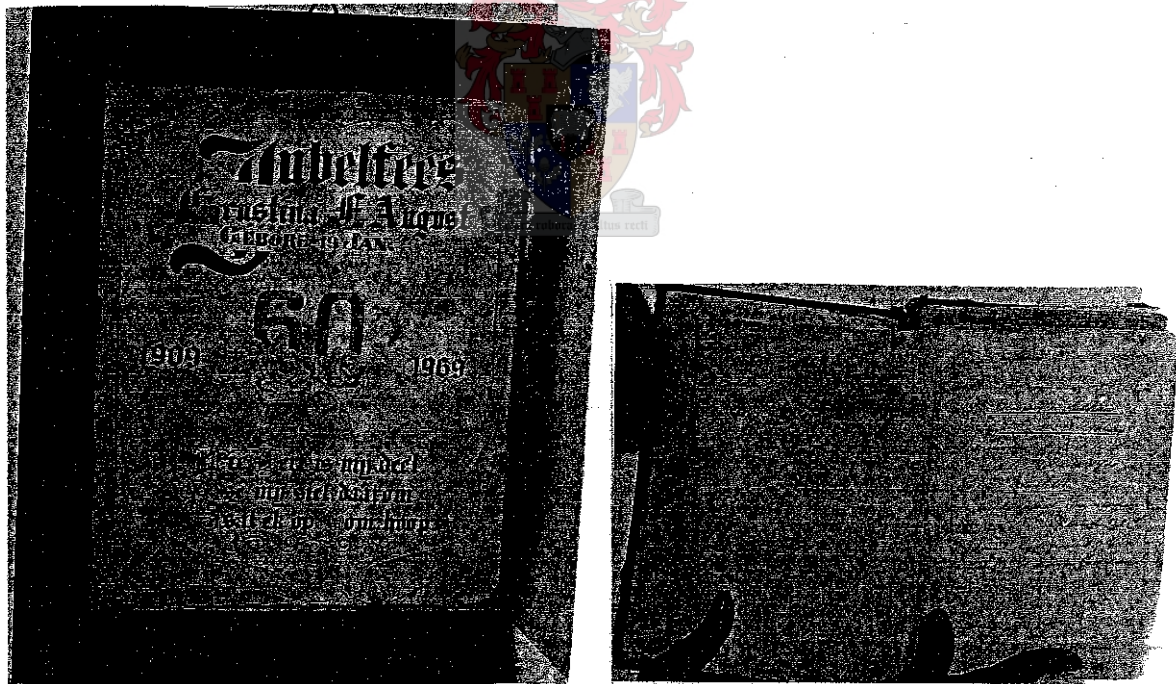
## 2.2 Ancestors

The first church service at Vogelstruiskraal on 1 August 1824 was attended by 34 people: Genadendallers, white farmers, farm labourers (Khoikhoi) and two slaves (Balie 1992:11 and 29). These very groups were to form the gene pool from which the present Elim society has developed. Because of the community's isolation, individuals tended to marry partners from their own ranks. It is not at all uncommon when studying the genealogy of the Elimmers, to discover brides who did not have new surnames after marriage. As a result of the inter-marriages almost all residents were later related to each other. By 1914 the families Cloete, Engel and October each counted two hundred members and together they contributed a third of the population which then stood at approximately 1 800 (Balie 1992:162). It is indeed the wide contributing gene pool which was to protect the community from the consequences of repeated inter-marriage.

Elimmers have established their own proud family histories and coherent social fabric during the last 176 years. In general, they are very interested to trace their Elim roots but not particularly interested to trace their roots beyond Elim. They particularly shy away from a possible slave ancestry (Mr C Richter 2000:interview). Elimmers vary in complexion from very dark to very light. Presently, within the Engel family for instance, there are four branches, one of which is as lightly complexioned as Europeans (Mr J Engel 2000:interview).



*Figure 42: Mrs Magdalena Schippers in the Elim Huisie with the portrait of her mother, Mrs Crustina F August, who was born and bred in this house which today is a museum (L van der Hoven 2000).*



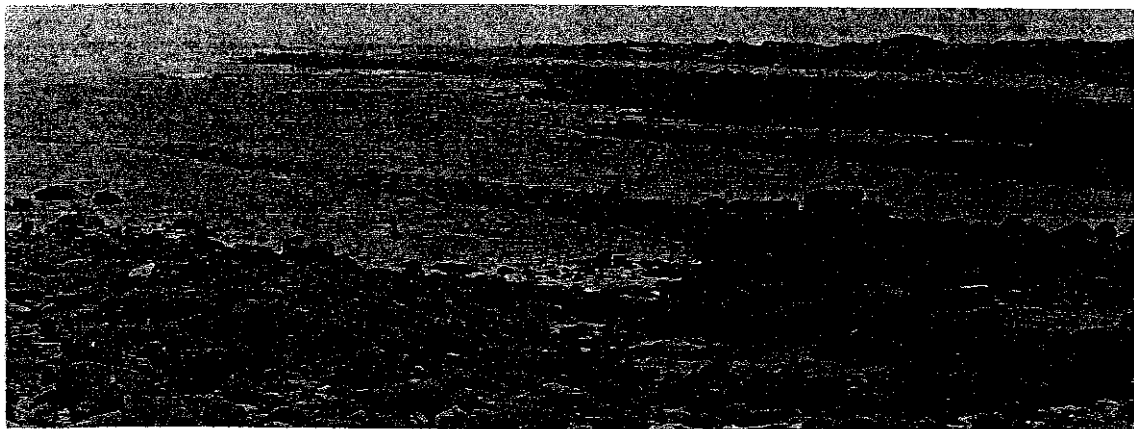
*Figure 43: A jubilee picture commemorating Crustina's sixtieth birthday, as well as a Bible presented to Magdalena's husbands' family on the occasion of a wedding, are proud family heirlooms (L van der Hoven 2000).*



### 2.2.1 Khoikhoi

According to archaeological research, scattered groups of hunter-gatherers formed the sole populace of southern Africa for approximately 8 000 years, from the early Holocene epoch until about 2 000 years ago. Around the time of the birth of Christ the descendants of these hunter-gatherers began to make contact with Khoikhoi cattle-herders. The Khoikhoi who later migrated to the present Namaqualand gave the name *San* to the indigenous hunter-gatherers. From the reciprocal interaction between the Khoikhoi and the San (and to a lesser extent the Bantu-speaking peoples) a heterogeneous society, about which there is little information available, developed along the Cape coastal region and in the interior (Bredekamp 1986:28).

There were three main groups in the Overberg. The Chainouqua lived in the Western Overberg, the Hessequa in the central Overberg and the Gouriqua in the east (Meffert 1996:4). Indications are that Khoikhoi captains such as Wildschut, Bentien, Hansbroer, Brebart, Baadjie, Plaatjie, Waterschaap, Haas, Caswaris and Platneus might have migrated around the Elim area and were representative of both the Hessequas and Chainouquas. The Hessequas and Chainouquas can therefore be taken as the first semi-settled inhabitants of the area (Report by Prins 2000:1).



*Figure 44: Tidal fish traps at Cape Agulhas (C Lohann 1998).*

Political centralization or unity was frustrated by the pastoral economy. Each tribe consisted of a number of clans which were groups made up of blood and other relationships. Clans frequently broke away to form separate clans. This fragile social organisation prevented any development of hereditary chieftanship, with the result that the Khoikhoi offered less organised resistance to colonial encroachment than other African societies (Bredenkamp 1986:30).

Farm names of the Strandveld sometimes end with the suffix *-kraal* (enclosure used for animals, but also for people). *Prinskraal* is such a farm and is roughly between Bredasdorp and the sea. It is possible that this farm was named after a Khoikhoi settlement. In the Swellendam district, Lang-Elsieskraal and Stuurmanskraal are the only remains of the settlements that have totally disappeared in the last 200 years (Meffert 1996:20). Not all *kraals* indicate Khoikhoi presence though: In the word *Vogelstruiskraal* for instance (Elim's original name) the suffix is used to denote an animal enclosure.

Europeans generally had little regard for the inhabitants they encountered at the southern tip of Africa. An Englishman, the eloquent Captain W Cornwallis Harris, travelled Southern Africa in the mid 1800s and describes the local inhabitants thus: *The indolence and apathy of our Hottentot attendants, who resemble the wild beasts as nearly in habits as in features* (Cornwallis Harris 1840:VI). He continues with this narration: *Amongst other sporting anecdotes with which one of our Hottentot followers occasionally favoured us, when in an amiable humour, was a touching account of the death of his only and beloved brother, Phoebus Cockerlockie, from a fracture of his skull inflicted by the heels of a half disabled Quagga, that he had incautiously approached with hostile designs. Had the cranium of the luckless deceased possessed but one third the solidarity of that of his surviving relative, this catastrophe could scarcely have occurred* (Cornwallis Harris 1840:8).



*Figure 47: Khoikhoi kraal with the most valuable livestock, sheep safely in the middle and oxen on the perimeter (Smith 1993:64).*

The Moravian Brotherhood were willing to send missionaries to work among the rural Khoikhoi. In 1737 they made a humble beginning at Baviaanskloof, later known as Genadendal. However, due to resistance from other church fraternities, this effort came to an end in 1743 (Meffert 1996:19). Between 1737 and 1743 a remarkable Khoikhoi, Africo, made the first transition from being a traditional herdsman to a westernised colonial Khoikhoi. This came about as a result of his interactions with Georg Schmidt, the first Moravian missionary to South Africa (Bredekamp 1987:2). From Schmidt's scant diary it appears that before their meeting in September 1737, in addition to taking care of animal, Africo also drove the wagon of the outlying colonial cattle station and had an interest in agriculture to the extent of having dug a draining furrow around an unplanted field (Bredekamp 1987:2)

The smallpox epidemics of the eighteenth century had disastrous consequences for the remaining Khoikhoi population. In addition the Hottentot laws passed by the Colonial government between 1809 and 1812, forced the Khoikhoi to have a fixed address as well

as a certificate or pass, signed by a magistrate, should they want to travel from one district to another. Farmers were allowed to indenture Khoikhoi children between the ages of eight and eighteen, as apprentice labourers. In this way the parents were forced to work for the farmer where their children had been "booked in" at, no matter what the conditions were. Understandably the mission stations became sanctuaries for the Khoikhoi. The stations offered them a permanent address and they could sell their labour to nearby farms on the basis of short term agreements (SA Sendingstiging Museum Exhibition, Cape Town).

*The Memoir of the Hottentot Brother Augustus Klein, who departed this Life at Genadendal, September 29<sup>th</sup> 1862 offers a rare glimpse on the largely unrecorded life of a Khoikhoi farm labourer during those times. Contrary to what one would expect, August Klein had lasting and good relations with his employees: I was born at Blomfontein, near Elim, among the Dutch farmers (probably about the year 1785). Here I learned nothing about God. The farmers read their Bibles, but did not understand what they read. Their workmen were not permitted to be present at their family worship. All they taught us was to work. There was, however, one farmer, near Blomfontein, who lived like a missionary among the people. I went at times to his meetings, but did not understand what he said. This man afterwards fell away from Christ, but repented before his end. I had left Blomfontein when he died. I lived for a time in the service of a farmer called Wessel Von Dyk, near Elim. One day he went to Caledon, and intending to swim with his horse through the river, took off his clothes and rode into it; but he was thrown off and drowned. His clothes being found, a search was made for his body, and his wife was sent for. Accordingly, I and my brother-in-law Daniel brought her in a wagon with six horses, and returned home with the dead body... I still at this time remained in the service of the widow of Wessel Von Dyk, and was married to a widow, who had several children by her former husband. My brother-in-law and his wife worked at the same place [...] I possessed eight horses which I had reared myself. Relatives of mine already came to live at Genadendal. They often spoke to me of that place, and much wished me also to take up my abode there. But I answered, 'Why should I go to live at Genadendal, it is a poor place; look at my horses and yours, what poor creatures yours are! I will come and visit*

*you but I will not live at so poor a place'. Such were then my thoughts, but the Lord had determined otherwise. At first, however, he permitted me to take my own course; afterwards He found me. One afternoon I was at work preparing the ground for a garden I was purposed making on the declivity of a hill when I heard a voice [...](1862:607).*

He then proceeds to describe a vision he had and his decision to join the Genadendal station. *I remained over night at the house of my sister-in-law; in the morning I went to Br. Hallbeck, and requested permission to stay at Genadendal. He said, 'Why do you want to live here? It is a poor place, you are well off where you live now, and had better remain there.' I replied: 'Yes I am well off, but which is better, to seek the Lord or to wander about? I want to rest'. He said, 'Yes to seek the Lord is better. Very well. But you want a certificate of dismissal from your master.' Accordingly, I went home, obtained the certificate, and brought my wife and children hither. And now I am here. The Lord Himself brought me here. He continues his narration: I soon became a candidate for baptism, and was baptised by Br. Schopmann on 7 September, 1835, receiving the name Augustus. But I wished to obtain yet further privileges, and was, at my request, admitted a candidate for confirmation on the 5<sup>th</sup> June, 1836 (1862:608).*

Presumably the reason Augustus joined Genadendal and not the newly established station at Elim was because he had relatives at Genadendal. The memoir relates further that in his old age Augustus Klein *paid a visit to his former baas (master), but had to be brought back home in a state of ill health (1862:609).* From this account it is clear that not all Khoikhoi-European relations were cruel or unhappy ones.

Ordinance no 50 of 1828 greatly improved the lot of the Khoikhoi and other free persons of colour by offering the same privileges and protection by the laws of the Colony as enjoyed by persons of exclusive European decent. Khoikhoi could now own land and the carrying of a pass was abolished. Farmers were not allowed to have service agreements with their labourers for longer than a year and they were also no longer allowed to "book in" children without a child's parental consent (SA Sendingstiging Museum Exhibition, Cape Town).

The first residents who obtained permission to move to Elim were westernised Khoikhoi from Genadendal, a family of five. They were followed by more Genadendal families during the early years, which included the following surnames: Lawerlot, Hess, Ficks, Jonker, Norman, Gerts, Springfield, Saul, Dietrich, Aplon, Bootsman, Mentoer, Kühn, Van Rhede, Cloete, Van der Heyden, Onverwacht, October and Brits.

Khoikhoi settlers also came from the following surrounding farms (spelling taken from the Elim Baptism Register): Blomfontyn, Baartscheerbosch, Brakfontyn, Driefontyn, *Drogasrivier* (Drogas River), *Eseljagd* (Donkey Hunt), *Falsrivier* (Fals River), *Franzskraal* (Franz's Enclosure), *Gert Coetzeekraal* (Gert Coetsee Enclosure), *Goedvertrouw* (Good Trust), *Gousrivier* (Gous River), *Hendrickskraal* (Hendrick's Enclosure), Honingrug, *Houtkloof* (Wood Ravine), *Kleinrivierskloof* (Small River Ravine), *Klein Zondagsrivier* (Small Sunday's River), *Klein Zanddrift* (Small Sand Drift), *Klein Steenboksrivier* (Small Steenbok's River), *Klipfontyn* (Stone Fountain), *Malgas* (Malagas), *Melkbosch* (Milk Bush), *Moordenaarskraal* (Murderer's Enclosure), *Olifantsrivier* (Elephant's River), *Potberg* (Pot Berg), *Potrivier* (Pot River), Renosterkop, Rietfontein, *Steenboksrivier* (Steenboks's River), *Schotskraal* (Schot's Enclosure), *Van der Stelkraal* (Van der Stel's Enclosure), *Vogelstruiskraal* itself, *Vogelvally* (Bird Valley), *Wagenbooms-kloof* (*Leucospermum truncatum*, a limestone pincusion species - Ravine), *Zeekeifontein*, *Zoutrivier* (Salt River), *Zoetendalsvally* and *Zoetedalsrivier*. The christening register reveals that Khoikhoi settlers also came from far afield: Breederivier, Franschoek, Graaf Reinet, Stellenbosch and Wynberg. Of these settlers the most well known surnames includes: Adonis, Alexander, Appel, Arend, Blaadje, Botha, Bruintjies, Carolus, David, Demas, Fagen, Gabriel, Geduld, Hendricks, Hyn, Jacobs, Jager, Jonas, Joors, Joemat, Karnzee, Mathinus, Snyder, Temmer, Uys, Vilander, Wils and Windvogel (Balie 1992:16).

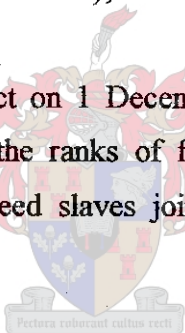
In 1838 Oliebooms-kraal, a Khoikhoi settlement near Heidelberg was registered in the names of twenty remaining Khoikhoi persons. An asterisk after a name indicates a person whose direct descendants still owned the land in 1980: Louis Booy\*, Branden

(Willem) Bruintjies, Mietjie Bruintjies\*, Booy Constable\*, Jochem Hans\*, Piet Hoogbaard\*, Kaatje Hoogbaart\*, Frederik (Christiaan) Julie\*, Willem (Jakob Hans) Kaffer, Gert Klaase, Hermanus Kleinhans, Philip Kleynhans, Andries Kobben, Hans Noggel\*, Cornelis October, Klaas Perrel\*, Gezwint Pikeur\*, Nana (Mariaan) Platje\*, Piet Ruiters\*, Karel Zaayman\* (Meffert 1996:20). These westernised Khoikhoi names are of interest in themselves, but compared to the slave names in the following section, they illustrate the difficulty in distinguishing between former slaves and former Khoikhoi when names are the only evidence.

Eilm's Khoikhoi population figures are as follows:

1824 – 15; 1827 – 98; 1828 – 143; 1829 – 169; 1833 – 231; 1834 – 271; 1835 – 382;  
1837 – 350 (Houtkloof 66); 1839 – 563 (Balie 1992:17)

The abolition of slavery took effect on 1 December 1838. After that date, population increases might as well be from the ranks of former slaves as from Khoikhoi. It is probable that some individually freed slaves joined Elim before the official abolition date.



### 2.2.2 Slaves

Through the centuries thousands of slaves from Africa and Asia rounded the Cape of Good Hope on ships destined for Europe and the Americas. The Cape Agulhas coastline is known as the *cemetery of the seas* because of the multitude of shipwrecks in this area. Turner in his *Shipwrecks and Salvage in South Africa* mentions a few reasons for the great number of these disasters: treacherous storms and weather conditions, difficult night navigation, faulty charts and instruments, ships in bad states of repair, piracy and scurvy (Turner 1988:39-45). In addition, the prevailing winds made it necessary for sailing ships to tack in order to progress in a southerly or northerly direction.

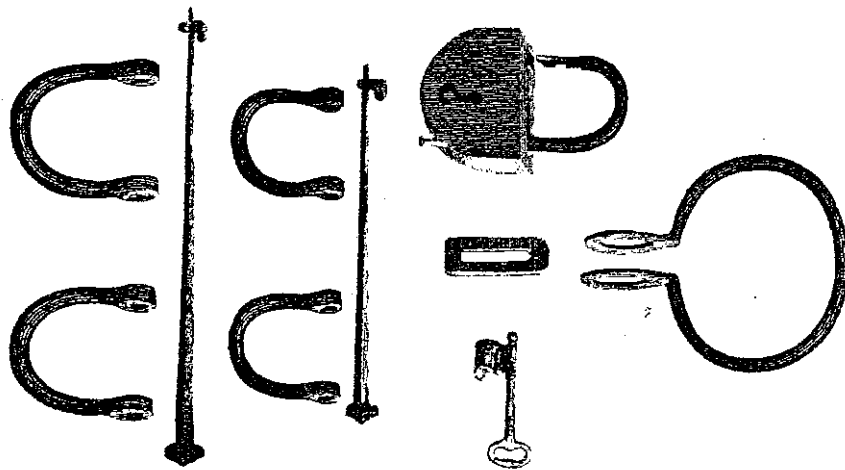
Due to these shipping disasters many a captured slave found their last home in the cold waters in the coast near Elim while some were lucky enough to reach the shore alive. In

1722 The *Schoonenberg*, a Dutch East Indiaman of 800 tons, homeward bound from Batavia, was wrecked at Agulhas. On 6 February 1725, mention is made in the Resolutions of the Political Council of runaway slaves hiding out in the vicinity where the *Schoonenberg* went aground (Mr H Wessels 1986:written communication).

In 1766 the *Meermin*, a Cape hooker of 450 tons, returned from Madagascar with 140 slaves (Burrows 1994:174). According to regulations the slaves were to remain below deck; however, once at sea the slaves were unlocked (Mr H Wessels 1986:written communication).

The slaves mutinied and killed the crew they could get hold of. Some crew members managed to take refuge on the foremast and others in the room next to the rudder. On condition that the ship return to Madagascar, the crew was set free. At night the crew reversed the course back towards Cape Town. After three days of sailing in this way, the ship reached Agulhas. About sixty slaves went ashore at the mouth of the Zoetendalsvlei to investigate. In the mean time crew members secretly dropped two bottles containing a plea for help and a request to light three fires on receipt of the messages. A farmer, Matthys Lourens, saw the proceedings, thought something was not right and alerted Landdrost le Seur of Swellendam who dispatched a commando to the scene. Of the slaves that had come ashore fourteen were shot dead and the rest captured. The two bottles were found and handed to the landdrost. During the night three fires were lit. The rest of the slaves aboard in the mean time had become panic stricken. The crew cut the anchor line in the hope that the ship could move closer ashore. Another rowing boat was lowered with six slaves who reached the shore, only to be captured, in the process of which another slave perished. The rest of the slaves now suspected they had been double crossed and attacked the remaining crew. At that very moment the ship stranded and the crew managed to overpower the slaves. The twenty nine crew members and one hundred and twelve slaves reached the Cape over land (Mr H Wessels 1986:written communication).

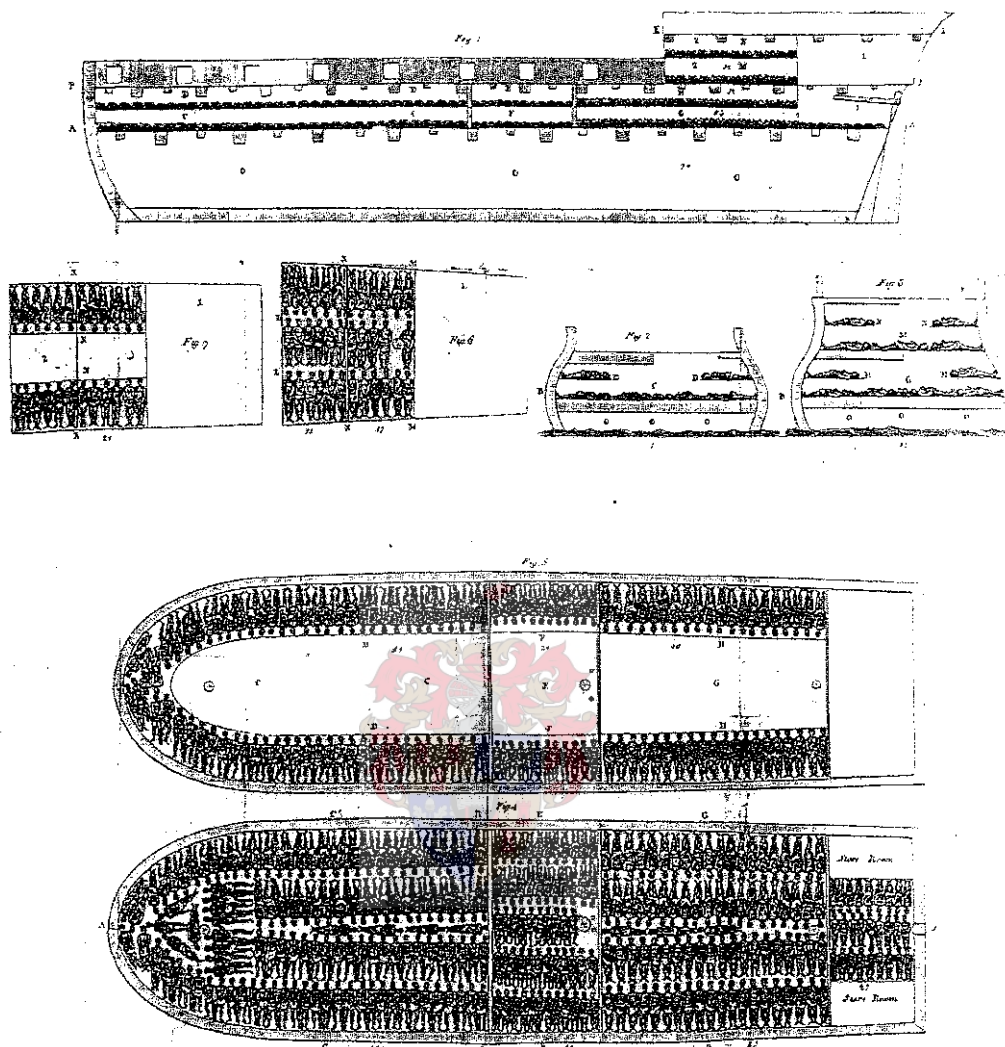




*Figure 48: A collection of shackles used to prevent slaves from escaping, found on board the French slaver Vigilante in 1822 and presently housed in the Port Elizabeth Public Library (Turner 1988:52).*

Apart from the slave traffic of the nearby international sea route, slaves would have been used in the Elim vicinity. The official day of the abolition of slavery in South Africa was 1 December 1834. The effect of this law was however postponed, because as “apprentices” the former slaves were forced to work without pay for their former owners for a further four years (Kahn 1999:13). At the end of this period, 1 December 1838 was celebrated at the Moravian Mission Stations and elsewhere with great joy (Balie 1992:41). Elim’s population grew quickly in the years that followed. During the years 1837 to 1840 the population nearly doubled, from 416 to 715. Fifteen years later in 1854, 1 241 residents were recorded (Kahn 1999:16). However, in those days families were large and twelve children was nothing out of the ordinary. The *1855 Periodical Accounts* reports of a woman who married twice and produced twelve children in each marriage (Balie 1992:97). As large families were the norm, the population increase should not be solely attributed to freed slaves.

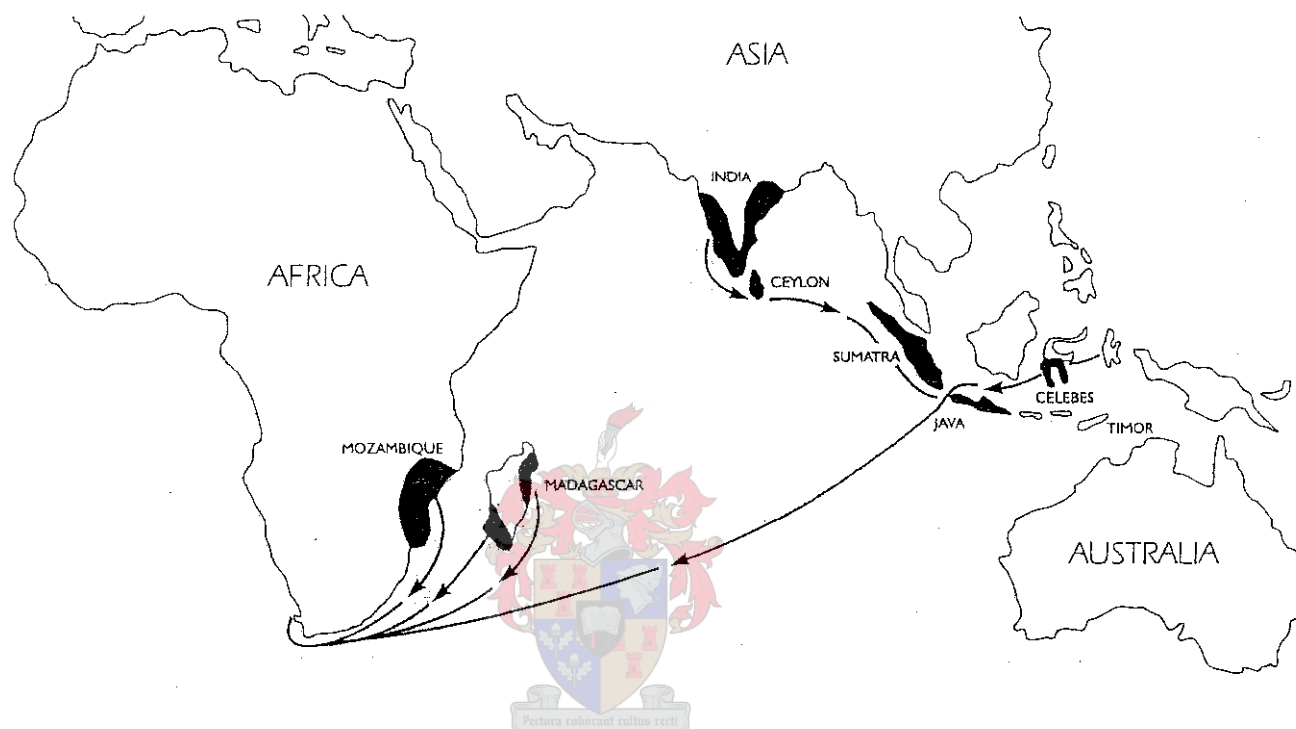
Although a larger number of former slaves settled at Genadendal and Mamre, the emancipation of the slaves proved to be of far greater significance to Elim, by virtue of the impact of such a large number of newcomers on the settlement’s tiny population.



*Figure 49: Bodies crammed into the hull of a late 18<sup>th</sup> century slave trader (Turner 1988:51).*

Undoubtedly, the entry of so many outsiders in such a short space of time, must have affected every facet of Elim's socio-economic life, both positively and negatively. The *1839 Periodical Accounts* reports that ninety former slaves came to Elim on a trail basis, necessitating the erection of many new houses and the laying out of additional streets.

The *1840 Periodical Accounts* mentions that there was still no lack of applicants from the ranks of former slaves, with missionary Hallbeck stating that at one stage there were almost daily applications for admission to the settlement (Kahn 1999:16). The freed slaves' applications to move to Elim were settled by the lot (Ulster 1974:14).



**Figure 50:** A map of the major slave trade routes to the Cape (Kahn 1999:10).

The *1863 Periodical Accounts* has the following report on an unnamed slave at Elim: *On the 13<sup>th</sup> of January we buried two members of the congregation. One of these was born on the east coast of Africa (Mozambique), and in his youth had been sold as a slave. A English ship captured the vessel in which he was being conveyed, and landed the slaves at Cape-town, where he was taken into the service of a farmer. When far advanced in years, he came to Elim, and received permission to live here, and two years have now elapsed since he became a communicant member of the congregation. He led a very quiet and retired life, and was not in the habit of expressing himself in many words concerning*

changed his first name to August Swart, probably after baptism. Another surname based on colour is Witling.

The image shows a handwritten ledger entry for August Swart. The entry is dated 1852 and lists several transactions. The total balance is 11.4.3. The word 'Debes' is written in the top right corner.

August Swart		Debes
1852	2 hemden a R. 2 1/2, 4 Bl. Dril a 1 1/2	9. 5. 3
Jan 3	10 l Holland 3 Stk 1/2 Bl. Kapa 5 de Knopen 1/2	5. 8
	garen 1/2 1 type doek R. 2 — Waldman (Kuni)	2. 14
	1/2 l. Compas R. 6, 2 Bl. Kapa 1 1/2, 6, 11 Bafle 2 1/2	11. 4. 3
	Balance op 22 Dec 1852	

Figure 51: October Swart's first name is changed to August.

The 1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger* contributes the following names to this general category: Jacobus Aplon, Bernhard Piets, Leentje Onverwagt, Constantin Pan, Petrus Damon, Verona Klaas, Wilhemine Adonis, Nathanael Assa, Amalie Carlin, Jaevl Smaal, Hendrik Kwint. Another source for names was the animal world, which produced names such as Arend *Arend* (Eagle), Johannes *Bear* (Bear), and Nicolaus *Kiwit* (Plover).

Jacob Reuter, Rea Booi (also spelt Boi) Aaron Trompetter, Manafse Gezwind (also spelt Geswint), Mart Geduld, Fluks Niemand, Josua Pleisier (also spelt Plaisier), Thomas Kapot, Jan Bartman, Abraham Klein, Daniel Avonduur, Friedrich Armoed, Phillippus Galand are descriptive names of the individual or his or her ancestor. The geographical whereabouts of a person also inspired surnames such as Swartland, Paulus Kellerland, Timotheus Karnzee and Kaatje Steenveld, Thomas Viegeland and Nicodemus Springveld (not from the nearby farm Springfield as a person with this surname was one of the original Genadendal settlers at Elim), (1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger*).

Some individuals were known by a single name such as Neaba, April, Damon, Kartara, Sanko and Domika. A later entry has Wyngaard in brackets following the name Sanko.

A number of African sounding names are found and were possibly first generation slaves or individuals who knew who they or their ancestors had been prior to being captured: Isaak Damanga, David Mazalah, Lucas Mopomi, Mapa Konkoekoe, Fredriech Neaba, Lukas Koeria, Rudolph Bondah, Manassa Gertse. The Slavery Pilot Report mentions *common slave surnames* of eastern derivation: Joemat or Joemath (Kahn 1999:39). Michael Balie, Kaatje Blaasje, Pit Blatje, Telmachus Jefta, Jak Tei, Petrus Bafs and Jacobus Safa are more examples from the *1852 - 1861 Debtor's Ledger*. However, a surname like Balie might refer to the place of origin namely the island of Bali, but could just as well point to the profession of cooper as a barrel is known as a *balie* in Dutch (Dr I Balie 2000:interview).

The Bible offered a wide selection for first names as well as surnames derived from Biblical first names. One's new name would have found favour with the missionaries as well as rid one of the slavery or Khoikhoi past and blended one into the social fabric of the mission society: Paulus Engel, Saul Benjamin, Henoch Goliat, Ezechiel Saul, Gotlieb Jonas, Elias Davids, Philipus (also spelt Phillipus) Adam, Domingo Abrahams, Adam Johannes, Vilander Joseph. The Report on the Elim Slave Route Project reports *common slave names* from the Bible: Esau and Moses (Kahn 1999:39). However, one of the Genadendal settlers who initially settled at Elim and who was probably a Khoikhoi, was named Saul.

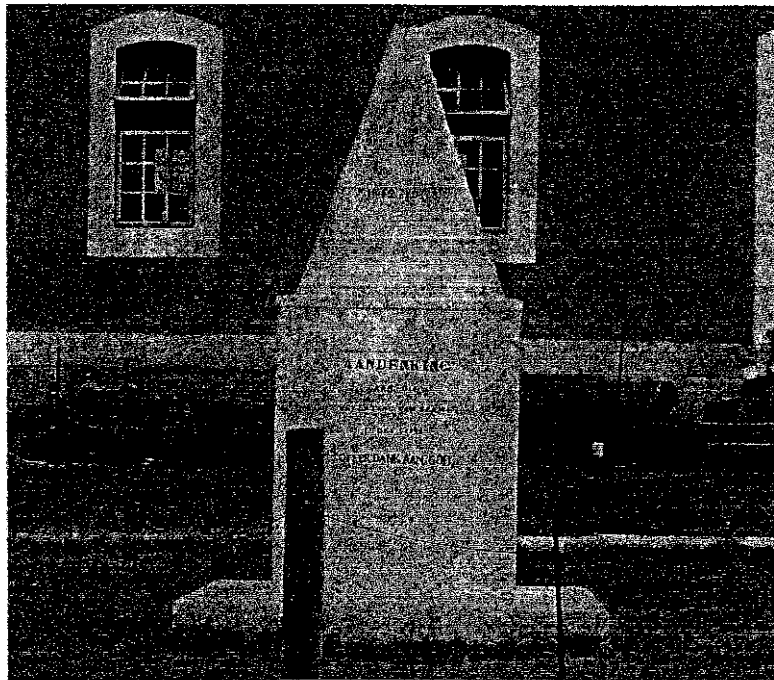
*Other common names, which may also point to slave ancestrs include Afrika, Jeftha, Gallant, Swart, Aploon, Jonker, Vilander [...]. Titus and Apollis* (Kahn 1999:39). However, one of the first Khoikhoi people converted to the original Moravian missionary, George Schmidt in 1737, was called Africo (Krüger 1966:20). The surname Afrika (also spelt Africa) might therefore point to a Khoikhoi ancestry, but could also be a slave name similar to *Europa*. The surname *Swart* is one of the most widespread and earliest European surnames in the area of study and is therefore not necessarily a slave surname. However many slaves hailed from Africa and Swart (Black) seems a logical slave name. It is also possible that a slave might have assumed his former owner's surname on emancipation. The *1852 - 1861 Debtors Ledger* has an October Swart who

Another entry is for Martinus Wyngard followed by (Damon). An entry for Dambi further identified him as being *by Pit Joubert*. Another group have the same or similar names and surnames: Christian Christian, Europa Europa, Arend Ahrend, Jacob Jacobs. It is possible that these were also single name individuals who doubled up their name in order to provide a surname. Europa Europa later changed his first name to Amos. Other individuals made first names of surnames or the other way around: Samuel Premer, Premer Aploon, Petrus Damon, Damon Wyngard (1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger*).

Name changes, probably due to baptism, have been preserved due to the meticulous book keeping of the Mission Store staff: Lena (changed to Erdmuth) Dolli, Kaatjie (changed to Mathilde) Engel, Joseph (changed to Theudor) Gezwind, Kaatje (changed to Christine) Steenveld, Pit (changed to Titus) Blaattie, Cobus (changed to Bernhard) Januarie, Efraim (changed to Tomas) January, Michiel (changed to Rudolf) Europa, Dominga (changed to Ferdinand) Abrahams, Vilander (changed to Josua) Joseph, Pit (changed to Titus) Bladje, Willem (changed to Daniel) Aploon, Isaae (changes to Filipus) Adam, Johannes (changed to Ephraim) Appel. Surnames were also changed: Tobias Jacobs (changed to Salbi) and Elisabeth Steenveld changed to Vilander (possibly due to marriage) (1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger*).



Elim has the only monument dedicated to the emancipation of slaves in South Africa. While religious celebrations dominated the centenary events in 1934, non-religious celebrations were also held. The Emancipation Pageant Committee under the leadership of Reverend Francis Herman Gow held an historical pageant on 10 – 11 January 1935 at Green Point Athletic Track in Cape Town. The pageant, which centered around the event of emancipation, consisted of fourteen 'episodes' in the history of coloured people at the Cape, including the period of slavery, and culminated in the ascension of *a ladder of progress*. The pageant was attended by large crowds and blessed by the white political establishment such as General Smuts. The conservative political views of the organisers were quite evident in the souvenir brochure, whose language reflected an unquestioning acceptance of the prevailing racial stereotyping of whites as superior and as harbingers of civilization (Kahn 1999:19).



*Figure 52: Monument commemorating the emancipation of slaves (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The African Political Organisation with President Dr Gow, promoted a narrow coloured sectarianism in the 1940s (Kahn 1999:20). The mission station of Elim, like many other rural villages and mission stations, had thriving African Political Organisation branches with an active membership. According to church documents, members of the African Political Organisation were directly responsible for the commemoration of the centenary through the erection of a memorial stone in front of the school. While the tone of the memorial event in Elim was religious, as evidenced by the words on the monument, *Offer dank aan God!* ( Give praise to God!), the initiative for the erection of the monument had been taken by members of the Elim branch of the African Political Organisation. The purpose of the monument was that [...] *die teenwoordige geslag en ons nageslagte aan daardie gewigtige dag van die verlede laat herdenk* (the present generation and our descendants can commemorate this momentous day from the past). In 1939, Mr Steenveld, the principal of the school, along with the support of African Political Organisation members, organised a thanksgiving service in further commemoration of the event on 2 December (Kahn 1999:23).

### 2.2.3 Whites

The 1893 *Periodical Accounts* states as follows: *Much white blood flows in the veins of the people of Elim. The majority of the people have light complexions* (1893:195). Although Oriental as well as dark complexioned freed slaves from Madagascar and Mozambique settled among the Khoikhoi Elimmers, most residents today (2000) are of light complexion, indicating a considerable European genetic contribution. This could be ascribed to the close contact between the mission station and the surrounding farming community (Balie 1992:162).

*There are a number of families at Elim who have European surnames: Swart, Van Breda and Talliard. The Van Bredas, who over the years owned various farms in the vicinity, held accounts at the Elim shop and also employed staff from Elim. De Heer M van Breda from the farm Ratelrivier (Badger River) had an account with the Mission Store between February 1852 and December 1856. Michiel van Breda of Boovlei (Top Marsh) of the farm Zoetendalsvallei (Sweet Dale Valley) held an account at the shop between 1877 (probably starting earlier) and 1885 and Juffrouw van Breda Bovley between 1885 and 1889. H. Breda Esq. Zoetendalsvallei held an account between 1893 and 1894. In an attempt to trace their Elim-based Van Breda ancestor, Aaron Pieter van Breda, a teacher at Piquetberg born in 1952 and Michael van Breda, a shop keeper at Elim, discovered entry no 500 in the All Saints Baptism Register to be that of a baby Abraham Adam born to Anna October on 18 December 1876. The father of the child was not recorded but it is stated that Anna worked as a servant on the farm Zoetendalsvallei. The Elim School Fees Register (1898 – 1920) records an Abraham + Mary Breda. These names are crossed out and entered below as Abraham + Mary van Breda.*

The fact that the name Anna was used to name two of the couple's children and another named Meikel, the Zoetendalsvallei Van Breda's family name, seems to confirm the link between the fatherless and surnameless baby Abraham, christened at the All Saints Anglican Church at Bredasdorp and Elim's Abraham van Breda. Meikel was apparently named after Michiel van Breda (born in 1775) after whom Bredasdorp was named.



		Secte.
Beer,	Christian & Christiane	22.
Bothe,	Christlief & Virana	113.
Baptis		153.
Ben	Samuel	20.
<del>Braunman</del>	<del>Martin</del>	<del>64</del>
<del>Breiter</del>	<del>Abraham &amp; Mary</del>	<del>200</del>
Benjamin	Hendrik, Charlotte	220
Binneluis	Dale & Botky	224
Broskels	David & Jofie	9
Bredkaup		10
Saartman	Martha	105
Banghan	Thomas, Gert, Jofie	24
van Breda	Abraham, Mary	204
Baker	Federick, Theres	247

Figure 53: The surname Breda changes to Van Breda (School Fee Register 1898 – 1920).

SHEET NO. 1 ACCOUNT NO. 11

NAME Abraham "John" Breda

ADDRESS Wolven

CAPE TOWN LTD. VERONIQUE LEUBER

Figure 53: A carpenter by trade, Abraham decided to change his first name to John in 1919 as recorded in the Debtor's Ledger.

Titus Leopold 28.  
 Temmer Jacobus 35. 337. 600.  
~~Titus~~  
 Temmer Emma 98.  
 Taillard Dirk 79. 323. 396. 551.  
 Trompette Aaron 114. 332.  
 Temmer Du. 120. 411.  
 Temmer Adolphe 131. 361.  
 Theunis Petrus 154. 421. 184.  
 Temmer Tobias 170. 383.  
 Temmer Prenatus 170. 426.  
 Trompette Cornelia 193. 344. 500.  
 Tei Jak 195. 436. 608.  
 Toit da Gabriel 149.  
 Toit de Franz 207. 209.  
 Temmer Petrus 297. 302. 341.  
 Titus Amos 311.  
 Taillard Isaacs 355.  
 Taillard Dirk jun. 343.  
 Taillard Paulus 406.  
 Toit, Petrus Johannes Jan 432.  
 Toijt Cobus Du. Jacobus Loorn 444.  
 Taillard ~~Thomas~~ <sup>Pathegel</sup> 495.  
 Titus Stefanus 523.  
 Toit de Andries, Bastiaat Kloof 612.

Uit Lydia 186.

Uit Wilhelm 220 455 515.

Vogelond Thomas 269.

Figure 56 The T Index page of the 1852 - 1861 Debtors' Ledger.

The later 1876 – 1893 *Debtors Ledger* records Dirk Taillard from the farm *Helderfontein* (Clear Fountain) as having one of the biggest accounts of the Mission Store. In this Ledger it becomes clear that the European side of the family had multiplied, were still big clients of the Mission Store and farmed on the following farms: *Moddervlei* (Mud Marsh), *Paardeberg* (Horse Mountain), *Voorhoede* (Vanguard), *Rhenosterkop* (Rhinoceros Hill) and *Pietersielienrivier* (sic) (Parsely River).

The 1898 – 1920 *School Fees Register* shows that the Elim branch of the Taillard family had also multiplied so that eight Taillard couples had children at school during that time: August and Mathilde, Paulus and Johanna, Jezaias and Rozalia, Jozias and Minna, Louis and Lydia, Theodore and Aletta, Samuel and Louisa as well as widow Johanna.

Ik de ondertekende ~~van den~~ ~~Heeren~~ Taillard  
 bekent by deze schuldbrief te zijn aan de Heeren de Elia  
 de som van Roemen twaalf shilling elf pence  
 (£ 13. 12. 11) en belooft deze som binnen een jaar,  
 dat is met de voltop in het eerstvolgende jaar te betalen  
 of een red wil te brengen als de schuld bedraagt.  
 Elia d. 21 November  
 1893  
 H. A. Taljard

**Figure 57: An “I owe you” note of 1893 was clearly not written by the signatory, probably because he was illiterate. Note the spelling of Taillard in the first line and the simplified phonetic version of Taljard in the signature.**

The "European" Swart and the Elim Swart families are both complex because of their size. In the 1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger* 32 Swarts are recorded. It appears that Hendrik Daniel and Jan (Jan zoon, Vogelvallei) were recorded twice so that a total of thirty individuals were recorded. Those in the following group are probably of pure European descent judging by the first names and farm names used to identify them. Sometimes a clue is given by a following or preceding entry for another person who bears the surname Swart who can be identified as purely European: Gert (Nigrini scoonzoon, *Wolfgat*) (Hyena Trap), Martinus (Cobus Zoon, *Kleinrivier*) (Small River), Hendrik Albertus (*Dirk Uyskraal*) (Dirk Uys Enclosure), Jan Urbanus (*Eilandsdrift*) (Island Drift), Jacobus (*Zoutbosch*) (Salt Bush), Hans (Hans zoon Kleinrivier), Kaatje (*Vogelvley*) (Bird Valley), Jan (Vogelvley), P N (Herm zoon, Zoetendalsvallei), Dirk (*Pitaurivier*) (Pitau River), Jan (Jan zoon Dirk Uyskraal), Petrus Arnoldus Jacobus (Vogelvley) and his companion Johannes Nic (Daniel zoon, *Zeekoegat*) (Hippopotamous Hollow), Jan (Klaas zoon, Zoetendalsvallei), Cobus (*Honingrug*) (Honey Ridge), Susara Johannah (Jan dochter Vogelvalley), Berend (Hans Zoon, *Kleinrivier*), Cobus (Martinus Zoon, *Honingrug*), Jacobus (*Zoutbosch*), Jacobus Johannes (Pit Zoon, *Zoutbosch*), Klaas (Zoetendalsvallei), Cobus (*Honingrug*). Two further Swarts, Stephanus, as well as his son also named Stephanus were probably of European descent as the first name, Stephanus, is in the European tradition and does not appear in Elim's subsequent records.

Johannes, October, and Aron are probably of Elim descent judging by the choice of first names as well as the absence of any further information which indicates that the shop staff knew them well enough. October further changed his name to August, which indicates slave or Khoikhoi descent followed by a baptism.

Another Swart, Hendrik Daniel (*Hendrik Zoon*) later changed his name to Rudolf. Probably this same individual is later identified as (*Zoon van Martha*). Judging by the first names and the person's later choice to change these names it is probable that he was the son of a white father and a mother from Elim. Another person, Jacobus, is also identified by his association with Martha (*Martha mam*). Petrus Arnoldus (*Hine Mathee*)

Rede ... 300	...
Rede ... 47. 324. 471. 411	...
Rede ... 56. 411	...
Rede ... 62. 411	...
Rede ... 70. 411	...
Rede ... 77. 411	...
Rede ... 84. 411	...
Rede ... 91. 411	...
Rede ... 98. 411	...
Rede ... 105. 411	...
Rede ... 112. 411	...
Rede ... 119. 411	...
Rede ... 126. 411	...
Rede ... 133. 411	...
Rede ... 140. 411	...
Rede ... 147. 411	...
Rede ... 154. 411	...
Rede ... 161. 411	...
Rede ... 168. 411	...
Rede ... 175. 411	...
Rede ... 182. 411	...
Rede ... 189. 411	...
Rede ... 196. 411	...
Rede ... 203. 411	...
Rede ... 210. 411	...
Rede ... 217. 411	...
Rede ... 224. 411	...
Rede ... 231. 411	...
Rede ... 238. 411	...
Rede ... 245. 411	...
Rede ... 252. 411	...
Rede ... 259. 411	...
Rede ... 266. 411	...
Rede ... 273. 411	...
Rede ... 280. 411	...
Rede ... 287. 411	...
Rede ... 294. 411	...
Rede ... 301. 411	...
Rede ... 308. 411	...
Rede ... 315. 411	...
Rede ... 322. 411	...
Rede ... 329. 411	...
Rede ... 336. 411	...
Rede ... 343. 411	...
Rede ... 350. 411	...
Rede ... 357. 411	...
Rede ... 364. 411	...
Rede ... 371. 411	...
Rede ... 378. 411	...
Rede ... 385. 411	...
Rede ... 392. 411	...
Rede ... 399. 411	...
Rede ... 406. 411	...
Rede ... 413. 411	...
Rede ... 420. 411	...
Rede ... 427. 411	...
Rede ... 434. 411	...
Rede ... 441. 411	...
Rede ... 448. 411	...
Rede ... 455. 411	...
Rede ... 462. 411	...
Rede ... 469. 411	...
Rede ... 476. 411	...
Rede ... 483. 411	...
Rede ... 490. 411	...
Rede ... 497. 411	...
Rede ... 504. 411	...
Rede ... 511. 411	...
Rede ... 518. 411	...
Rede ... 525. 411	...
Rede ... 532. 411	...
Rede ... 539. 411	...
Rede ... 546. 411	...
Rede ... 553. 411	...
Rede ... 560. 411	...
Rede ... 567. 411	...
Rede ... 574. 411	...
Rede ... 581. 411	...
Rede ... 588. 411	...
Rede ... 595. 411	...
Rede ... 602. 411	...
Rede ... 609. 411	...
Rede ... 616. 411	...
Rede ... 623. 411	...
Rede ... 630. 411	...
Rede ... 637. 411	...
Rede ... 644. 411	...
Rede ... 651. 411	...
Rede ... 658. 411	...
Rede ... 665. 411	...
Rede ... 672. 411	...
Rede ... 679. 411	...
Rede ... 686. 411	...
Rede ... 693. 411	...
Rede ... 700. 411	...
Rede ... 707. 411	...
Rede ... 714. 411	...
Rede ... 721. 411	...
Rede ... 728. 411	...
Rede ... 735. 411	...
Rede ... 742. 411	...
Rede ... 749. 411	...
Rede ... 756. 411	...
Rede ... 763. 411	...
Rede ... 770. 411	...
Rede ... 777. 411	...
Rede ... 784. 411	...
Rede ... 791. 411	...
Rede ... 798. 411	...
Rede ... 805. 411	...
Rede ... 812. 411	...
Rede ... 819. 411	...
Rede ... 826. 411	...
Rede ... 833. 411	...
Rede ... 840. 411	...
Rede ... 847. 411	...
Rede ... 854. 411	...
Rede ... 861. 411	...
Rede ... 868. 411	...
Rede ... 875. 411	...
Rede ... 882. 411	...
Rede ... 889. 411	...
Rede ... 896. 411	...
Rede ... 903. 411	...
Rede ... 910. 411	...
Rede ... 917. 411	...
Rede ... 924. 411	...
Rede ... 931. 411	...
Rede ... 938. 411	...
Rede ... 945. 411	...
Rede ... 952. 411	...
Rede ... 959. 411	...
Rede ... 966. 411	...
Rede ... 973. 411	...
Rede ... 980. 411	...
Rede ... 987. 411	...
Rede ... 994. 411	...
Rede ... 1001. 411	...

Figure 58: The two S index pages of the Debtors Ledger of 1852 - 1861.



zoon) was probably the son of an Elim mother with the surname Swart. It is useful to consult the later *Elim School Fees Register of 1898 – 1920* to see which first names were passed on to descendants. The names Martha and Hendrik feature again: Elias and Lisbeth, Efraim and Sara, Samuel and Elise, Jacobus and Martha and Hendrik and Emilia, as well as a single mother called Lydia.

### 2.3 Elim in context of the white farmers of the Strandveld

In 1796 the Strandveld farmers sent a commando to Genadendal (then called Baviaanskloof) to forcibly return farm labourers who had settled at the mission station back to the farms. However, the attitude of the colonists towards the missionaries changed radically for the better under the influence of some Dutch Reformed mission friends. A marked change of public opinion was brought about by a visit of *Dominee* M C Vos, and a number of Reformed mission friends who visited Genadendal the following year. They made a thorough inspection of the settlement and held a service for the farmers at *Zoetmelksvlei* (Sweet Milk Valley). A few weeks later, farmers from the Strandveld told the Moravian brethren of a revival among themselves, caused by this visit, and asked permission to attend services at Genadendal. The Reverend Meent Borchers of Stellenbosch apologised to a visiting brother for his former behaviour, after having taken a closer look into what the Moravian Church stands for. Therefore, the very farmers who were violently opposed to the Genadendal mission station had in one year experienced a complete change of heart. They even expressed the wish that one of the Moravian brethren should come to live among them. This wish was fulfilled twenty-five years later with the establishment of Elim (Krüger 1966:79).

Hallbeck, assisted by Bonatz was to bring the Gospel to the *Diaspora*, the dispersed, scattered and surviving groups of Khoikhoi as well as the slaves on the farms in the Elim surrounds (Prins 2000:2). In order to achieve this goal, good relations with the farmers were of vital importance and remained so in later years when continued European support of the Mission Stores provided financial surpluses with which the Moravian Church could partly finance missionary efforts in other parts of South Africa.

According to the *Periodical Accounts 1837*, colonists at Bredasdorp, Napier and Stanford regularly attended church services at Elim and the missionaries often visited the farms to conduct services there, and in this way friendships were established with the surrounding farming community. The surname De Bruin is mentioned in particular as a mission friend (Balie 1992:94).

In 1859, when the first organ was inaugurated, more than thirty wagon loads of people arrived for the celebrations. From the donations received on that day, one hundred and thirty pounds could be paid towards the cost of the organ, so that only fifty pounds were outstanding (Balie 1992:118). Similarly, when the new church wing was inaugurated in 1865, more than four hundred whites from the Bredasdorp and Napier vicinity attended the celebrations (Balie 1992:122).

The jubilee celebrations on 1 August 1874 (Elim's fiftieth celebration) and on 18 October 1885 (the fiftieth anniversary of the church building) were preceded by great activity. The buildings were renovated, the woodwork was painted and a fresh coat of lime completed the picture. The interior of the church was decorated by long festoons of flowers. Details of the festivities were widely communicated and guests arrived from all over. Preachers from other churches and congregations received an opportunity to address the guests. The organ, violins and wind instruments were played (Balie 1992:123).

The *1863 Periodical Accounts* relates about a later than usual harvest: *Harvest being much later this year than ordinarily, only those of the congregation who were employed in the neighbourhood of our settlement could attend the Christmas-meetings. But many of the farmers living in the neighbourhood were present at these services in our chapel, and we trust not without a blessing for their souls* (1863:629).

Queen Victoria's fiftieth jubilee was celebrated on 20 June 1887. On this day the Queen's biography was read to the congregation who had the opportunity to thank the Lord that slavery had been abolished in Victoria's reign (Balie 1992:124). The victory of the British in the Anglo Boer War was celebrated joyously at Elim. Flags were raised in front



of many houses and farmers who came shopping were snarled at by residents (Balie 1992:164).



*Figure 59: A multitude of people congregate for some celebration in the early 1900s.*

This pro-British attitude was probably caused by a burning hope that under British rule persons of colour would enjoy the same privileges as whites. Possibly the autocratic rule of the German missionaries evoked revolt. The crowning of Edward VII in 1902 and George V in 1911 were celebrated at all the Moravian mission stations. *God save the King* was sung, British flags were flown and children received a 'coronation medal' with Edward VII's face on it (Balie 1992:194).

The annual church bazaar was generally well supported each year by *buitenvrienden* (outside friends), who made donations of produce or other articles to be auctioned at the function. The following farms are mentioned between 1885 and 1906 as donating particularly generously: Boovly, Helderfontyn, Ratelrivier, *Baartscheedersbosch* (Beard Shavers' Bush), *Jan Swartzkraal* (Jan Swart's Enclosure), Paardeberg and *Duinefontyn* (Dune Fountain) (Balie 1992:208).

Albert van der Bijl was the first farmer to re-employ Elimmers on his farm after a rumour had done the rounds in 1881 that small pox had broken out in Elim (Ulster 1974:16). In 1985 there were Moravian schools or churches at *Houtkloof* (Wood Ravine), *Zondagskloof* (Sunday's Ravine), *Spanjaardskloof* (Spaniard's Ravine) and Fairfield where Mr van der Bijl had offered the mission school premises for the Hansierivier (*Hansies' River*) Primary School (Moos 1985:28).



*Figure 60: The Quoin Point home of the Schippers family is adorned with pictures of British royalty (L van der Hoven 1999).*

In general however, despite their support for Elim, white Afrikaner farmers attended the Bredasdorp Dutch Reformed Church or its services at Wolvengat while the English opted for the Anglican All Saints Church at Bredasdorp. An exception was that on 28

November 1987 Christof Albertyn (Brandfontein) and Elizabeth Barnard were married in the Elim church by the bride's father, who had served as Dutch Reformed minister at Gansbaai for many years (Ds Barnard 1998:interview).



*Figure 61: A missionary family (probably the Birnbaums) on their way to the church.*



## CHAPTER 3

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT AND OUTSTATIONS

#### 3.1 Vogelstruiskraal

*Vogelstruyskraal* was first registered as a loan farm to European settlers on 9/2/1758 in the name of Hans Jacobus Brits and Matthys Lourens Rostok (1762). On 15/11/1796 the property was transferred to Louis Taillard (1796) (Mr H Wessels 1998:written communication) and in quick succession to H Alders (1801), C J Louwrens (1804) and G du Toit in 1807. By 1813 the farm belonged to Samson Deyer and there were no flourishing farming activities. Deyer had fourteen horses and seventeen oxen and in that year only five *mud* (three bushel measure) of corn were harvested, while other farms in the Zoetendalsvallei Fieldcornetcy were much more prosperous (Prins 2000:1).

The Moravian Church Management at Genadendal (established in 1737 and resumed in 1792), under the leadership of Peter Hallbeck, was looking for a suitable property to alleviate the population pressure on the existing mission stations at Mamre (established in 1808) and Enon (established in 1818) (Balie 1992:iii). The Moravians heard that the brother-in-law of the missionary at Zuurbraak, then a London Missionary Society station, wished to sell his farm next to the Nieuwejaarsrivier in the Strandveld (Ulster 1974:9). Hallbeck inspected Johannes Petrus van Schonke's farm called Vogelstruiskraal. He found a fine farmstead with a big garden in front of it containing fruit trees and bordered by a quince hedge. A new additional building served as a carpentry workshop and stable; a small water mill, a small smithy and two animal (enclosures) (Balie 1992:11) were additional improvements to the property.

Hallbeck found the property particularly suitable for a mission station because in addition to the buildings there was good soil for gardening, plenty of water, enough room for horse and pig farming as well as sympathetic farmers in the vicinity (Ulster 1974:9) who experienced a shortage of labour (Balie 1992:11). The farm was approximately 3 000 morgen and a price of 15 000 Dutch Guilder was considered fair. On 12 May 1824 the first property purchased



*Figure 62: An early 1900s view of Elim with the vegetable gardens in the foreground (Cape Archives Depot:R521).*



*handed. They generally receive their wages in corn, and that is far more advantageous for them than to be paid in money. A man is able in a good season to earn corn sufficient to provide wife and family with their daily food for some months. This year the farmers were unwilling to part with their grain, and pay for the services received in money, to the great disadvantage of our people (1886:623).*

The Moravian Church, like the feudal lord or the *baas van die plaas* (boss of the farm), held the central position of authority (De Villiers 1948:101). A Moravian Bishop, Buchner, made the following observations on his visit to Elim in 1892-3: *Many a peasant in Germany would be proud to own such houses, gardens and lands as the people of Elim.* In his opinion church life was intensive and the public order good. It surprised Buchner though, to be called *groot baas* (big boss) by the Elimmers, and he noticed a lack of frankness among the church wardens and overseers. HA Kulnick, a chief missionary is reported to have governed the settlement in the manner of a patriarch. *A picture in the office at Elim shows him with a grey beard, a bonnet, spectacles and a frock-coat, sitting in a chair as if on a throne (Krüger 1998:37-38).*

As far as the more tangible influences on the settlement's development are concerned, the location of the original farmstead, mill and outbuildings was determined by the water supply, and the farmhouse in turn became the nucleus of the mission station. The settlement is more or less situated in the middle of the farm. The cottages, discussed in detail in chapter six, was laid out on the dry hill to the west of the farmstead. Eight roads run from east to west, allowing most houses a north-south orientation to maximise the warm northern sunlight and cool southern shade. Kerk Street was the first street and new roads were added higher up the hill, to the south. Five short roads run in a north-south direction. Alleys between houses conveniently connect the streets perpendicularly for pedestrian use (see figure 2.13).

The *kerkwerf* (discussed in detail in chapter 4), is a term used for a group of buildings to the east of the settlement. These included a shop, a mill, a butchery and buildings used as residences of missionaries, teachers and business administrators as well as a guest house. These buildings were occupied by European missionaries until Reverend J Ulster became the

first non-European minister in 1965. De Villiers states that as far as could be ascertained, separate residential areas for Europeans and non-Europeans was the express purpose of the first missionaries (De Villiers 1948:101). The non-European residents of the mission station were not allowed to be on the kerkwerf after 5 o'clock in the afternoon (Mrs M Schippers 2000:interview). The church and school buildings form the transition between the kerkwerf and the residential area.

A portion of the Elim property, including the historic water-mill, was reproclaimed as a national monument in the middle of the 1940s. *Elim is one of the best preserved Moravian mission stations [...] The church and community should strive to preserve this historical place* is the conclusion of the town development study concluded in 1995 (Overplan & Associates 1995).

### 3.3 Water sources

The Nuwejaarsrivier runs in an easterly direction into the Zoetendals Vlei and eventually into the Indian Ocean. In winter the Nuwejaarsrivier can become an angry torrent and in summer be reduced to a meek stream. In 1909 a trench of approximately 430 metres long, five metres wide and 1,5 metres deep was dug to change the course of the river in an attempt to reduce the flooding of gardens. Not only was flooding successfully reduced, but another additional area became available for cultivation (Overplan & Associates 1995:30).

The Koue Berge to the west of Elim as well as the hills between Elim and Wolvengat are watersheds (Overplan & Associates 1995:11). *Fynbos* is the best plant cover for ensuring a good supply of clean water from catchments in the mountains and hills. This is because fynbos plants use relatively little water themselves, and the excess is discharged into rivers and streams (Kilian 1996:22). Dense alien vegetation, conversely, use up to thirty percent of available water for themselves (Pamphlet: *Berge, Fynbos en Water*). For this reason, the alien clearing program at Elim is called the *Work for Water Project*.



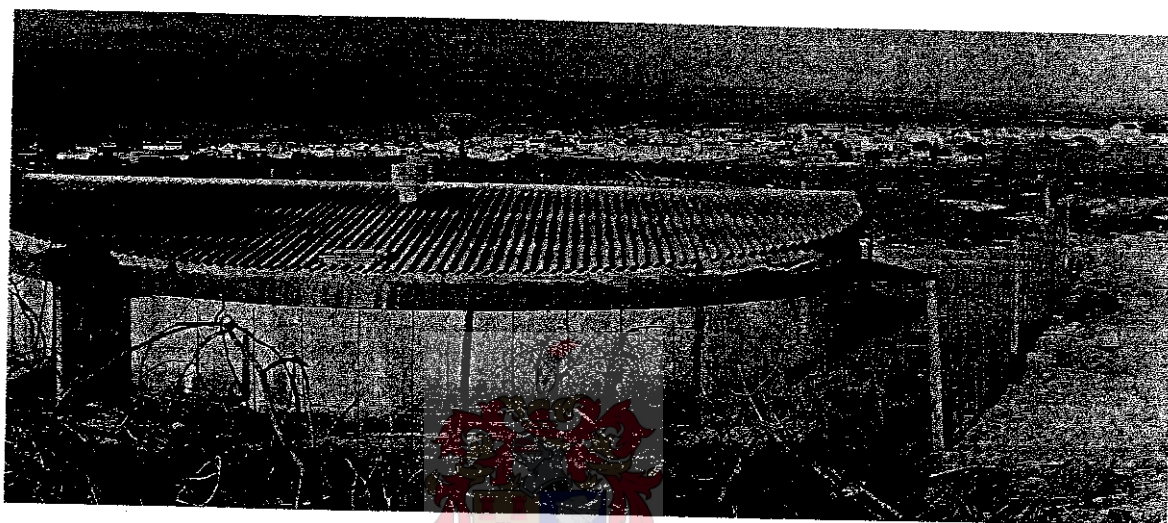


*Figure 63: The Nuwejaarsrivier being re-routed by all Elim's able men in 1909.*



*Figure 64: An open furrow in Waterkant Street, irrigated gardens and was favoured by laundresses (Cape Archives Depot: R518).*

Today (2000) a reservoir collects the water, which is gas chlorinated by an automatic device. In 1995 the delivery capacity of the combined feeding springs was not known (Overplan & Associates 1995:29). The reservoir is 78 metres above sea level and the settlement lies between 34 metres and sixty metres above sea level. There is therefore a restraint on the village expanding any further to the south, as the water pressure is very low.



*Figure 65: Elim's domestic water comes from clear springs to the south-west of the town (L van der Hoven 1999).*

### 3.4 Communal areas

Like the pigsty areas around the village, other communal areas were set aside: there was an animal grave yard beyond the *Braktuine* (brackish gardens), the laundry areas beyond the smithy and along the furrow between the houses and the gardens to the south of the village, and a sportsfield near the present cemetery (Balie 1992:187).



*Figure 65: The park in the centre of the kerkwerf in the first half of the 1900s.*

A park was developed in the centre of the *kerkwerf*. There are no developed open spaces or play areas in the village. Sportsfields have been developed on the outskirts of the village. The area between the old and the new school is used for church bazaars, the flower festival and other major events, but is uneven and undeveloped. A public ablution block with flushing toilets has been built to the west of the mill. The ablution block between the church and the old school has also been modernised. Vandalism is however, currently (2000) a problem.

The Geelkop Private Reserve has been discussed in chapter one, but must be mentioned here. In the pamphlet, *Elim: A Celebration of Fynbos and Culture*, sponsored by the Overberg Expo and Elim Tourism Committee, the following points are made under the heading: Why conserve Fynbos?

- Providing a focus for eco-tourism
- Ensuring traditional cultural activities
- Flower Show and the Love Festival
- For spiritual upliftment and the opportunity to enjoy being outdoors.

The Reserve will hopefully be of as much use to residents and visitors alike.

### 3.5 Outstations

#### 3.5.1 Houtkloof

Houtkloof, a farm 35 kilometres from Elim (close to the present Van Brakel Store on the R316 between Caledon and Napier), was the property of a well to do worker, Domingo van Rede, who bought the farm of 4 000 acres from his former employer for 300 rix-dollars. Since the farm is situated between Genadendal and Elim it was a favourite stop-over for travellers (Ulster 1974:13). After Van Rede bought the farm, nineteen farm workers wished to receive the Gospel. A few days before Van Rede's death on 29 March 1834, the first candidate was baptised: the aging widow Maria Cloete who later settled in Elim. Domingo had been married to Martha, a girl from Stellenbosch. She managed the farm and supported the missionary's aims. In 1834 the congregation had grown to twenty four (Balie 1992:69). Martha died soon after her baptism on 6 June 1835. The Houtkloof farm was inherited by ten persons, among whom were Jan Cloete, Isaak van Rede, Paulus van Rede, Daniël van Rede, Anna and Klaas van Rede (Balie 1992:69).



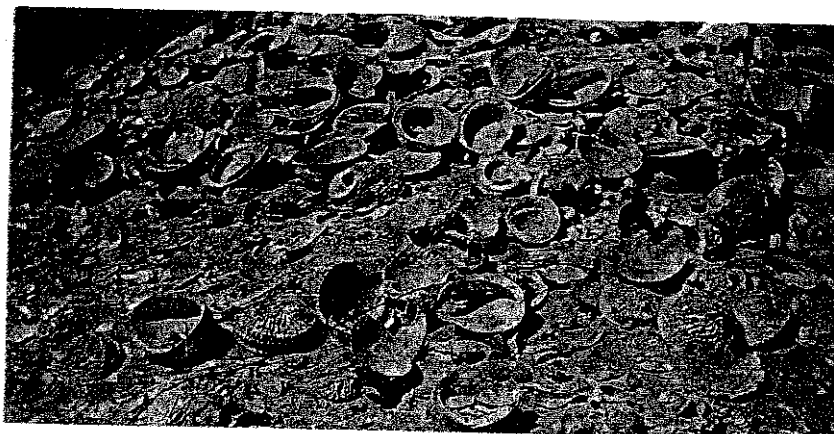
*Figure 67: Probably the first building at Houtkloof, measuring eight by five metres. Behind it is the church, which was built later.*

The *1842 Periodical Accounts* mentions the completion of a building of eight metres by five metres at Houtkloof (see the building on the left of figure 67). It also served as accommodation for visiting missionaries. The Elim congregation later donated a bed, table and chairs while the English congregation's contribution was towards church benches (Balie 1992:69).

In 1845 a school with forty five children was started at Houtkloof with Carl Jonas as teacher of whom it was reported in the *1856 Berigten: Hy schynt doordrongen te zyn van het gewigt zynar roeping* (He seems filled with the gravity of his calling). The older children were instructed between eight and eleven in the morning and the little ones in the afternoons from one until three o'clock. The teaching of Bible History and Natural Science was facilitated by pictures sent from Zeist. Mr Jonas received free board and lodging and a salary of four pounds per month (Balie 1992:69).

In the 1850s, despite the missionaries' most earnest pleas, a liquor licence was granted to open in the vicinity of Genadendal - with disastrous results for the station. The following year the licence was not renewed and the closest liquor outlet to Genadendal remained the one at Caledon. The church community was elated and gave expression to their gratitude by building a church at Houtkloof out of mission resources. The Genadendal congregation donated timber for the roof while the Elim congregation donated the door and windows (Ulster 1974:14).

By the late 1850s the attendance had dwindled to such an extent that children who still wanted to learn were sent to Elim (Balie 1992:94). During a drought in the 1860s the school was closed and the church services were suspended because most people had left the Houtkloof area due to famine (Prins 2000:5). The school was only re-opened in 1904 (Ulster 1974:14).



*Figure 45: Shell fish deposits along the coast indicate the early inhabitants' reliance on this food source, which was more dependable than the grazing for livestock (J Albertyn 1980).*

Archeological, anthropological and linguistic studies have revealed that it is incorrect to make rigid racial distinctions between *Bushman* (San) and *Hottentot* (Khoikhoi). In the seventeenth century framework of social structures an individual was regarded as *San* by Khoikhoi herders if he was a person without cattle who had been integrated into a Khoikhoi group in a subordinate class position or was a member of a clan which possessed no cattle but lived exclusively from hunting, fishing and gathering plant foods. Like the San, the Khoikhoi were also hunters and food gatherers but, more significantly, their existence evolved around a pastoral economy (Bredekamp 1986:30). At Cape Agulhas, fish traps were built by the Khoikhoi, which provided food through the changing of the ebb and flow water levels.

The Khoikhoi communities often shared a grazing area until it was depleted, after which they split up into smaller groups. As semi-nomadic communities they frequently adhered to a fixed migratory pattern according to seasonal changes. Throughout southern Africa their sheep and cattle assured the Khoikhoi of an independent pastoral mode of existence. Livestock were slaughtered in times of emergency and for ritual purposes, and in times of war their long-horned oxen were used for defensive purposes, to shield fighting men. These oxen were also used as pack animals to convey their reed-mat huts and other

worldly possessions. Furthermore the number of cattle possessed by an individual determined his status in the hierarchical Khoikhoi society (Bredenkamp 1986:30). Sheep, goats and dogs were kept (Meffert 1996:3).

Since the welfare and self-sufficiency of the Khoikhoi were dependent upon the ownership of livestock, setbacks such as drought, disease and theft were often disastrous. When these catastrophies occurred they would revert to hunting and gathering. In an attempt to build up their depleted herds and flocks again, impoverished individuals or groups sometimes entered the service of more prosperous Khoikhoi as servants and stock herders. This process of possible economic recovery was virtually destroyed when the coming of the Europeans disrupted the geographic isolation of the Khoikhoi (Bredenkamp 1986:30). The Khoikhoi's cattle and sheep were the very things the pioneering Europeans were after, which brought the two groups into early contact. Bartering between the Chainouquas, the Hessequas and Europeans already started in 1660. However, the Strandveld was populated relatively late by Europeans. The area was also not on the routes of early explorers so that very little about the Khoikhoi in the Elim area was described in official documents (Report by Prins 2000:1).



*Figure 46: An illustration by an unknown Dutch artist, (c 1700) showing goats, sheep and oxen (Smith 1993:60).*

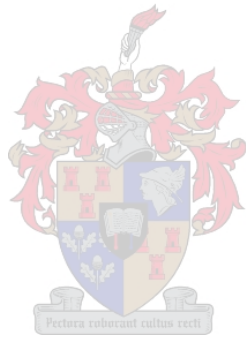


*Figure 69: The Van der Heyden family of Houtkloof, circa 1915.*



*Figure 70: The Houtkloof school, pupils and teacher, circa 1925*





### 3.5.2 Sondagskloof

The following story of the initial settlement at Sondagskloof appeared in *Die Huisvriend* (The House Friend), Moravian journal of September 1998. The farm is situated roughly between Elim and Stanford and is also known as Sandy's Glen after the first owner, who was reputedly of Scottish descent. The farm was then bought by another European farmer who presumably divided it among his children. A dispute among the family members ended in court and a section of the farm came on the market due to the burden of legal fees.

Johannes and Christiana Engel bought the farm and registered it in the name of their son, Herman Engel. A descendant also named Johannes (born around 1910) who lived his entire life at Sondagskloof related the following: In 1878 the first church service was held at the home of Adolf and Carolina Engel. The services were well attended by all races from the surrounding farms. Carolina died in 1914 and Adolf followed his children to Cape Town. For some years the services were discontinued. In 1918 Herman Engel bought a neighbouring farm and the services were resumed in a room annexed to Herman's home. Samuel Will, manager of the mission stores and resident of Elim, donated paraffin tins and pine planks which initially served as benches (*Die Huisvriend* September 1998:103).



**Figure 70: Missionaries on their way to the outstations by horse cart.**

Missionary Birnbaum travelled by horse cart and held services at Sondagskloof here once a month. Augustinus Hans, a church council member and carpenter by trade, transported the missionaries with his horse cart for many years. The journey started on Saturday afternoons. The party headed off to Houtkloof and stayed the night. On Sunday mornings a service would be held there before the journey was continued to Sondagskloof where a service was held that Sunday afternoon and the weary travellers returned to Elim late on Sunday (*Die Huisvriend* September 1998:104).



*Figure 71: From left: Philipina, Gustav and Hester Engel. Philipina was an Engel who later married August Engel.*

Philipina Engel was the driving force behind the establishment of a school at Sondagskloof. The parents employed Nelly Dyers as teacher in 1924. Missionary Birnbaum and the Elim kerkraad felt it was time to build a church. Herman Engel donated the land for the building, next to his home. In 1927, thanks to unpaid community service by Josias Engel and Anton Joemath, the building project was started. The cornerstone was laid on 28 February and the building was inaugurated on 21 April (*Die Huisvriend* September 1998:104).

The building was also used as a school and Mr J Forster was appointed as headmaster and paid by the government. In March 1957 a school building was completed and Mr HM Engel appointed as headmaster in addition to another teacher. In 1972, a hostel for eleven children was opened. On 21 April 1978, the 50<sup>th</sup> birthday of the Church was celebrated and on 23 April of the same year in which the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Moravian congregation at Sondagskloof was celebrated (*Die Huisvriend* September 1998:104).



*Figure 72: The Engel family of Sondagskloof in 1915 in front of Theodor's home.*

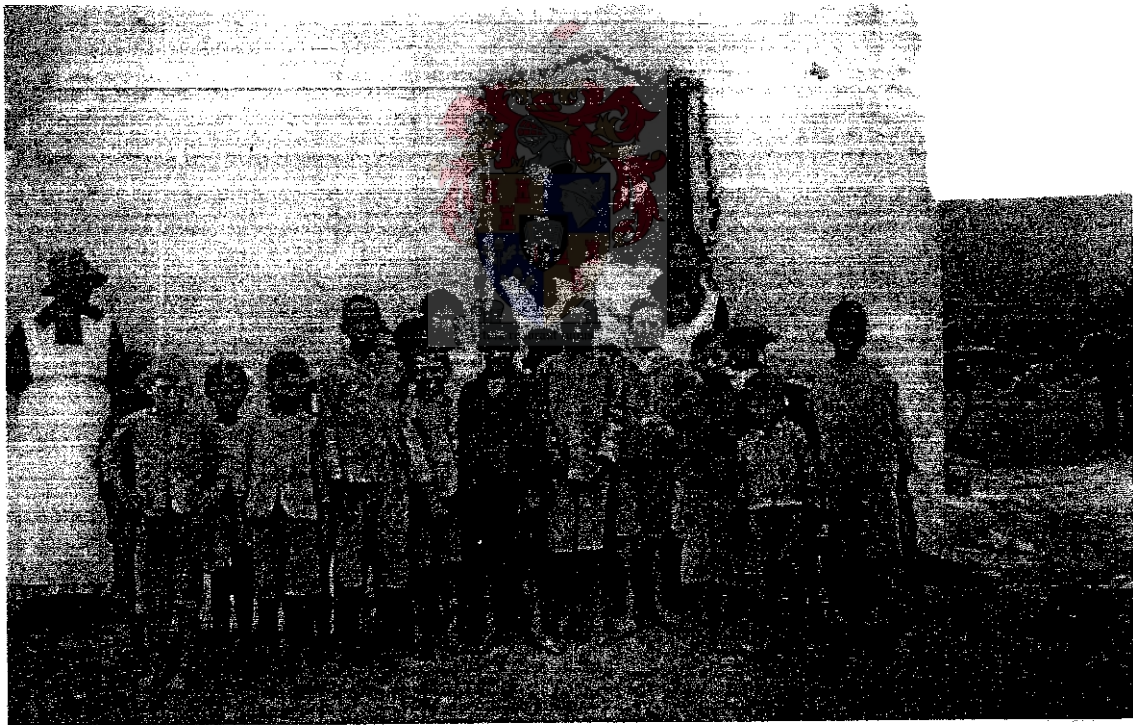
The photograph was probably taken on the occasion of his wedding to Katriena van der Heyden (see figure 68), judging to the palm leaves around the front door. The elderly Christiana stands in the back row. Her son Herman is to her right and August to her left while Theodor wears a rounded collar and stands in front of the door. Philipina is seated to the right of August. The young Johannes Engel is seated at his mother Philipina's feet (E Hans 2000:interview).



*Figure 73: In 1937 the retired August and Philipina moved to Elim. Here they are in Elim with their four daughters and six sons. Johannes (standing forth from the left) lived at Sondagskloof until his death in 1998. He had been responsible for keeping the church books.*

### 3.5.3 Spanjaardskloof

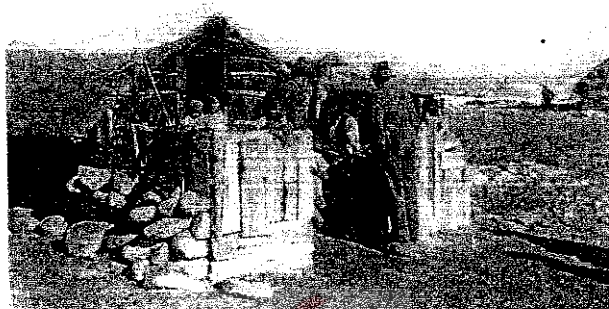
A church was built on the farm Pietersielierivier then owned by Alexander MacMillan, situated five kilometres to the north of Elim. The building also served the farm workers' communities of Kersgat and Pietersielieskloof, both as a church and a school. On 25 July 1928 Missionary Birnbaum applied to move the church/school to Spanjaardskloof for two reasons: heavy rains made it impossible for the people of Spanjaardskloof to reach Elim and because the church had more control over activities at Spanjaardskloof. A school was opened at Spanjaardskloof in 1927 with Mr van Niekerk as the first principal. Martha van Breda is currently (2000) the principal of this school (Mr Josias Engel 2000:interview).



*Figure 74: Opening of the Spanjaardskloof school with Mr van Niekerk and Reverend Birnbaum standing in the doorway. Josias Engel who is now 79 years of age (2000) stands to the left with his hands on his hips.*

### 3.5.4 Buffeljags

Services were held regularly at the fishing community at Buffeljagsbaai, although no Moravian buildings were erected.



*Figure 75: Every available material including stones, thatch and driftwood was used to build the homes.*

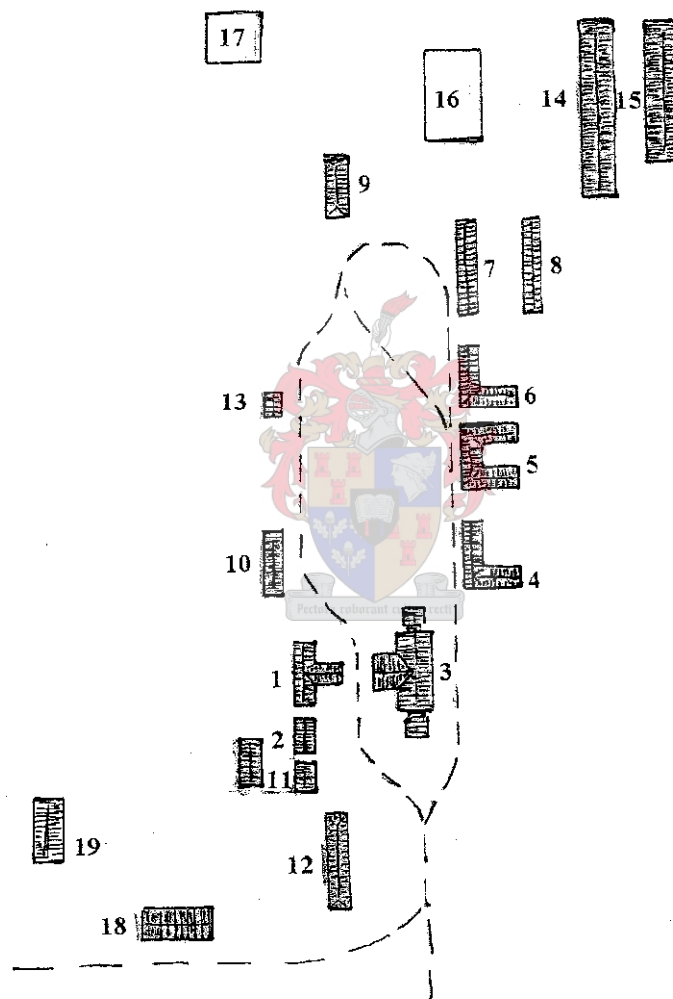


*Figure 76: Two women stand opposite Birnbaum with babies in their arms. This is possibly a christening service under way.*

## CHAPTER 4

### THE KERKWERF (CHURCH COMPLEX)

#### 4.1 Introduction



*Figure 77: The schematic representation is an extension of Fransen and Cook's version. 1. farmstead, 2. 1826 building, 3. church, 4. first shop, 5. parsonage, 6. business staff residence, 7. Mission Store, 8. butchery, 9. mill, 10. old hotel, 11. post office, 12. transport shed, 13. ablution block, 14. rebuilt flower shed, 15. new flower shed 16. mill pond, 17. old cemetery, 18. school master's residence, 19. first mill (Fransen & Cook 1980:351)*



The *kerkwerf* was reserved for non-permanent residents: missionaries, visitors, traders, farmers and customers of the various enterprises. As the establishment developed, overnight accommodation soon became essential as transport was slow and arduous. Various authors have given different names to the kerkwerf buildings according to the purposes the buildings were used for at the time of writing, which causes some confusion. In order to clarify the matter a schematic representation is included (see figure77).

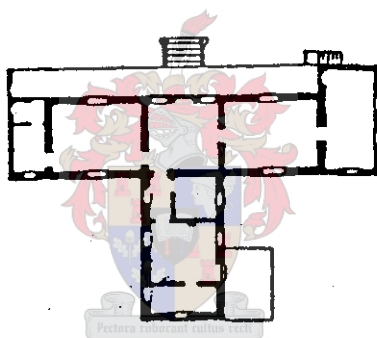
#### 4.2 The farmstead



*Figure 78: The farmstead gable (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The farmstead was the starting point of the mission station both in a material and a spiritual sense. The *kerkwerf* developed to the east of this point and the settlement to the west (Overplan & Associates 1995:6) The farmstead served as residence for the first missionary, Bonatz. It also housed the first school which initially opened its doors to four pupils (Moos 1985:26).

The front gable carries the inscription “L.T. ANNO 1796”. The Vogelstruis loan farm was re-registered against the name of Louis Taillard in the year 1796, which explains the acronym on the gable. The front *holbol* (convex-concave) gable and chimney side gables each has a window, allowing light into the attic. These gables are of particular interest as they were the blueprint which was adapted to create later gables on the *kerkwerf*.



**Figure 79: The farmstead ground plan as recorded by Balie in 1992.**

In 1874 the original Cape Dutch farmstead suffered extensive repairs and alterations. The 1874 Elim Mission Accounts report that the old *afdak* (lean-to roof) was demolished and a stoep was added. Sea shells were collected and burnt in order to obtain lime for the repairs (Balie 1992:105). At the De Hoop Nature Reserve to the east of the research area there is a constructed lime oven built of stones.

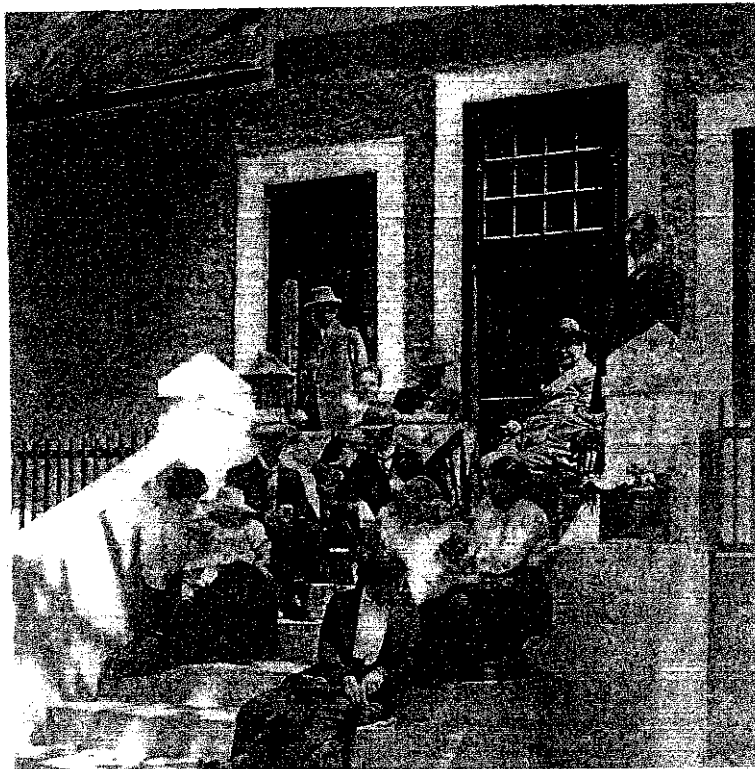
In the early 1900s the building had a raised foundation of approximately one metre in the front. Six stone steps led to the stable front door, which was capped by a twelve pane fanlight. On either side of the front door are two twelve pane casement windows. A double casement window with a total of twenty four panes was placed centrally between the first mentioned

windows and the corners of the building. Wooden shutters were fitted to all windows, including the gable windows. The plaster was originally smooth.



*Figure 80: The farmstead in the early 1900s (Cape Archives Depot:R526).*

When comparing figures 80 and 81 it becomes clear that extensive alterations were done to the building. In 1913 the building was altered and used as a residence for the mission business staff (De Villiers 1948:10). Mr U Naumann, manager of the Elim Mission Store, lived here for about thirty years (Ulster 1994:27). The shutters were removed, bigger windows fitted and the walls rusticated and decorated with smooth plaster bands around the windows and doors.



*Figure 81: A later image than figure 80 with relaxing missionary staff on the stoep.*



*Figure 82: The bared wall where a section of plaster has fallen off (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The present casement windows have eight small panes each and were installed recently, judging by the use of brick between the wood and the stone walls. The original building was built of rocks held together by clay mortar. When Balie documented the building in 1992 he found a wooden floor (Balie 1992:22). He suggests that the building might have had an earth floor originally, but this is unlikely as the raised level of the floor would have required extensive filling. The high ceilings are also of wood.

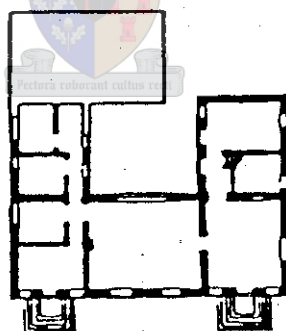
For the last few years the building has been used as a boys' dormitory. Currently a new dormitory is under construction to the east of the Elim Tehuis. Plans are underway to renovate the farmstead with the aid of the South African Heritage Resource Agency, so that the building can serve as a second parsonage (Rev Hans 2000:interview).

### 4.3 The 1826 building

In the *1827 Periodical Accounts* mention is made of a small thatched building which served as a school, storage room and carpentry work shop. From an unsourced photograph Balie reports that the building faced had two rooms (Balie 1992:23). The building positioned between the farmstead and the post office in figure 100, might well have been this building.

### 4.4 The parsonage

The parsonage was to serve as residence for the two missionary families so that the farmstead could be used as school and church. The builders were all from Genadendal and the tradesmen stood under the leadership of Dawid Balie. The parsonage was completed on 26 November 1827 (Balie 1992:23). The building has panelled stable doors topped with fanlights. The thatched roof ends in two *wolfneus* (wolf nose) gables. A twelve panel casement window flanks each entrance. Another two casements are placed centrally in the façade and illuminates a communal room.



*Figure 83: The U-shaped ground plan of the parsonage (Balie 1992).*

Two sets of stone steps led up to two separate entrances and living quarters. However a central room, probably a dining room, was communal. A reason for this unusual layout might be found in the Moravian missionaries' custom of a shared household. It was reasoned that shared eating facilities promoted conversation and co-operation and freed more members of the staff to focus on spiritual work. By the late 1800s the lifestyle of the missionaries became



*Figure 84: Juffrouw Birnbaum cooking for her own family in the parsonage kitchen, a luxury unknown to earlier missionaries.*

In more recent times the parsonage became easily identified by the bell on the side of the road. After the communal household was abolished the unusual layout of the building came to serve another unusual Moravian arrangement: the head missionary's dual role as leader of both the temporal and spiritual life at the mission station. The western wing became the missionary's office from where he could tend to his duties as the shepherd of the flock (also at the outstations), superintendent of the *Elim Tehuis*, school manager of five schools as well as *voorstander* of the congregation. From the *kerkkantoor* (church office) all aspects of the town management, such as building sites, vegetable gardens, fields, livestock, streets, water supply, electricity supply, sewage as well as health services, were administered (Ulster 1974:31).



*Figure 85: The parsonage viewed from the church window with Reverend Birnbaum mounting an open horse carriage.*

#### 4.5 The first shop

From 1840 the licensed sale of commodities played an ever increasing role and produced sizable profits for the Moravian Mission. The Elim shop grew into a flourishing business, which caused Hallbeck some anxiety, because it could put the Mission in a wrong light. On the other hand, it indicated that the purchasing power of the inhabitants was rising under the new liberal policy of the Government. Also, labourers from the farms were no longer restrained by passes from visiting the mission store, and even the farmers were increasingly buying from these shops (Krüger 1966:181). It is probable that the initial shop was run from the farmstead. A building with the exclusive purpose of housing a shop was built.

However, the completion date of this 19<sup>th</sup> century building is unknown (Balie 1992:24). The Shop's Debtors Ledgers were discovered by the author in the attic of this building. They record that the shop opened its doors on 2 January 1852. On that day Andreas Mentoor (p1), Herman Dietrich (p2), Andres Joubert and Lucas Brinkhuis (p3) as well as Louisa and Theresia Steenveld (p4) bought articles on account. On 3 January the only account customer was Piet Pietersen (p5). The next day's credit transactions are recorded on page six, and so on.

Because the dates and the pages follow a consecutive pattern, and the book is clearly marked "1" on the cover, it strongly appears to have been the first Debtor's Ledger.

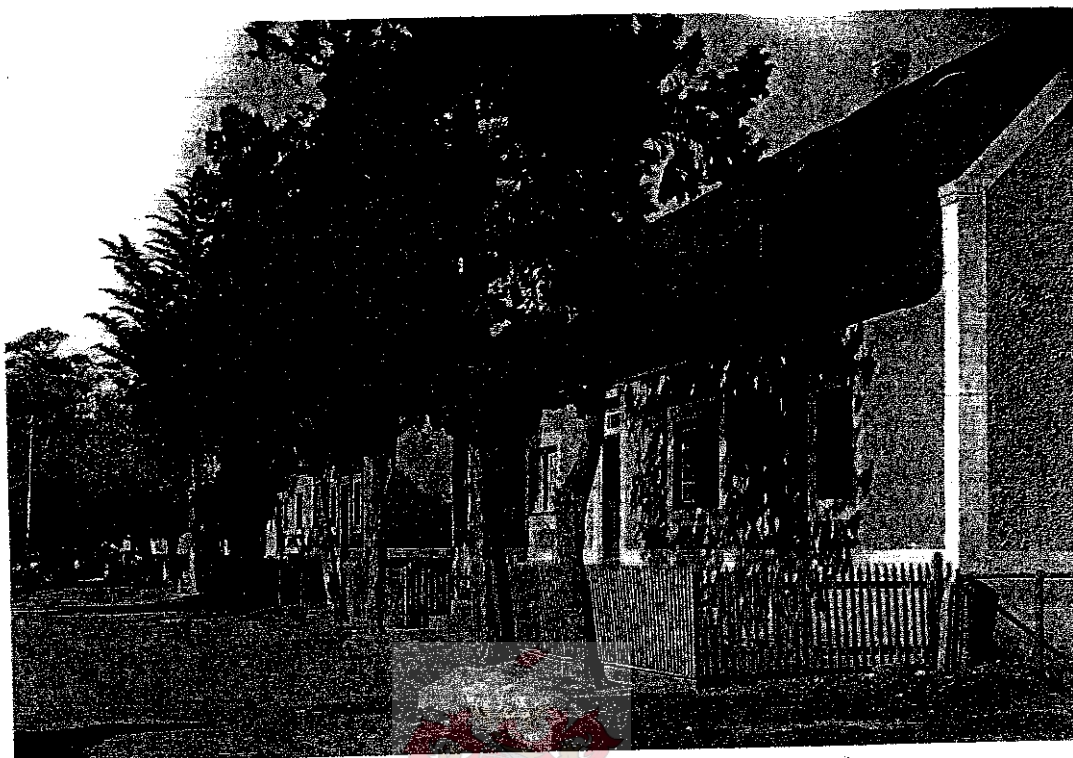


*Figure 86: Raised foundations and six centrally placed stairs leading to the front door of the first shop (Cape Archives Depot:R529).*

A comparison between this building and the older farmstead reveals that the front doors are in both cases of the stable kind and are topped by fanlights. The old shop does not have the decorative central gable; this decorative luxury might have been reserved for the church, the shadow of which fills the foreground of figure 86. Instead of the gable window, two dormer windows set in the thatch allow light into the attic, which could well have been used as storage space. The building has four windows in the façade. It appears that only the window closest to the church was curiously a single casement while the others were double casements. This window could have been added later, but it seems improbable as the ground plan of the building is quite symmetrically arranged.

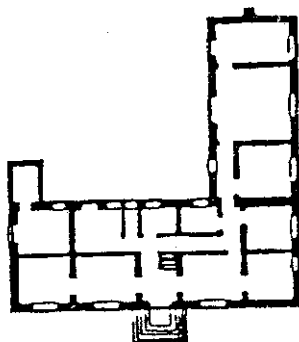
The oblique angle of the photograph offers a clearer view of the doors and windows. It seems that the eight pane casement windows used here are similar to the present windows of the farmstead. The chimney gables were carefully copied from the farmstead. The old shop appears not to have been fitted with shutters.





*Figure 87: A slightly more recent version of the old shop as can be gathered from the pruned trees and the presence of what looks like a telephone pole in the centre left (Cape Archives Depot:R515).*

The present shop building was completed in 1898. In 1913 the first shop building was altered and served as residence (De Villiers 1948:10) for Samuel Will, manager of all the Moravian Mission Stores, which included at that stage the Mission Stores at Genadendal, Mamre, Goedeverwacht, Clarkson and Enon (Ms M Schippers & Ms C Hans 2000:interview). Reverend (later Bishop) Schaberg lived here between 1930 and 1934. A shrubless lawn between their bedroom window and the village offered an uninterrupted view. Reverend Birnbaum often stood on this lawn facing the village: *to see if Elim was still where it had been the night before*, some joked (Moos 1985:18). In 1966 it served as second parsonage. The building is currently used as a guest house but the lack of modern facilities and the unusual layout render it unfit to compete with accommodation currently offered on surrounding farms.



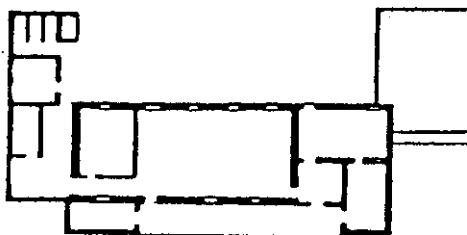
*Figure 88: The L-shaped ground plan of the old shop as recorded by Balie in 1992.*

#### 4.6 The old hotel

A building known as the *Nieuwe Huis* (New House) was erected in 1901 as a storage area for vegetables and horse fodder. After building alterations (Balie 1992:184) it became the *hotel* and offered accommodation for visiting farmers and traders. Students and visiting church officials, amongst others, were also housed here. The familiar sight of ox wagons heavily laden with wheat, farmers stocking up with provisions or wagons being repaired at the smith shop became a more rare sight as the towns of Napier and Bredasdorp developed (De Villiers 1948:29).



*Figure 89: Three heavily laden ox-wagons leave the kerkwerf.*



*Figure 90: Groundplan of the old hotel as recorded by Balie in 1992.*

According to Desiree Picton-Seymour, the following characteristics (also displayed by this building) are typical of the Victorian style:

- a verandah running the length of the facade
- verandah roof of corrugated-iron (Picton-Seymour 1977:31) supported by
- decorative woodwork
- rustication (rough stonework with regular, deeply incised joints usually found at the base of a building) (Picton-Seymour 1989:186).

The verandah of this specific building is shaped in an ogee form.

It is not clear which building pioneered Elim's particular brand of rustication on the *kerkwerf* (the rough plaster contrasted by decorative smooth plaster bands around the windows, side gables, foundations and front door). It may have originated with the old shop or the parsonage, to compensate for the simple exteriors. However, the restrained Neo-Classical building style of the early 1800s combined with the absence of decoration in the Moravian tradition might again have resulted in a parsonage and shop without any decoration.

Figure 96, an early 1900s photograph of the 1834 church, prior to the Victorian style period, reveals plaster bands around the doors and windows. The 1865 wing of the church was constructed using an interesting form of rustication: the plaster between the stones extend approximately five centimetres beyond the stone surface (see figure 101). The old hotel was completed in 1880 and here the rustication is an expected detail on a building displaying so many other Victorian characteristics. It is possible that the rustication was applied to the

already existing parsonage, church and old shop long after they had been built, in order to create more of a close-knit stylistic unity on the *kerkwerf*. Rustication was certainly applied to the farmstead later than the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, judging by the appearance of the building in figure 80.

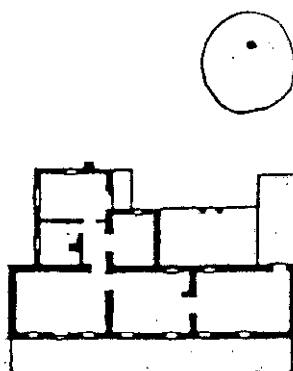


*Figure 91: The old hotel must have been a welcome sight for many a weary traveller (Cape Archives Depot: R527).*

In 1963 the old hotel building was used as a dormitory for the handicapped children of the Elim Tehuis. The building was more recently used as premises for a sewing enterprise and at present it houses the Elim Bakery.

#### **4.7 The business staff residence**

In 1901 additional accommodation for the mission staff was built (De Villiers 1948:13). The business staff residence follows an L-shape as illustrated by Balie. An additional thatched rondawel in the backyard may have been built for an additional staff member once the house was fully occupied. The roof apex is much lower than that of its earlier neighbours, but it follows the same decorative finishes as the rest of the *kerkwerf* and forms a close-knit unity despite its height.



*Figure 92: Ground plan of the business staff residence (Balie 1992).*

Fire places can be found in all the *kerkwerf* residences. The fire places are usually placed centrally below the apex of the roof so that the chimney protrudes through the apex. The joint between the thatch and the chimney is waterproofed with iron sheeting bent at ninety degrees, or with plaster bands.



*Figure 93: The business staff residence (L van der Hoven 1999).*

The building is still used as accommodation for the manager of the mission store (2000).

#### 4.8 The schoolmaster's residence



*Figure 94: This building is a synthesis of the kerkwerf architecture and the cottage style, in the rustication detail having been applied to a slightly enlarged version of cottage no 3 (figure 186) (L van der Hoven 1999).*

Despite its cottage style, this residence is part of the *kerkwerf*. Candidates for the headmaster post were invited to ensure a firm religious foundation to education, which was always viewed as an integral part of the missions' responsibilities (Overplan & Associates 1995:6). This building was built in 1902 (Balie 1992:184). A comparison between figure 64 and the more recent version above, reveals that the door to the left of the building had been replaced by a window and that an extra section had been added. Twelve pane sash windows made way for nine pane casement windows. Apart from these alterations, the building appears unchanged, in a good state of repair and is occupied by the present headmaster.

The school master's residence has a limed wall of approximately one metre high. This sturdy enclosure was probably necessary as the sheep kraals and dip trenches were across the road. Because Elim is situated on a hill many cottages as well as residences had stairs leading to the front doors (figures 80, 81, 89), or a stoep of stone or concrete (figures 81, 92 and 94).

## 4.9 Churches

### 4.9.1 The 1824 farmstead church

On 1 August 1824 the first church service was conducted in this building (De Villiers 1948:12). Once the parsonage had been completed in 1828 the farmstead, although fairly small (14,15 metre by 4,61 metre), was dedicated as a church and inaugurated on 9 January 1828 (Balie 1992:40). It is in this farmstead that the first church wedding at Elim took place, between Heinrich Onverwacht en Christine Michaels on 24 March 1831 (Balie 1992:34).

A concluding service was held on 16 October 1835 and the congregation prepared themselves for the grand inauguration of the new church two days later (Balie 1992:40).

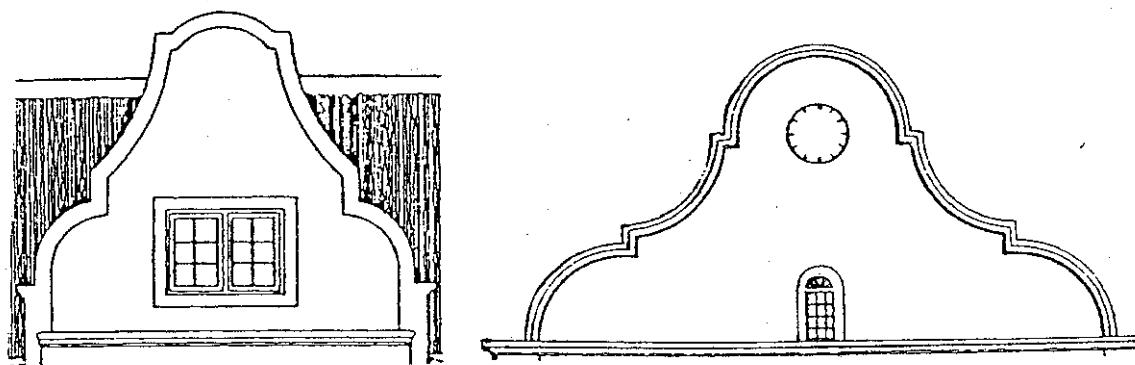
### 4.9.2 The 1835 church

A church more impressive than the church at Genadendal, forming the focal point of the future settlement, was Hallbeck's vision for Elim. After the Herrnhut Management granted permission in 1833, the colonial architect, John Skirrow was approached to draw up plans. Skirrow suggested a hanging ceiling, to be suspended with chains from the rafters. He was of the opinion that not even six pillars would lend comparable strength to the construction and *it is an immense advantage to have the church unencumbered by supports* (Balie 1992:23-24).

On 27 January 1834, the Elim community started digging the foundations of their church. The work progressed well and by June 1834 the walls stood 5,8 metre high. The rainy season soon slowed the work. The able men were then called up for border duty in Kaffraria and the work came to a halt. The beams could only be laid in March 1835 (Balie 1992:23).

While the building was in progress carpenters made the windows and other woodwork in the local carpentry workshop under the trained and skilled guidance of missionary carpenters Christian Ludwig Teutsch and Johann Bonatz. In 1832 a British barque sailing from Liverpool

to Bombay was wrecked on a reef near Dyer Island (Burrows 1994:171). Teutsch bought hull planks of this wreck to use in the construction work of the church (Balie 1992:23).



**Figure 95: The concave-convex gable of the homestead and the later church gable (Balie 1992:100a).**

The church was to have a wooden gallery in the northern wall which faced the pulpit. The church could seat 600-700 people and would be bigger than the churches of Genadendal and Mamre. Masons from Genadendal, who had earned a reputation for fine workmanship, were chosen for this important task. Hallbeck wrote: *I doubt not they will do the work as well as any European tradesmen* (Balie 1992:23). In the *Periodical Accounts 1836*, pages 508-9, the following is reported: *it was built exclusively by Hottentots of Genadendal and Elim, whereas the Mission was at considerable expense to hire masons, etc. from Cape Town, when the churches at Genadendal and Groenekloof were built, which after all cannot be compared to that of Elim, for strength, beauty and neatness of workmanship. The finest in the interior of Africa and one of the neatest buildings in any of the interior districts of the colony* (Balie 1992:24). Compliments streamed in.

The church was inaugurated on Sunday 18 October 1835. The Bible text for that day from the Moravian text book was Psalm 95 verse 6: *Kom laat ons aanbid en neerbuk; laat ons kniel voor die Here wat ons gemaak het* (Come let us pray and kneel; let us kneel before the Lord who made us) (Moos 1985: 23). To this day this text hangs centrally above the pulpit.





*Figure 96: The 1835 church. This early 1900s photograph has been edited by the author to show only the original building (Cape Archives Depot: R352).*

The I-shaped building comprised the pulpit and two wings each ending in a *holbol* gable. The wings are no less than twelve metres wide and approximately twenty six metres long (Fransen & Cook 1980:350). The greater width necessitated the deviations from the farmstead gable, which is just over three metres wide at its base (see figure 95). The east and west façades extend just less than one metre beyond the gable base on either side in a pilaster. Presumably this extra lip protects the vulnerable thatch overhang.

The *holbol* gables have arched windows just above the plaster bands at the base of the gable. The centrally placed double front door is topped with an arched fanlight. On either side of the front door are composite windows. The windows are slightly wider than the door. These windows comprise an upright rectangle of four casement windows, placed two above the other and topped by arched fanlights similar to that of the door. The southern face of the building has four more of these big windows equi-spaced along the wall. The pulpit partly obscures the bottom half of the two central windows. The thatched roof has a rounded dormer window set

in the south-facing side. It is probable that a similar window arrangement lit up the north-facing side too.

When on Sunday 18 October 1835, the clear chiming of the bell called the congregation to the church for the first time, about six hundred people attended the ceremony. The Mission Directorate paid for the building of the bell support (De Villiers 1948:78) which was decorated with an urn at the apex. After the ceremonial unlocking of the church doors in the name of the Trinity, the congregation had reason to feel humble pride on entering the building with its white walls, curtains, dung floor and a few benches without back supports (Moos 1985:23).



*Figure 97: A friend of the Mission from Cape Town donated a church bell to Elim. An arched bell cage was built (Balie 1992:24) close to the southern wall near the Western entrance.*

Based on this success, Elim masons were awarded an equally prestigious project in 1848: building the Agulhas Lighthouse (Balie 1992:147). The *1863 Periodical Account* reports a visit to the lighthouse by the missionaries: *On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March we were greatly rejoiced to Welcome Br. And Sr. Bechler among us. We made use of this opportunity to undertake an excursion to the extreme point of Africa (Cape Agullas), where we visited with much interest, the lighthouse, which is erected at an elevation of eighty feet above the level of the sea.*

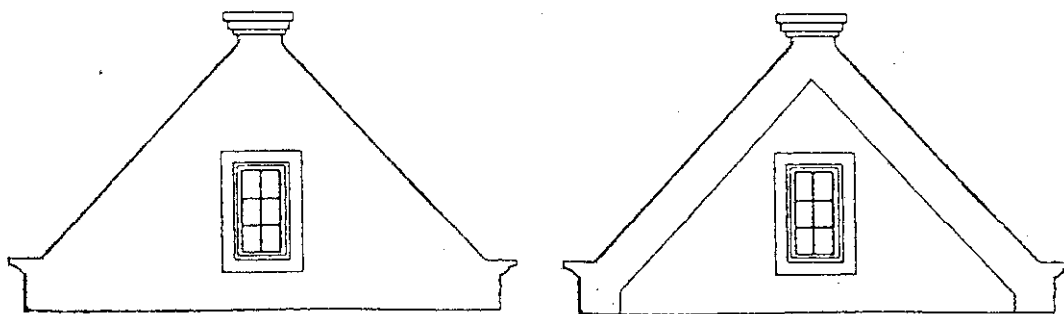
Though wishing to set off betimes the next morning on our return home, we were delayed till 3 P.M. by the circumstance that three of our horses had strayed during the night to such a distance that they could not be recovered before the lapse of several hours (1863:624). This venue remained a favourite destination for the missionaries.



*Figure 98: Agulhas Lighthouse in the early 1900s.*

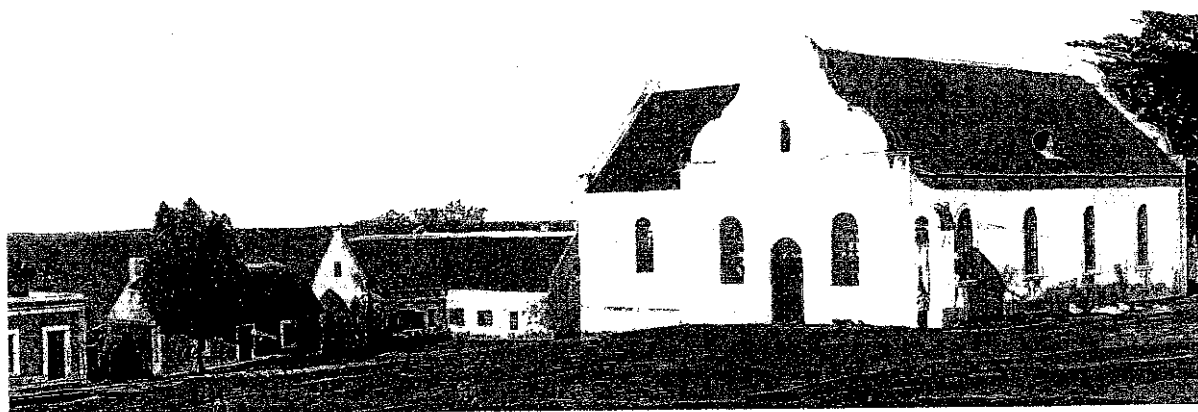
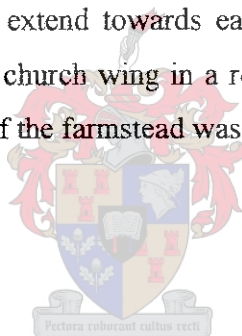
#### 4.9.3 The 1865 church

Missionary Lehmann reports in the *1840 and 1841 Periodical Accounts* with great praise about Elimmers' spiritual life. Services were so well attended that latecomers could not find a vacant seat (Balie 1992:112). The result was that a few years after its completion, the original church proved too small and plans were made to extend the church by an additional wing. The cost of this alteration was carried by the congregation as well as by donations from friends in Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland and elsewhere in South Africa (De Villiers 1948: 91). The *1863 Periodical Accounts* has the following note written by WF Bechler: *I beg to express the most cordial thanks, not only of myself but on behalf of our whole Mission in South Africa, to our esteemed friends of the London Association, for their valuable and generous aid towards the establishment of the station at Baziya – the erection of the school-house at Engotini – the enlargement of the church at Elim, and various repairs to the church at Mamre* (1863:611).



*Figure 99: Chimney gable of the homestead and subsequent kerkwerf chimney gables  
(Balie 1992:100b).*

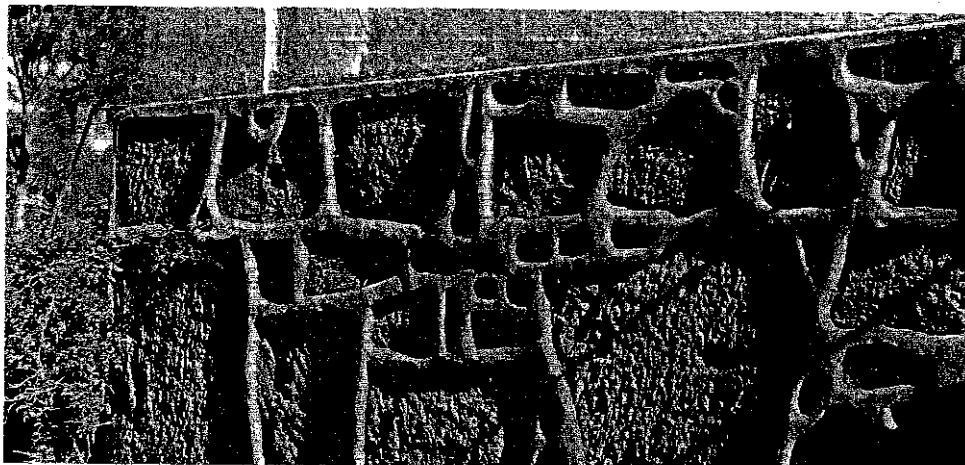
Instead of a rectangle the church now follows a T-plan, similar to the farmstead. The two vertical axes of the two buildings extend towards each other and are separated by just five metres. Instead of ending the new church wing in a repeat of the *holbol* gable of the original church, the nearby chimney gable of the farmstead was copied..



*Figure 100: The exterior of the church in the early 1900s. The farmstead and the church  
became a particularly close-knit architectural unit (Cape Archives Depot:R532).*

The church was particularly sturdily built with walls almost a metre thick throughout. The window sills are so wide that from the pulpit only the light and not the windows themselves are visible in the 1865 wing. The foundation of the 1865 wing had to be raised to compensate for a drop in ground level. The method of rustication used for this foundation is of particular interest and unique. Dressed stones of various sizes were used and was an architectural characteristic of the time, used in, amongst others, the Anglican church at Bredasdorp and other Anglican churches designed by Sophy Gray at Hermanus, Knysna and St Saviour's in Claremont, Cape Town between 1847 and 1871 (Picton Seymour 1989:42). At the Elim church however, the mortar between the stones extends almost five centimetres beyond the stone face whereas in the other buildings mentioned the mortar recedes between the stones. Between 1865 and the early 1900s a smooth plaster coating was applied over this foundation. Recently, when repairs were done to this plaster layer the original effect was discovered and the plaster layer was removed.

The preparation of the stone started in 1862 already and the weight of the finished product made the transportation to the building site quite difficult. More than sixty oxen had perished in the drought of the 1860s with the result that the stones could only be transported after the harvest had been brought in. More than 200 loads of stones were hauled to the church by 11 March 1863, when the corner stone was laid (Balie 1992:104). To celebrate this occasion a service was held early in the day after which the congregation proceeded across the building site. The *voorstander*, *Eerwaarde* (Reverend) Bechler kneeled at the stone and prayed. Then, in the name of the Trinity the stone was struck thrice with a hammer. Each of the four present missionaries, Müller, Klinghardt, Kuster and Grasse, then had an opportunity to read a Bible section and strike the rock. This was followed by three masons who struck the rock before a message containing a text was built into the corner stone (Balie 1992:122).



*Figure 101: Restored stone foundations of the 1865 wing (L van der Hoven 2000).*

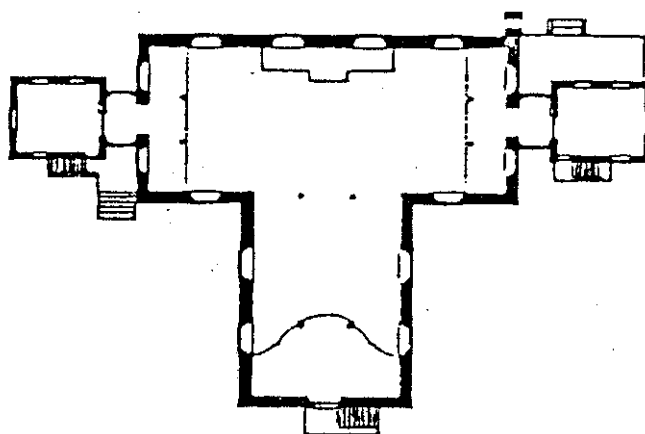
Early in 1864 seven men were appointed to make bricks for building the new wing. *De leem werd in een molen gemalen* (The loam is ground in a mill) according to *De Bode* of 1865. Four Elim bricklayers assisted by sixteen *handlangers* (helpers) worked under the German builder Urbatsch. By the end of the year the walls were roof high at 6,1 metres (Balie 1992:105). The walls are approximately one metre thick with the result that from the pulpit one is not able to see the windows of this wing as the walls are too thick. The new wing has a set of large windows matching the original windows in each of the eastern and western walls. Centrally above these windows rounded dormers have been placed in the thatch. These dormers light up the new attic section.

The original gallery in the northern wall was sacrificed to add the new wing. It is probable that galleries at the eastern and western wings were also added in 1865 to replace the original gallery. In order to support the original roof in the absence of this portion of wall, two pillars were put in place. During July 1865 the two iron pillars, each weighing one and a half tons, arrived at the site. Oxen must have hauled the load. The day they were to be installed, the church bell was rung to call all and sundry to assist. On 24 September 1865 the new wing was inaugurated. The festivities were attended by a huge crowd, including more than four hundred whites from the Bredasdorp and Napier vicinity (Balie 1992:122). The text of that day, Psalm 95:6, now hangs behind the pulpit: *Komt, laat ons aanbidden en neerbukken, laat ons knielen voor den Heeren* (Come, let us pray and bow to the ground, let us kneel before the Lord).



*Figure 102: View of the pulpit from the new organ and choir gallery in the 1865 wing. Note the gallery in the right hand corner (Cape Archives Depot:R530).*

#### 4.9.4 The 1924 church



*Figure 103: T-ground plan of the 1924 church (Balie 1992).*

In preparation for Elim's centenary, two spacious vestries were added to the ends of the original wing (Moos ES 1985:25). The construction commenced under the supervision of Mr Will and foreman Andries Jonker and workmen like Amos Wyngaard, Thomas October, David Willemse and others. Theo Jonkers was responsible for the gables and his gables are a perfect match for the larger original gables. Out of every three days, only one day's labour was remunerated; the other two days were regarded as voluntary congregational service (Moos 1985:25).



**Figure 104: The completed church as seen from the parsonage. The konsistories (vestries) on either side of the long wing have gables matching those of the older part as well as similar windows.**

All additions to the church were done sympathetically so that through its various stages it retained a unified style and created a pleasing whole. All the walls except the straight gable are pierced with large, small paned, arched casement windows.

The eastern vestry is the meeting place of both the *opsienersraad* as well as the *kerkraad*. Spiritual as well as physical matters are decided here as the community is the congregation and the congregation is the community. Announcements regarding the spiritual as well as secular issues are made in church before the Sunday morning service. In these rooms young people are prepared for church membership and disobedient residents are pastorally reprimanded (Moos 1985:15-16).



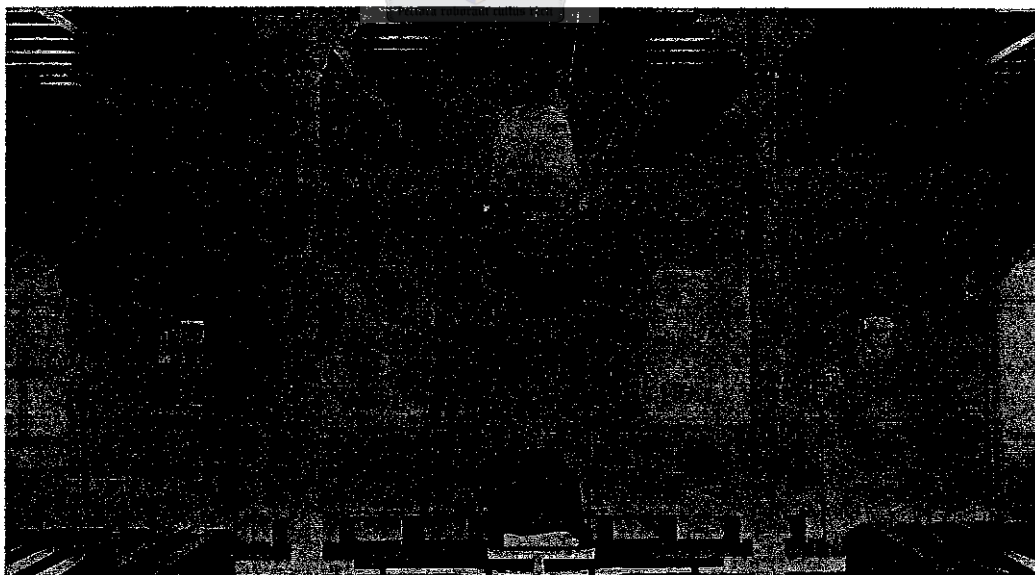
#### 4.9.5 Floors and ceilings

The church has a wooden plank floor. Red carpet runners lead to the pulpit. The area in front of the pulpit is covered with a loose coir mat.

There is little difference in ceiling construction between the older and newer parts. Corner-moulded, heavy beams are supported by two pillars where the exterior wall was removed. In order to reduce the span, these beams are supported by even heavier ones, much like the system known as *moer- en kinderbalke* (mother and child beams) in the Netherlands (Fransen H & Cook MA 1980:350). A wooden ceiling creates a spacious and useful area in the loft.

#### 4.9.6 Church decorations, pulpit and liturgical table

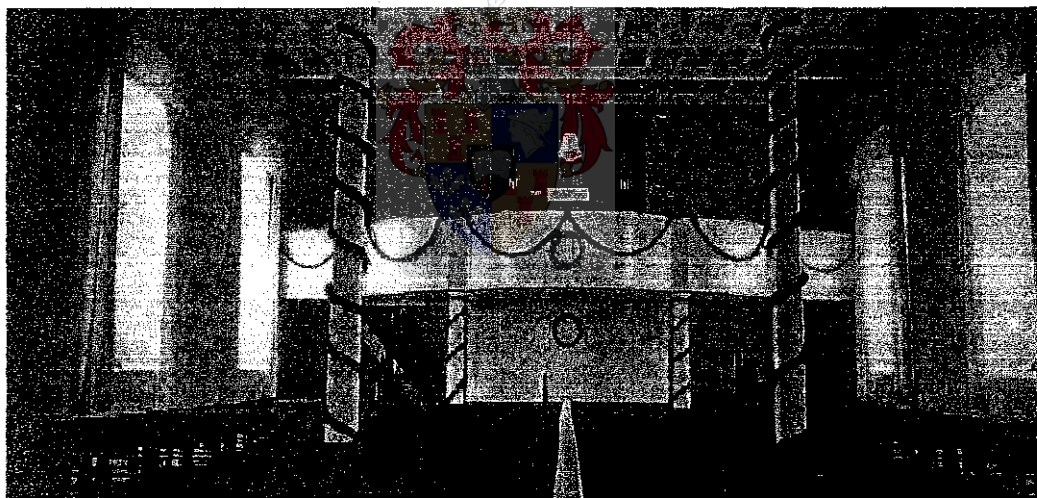
White as a symbol of purity and simplicity is a central and characteristic feature of the Moravian ministry (Moos 1985:15) and its interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. There are no crosses in Moravian churches because according to Count Zinzendorf, Moravians carry the cross in their hearts (Ulster 1974:34). Plain white furniture, walls and curtains create a calm and serene atmosphere.



*Figure 105: Three day texts and the pulpit on 18 October 1935; the arrangement looks much the same today.*

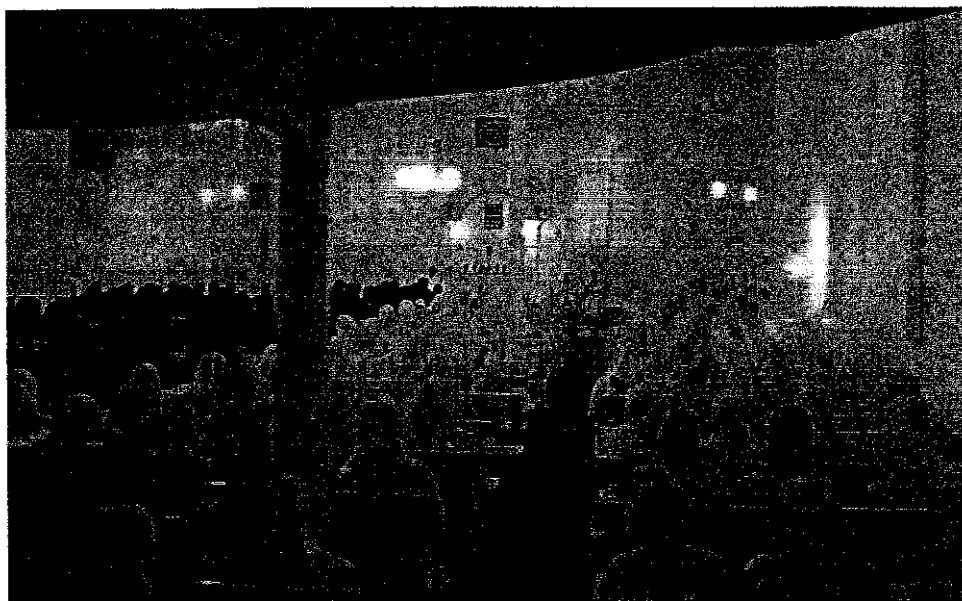
The church is decorated with three framed day texts positioned above, left and right of the plain pulpit. To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the mission station in 1874 the three *fraaie schriften met glas en raam* (attractive scrolls with glass and frames) were hung in the church (Balie 1992:109) to commemorate the inauguration in 1824, the inauguration of the new wing in 1865 and the fiftieth anniversary in 1874. These texts are the *dagwoorde* (day words) of important days in the life of the building as selected by the lot and described in chapter 2.

At Christmas a white multi-pointed Moravian star (about one metre across) is hung from the ceiling. In recent years decorated pine trees have also adorned the Christmas church. The Children's Festival and 13th August Love Festival are celebrated by, among other things, decorating the church elaborately with *fynbos* flowers. Attractive arrangements of *fynbos* and other flowers decorate the church on non-festive occasions.



*Figure 106: The church decorated on 18 October 1935 for its centenary celebrations.*

The pulpit is raised only a few steps from the floor in order for the speaker's voice to travel and so that he or she may be seen better. There are no separate facilities for lay or ordained preachers as every preacher is viewed as a servant (Ulster 1974:33). The congregation should not be spoken at but rather be spoken to (Moos 1985:15). A green cloth embroidered with the victorious Lamb emblem of the Moravian church, was donated by Christina and Neels Afrika and covers the table. During holy communion, it is replaced by a white cloth.



*Figure 107: Witte Donderdag (White Thursday) Easter communion service (L van der Hoven 1999).*

#### 4.9.7 Pews

Pews were divided according to Moravian tradition by a central passage leading from the pulpit to the organ so that all men were seated at the right hand of the preacher and all women on the left. According to age and marital status the men and women were further subdivided. Young men and young women sat at the back of the new 1865 wing. Married men and women filled the remaining part of that wing. Widowed and senior persons sat in the original wings while children were between the elderly and the pulpit. The idea was that in the church the congregation became one family in Christ. A family's blood ties became subordinate to the congregation's blood ties in Christ. This arrangement had the further advantage of grouping voices for singing. Count Zinzendorf was of the opinion that congregational singing was more important than the sermon itself (Ulster 1988:38). The liturgy also calls on the various groups to sing or say parts on their own. Although these seating arrangements are still observed for church festivals, they are not strictly observed for ordinary services although the majority of church goers still holds on to the tradition.

The pews were originally without back supports. In figures 102 and 108 it can be seen that back supports were reserved for guests and church officials. To the left of the *leraar* (missionary) sat the *leraresse* (mission wives), the female choir leader, other *dienaresse* (female church council members) such as the female members of the *kerkraad* and female guests. To the *leraar*'s right sat the other missionaries, the male choir leader, *dienaars* (male church council members) and male guests. The congregation sat on the *arbeiter banke* (worker's pews) (Ulster 1974:33) which had no back supports.



*Figure 108: The church decorated for the centenary celebrations in 1935.*

Pews also lined the walls of the 1865 wing. The pews were unpainted and diagonal strips strengthened the seat and leg joins. By 1948 De Villiers noted that all the pews had back rests. These were in fact new pews. What happened to the old pews is not clear. By then the central divide, a metre high wooden partitioning had also been installed (see figure 106). The *privileged pew* legacy and this new physical divide was viewed unfavourably by Elimmers living as they were, by the laws of apartheid (Moos 1985:14&15).

#### 4.2.8 Clock

The clock was built in 1764 by the council clock builder, Prasse, in Herrnhut's neighbouring city of Zittau in the south eastern corner of Germany. The instrument was donated to Elim by the Herrnhut community through the mediation of Samuel Will, who wished to bring the clock to Elim in 1910, after it had been in service for 140 years. A pamphlet under the heading *Appeal to all interested in Missions and the advancement of culture and education in South Africa* was widely distributed. The missionaries had formulated a financial plea as follows: *It is a fact only too well known that unpunctuality is a common failing of many in this country. It has been my experience (extending over 22 years) that those people who have time pieces take a just pride in them and are inclined to be much more business-like and punctual than those without them, and I feel it would be a boon to all at Elim and many farmers coming to Elim if the tower-clock could be proceeded with* (Balie 1992:183).

Repairs costing sixty seven pounds was paid for by donations received from the Women's Missionary Association and Bible Study Group in Bethlehem, USA as well as businessmen and friends from Cape Town. In 1911 the clock was brought to Elim where the Missionary Lemmertz pieced it together and installed the clock face on the gable with the aid of masons and smiths who offered their services free of charge (Balie 1992:183). A single axle, running the length of the wing, attaches the works to another clock face in the opposite gable.

On Sunday 27 December 1914 a small inauguration service was held, and the Moravian Church publication *Die Huisvriend* published the following poem in 1915 inviting all to come and see this clock chiming every quarter of an hour:

*Komt vrienden, komt en kijkt eens aan  
Wat is nu kort hier nieuw gedaan,  
Wij hedden nu in onze oude Kerk  
Een 'Torenklok', zeer net en sterk  
Een wijzerplaas naar 't noord en naar 't zuid,  
En slaat elk' kwart met schoon geluid!* (Balie 1992:183)

This communal watch regulates the lives of each Elim family (Moos 1985:13). Until 1973 the bells told every Elimmer the correct time of day (Moos 1985:28). Subsequent repairs were carried out by Rolf Rühle (Rühle 2000:interview). This precious 235 year old instrument is currently under the care of Thys Arends. Apart from the sentimental value this Herrnhut clock has for Elim, it is probably also the oldest working clock in South Africa.

#### 4.9.9 Wind vane

The vane is an angel blowing a wind instrument and holding a quill in the other hand. It is a reminder of the return of Christ and the judgment heralded by celestial fanfares. After a heavy stormy night Reverend Schaberg (at Elim between 1930 and 1934), found half an angel, and the angel's dress and feet in the road between his home (the first shop) and the church. A person who worked at the shop then did a soldering repair job and replaced the angel (Moos 1985:18) where it has remained since.



*Figure 109: Elim church vane (Sarie 2 September 2000:40).*

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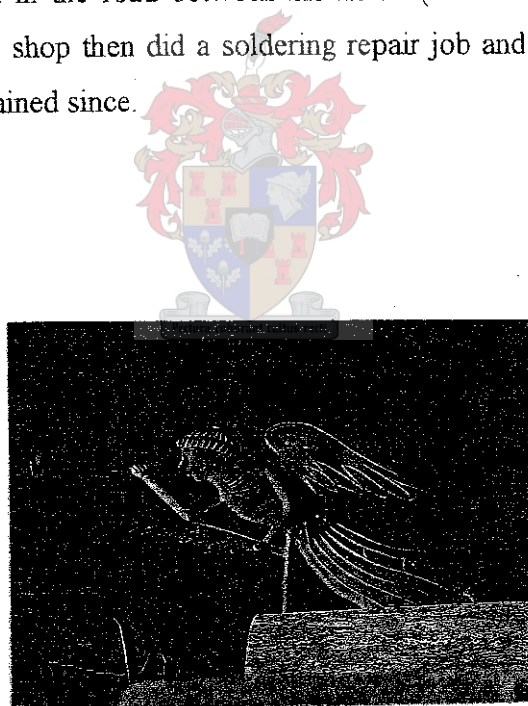
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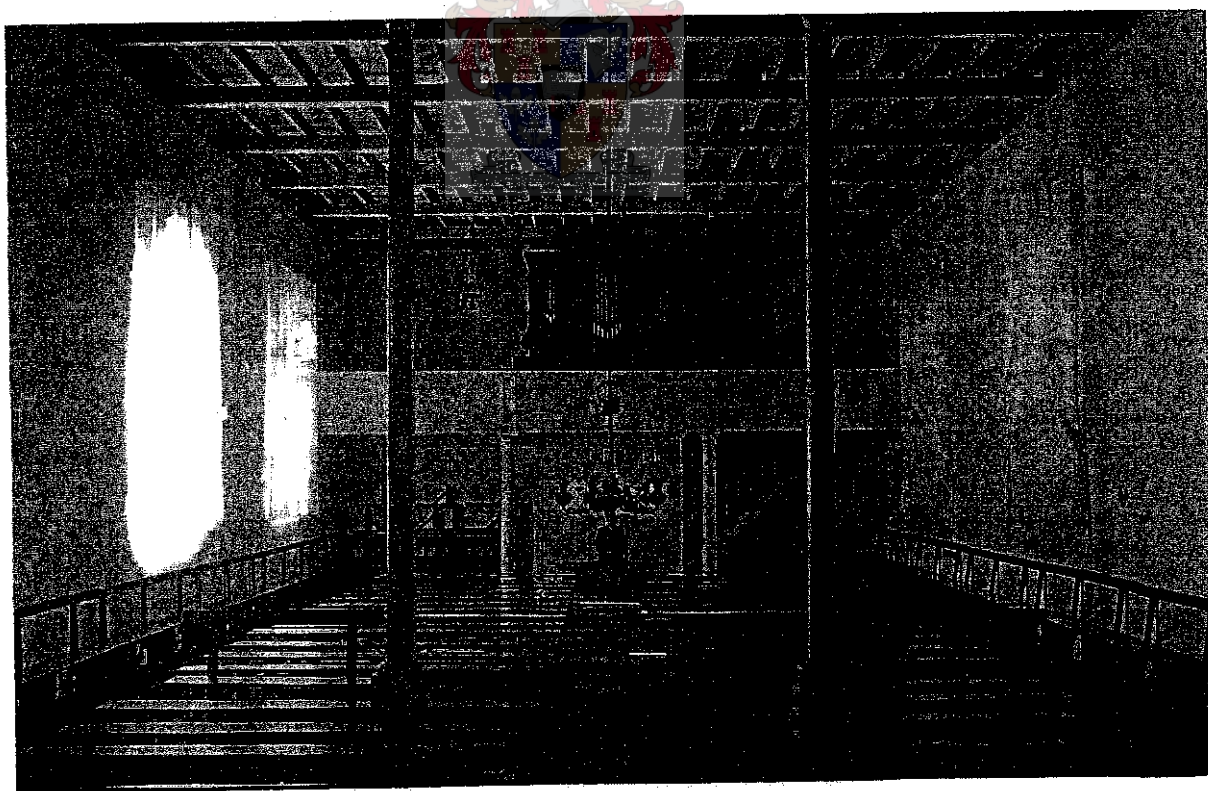


*Figure 109: Elim church vane (Sarie 2 September 2000:40).*



#### 4.9.10 The organ and other musical instruments

By 1843 enquiries were made in Germany for a used organ for Elim. A school teacher, Alexander Haas who received his training at Genadendal, then started his teaching career at Elim. He was also a trained organist (Balie 1992:118). In the 1859 *Bode* it is reported that an organ had been sent to Elim. There was great excitement in December 1859 when the organ arrived, packed in eight boxes. Reverend Miertsching managed to piece it together again. The organ had been built in Stuttgart and was *zeer sterk en duurzaam en heeft ses registers, en kost, met het transport omtrent een honderd en dertig pond* (very strong and durable and has six registers, and cost, with transport approximately one hundred and thirty pounds). On 4 March 1860 a special dedication service was organised amidst great interest, which brought thirteen wagons of visitors for the occasion. Only after the service the congregation sang the hymns *Den hoogen God alleen sy eer* and *Dankt God, dankt allen God* (Balie 1992:118). Another school teacher, Pieter Pfeiffer later played the instrument (De Villiers 1948:10).



*Figure 110: The nineteen piped organ and separated pew arrangement as well as the two pillars supporting the roof of the 1865 wing (Cape Archives Depot:R530).*

The present organ first served in the Three Anchor Bay Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town before being installed at Elim at a cost of two thousand Rand by the firm R Müller in February 1964 (Moos 1985:25). The gallery had to be enlarged to house the new instrument. In 1985 the organ was played by J Joemath and M Hans and is currently played by Mrs A Joorst. An upright piano is sometimes used to accompany congregational and choir singing.

Music has an important role in Elim's religious activities. Count Zinzendorf reserved a special place for music in religious practice and personally wrote and composed a treasure of hymns (Ulster 1988:38). The Moravian tradition of wind instruments goes back to 1731 in Herrnhut. Since 1838 all South African congregations were encouraged to promote a *basuinkoor* (brass band) (Ulster 1988:39). By 1839 the first instruments for Genadendal and Elim arrived from Germany. Missionary Lutteringshauser was asked to train the two brigades (Balie 1992:119). It was expected that each congregation would have a set of wind instruments in good order. Instruments were and are not allowed to be taken home and the band leader was responsible to keep instruments in good order and the *kerkraad* had to provide a place of safe keeping for these valuable instruments (Ulster 1988:40).

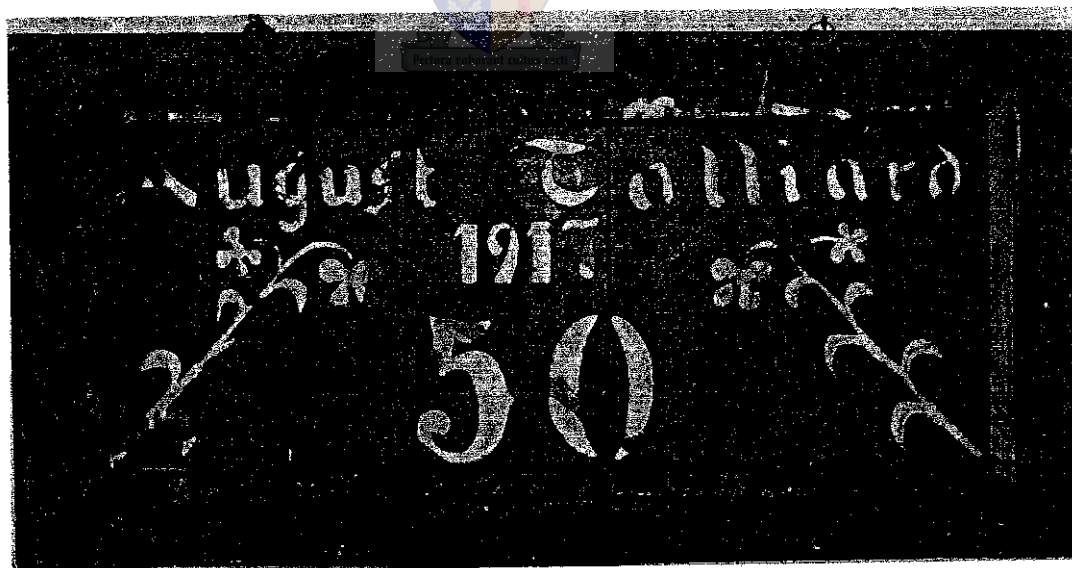


*Figure 111: Elim basuinkoor in the early 1900s with their fourteen instruments. Note the band leader in the front row to the left is dressed in tails and that all players are wearing gloves, preventing skin contact which tarnishes the polished surface of the brass.*

#### 4.9.11 Church gifts and memorabilia

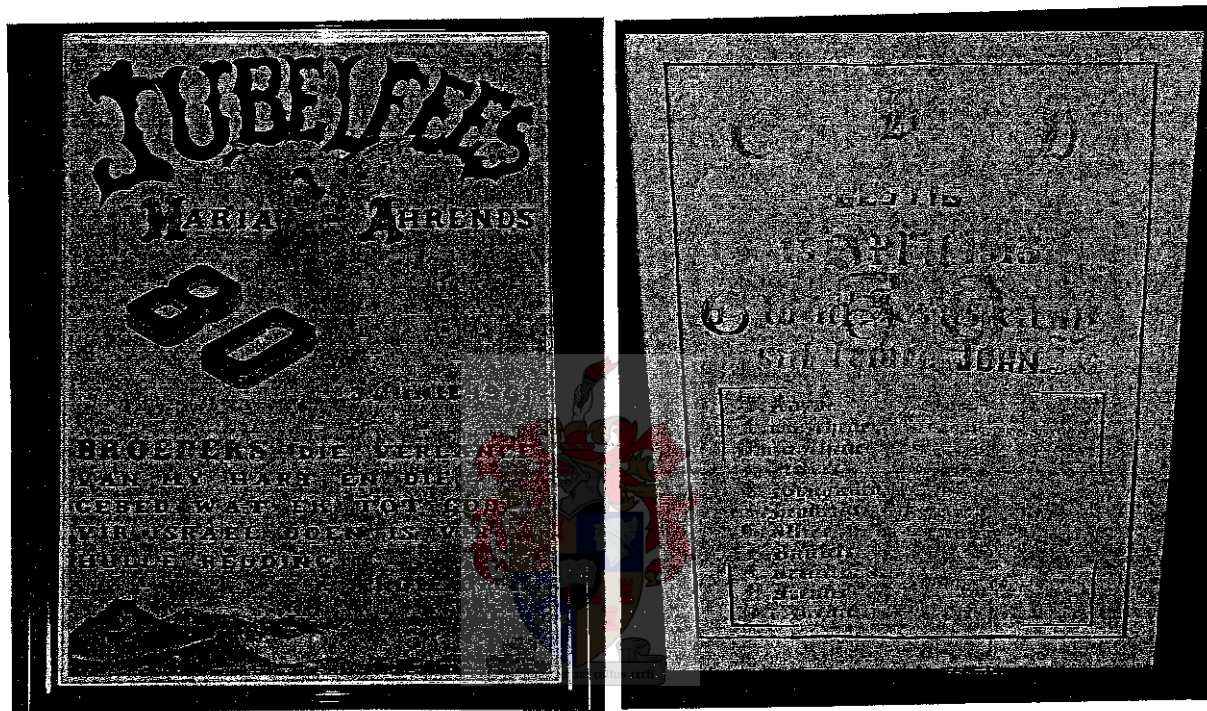
A Bible was a fitting gift for newly wed couples at a mission station. The *Britsche en Buitelandsche Bijbelgenootskap* (British and Foreign Bible Society) printed a Bible especially for this purpose containing a page for the couple's names and date of marriage. The following pages are dedicated to a family register: A full page is headed by *Geboorten* (Births), the following page is reserved for *Huweliken* (Marriages) and is followed by *Sterfgevallen* (Death register). An example of such a Bible is housed in the Elim Huisie Museum.

A congregation member's 40<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, 60<sup>th</sup> etcetera birthday is usually celebrated with particular gratitude and festivities in the Moravian tradition. To commemorate the occasion *jubelprente* (jubilee pictures) are made. The artists are Elimmers. These pictures contain the person's name, birth date, date of the celebrations, large numerical indicating which particular birthday, the text of that day from the Moravian Textbook as well as varying decorative motifs.



*Figure 112: A wooden 50<sup>th</sup> jubelprent. The numerals, letters and flowers are cut out and the picture placed on silver paper collected from cigarette packets (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The same tradition holds for the celebration of a 50<sup>th</sup>, 60<sup>th</sup> etcetera. wedding anniversary. The 17th of April 1914 was a special day for Elim when three couples, Immanuel and Maria Hans, Nathanael and Juliana Taillard and Adolf and Carolina Engel all celebrated their 50<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversaries (Balie 1992:194).



*Figure 113: Personal jubelfees memorabilia such as Maria Arends', are to be found in almost every house. The inception of the Christelike Broers Vereeniging (Christian Brothers' Society) was also commemorated in this way (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 4.9.12 Cemeteries

Hallbeck selected the sites for the church, graveyard and the village (Krüger 1967:154). In 1825 the cemetery was located and two years later when the first death occurred, the area was levelled and planted with oak trees. A road was also made to the new cemetery (Balie 1992:28). The first death at Elim was that of a young girl, Rebecca Botha, on 19 September 1827. The first baptised members of the church to have passed away were Damaris Kiebit and Traugott Baalie in 1831 and 1832 respectively (Balie 1992:36).

Between 1808 and 1835 there were thirty five missionaries and thirty six mission wives and mission women active at the various Moravian stations in South Africa. Fifteen of these died in South Africa and were buried in specially reserved sections of the mission stations cemeteries (Balie 1992:78). Most retired missionaries were buried at Herrnhut; but mission children and unexpected deaths contributed to the first cemetery at Elim. This cemetery is today known as the *Ou Akker* (Old Cemetery). The words *Het wordt gezaaid in Zwakheid* (We are sown in Weakness) meets the mourners at the gate. On taking their leave the banner across the gate reads *Opgewekt in Kracht* (Resurrected in Power). Since this cemetery has been reclaimed from the invading thicket in 1997, the Elim *kerkkantoor* has received an annual donation of R1 200 from Mr Samuel Will's children for the upkeep of the cemetery (Rev Hans 2000:interview).

This cemetery was not exclusively for the missionaries and was Elim's only cemetery until 1931. Adjacent to the missionary graveyard, Nico August indicated the remains of iron poles at regular intervals which had toppled over from an erect position, as well as small pieces of glass, the remains of wooden plaques, usually painted white, inscribed with an epitaph and covered with glass. This style of burial is clearly to be seen among the graves in the *Nuwe Akker* (Kahn 1999:33) where many graves are also marked with low limed walls. In 1890 and 1902 there were floods at Elim. It is reported that even head stones were displaced by the water (Balie 1992:203).

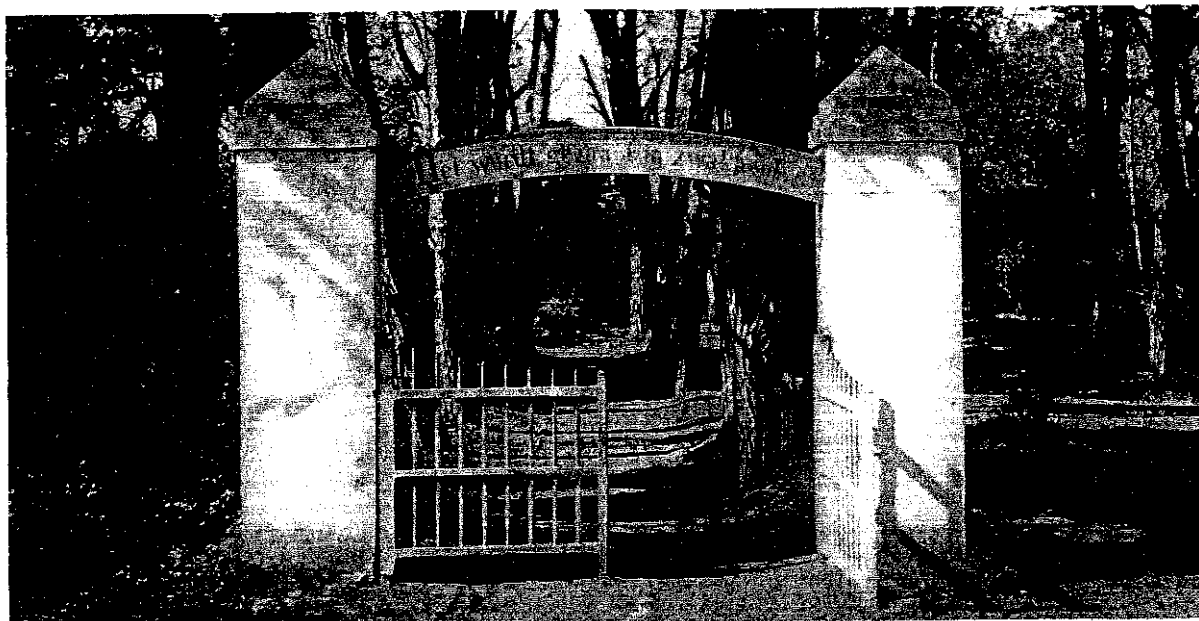
The following calamities made sizable contributions to the cemeteries: whooping cough and measles were dreaded, often fatal, children's diseases mentioned in the *Periodical Accounts of 1826, 1832, 1836 and 1840* (Balie 1992:62). In 1838 a measles epidemic swept through the village. In 1869 gastric fever claimed the lives of some of the sixty persons who became ill (Balie 1992:155). In 1881 smallpox erupted and all residents were inoculated. A hut was built outside the village where every person returning from Cape Town was kept under quarantine before they could enter the village (Ulster 1974:16). They had to stay at home for eight days once re-united with their families. No-one from a home affected by disease was allowed to attend church or school. In 1888 a flu epidemic hit the mission station (Balie 1992:154). In

1905-6 about 50 children died of typhoid fever, among them the two young daughters of missionary Marx. The *Great Flu of 1918*, the worst epidemic in South African history, claimed 139 500 lives nationwide (Krüger 1984:98) and also took its toll at Elim.



*Figure 114 The first Akker with its fir tree and memorable gate (L van der Hoven 1999).*

The *Nuwe Akker* can be found to the south of the school and has been in use since 1913 (Balie 1992:187). Men are buried towards the west and women to the east. The welcoming arch has an identical inscription to the one at the old *Akker*.



*Figure 115: The Akker's entrance (Cape Archives R498).*

On *Ewigheids Sondag* (Eternity Sunday), the last Sunday of November, the names of congregation members and church officials who had passed away during the previous year are read out. In preparation for this event most graves are lime washed and decorated with flowers by descendants and relatives. The congregation is lead by a procession of the wind band followed by the reverend, the male *kerkraad*, then the female *kerkraad* and the choir.



*Figure 116: The procession on its way to the Akker (L van der Hoven 1998).*

#### 4.10 Post office

Since 1824 the missionaries were responsible for mail services. Due to the increase in postal volumes Elim was recognised as a government post office in 1905 and a post mistress was appointed (Ulster 1974:17,18). The post office building, the first flat-roofed building in Elim, is the property of the church (Balie 1992:184). Since 1906 Elim has had a telephone service. Mr Will, manager of all the Mission Stores, could keep contact with the stores at other stations via the telephone, which must have greatly eased his duties.



*Figure 117: The Elim post office and post mistress. The door on the right is to this day the entry to the health clinic (Cape Archives Depot:R507).*

The postal services were also indispensable to the development of Elim's thriving meat processing factory in the early 1900s, which dispatched parcels of salamis and other processed meats all over the country (see section 4.9 of this chapter.) Elim's Mission store manager, Mr U Naumann, developed a thriving postal order service for German books and periodicals. Although this post office was isolated it was a hive of activity with overseas mail and parcels.

Since 1961 mail is collected at and delivered to Bredasdorp twice a week and mail received was delivered to the cottages (Ulster 1974). By 1972 mail was collected twice a week from



Napier and twice a week from Bredasdorp. At that stage there were nineteen private and one public telephone lines. The post master then had held the position for twenty years and was a member of the congregation. The service is currently the responsibility of the *opsienersraad*.

#### 4.11 Police station

During the First World War in 1916, a police station to serve the entire Strandveld area was established at Elim, which is centrally situated. The station building was erected next to the post office. By 1974 Elim had two police officers. Bredasdorp Magistrate and commissioner of Child Welfare, IK Steyn, said that as far as law abiding is concerned Elim is a shining example to others. He could state, as was the case fifty years earlier, that serious crime at Elim was a rarity (Ulster 1974:18). Although the head quarters of the station is at Bredasdorp, members of the Elim community hold positions of authority at the station (Andrée Joorst 1998:written communication).

The police station was closed in 1998. A difficult time followed as a gang of *skollies* (abalone poachers) targeted the community. They tried to gain a foothold by getting involved with Elim's young girls. Money was handed out left right and centre, even to primary school children. Once they gained access to a house they would distribute drugs and alcohol from there. By the time they had infiltrated five or six homes, the community reacted by congregating in the church and marching to these addresses. The occupants were reminded of the *ordeninge* and told that if they did not sever ties with the poachers, they would be asked to leave the community. Eerwaarde Hans also contacted the gang chief from Hawston who agreed to withdraw his members from Elim. The gang then targeted the Bredasdorp community with tragic consequences for that community (Rev Hans 2000:interview).

Renovations to the building had recently been completed and the old police station now houses the Bluebells Pre-Primary school. The old woodwork room (see figure 176), between the old and the new schools, has now (2000) been transformed into a new police station. The service is to be re-instated soon.



*Figure 118: The police station currently serving as pre-primary school (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 4.12 The clinic

In 1863 missionary Dr J Lehmann, a homeopath, practised at Elim. He returned again to Germany in 1881 (Balie 1992:155). In 1988 a number of medicine bottles were discovered on the parsonage attic. The brown tinted glass bottles contained a variety of homeopathic powders probably used by Dr Lehmann to make up his own mixtures. Stickers with the words: *Dr Willmar Schwabe Lupzig Homöopath Central-Officin* appear on the bottles (Balie 1992:155).

Apart from this exception Elim has not known the privileges of a resident doctor. In 1840 missionaries Stein and Luttringshausen were tasked to inoculate Elimmers against small pox. The missionary doctors stationed at Genadendal, Drs. E Lees and R. Roser did however, frequently visit Elim to offer medical assistance. The wife of missionary Kschischang (1855 – 1862) also brought some medical knowledge to Elim for some years (Balie 1992:155).

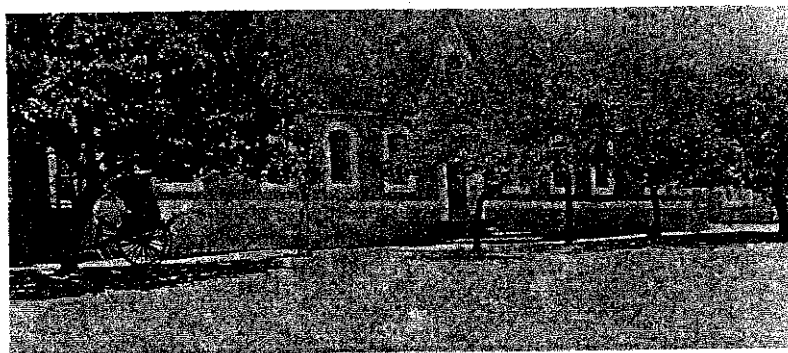
The post office and the clinic share a building (see figure 117). The congregation obtained the services of a district sister through the *Elim Verplegingsdienskomitee* (Elim Nursing Committee). For more than 21 years the sister saw to general nursing, family planning, maternity care, inoculations, *etcetera*. Since 1 March 1974 the Bredasdorp District Council took responsibility for the service (Ulster 1974:20). Presently the District Sister and a physician from Napier visit the community twice a week (Mrs A Joorst 1998:written communication).

#### 4.13 The Mission Store

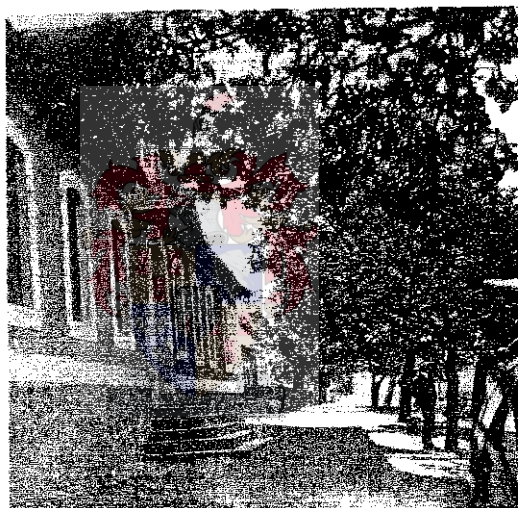
In 1827 Hallbeck had already obtained permission from the government to open shops at the mission stations. Initially the small Elim shop was run by the church staff (Ulster 1974:13). The exact date of the commencement of the Elim Mission store is not certain, but the oldest preserved shop record, a debtor's ledger, was kept from 2 January 1852.

Because the Moravian Church has always had very limited resources, the General Synod at Herrnhut had suggested independence for South Africa West (The South African missionary activities were divided into an Eastern and Western area) as early as 1848. Twenty years later the missionaries were instructed to teach the congregations to *conduct their [...] church matters independently* (Krüger 1984:104). The mission work in South Africa was to become self-supporting through interest earned on capital placed by the Mission Board into enlarged businesses run by professional businessmen. Samuel Will moved into what used to be the old shop building. The store at Elim became a formidable business and in 1898 the present shop was built and thatched, despite the fact that most buildings by that date were covered by corrugated iron.

The building was described as a *statig, knap en zeer ruim gebouw* (stately, smart and very spacious building) and was inaugurated on 10 August 1898. Andreas Jonker was the bricklayer, Johannes Hans did the timbering and carpenters Augustinus Hans, Aaron Jonker and Andreas van der Heide were responsible for the finer wood work (Balie 1992:183). The arch above the front door bore an inscription from the Moravian liturgy: *Laat alles eerlijk onder ons behandeld worden* (enable us to deal in all things honourably).



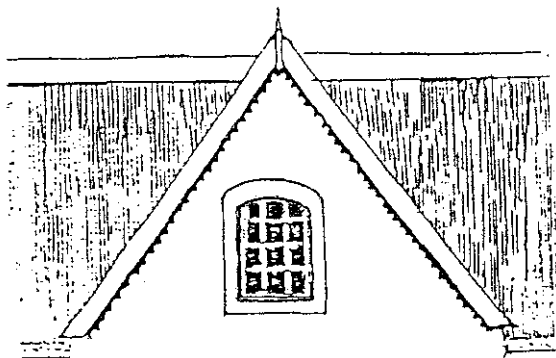
*Figure 119: Front view of the Elim Mission Store, which was completed in 1898.*



*Figure 120: The small roof over the front door and the inscription in the plaster arch above the door can be seen from this angle.*

The building was decorated by a decorative fascia board running the length of the tall, straight, front gable. Apparently the style was inspired by the two Genadendal parsonages (Balie 1992:100).

Accommodation was added to the east of the building, probably to house some of the eight German assistants and a clerk who served behind the counters (Krüger 1984:56). De Villiers mentions that in 1902 additional accommodation for the mission staff was built (De Villiers 1948:13). It could possibly be this section.



*Figure 121: Decorative fascia planks of the shop gable (Balie 1992).*



*Figure 122: The side and back view of the shop in the early 1900s with washing hanging from the verandah. The living quarters and protrusions at the back of the building were added simultaneously and covered by a corrugated iron roof, whereas the main building has a thatched roof.*

The idea of making the Moravian Mission in South Africa-West (SAW) financially independent through profit from business undertakings came from director Charles Buchner. In 1902 Samuel Will united all small Moravian Stores and other business undertakings in the *Business Department of the Moravian Mission Society in South Africa-West*, called *SAW Handel* (SAW Trading) for short (Krüger 1984:44). Until 1908, SAW Handel paid for any deficit of the Mission, which meant that the Mission supported itself. During World War I (1914-18) SAW Handel had to assist the mission work in both South Africa-West and -East by helping to cover their annual deficits (Krüger 1984:112). In return the mission mills at Goedeverwacht, Wupperthal, Mamre and Elim and the sheep farming project at Mamre came under the administration of SAW Handel.

During the first World War in 1917, the government vested every Moravian property, including SAW Handel in the *Custodian of Enemy Property*. This measure made the work of Samuel Will even more difficult, but fortunately the administration remained in Moravian hands. In addition financial assistance from Herrnhut was cut off, and thus some money had to be borrowed in the hope that it could be repaid later. But after the war, inflation and the situation in post-war Germany made this impossible (Krüger 1984:97).

SAW Handel's profits were not sufficient to carry this burden. The debt which SAW Handel owed to private individuals and to banks went up as well as the rate of interest to be paid. The Mission Board agreed to the consolidation of all loans into one big bond of 30 000 pounds, to save interest. In order to offer security, the Mission's buildings and land had to be mortgaged in 1929, just as the whole world was plunged into the Great Depression. In that year SAW Handel made less profit than it owed in interest. SAW Handel was liquidated and the Moravian Mission Trading Company was established in 1935. By 1952 the bond could be cancelled, and the properties freed for transfer. The Moravian Mission Trading Company was liquidated in 1952 (Krüger 1984:113).

By the 1960's all the real estate of the Mission and the mission stores were transferred to an autonomous South African Moravian Church called the Broederkerk (Unitas Fratrum) (Krüger 1948:130). The first congregation member to rent the shop from the church was Herman

Engel, who earlier managed the Zondagskloof Mission Store (Ulster 1974:13). After Mr Engel, the church took over the shop again and to the present has employed managers.

In addition to the mission store Elim has four private retail enterprises: The Royal Kafee was started by Abraham Engel who was the first café owner at Elim. The Royal Kafee and is currently owned by Andrew Engel. The Hop In Kafee was started by Karl Hopley and is presently owned by James Engel. Lewis October started the Elim Vis Mark which currently belongs to Michael van Breda (N August and A Joorst 1998:written communication). In 1999, Paul Swart, previous manager of the Mission Store opened another private retail enterprise called PJS Superette.

#### 4.13.1 Patrons

The ox wagon of the Mission regularly went to Cape Town with produce from the settlement and surrounding farms and brought products back for the residents and farmers. The isolation of the area served the mission well because it meant the wagon could be filled with produce on its way to Cape Town and laden with provisions on its way back to Elim. This wagon is still kept in the coach shed at Genadendal (Krüger 1984:57).



*Figure 123: It is difficult at present to imagine the reality of, until the early 1900s, every article at Elim having been hauled there by oxen. This photograph of the mission wagon slowly trudging the road to Elim may contribute to an appreciation of this feat.*

The surrounding farmers supported the Mission's enterprises, which served the same purpose as the present Bredasdorp and Napier Farmer's Co-operative. The Mission Store bought the farmers' products (wool clip, tobacco, skins, grain, and produce simply labelled *goods* which probably included poultry products, fruit and vegetables), sold their provisions and offered essential services such as the smithy and tailor shops. On the following dates, among many more, produce transactions were entered into the *1885 – 1894 Cash Journal*: February 1891 corn from Elandsdrift and lambswool from Paulus Swart, March 1891 sheep skins from Frederik Swart and in February 1892 four and a half pennies were paid per pound of tobacco to various producers. In December 1894, lambskins were purchased from Dirk Swart of Weisdrift.



*Figure 124: An ox wagon arrives at the shop.*

There was some hostility among the farmers against the Mission operating flourishing businesses in their midst, but Buchner took pains to explain that the Moravians regarded trade and business as part of their service to the Lord, even in the home countries. The small Moravian church could under no circumstance meet its world-wide missionary obligations without this income (Krüger 1884:43). The *Debtors Journal 1852-1861* shows the following patrons from surrounding farms and settlements: M van Breda (Rateirivier), Dirk Cornelius Louwrense (Vogelvalley), Elias Mathee (*Waagschaal*) (Weighing Scale), Carl Louwrense



(Vogelvalley), Theis Matthee (Vogelvalley), Jan de Villiers (Paardeberg), Jan Swart (Elandsdrift), Louis Phillip Petrus Fourie (*Nieuwedam*) (New Dam), Jacobus Swart (Zoutbosch), Hans Swart (Kleinrivier), Hendrik Gildenhuis (*Bloemfonteyn*) (Flower Fountain), Henry Williams (?), Hendrik Johan Gildenhuis (*Rietfonteyn*) (Bulrush Fountain), McLeay (Lighthouse), JN Swart (Zoetendalsvalley), De Heer Brink (Bredasdorp), Charles Leroux (Waagschaal), Dirk Louwrense (Renosterkop), William Carruthers (probably a land surveyer), Cobus Henny (Vogelvalley), Louis Johannes Wessel (*Holdrift*) (Hollow Drift), H Veal (*Kouderivier*) (Cold River), Hendrik Daniel van Dyk (Paardeberg), Job Denton (Wolvengat), Mr Walch (*Hagelkraal*) (Hail Enclosure), Dirk Taillard (Moddervalley), Cobus Swart (Honingrug), Jacobus Johannes Swart (Zoutbosch).



*Figure 125: Mr Samuel Will buying the Raterivier wool clip in 1929 (Mrs N Naude).*

The farming community's support continued from one generation to the next or from one owner to the next, if the farm was sold. The *General Ledgers 1904-1919, 1919-1928 and 1934-1936* contain the following documentation on the accounts, among others, which were large enough to warrant a separate entry from the *Debtor Ledger*: Piet van der Byl (Fairfield) 1904-1935, LM Neethling (Blomfontein) 1913- 1935, DJ Albertyn (Nachtwacht and Koude Rivier) 1910-1928 and continued by Mrs JD Albertyn until 1935 and illustrates the long standing and mutual beneficial relationship between the Mission Store and the surrounding farmers.

#### 4.13.2 Branches

Due to arduous travelling, farmers found it more convenient to bring a shop to the farms than the farm staff to the Elim Mission Store. The journey from Raterivier to Elim took a good three hours by horse and cart. The Raterivier Estate for instance employed a staff of fifteen in the 1920s among whom were six shepherds: Piet Germishuis (Koksrivier), Chrisjan Geldenhuis (Buffeljagsplaas), Elias Matthee (Dirk Uys Kraal), Piet Louwrens (Kanollevlei and Witwatersfontein), Sybrand Geldenhuis (Gonnakraal); On Raterivier itself the following staff resided: Sybrand Germishuis (gardener), Hennie Geldenhuis (huntsman), Casper Nigrini (milkman) and Hennie Geldenhuis and Danie Nigrini (tractor men) as well as the following staff from Elim: Theunis Steneveld (factotum), two cooks Paulina Cloete and Lina Appel as well as house maid Nelie Karelse (Mrs N Naude 2000:interview).



*Figure 126 The Raterivier Store was to be found in the top stable at the third door from the right (Mrs N Naude 2000:interview).*

Many notes were found in the *Debtors Ledgers* asking the Elim shopkeepers to send articles back to the farms with the bearer of the notes. The seven notes in figure 128 are from patrons asking for articles: Thomas Davies of Pietersielies River asks for some coffee; Mrs SE Vermeulen asks for a spade and an axe and in a following note for some coffee, raisins, sugar, rice and turmeric; Jacobus Hans' wife Johana required a bra for their daughter in 1893, Mr

Birmingham of Helder Fontein returned what looks like hinges to be swapped for another kind; JA Matthee of Wolfgat asks for a bottle Number 5 while DC Swart of Jeneversfontien needed some velvet, linen and a pair of shoe soles. To make things easier for their clients as well as to increase profits, satellite shops were opened. The *General Ledgers 1904-1919, 1919-1928 and 1934-1936* reveal that branch businesses were conducted at Ratelrivier (1904-1917), Vogelvlei (1904-1933), Blomfontein (1904-1930), Sondagskloof (1920-1922), Baardscheerdersbosch (1906-1933), Papiessvlei also called Zandhoogte Winkel (1904-1933), Bredasdorp (1925-1934), Koude Rivier (1906-1913) and Moeraskloof (1904-1933). It is probable that earlier ledgers existed and that shops were started earlier than 1904.



*Figure 127: Viljoenshof Mission Store, a proud branch of the Elim Mission Store. The original wolfent (wolf-end) gables were replaced by chimney gables (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The branches were often housed in existing farm buildings, but the Viljoenshof Mission Store was an exception. Samuel Will actually bought a portion of land in the village of Wolvengat (also called Viljoenshof after Ds Viljoen mentioned in Chapter 2) on behalf of the Mission in May 1920 and built a shop. According to the *General Ledger 1904 – 1919*, the Viljoenshof Mission Store had however, traded from July 1910 at some other premises. It conducted business from the building shown in Figure 127 until 1933, when the property was sold.

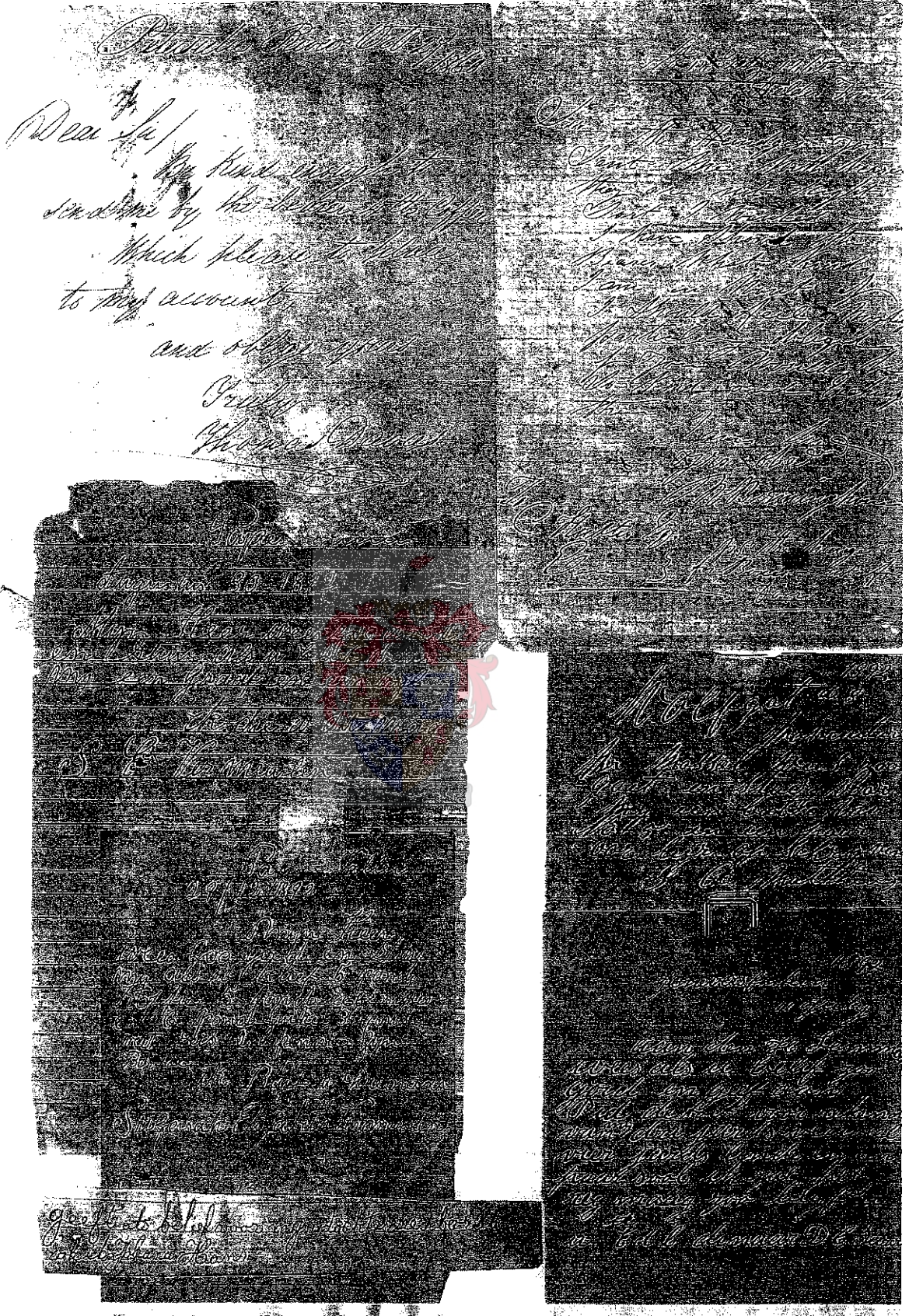


Figure 128: Requisition notes to the Elim Mission store between the years 1860 and 1892.

The Mission Stores catered for clients representing the full economic spectrum, from freed slaves, farm labourers to wealthy farmers and their families. This necessitated a stock which included from the most to the least expensive choices of articles.

#### 4.13.3.1 Food

Residents regularly visited the shop and butchery where perishable foodstuffs were refrigerated and sugar, rice, flour etcetera. were stored in metal lined wooden kists (De Villiers 1974:156).

#### 4.13.3.2 Clothing

The *Debtor's Ledger 1852 – 1861* gives an interesting insight into clothing articles bought by the shop patrons. The page numbers follow in brackets. In 1852 Andreas Mentoor bought a piece of bafta (coarse blue material), corduroy and thread, a jacket, a pair of shoes, a hat, a pair of braces, a Duff jacket, as well as a shawl (1). Johannes Appel bought a shirt, a pair of soles, two silk scarves, pieces of velvet, Scots cloth as well as thread and buttons (1). Sheeting (3), linen (3) *kamerdoek* (room cloth) (4), flanel and other homeware textiles were also sold. It appears from these records that clothing and homeware articles were sewn rather than sold ready made. Other articles on sale included waist coats (2), boots (2), children's shoes (3), and collars.

The *Debtors Ledger 1886 - 1892* reveals an extensive and international selection of textiles offered for sale: striped bafta (1), white (1) as well as Harvard shirting (45), gray cloths (2), plain black prints (2), Fancy drills (2), cotton trousering (3), white tulle (6), Gingham (7), Tweed (7), Cashmere (7), German prints (11), brown Melton (11), white brocade (11), tambour Muslin (12), Cardinal Sateen (12), white linen (14), red Twill (23) and Doncaster Twill (70), Oxford shirting (23), brown Cashmere (38), calico (49), striped Dungaree (59), white body lining (64), Chambray linen (95), gray Punjun dragon and camel cloths (64)

velveteen in all colours (67), white cotton Brussels net (95) scarlet Damask (154) and Afrikaander cloth (154).



*Figure 129: Elim Mission Store in the early 1900s.*

Haberdashery articles included crochet trimming (2), different colours silk ribbons (2) tartan ribbon (35), Plume ribbon (51), black silk elastic (36), Antimicassar braid (3), Swiss and Irish lace (37), Valencia (95), Donegal (183) Maltese lace (69), button hole scissors (23), knitting needles (16) and brown knitting yarn (21), black and coloured Berlin wool (95), sewing needles (3), packets of thread (3), tailor's thimbles (38), apron pins (168), safety pins (59), pins (69), bone buttons (7), vest and coat buttons (15), smoked pearl buttons (16), pearl shirt buttons (81), coloured dress buttons (190), striped and cotton hoses (7), Shetland half hose

(119) as well as white collar hoses (1), cotton socks (127), rope sole shoes (118), boot laces (110), cloth beaters (44), naphthalene (37) to protect textiles against moths.

Ladies' ready to wear articles were also on sale: booties (5), ladies' calf lace boots (76), wool and silk scarves (15), quilted skirts (35), woolen shawls (35), Queensland and knitted wool shawls (93), pairs of *women's blankets* (35), Warwick and Balmoral corsets (127), ladies' collarettes (36), Tartan dresses (64), seamed and plain handkerchiefs (2), embroidered (7), imitation silk (11) and brocaded handkerchiefs (23), trimmed bonnets (46), carpet and work slippers (76), Floral brooches (82), Lisle gloves (95), German aprons (97) and Victoria aprons (144).

For children the shop stocked amongst other things: children's lace boots (15), child's hats (47), child's frocks (49), boys' braces (24), boys' tweed suits (11), Leghorn boys' hats (45), boys' felt hats (128).

Men's ready to wear articles offered patrons an international choice: printed twill shirts (5), Regatta shirts (148), printed doe trousers (11), woollen boots (5), gaiters (5), Alpaca coats (15), Tweed coats (16), as well as police coats (110), doe vests (15) Tweed vests (45), Tweed jackets and suits (97), silk and other ties (20&35), Shetland and Merino pants (127), porters and police trousers (118) white butchers trousers (110), West end collars (74), men's Shakespeare and Polo collars (32) Eton collars (70), admiral collars (128), Inverness caps (35), Garibaldi boots (51), tweed helmets (130), black felt hats (130), drab Canadian hats (72), soldiers' caps (149) jockey caps (138), diggers' belts (82), shoe pegs (38), shoe eyelet (64) and boot protectors (81).

#### 4.13.3.3 Houseware

The *Debtors Ledger 1886 - 1892* contains a variety of household stock of interest. It is not always clear for which rooms or by whom these articles were purchased, and those items will therefore be listed under this general section. Such a variety of soaps were on sale that it is possible to gather that cleanliness was a high priority: Pricedal, Greenwich, Glycerin, Brown

Windsor Soap, Gold Medal Soap, Medleys, Crossfields, Whale oil Soap, Lindissima and National Soap. Homeware textiles included wool and cotton blankets, coir matting (possibly for the church), Alhambra quilts, rugs, Turkish and ordinary towels, hessian for mattresses, furniture print, tapestries and white bedspreads. Other articles include: oval wood mirrors, zinc mirrors, hand lamps and table lamps, Bull's Eye lanterns, Benzoline lamps, tin basins, galvanized oval baths, unspecified basins, photo frames and vases.

The following bedroom articles were also on sale: scarlet wool blankets (32), bed tick (86), Horracks linen (49), table *lover* (49), white honey comb towels (94). 72 *Chambers* were ordered by the Mission Store in 1887 (31) and in 1888 (71) another order was placed. These indispensable containers were kept discreetly under the bed and emptied each morning.

#### 4.13.3.4 Kitchenware



*Figure 130: From top left: kettles and a bread tin; middle: two coffee grinders, a milk can, a bean cutters and meat grinder; bottom: milkwarmer, beater, mortar and pestle (L van der Hoven 2000).*



Enamel plates, mugs and bowls were commonly used, as well as *koffieketels* (coffee pots), *drie-* and *vier-voete* (three- and four-legged saucepan supports). A few tins or pails of water often stood on a wooden paraffin box. Meat was preserved in the cottage kitchens by being salted in wine barrels and kept in a *safe* (a wooden structure of approximately one metre square wire mesh panels on all sides allowing air to circulate and keeping the contents safe from flies) (Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998: interview).



*Figure 131: A collection of early 1900 enamel ware (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Between 1855 and 1889 the following articles among others, were sold regularly and would probably have served in the cottage kitchens: wicker baskets, cast iron pots, galvanized buckets, coffee mills, tinderboxes, wrought iron and cast iron kettles as well as various

articles of tin: bowls, mugs, kettles, ladles, funnels, tinned iron table spoons, dinner tins as well as metal tea sets, hand brooms, enamelled milk pots, grid irons, and cast iron sieves. Some more refined articles were also for sale and presumably they were intended for the well to do farmers who milled their corn at Elim and traded their sheep produce via the missionaries: a camp oven with legs, tumblers, wine glasses, *Pompadour*, *Mikado* and *Duchess* stone tea services, painted trays, stone jugs, charcoal box irons, copper bowls etc. (*Mission Store Ledgers 1886–1891*).

#### 4.13.3.5 Medicine



*Figure 132: The interior of the Mission Store in the first part of the 1900s after Elimmers had replaced the German shop assistants (or during the World Wars).*

In the *Purchasing Journal 1886 – 1895* the following purchases were recorded: a mortar and pestle (7), half a gross 2 ounce medicine bottles and corks (143) were ordered and some more the following year (158). Medicinal ingredients were ordered on a regular basis and it seems probable that the missionaries mixed medicines according to their own recipes. Ingredients such as camphor (7), castor oil (55), spirit of wine and Cognac (53), China tincture (56), causticum (117), glycerine (56) magnesia (78), rectified spirit of wine (158) and Senna leaves (170) could have been used in concoctions. Branded medicines offered for sale included: Zinkingsdruppels (30), Krampen druppels (30), Bors druppels (102), Hoffinansdruppels (30), Endres druppels (7), Balsam Copiva (30), Arnica tincture (30), Ergotine (56), Floriline (30), Versterkdrop (53), Worm peppermints (122), Keating Insect Powder (120), Helmonds kruiden (117), Liver pills (112), Rheumaticuro (92), Lassaperiller powder (102), Augenwasser (56), Plaster of Paris (62), Kinderpowder (62), Calendula Tinet (63), Wonderessence (63), Carelsbad salt (78), Salmiakgeist (153), Balsam Capaina (158), Mercur Solution (159), Calcareo acetica (169), Balsam Vitae (173) *etcetera*.

#### 4.13.3.6 Personal items

The *Purchasing Journal 1886 – 1895* records that the following personal items were ordered for the Mission Store: Hair pins (6), combs (12), hair brushes (13), brushes with mirrors (13), tooth brushes (13), boxes tooth powder (163), hair oil (13), brooches (133), pearls (31), guild chains (37), purses (46), razors (162) Lucas' Eau de Cologne (128), rose oil (23), Roode Lavender (red lavender) (25), Haarlem oil (25), and Bergamot oil (25), pocket knives (7), clay and wooden pipes (13) as well as briar pipes (47), knitting baskets (74), bird glasses (74), snuffboxes (143), water bottles (143), Ladino cigars (91). There are a number of orders for liquor which do not appear to be for medicinal purposes: rum, stout and brandy (151), Riesling and a keg of SD Pontac (89), Bayer beer (158). It is probable that these were personal orders for the missionaries themselves as the sale of alcohol to residents would not have been permitted.

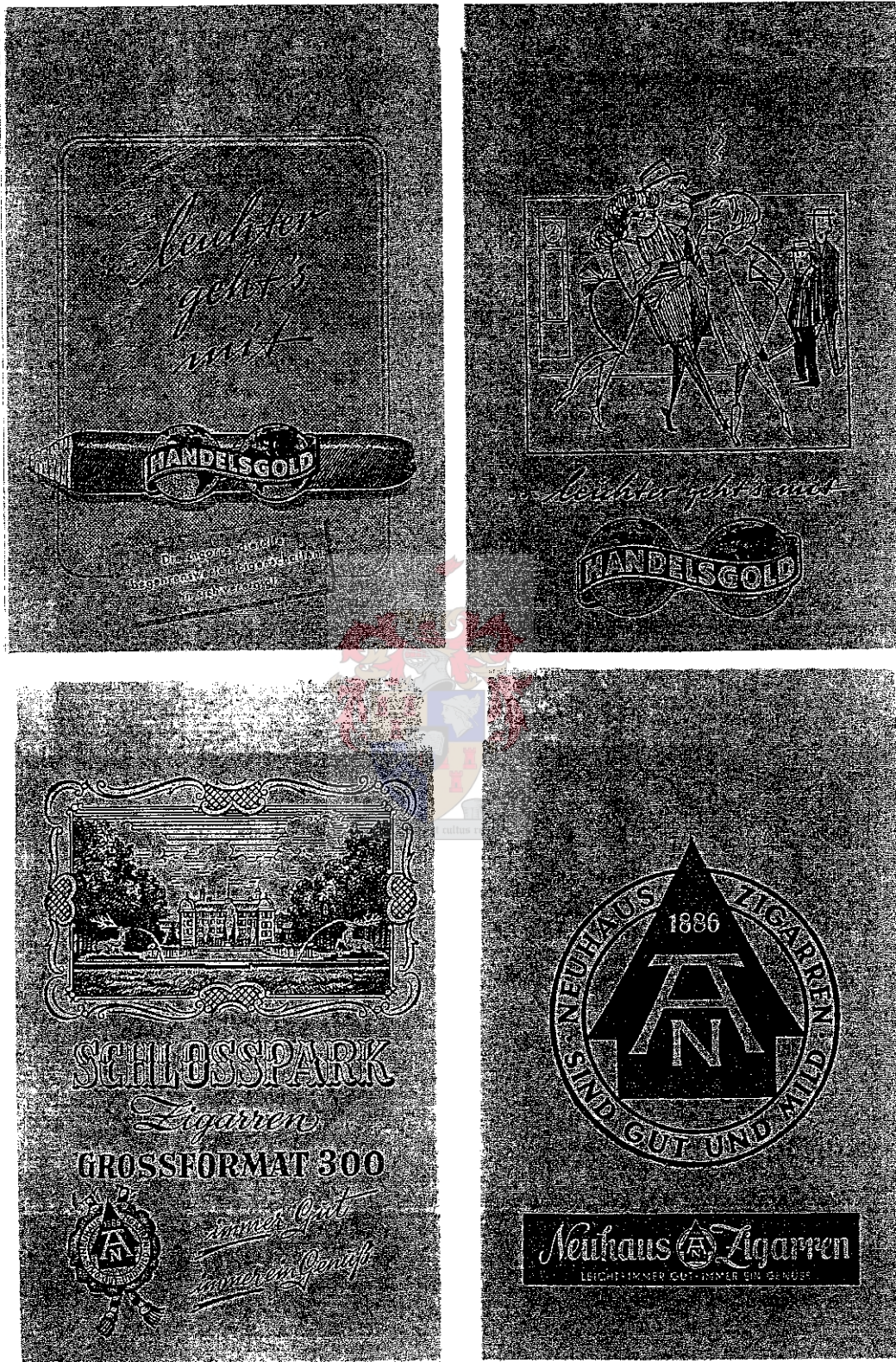


Figure 133: Front and back wrappers of two different brands of German cigars.

#### 4.13.3.7 Other

In the *Purchasing Journal 1886 - 1895* records of toys were found: *In 1889 half a gross AC* (possibly all china) *dolls, half a gross CH* (possibly china head) *dolls and a quarter gross moveable* (jointed) *dolls* (96) were ordered (explanation by Mr M le Roux 2000: interview), as well as tin toy buckets. In 1891 another 36 china dolls (155) were ordered. A perambulator (167) was ordered in 1891. However, currently little evidence was found of toys at Elim. An explanation might be that children make their own games, using impromptu toys, evidence of which does not last far beyond the game itself. Elim also abounds with children and playmates are never far away.



*Figure 134: Perambulator discovered in an attic of one of the cottages (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Recreational music is popular with the people of Elim. In 1886 the Mission Store ordered two dozen mouth harmonicas (47). Not long afterward some more were ordered. Musical instruments are often passed down from parents to children. Dancing was strictly forbidden at the mission station, however a violin player, Klaas Trompetter was often asked in secret to play at dancing parties until one day when they were caught in the act. To convince the missionary of the participants' genuine remorse they shook hands with the missionaries and promised never to do it again. Trompetter handed his violin in at the *kerkkantoor* (Balie 1992:66).



*Figure 135: Johannes October seen here with the fiddle also plays a small wind organ inherited from his parents. Cornelia Mars sings while Willie October strums his guitar (C Otto 1987).*



*Figure 136: Three troubadours at Quoin Point in the 1950s. Two guitars and a harmonica accompanied by the Elimmers' trained voices must have resulted in much holiday amusement. The central figure is Martin Schippers and Neels Africa stands to his left (Mrs M Schippers).*

Clocks are particularly valued articles at Elim. Mrs Paulina van Breda of 8 Mark Street has a clock built by the Ansonia Clock Company, New York. In 1916 her husband Aaron van Breda bought this article from John Thomas. On 19 October 1887 an *American Clock* (Purchasing Journal 1886 – 1895 p 47) was ordered by the Mission Store. Three years later, on 9 April 1890 three more clocks were ordered at six pounds each (p 114). These clocks must have been particularly prized articles judging by the urgency of the plea for the church clock (Discussed in section 4.9.8).

Genadendal, Elim's mother congregation, has the oldest printing works in South Africa and as the Elim congregation has access to this facility, it is not surprising that printed material to commemorate milestones in the history of the settlement abounds. A recent example was the Elim Mission Store's 1998 almanac to commemorate the centenary of the shop building.

**1898 - 1998**

**100 JAAR**

**'N GELUKKIGE KLIËNT IS ONS MISSIE**



**ADMINISTRATIEWE KLERK**  
Immuel Appel

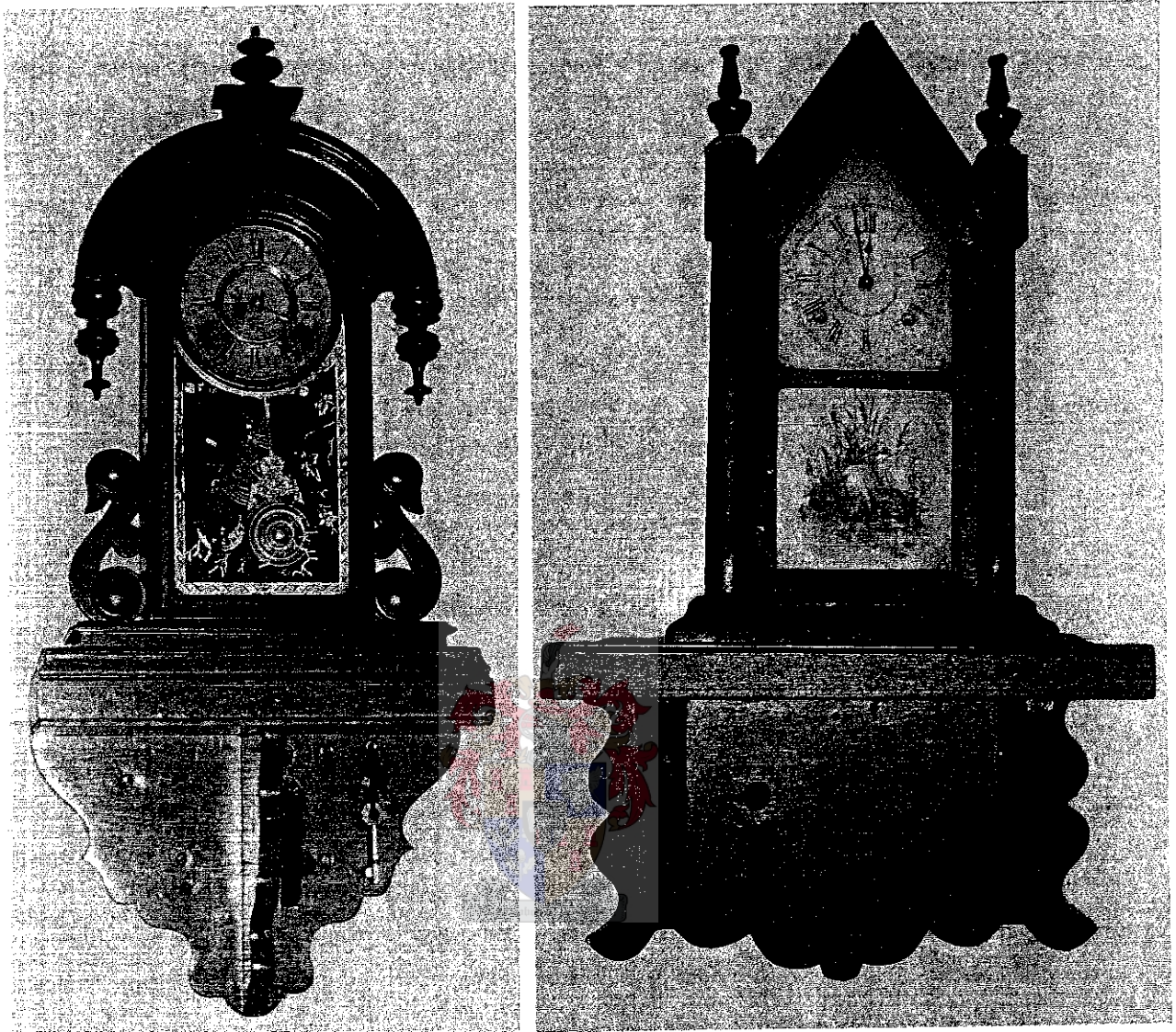
**BESTUURDER**  
P J Swart

**SEKRETARESSE / KASSIER**  
Joane Cloete

**STOORMAN**  
Josias Hes

*Figure 137: Elim Mission Store centenary almanac printed in Genadendal.*



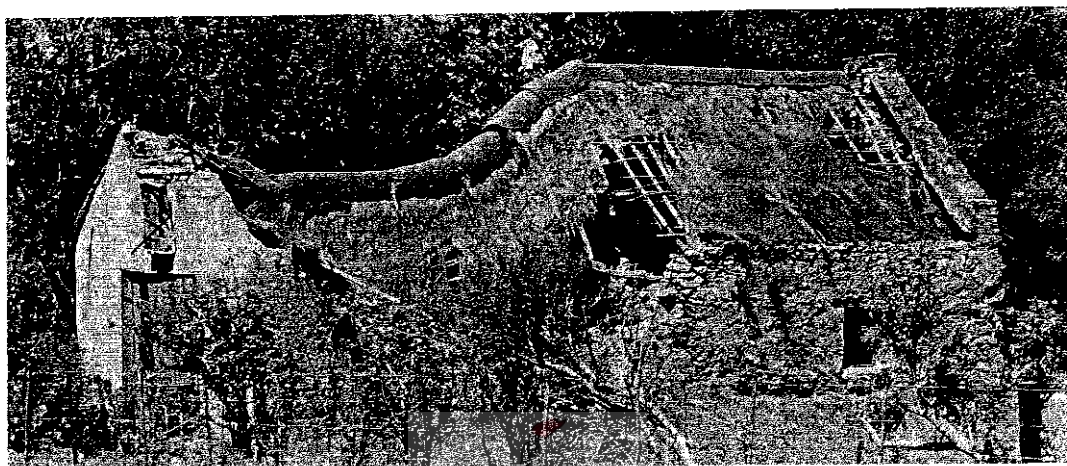


*Figure 138: Two the wall clocks found in Elim's cottages (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 4.14 The mill

When Hallbeck bought Vogelstruiskraal there was a small mill below the farmstead. This mill only had *een val van elf voet* (a drop of eleven foot, just under 3,5 metres). Balie mentions that *the smith shop [...] was on the premises of the old farm mill* (Balie 1992:146). This is supported by De Villiers who mentions that the original mill still existed and at that stage was the property of Justina Daniels (De Villiers 1948:12). The Daniels family were the smiths and James Engel finally confirmed that the present smithy had been the first mill and that the

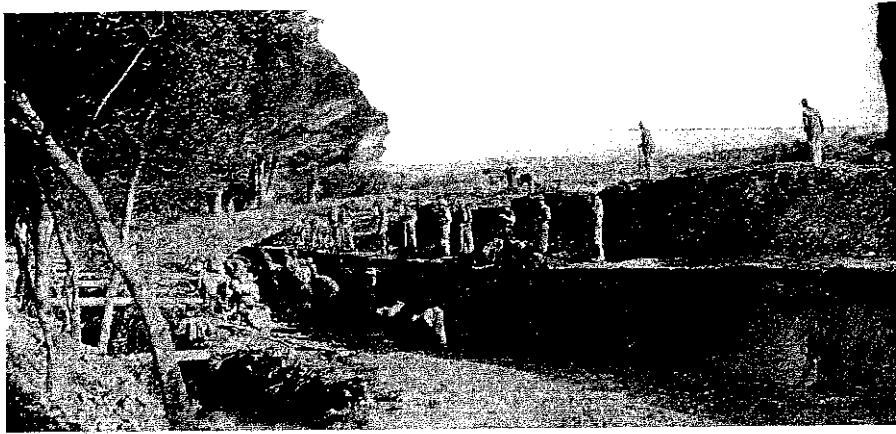
missionaries rerouted the furrow, which used to run past this building (Mr J Engel 2000:interview).



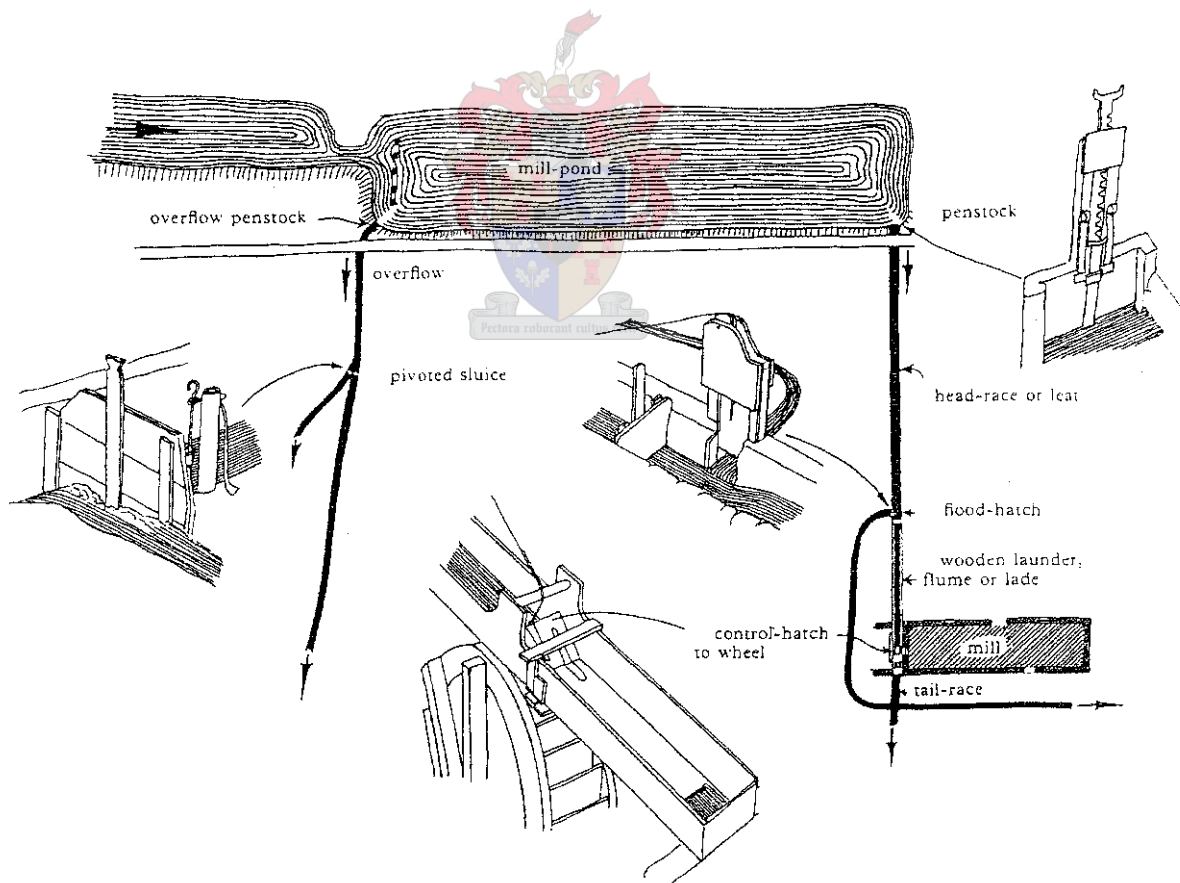
**Figure 139: Original mill which was later to serve as smith shop (L van der Hoven 1998).**

When Genadendal was re-staffed in 1791, three missionaries settled at the site chosen by Schmidt. Burchell, a naturalist who travelled the interior and made valuable recordings along the way, visited Genadendal in April 1811 and in his account of the mission he wrote, *One of the missionaries, who from their age had now become the fathers of this family, was the constructor of an excellent water-mill, at which, besides the use made of it by the whole settlement, some money is earned towards its expenses, by grinding corn for the neighbouring boors* (Declaration of National Monuments – source not mentioned)

In 1828 a decision to build a bigger mill at Elim and to position it higher upstream was taken. The new mill was not only to answer Elim's grinding needs, but was to serve the surrounding farmers as well (Balie 1992:53). The *Periodical Accounts 1830* reports that a deep furrow several hundred metres long and 1,8 metres wide was dug by men from Elim on a voluntary basis on Monday mornings (Balie 1992:50). Possibly this was to bring water to the new mill site.



*Figure 140: Men digging the present mill pond in the early 1900s, just above the furrow that was dug almost a century earlier.*



*Figure 141 Schematic representation of the water supply to the mill (Walton 1974:69).*

The control of the supply of water to the mill-wheel is in keeping with the rest of the mill and is both complex and efficient. The stream is dammed up in a mill-pond, which has a penstock allowing surplus water to be drawn on to irrigate the gardens below. The overflow channel bifurcates, and a pivoted wooden hatch allows the water to be turned into either channel. At a opposite corner of the mill pond another iron penstock controls the water-supply to mill. A flood-hatch diverts the water from the head-race to a spillway when the head-race is blocked by a hand-operated wooden hatch. When the flood-hatch is closed and the wooden hatch is removed from the mill-race the water flows along the wooden launder.



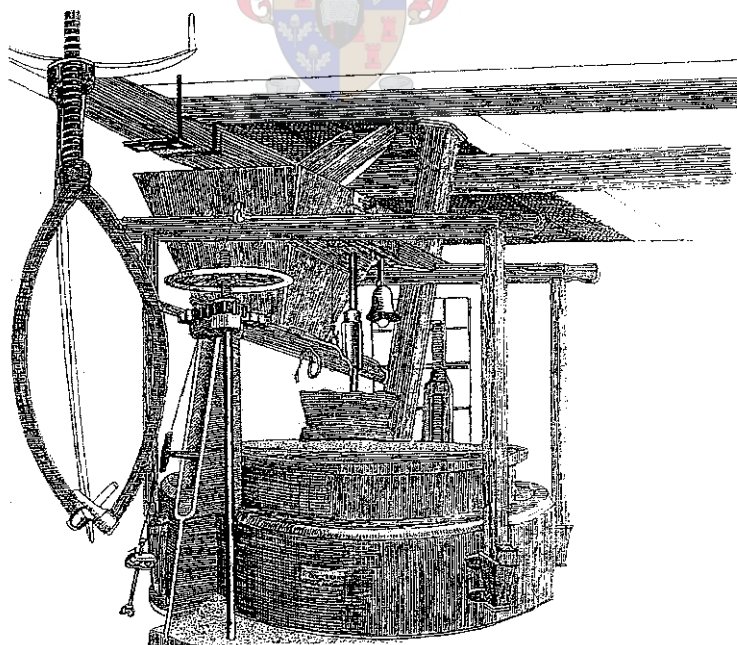
*Figure 142: The wooden flood hatch dwarfed at the foot of an oak tree. The stone lined overflow is visible in the background (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The stone-lined head-race leads to a wooden launder until it reaches another hatch in the floor of the launder, and, when this hatch is open, the water pours into the buckets of the wheel which turns the stone in order to grind the corn (Walton 1974:66).



*Figure 143: The stone lined head race and wooden launder (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Since 1861 repairs to the mill were carried out regularly. In 1875 new bricks arrived (Balie 1992:146). In 1879 the building was enlarged by an additional 4,6 m in length and 0,6 m in height (Balie 1992:105). The original wooden machinery was replaced in 1881 by iron machinery manufactured by *I Zimmerman, Danzig, Deutschland*, and it is one of the most interesting and most complete mills in the country (Walton 1974:90).



*Figure 144: A schematic representation of the machinery of the mill showing calipers for lifting the millstone on the left, the gearing system for tentering the stones, and the alarm bell hanging near the damsel (Walton 1974:90).*

The spindle which carried the runner-stone ran in a bearing in the centre of the bedstone. The bearing-box was closed by a hackle-plate holding down a leather washer. The runner-stone was held at the top of the spindle by means of a gimbal rynd which fitted in a cavity across the eye of the stone. The rynd, or *gimbal bar*, was bridge-shaped and fitted across the eye of the runner-stone. The top of the spindle carried a *mace*, in the groove of which the gimbal bar rested. A slightly different form of spindle-head was employed in a later mill at Elim (Walton 1974: 86).

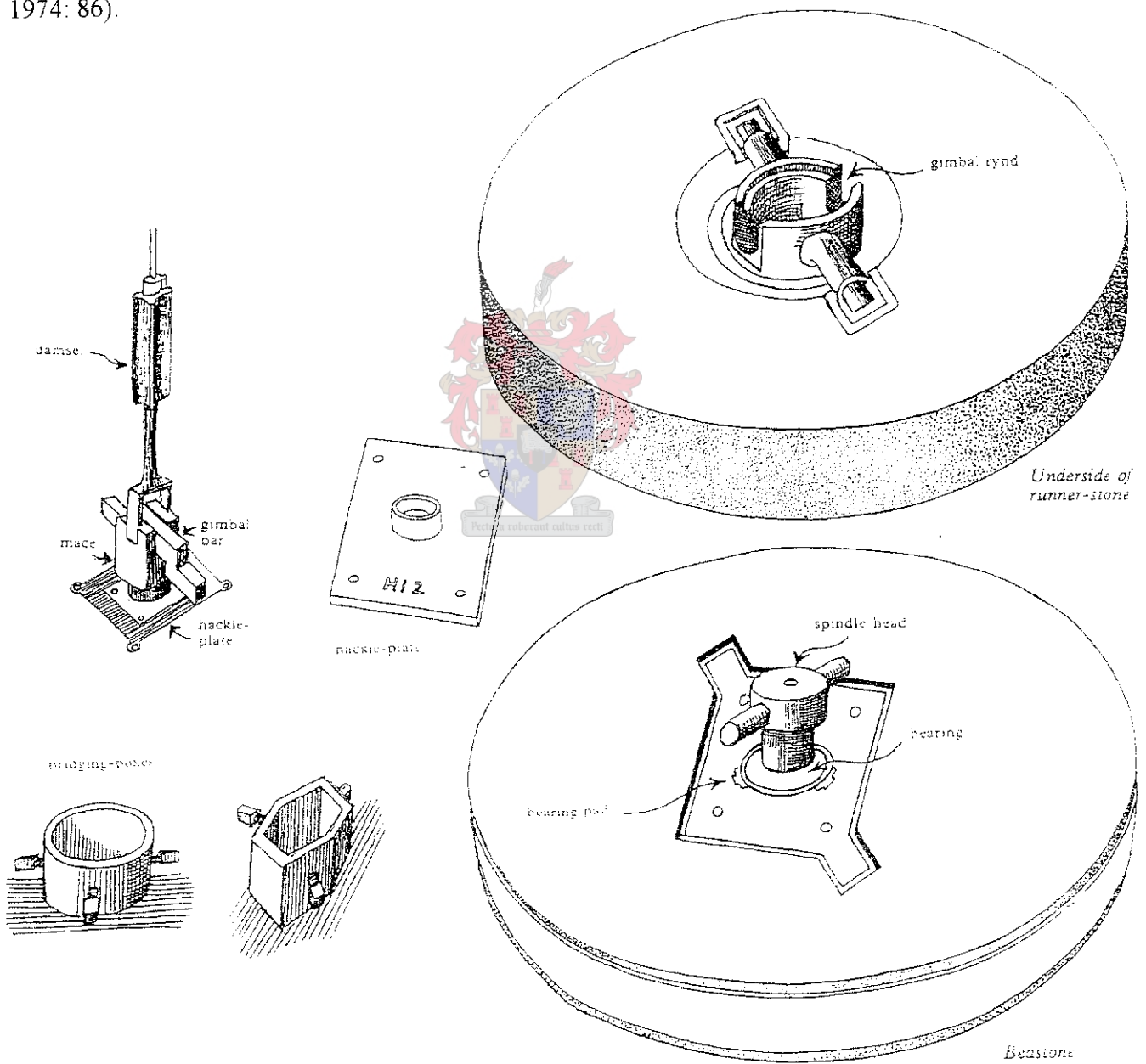
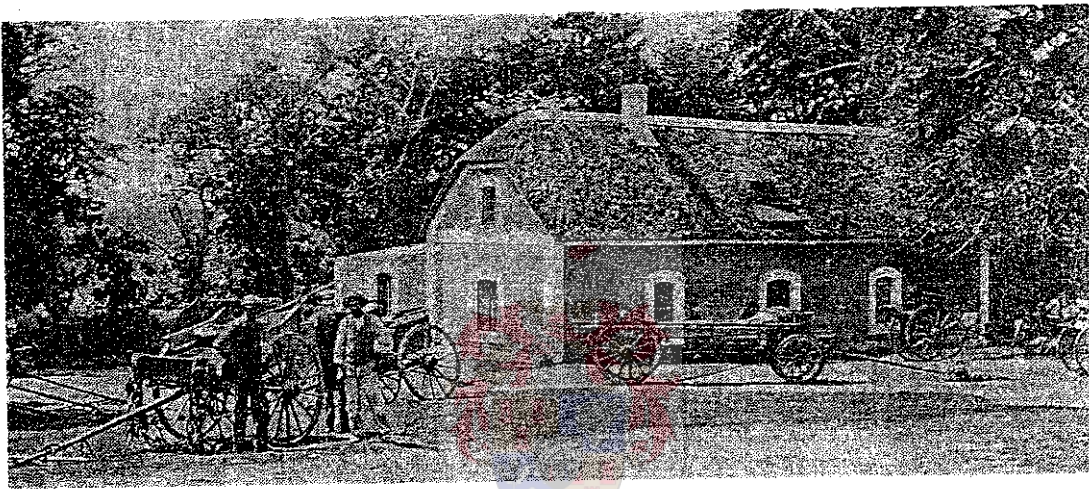


Figure 145: Representation of the mechanical parts of the mill (Walton 1974:87).

Before the runner-stone could be mounted the spindle-bearings had to be adjusted to ensure that the runner-stone would run in a perfectly horizontal plane, so giving an even gap between the two stones. This operation, known as *briggsing the spindle* was facilitated by the *bridging-box* of cast iron, usually fitted with four hackle-screws. The foot of the spindle rested on a pad in the bridging-box and the spindle was adjusted sideways by varying the pressure on the four hackle-screws. Elim has two different bridging-boxes: one a circular box with four screws and the other a hexagonal with three screws in alternate faces of the box (Walton 1974:86).



*Figure 146: The mill built in 1828, enlarged in 1879 and photographed in 1910 (Moos 1985:13).*

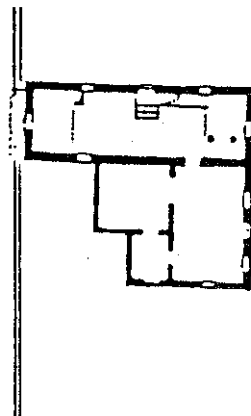
The farmers made extensive use of the mill, which could operate year round because of a constant water supply to turn the wheel (Ulster 1974:12). On the church attic are name plates of farmers who stored grain here (*Die Burger* 9 September 2000:WoonBurger)

On 22 January 1900 a four horse power engine was installed which drove an additional stone of one metre in diameter (Balie 1992:204) and was in use until 1973. A flat-roofed section was added to the back of the mill to house the diesel engine (Balie 1992:184). Batteries charged by this engine were used to provide light and power for the church, parsonage, mission store, police station, old boarding house and mission butchery (Mr N August 1998:written communication).



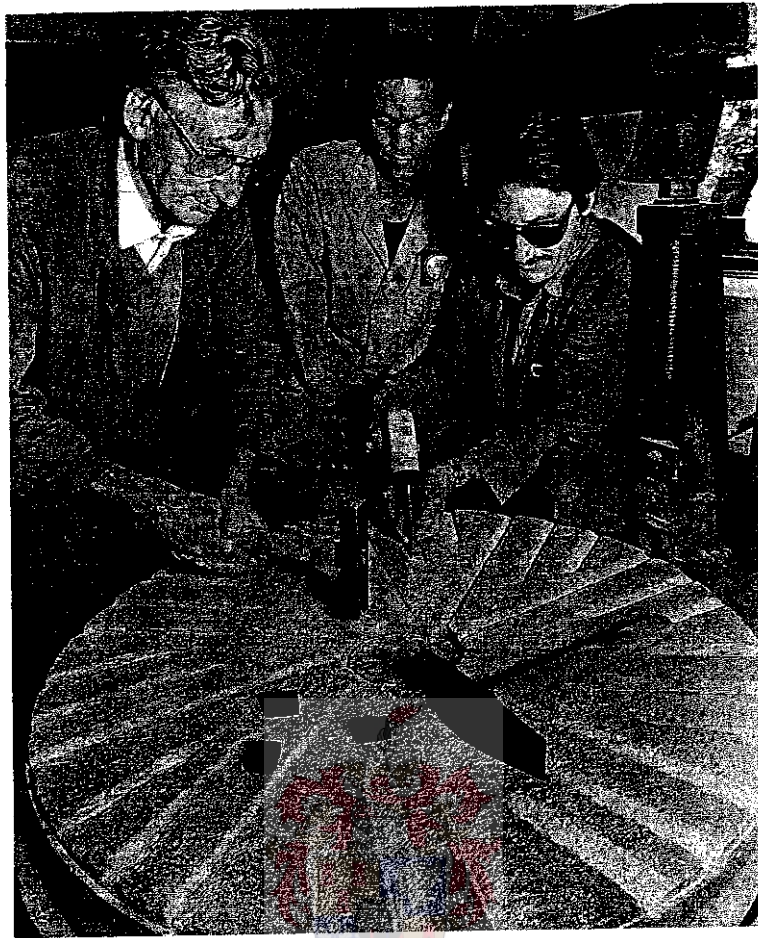
*Figure 147: The diesel engine room.*

In 1974 the mill was restored with funding obtained from the Rembrandt Group through the mediation of Johnny van Breda, Rolf Rühle and others. The mill was then declared a national monument. In 1990 it was once again restored with funding from the Rembrandt Group. The mill was now fully functional and still works on special occasions. The stone ground floor is currently sold to tourists.

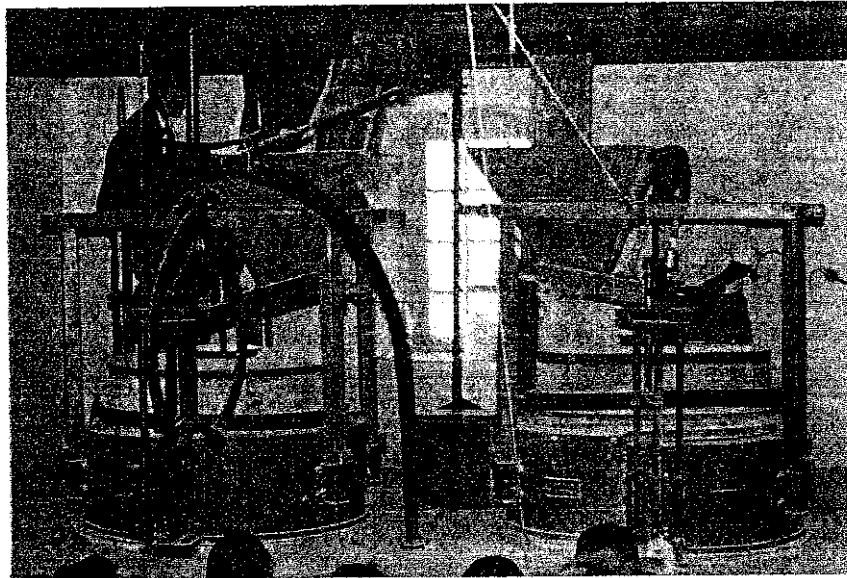


*Figure 148: Ground plan of the mill as recorded by Balie in 1992.*





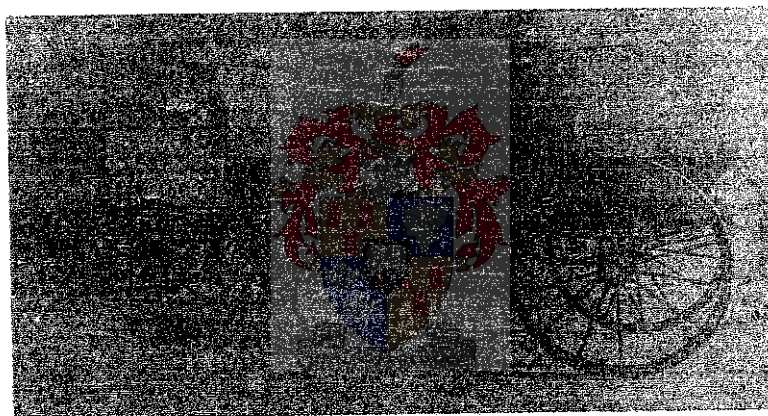
*Figure 149: The mill stones being sharpened in the 1990s.*



*Figure 150: Miller John Wyngaard and an assistant demonstrate the working of the mill during the Flower Festival on 12 September 1998.*

#### 4.15 The smithy

For many generations the blacksmith trade at Elim and the Daniels family were synonymous. The name of David Daniels, a wagon maker, is mentioned in the *Marriage Register* in 1885. His son, Jozua, took over the running of the smith's shop (Balie 1992:146) where wagon wheels were rimmed with metal bands, wagon axles repaired, horses shod *etcetera* (see figure 39). In *De Bode* of 1913, mention is made of the smith Jozua Daniels (Balie 1992:205). Jozua's sons, Dawid and Freek, received their training from their father in the early 1900s. Mattheus Daniels started learning the trade in the 1940s and built his own smith shop where his son, Cecil worked as smith till 1970 when he left Elim in search of employment in Cape Town (Mr M Daniels 1998:written communication).



*Figure 151: Carts with a tradesman dressed in long aprons.*

Apart from the smith's shop of the Daniels family permission was granted in 1905 to Juliaan Vilander to erect a smith shop at the bottom of the *paardekraal* (horse camp). In 1914 mention is made of one blacksmith and one tinsmith (Balie 1992:205). The Mission Store records show that coal was regularly brought to Elim by oxwagon for the smithy shop.

In 1989 the blacksmith's trade at Elim revived due to preparations of a re-enactment of a salvaging journey to the site of the stranded Schonenberg Dutch East Indiaman at Agulhas in 1722. Wagons wheels received new outer metal bands at the site of the old mill, which served as a smithy for many years. The process was initiated and well documented by Hercules Wessels.



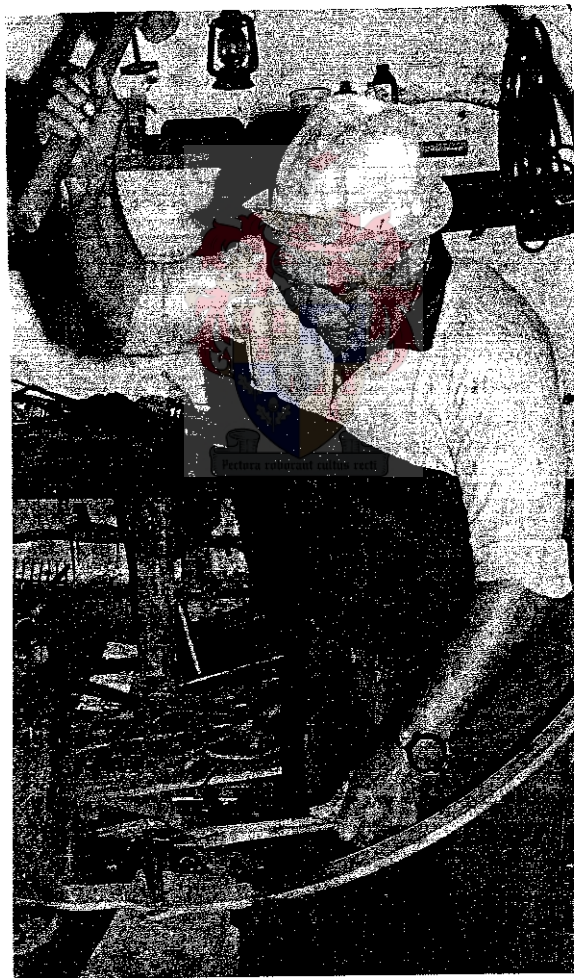
*Figure 152: Mattheus Daniels, his son Cecil and grandson (H Wessels 1989).*



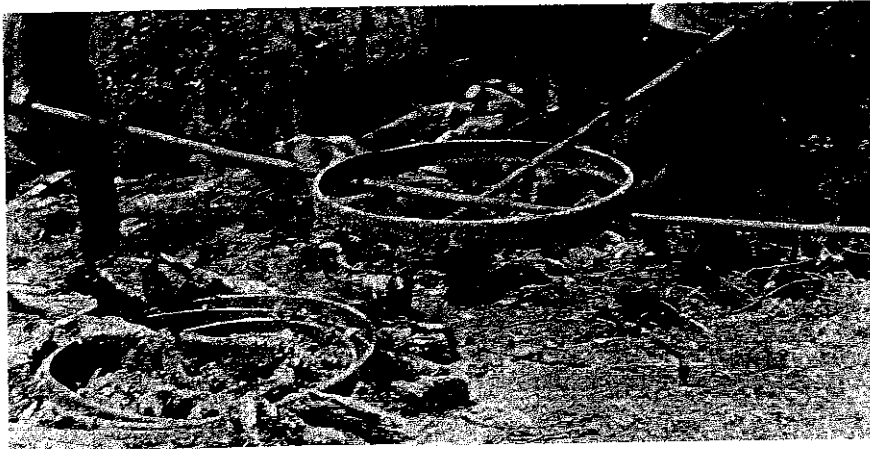
*Figure 153: Christie Cloete rhythmically operates the bellows while Mattheus Daniels tends the fire where the hoop of the wagon-wheel will be heated (H Wessels 1998).*



*Figure 154: The circumference of the wheel is measured by a measuring wheel and the hoop is measured in the same way so that a close fit is ensured (H Wessels 1998).*



*Figure 155: The red-hot section of the hoop is placed on the navel while a metal peg, to be inserted through the ends of the hoop, is held in position with long handled pliers. After this the ends of the hoop are forged together by the alternate rhythmical beating of the smith and his assistant's hammers (H Wessels 1998).*



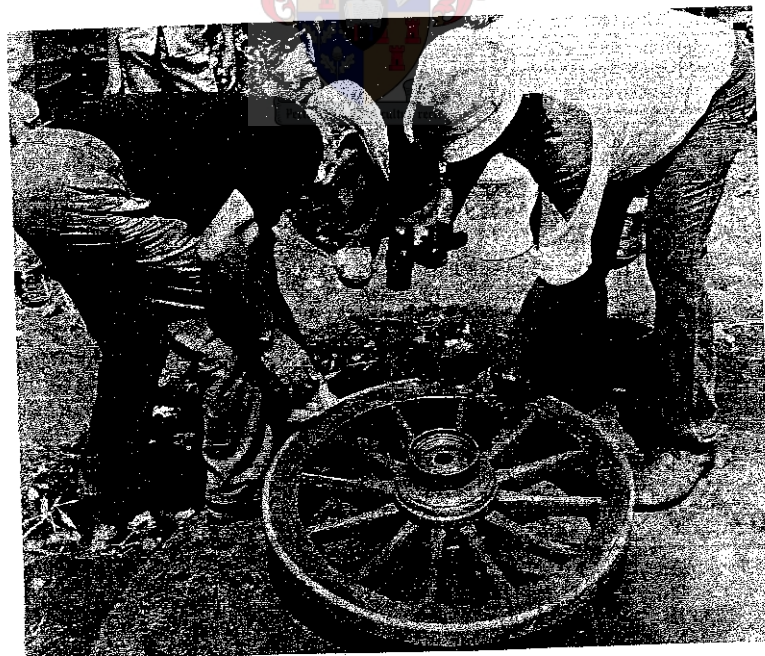
*Figure 156: The circular bands are numbered in order to be matched to the correct wheel. They are heated equally throughout on a fire prepared and carefully tended. Once heated the bands are lifted and carried to the waiting wooden wheels (H Wessels 1998).*



*Figure 157: The band is positioned with a special pair of pliers and a hammer on a special platform (H Wessels 1998).*



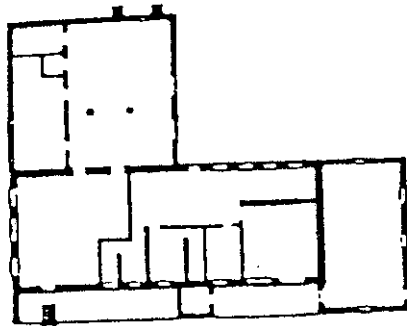
*Figure 158: The metal has to be cooled quickly and equally throughout by rotating it through water (H Wessels 1998).*



*Figure 159: The wheel is returned to the platform for final inspection and certified to be “nommer pas!” meaning that the right band was fitted to the correct wheel (H Wessels 1998).*

#### 4.16 The butchery

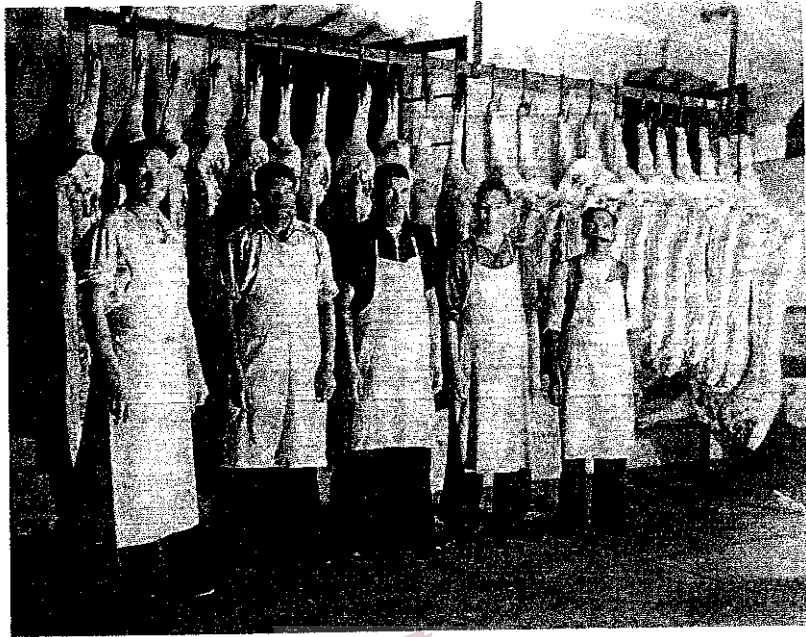
A butchery was built behind the Mission Store in 1896. It employed German butchers who were assisted by staff from Elim.



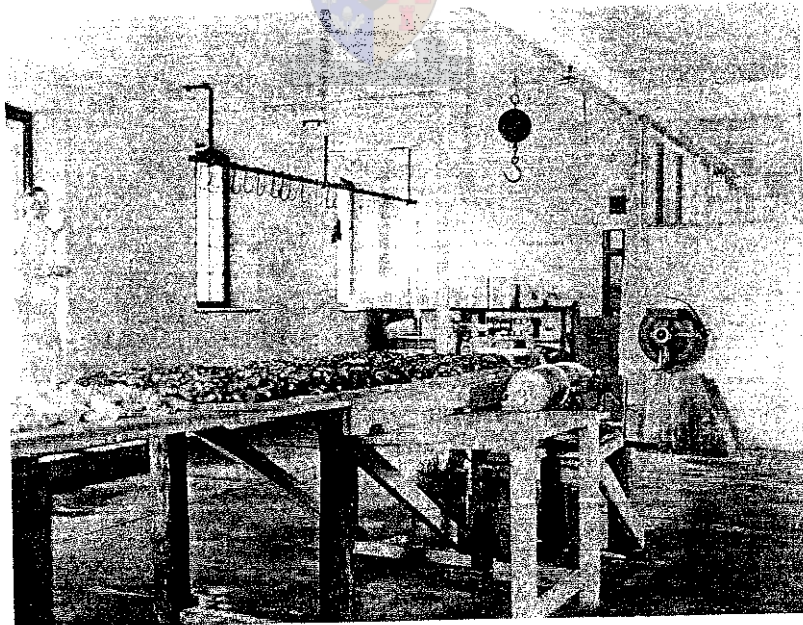
*Figure 160: Groundplan of the butchery as recorded by Balie in 1992.*



*Figure 161: Thanks to the post office and new telephone service, Elim butchery products could immediately be sent far and wide.*



*Figure 162: Left: Butcher Lebsen with assistants Andreas Absalon, Boetie Groenewald, unknown, and Esegiel Oktober.*



*Figure 163: Processed meats ready for dispatch from the spotlessly clean Elim Butchery.*



Messrs.  
MISSION STORE, Elim, C.F.

Telephone: ELIM No. 1.  
Tel. Address: "WILL ELIM".

ORDER LIST

(Wholesale)

	PRICE per lb.	QUANTITY REQUIRED: (PER PIECE OR LB.)
- THE MOST DELICATEST FOR SANDWICHES -		
1. Cervelat Polony, smoked meat polony ( also 2. called "Dauerwurst" of "Schmierwurst" ), . . .	1/6	-----
3. Unsmoked Sausage, coarse, THE	11 <sup>c</sup>	-----
4. do. do. fine, APPRECIATED	11 <sup>d</sup>	-----
5. Smoked Sausage, coarse DELICASY BIT	11 <sup>d</sup>	-----
6. do. do. fine, FOR THE WEEKEND	11 <sup>d</sup>	-----
7. Smoked Liver Polony (for sandwiches), . . . .	11 <sup>c</sup>	-----
8. Smoked "Braunschweiger" ( Blutwurst ), for sandwiches, . . . . .	10 <sup>d</sup>	-----
9. Pure Pork Table Lard, in 7-lbs. tins ( 7 <sup>d</sup> re- funded for every empty tin being returned ) ,	10 <sup>d</sup>	-----
10. Pure Pork Table Lard in tins of about 30-40 lbs., . . . . .	8 <sup>1/2</sup>	-----
Pure Pork Table Lard, a "Sample-Tin" of 2-lb.	1/-	-----
11. Salted (not smoked) Pork Rib, . . . . .	9 <sup>d</sup>	-----
12. Slightly smoked Pork Rib, "Kassler Rippspeer", . . . . THIS FOR THOSE WHO LIKE GOOD THINKS. . .	11 <sup>d</sup>	-----
13. Finest thoroughly smoked Breakfast-Bacon (ge- raeucheter durchwachsener Speck), streaky, .	1/-	-----
14. Smoked H a m , . . . . .	1/2	-----

DELIVERY:- By "Agricultural Parcel Post". Highest nett weight per-  
missible: in wooden boxes 7 lbs., in cartons 9 lbs.

DATE OF DELIVERY:-

PAYMENT:- Within 30 days. Postage is charged, maximum postage 1/-  
Packing free of charge.

DATE OF ORDER:-

NAME AND ADDRESS,  
REMARKS ETC.:

Figure 164: A typed price list.

MORAVIAN MISSION TRADING CO. (PTY.) LTD.  
TRADING AS

MISSION STORE,

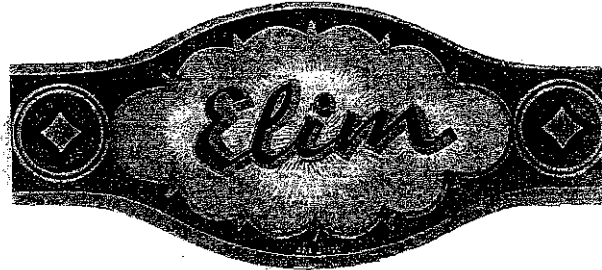
ELIM  
CAPE PROVINCE

Telegraphic Address: "TRADE"  
Telephone: Elim No. 1.  
Bredasdorp Station.



Sole Distributors for the Union and  
South West Africa.

ELIM. C.P.  
Mai 1937.



Preis-Liste

für

Elimer Wurst und Räucherwaren

nur echt

in der guten, altbekannten "Elimer" Qualität  
mit obiger Schutzmarke.

No.		per lb
1	Cervelatwurst (Elimer Dauerwurst) geräuchert	2/-
2	Bratwurst, extra Qualität, . . . frisch	1/2
3	Bratwurst, extra Qualität, . . . geräuchert	1/2
4	Bratwurst, . . . frisch	1/-
5	Bratwurst, . . . geräuchert	1/-
6	Leberwurst fein, extra Qualität, " "	1/3
7	Leberwurst grob, extra Qualität, " "	1/2
8	Leberwurst fein . . . " "	1/-
9	Blutwurst (Braunschweiger) . . . " "	1/-
10	Schweinsrippe, Kasseler Rippespeer " "	1/-
11	Speck, fett . . . " "	1/-
12	Speck, durchwachsen, . . . " "	1/4
13	Schinken . . . " "	1/6
14	Lachsschinken . . . " "	2/-
15	Kammschinken . . . " "	1/3
16	Salami . . . " "	1/6

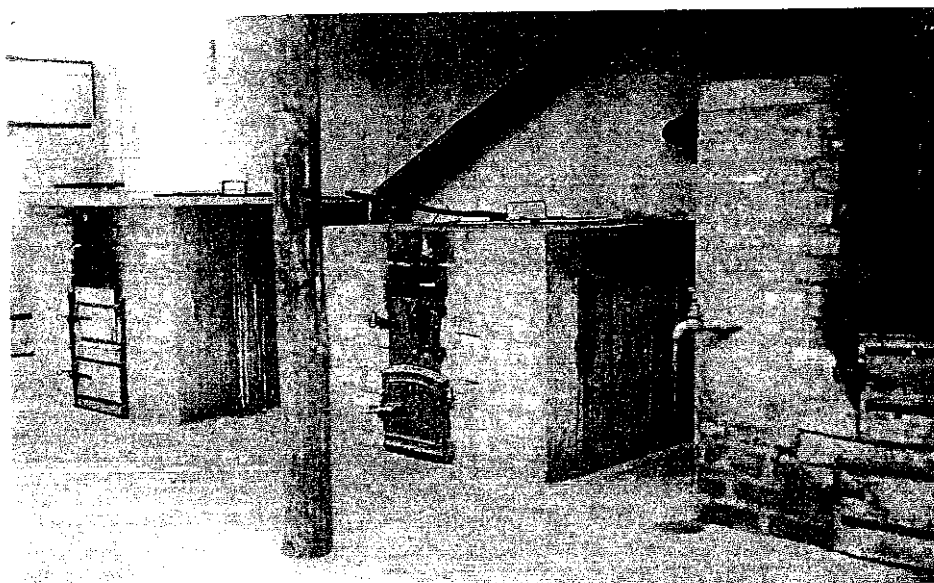
Zusendung: per Post (Agricultural Parcel Post)  
per Bahn (Perishable Goods Train)

Verpackung: frei.

Porto }  
Fracht } berechnet

Durch diese Preisliste werden alle früheren Preislisten  
ungültig.

Figure 165: A full colour printed price list with a logo that was presumably also applied to  
all the products.



*Figure 166: Smoking chambers.*

Managers such as Messrs Rietmann, Lipmann and Otto served here. After leaving Elim in the 1940s Mr Otto settled in the Strand where he started his own meat processing plant under the Elim name. The factory was subsequently bought by Roelcor.



*Figure 167: The "Elim" butchery in Strand. Not only the name but the logo design is very close to the one on the 1937 price list (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Private individuals also supplied Elim with meat: Pieter October of *Berg* (Mountain) Street, Mr Cloete in *Mark* (Market) Street, Japie Cloete in Boom Street and Mr Joemath in Kerk Street to name but a few. After the Germans left, the butchery continued to operate, albeit on a much reduced scale until March 1998 when it finally closed its doors (Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998:written communication). Increased competition and health regulations

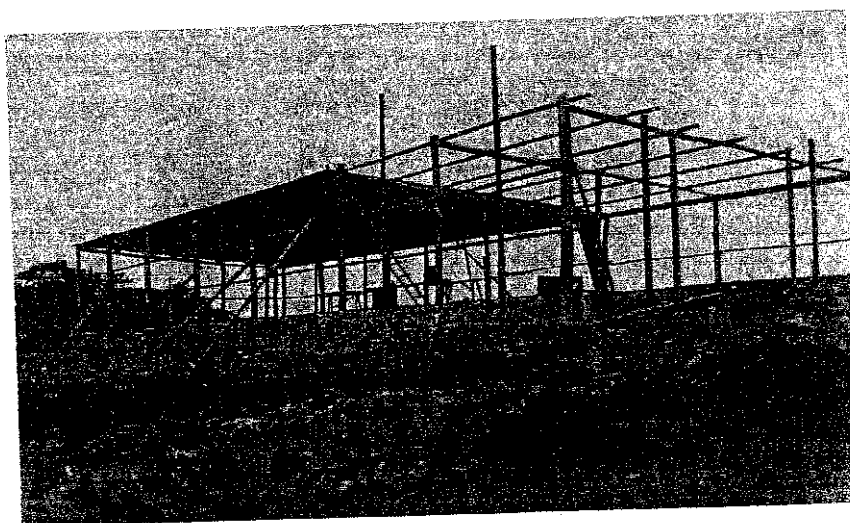
prohibiting slaughtering on the premises necessitated Elim Butchery to buy its meat from the Bredasdorp abattoirs.

#### 4.17 The bakery

Elim has a fine home baking tradition that stretches back to the oldest cottages and their *bakoonde* discussed in Section 6.13. In the 1930s Cornelius and Jacoba Hans' *mosbolletjies* (aniseed rusks) were renowned and HESSIE October and Pina Abrahams were famed for *mosbolletjies*, bread and pies (Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998:written communication). During the annual August church festivities the Kerkraad sisters serve tea and *bolletjies* to congregation members. This was preceded by a big bake in the oven behind the parsonage.

In 1987 a commercial bakery to supply in Elim's needs was developed by Rolf Rühle at the premises of the Elim Tehuis. In 1989 it moved to the Old Hotel building (N August and M Schippers interview:1998). Currently, it also supplies Bredasdorp shops with pies and bread and is managed by Mr Thys Ahrends.

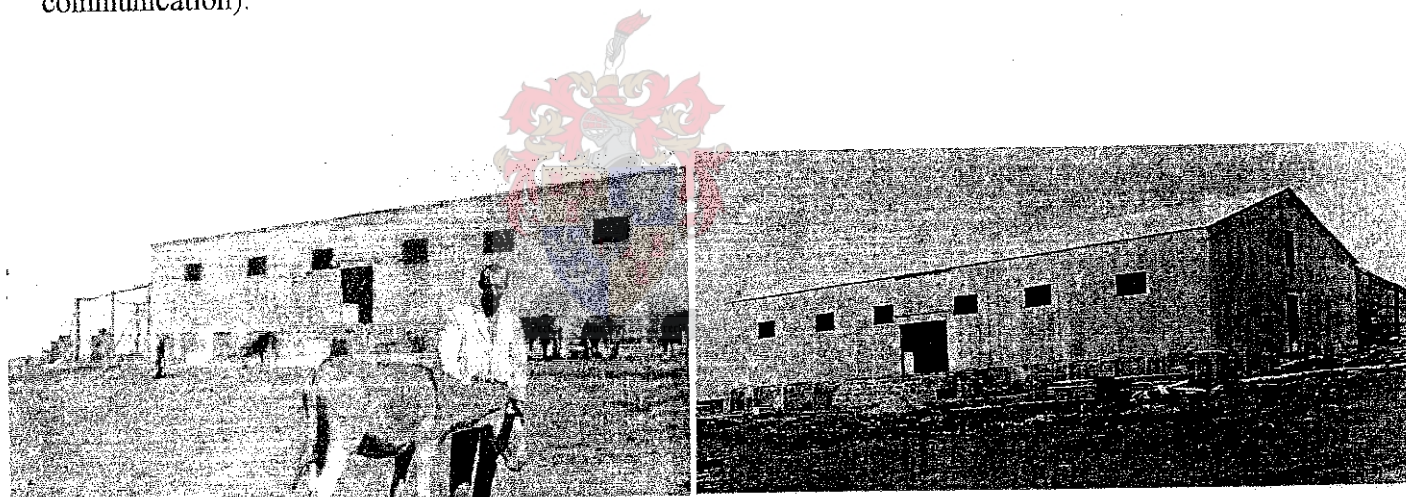
#### 4.18 Flower and transport sheds



*Figure 168: Construction of the 1896 Bloemenhuis.*

In 1896 a corrugated shed, called the *bloemenhuis* (flower house), was erected. Women and children collected white *sewejaartjies* (everlastings). This name is derived from the number of years the species can be picked after a fire. In the eighth year and longer after a fire the *sewejaartjies* are dwarfed by other *fynbos* plants and will disappear until the next fire. Women and children were encouraged to collect these blooms and sell them to the Mission Store. The Mission then transported them to Cape Town where there was a big demand for buyers who exported them to Europe (Balie 1992:148,183).

However, the building was to serve a wide variety of purposes: as grain store, farm implement store where farmers could buy parts and complete implements, and coffin store. Animal bones were also stored here before being transported to Cape Town (Mr N August 1998:written communication).



*Figure 169: Additions to the east and south of the shed (early 1900s).*

In later years it became a dedicated flower store. In 1998 the building was knocked down and replaced by another. The additions to the south of the building were replaced by a smaller shed in 1999. The Elim flower trade (not to be confused with the South African Dried fruit flower processing factory which is discussed in section 1.1.2) is managed by the *opsiengersraad*.



*Figure 170: Old Bloemenhuis just before it was knocked down, with the new shed to the south already completed (L van der Hoven 1998).*

A wagon shed was built to the west of the church. With the mechanization of agriculture the building came to house tractors, threshing machines as well as other implements used for the production of wheat (Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998:written communication).



*Figure 171: The wagon shed (L van der Hoven 2000).*

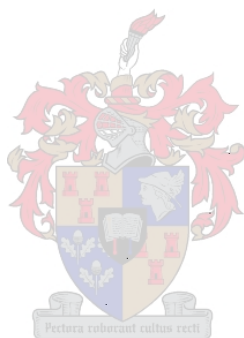
#### 4.19 Threshing floor and dipper

In the 1860s a threshing floor was built behind Vaalgat in the direction of Bredasdorp. Animals were used to tread the produce in order to separate the kernels from the chaff (M Daniels 1998:written communication). Sheep *kraals* as well as a dip facility were built across the road from the schoolmaster's residence.



*Figure 172: The dipgat (dipper) and sheep kraals.*

In conclusion the *kerkwerf* complex with its diverse activities and buildings can be summarized as having been the focus of the economic and spiritual life not only of Elim but also of the Strandveld. The arrival of the internal combustion engine in the early 1900s, however, put a sudden end to the farmers' reliance on the previously vital facilities at Elim. (One would expect modern transportation reduced Elim's isolation, on the contrary, it resulted in Elim becoming more isolated from the rest of the Strandveld.) The *kerkwerf* is however, still (2000) the focus of Elim itself with the church, shop, bakery, clinic, post office and parsonage forming the nucleus of public activities in the town.





## CHAPTER 5

### SCHOOLS

#### 5.1 School attendance and lack of racial discrimination

Bonatz was the missionary responsible for implementing the educationalist Hallbeck's plans for Elim which included a school open to all races. Bonatz fostered good relations with the Dutch Reformed Church and encouraged the Elim residents to pray for that institution (Balie 1992:81). White farmers' children thus shared in the rare educational privilege from the station's inception in 1824 (Balie 1992:44).

When the slaves were freed in 1834 the farmers were disgruntled because of the financial implications this legislation held. As discussed in section 2.2.2 many slaves joined the mission stations. Farmers lodged complaints to the Colonial government about the stations *harbouring a bunch of thieves*. Between 6 and 8 March 1849 The Clerk of Peace lodged an investigation into the matter and came to the conclusion that the anti-mission stations sentiment was really caused by the farmer's jealousy that their own children did not have the level of formal education available to Elimmers and farm children living close by (Balie 1992:82). In the *Report of 1855*, and the first half of 1856 we read that the number of pupils enrolled in the infant school was 140, of whom three were of European descent.

White farmers must have aimed steadily for separate and superior educational facilities for their children because fifty years later in the 1900 Education Report we read: *Mission Schools have not so many in Standards V and VI as previously. The fact is that the only pupils in these standards in the past have been white children, and these are now more often sent to the Public Schools when beyond Standard IV. The Mission Schools have large numbers in Standard 11, and IV, which are normally their highest Standards, than in previous years.* Mention about a farm school at Kouderivier, just North of Elim, is also made. This school would have provided schooling for the white owner, Mr H Veale's children and possibly some white neighbour's children too. In 1903 this school had five pupils.

The official policy of the Colony was that compulsory school attendance for *Coloureds* was not a necessity. In 1933 Superintendent General of Education, MC Botha drew up the Cape of Good Hope Educational Report and Educational Statistics (page 49): *During the last few years the Department has received repeated requests from certain School Boards to make education compulsory for Coloured children in the same way as for Europeans [...] The great stumbling-block, however, in the way of compulsory school attendance is the very fact that the system of Coloured education is practically wholly denominational. Financially, also, the matter is by no means simple. The enrolment in Coloured schools has in recent years increased to such an extent that the combined efforts of the Church and the State could not cope with it. Compulsion becomes necessary when parents refuse to send their children to school. But there is no proof that this is the case to-day. If we bear in mind that the State cannot, however much it may desire to do so, spend money which it cannot extract from the taxpayers, the increase in the enrolment as well as in the attendance of Coloured children in urban areas is highly satisfactory. The report continues: A problem which is constantly causing me much concern is the presence, in schools for Europeans, of pupils who are not wholly of European descent. The Provincial ordinances governing the organisation of schools make provision for (1) schools for Europeans, (2) schools for non-Europeans [...] the decision of the Chief Justice, Lord de Villiers, in the well-known Keimoes case [...] on which the Department in the past has based its policy (is): 'in no case is it the duty of the school committee to inquire into the descent of a child, if it is not obvious from the appearance of the child that he or she is of other than European descent. If any objection is made by the parents of other children to a child not obviously coloured the onus is on them to produce clear proof of the non-European element, and in the great majority of cases it would be impossible to produce such proof in regard to an ancestor of a remoter degree than that of grandparent. However, Botha's report continues: Colour in South Africa is often as misleading as names [...] It sometimes happens that pupils who have attended a particular school for years suddenly learn that they are no longer considered Europeans. An investigation would follow in order to find the necessary proofs of colour, even in the third and fourth generation [...] So much of my time as well as that of the Legal Advisers is taken up with cases of this kind that it seems to me desirable to have legislation which will furnish a sounder basis for the settlement of such cases (1933:50).*

## 5.2 The early years 1824 – 1842

Each Sunday Elim residents were joined by many people from the district who attended the service at 9 o'clock. Some farmers had by that time been on the road for three hours. In the afternoon the missionaries gave reading and writing instruction to the farm people. Adult labourers, slaves and farmer's children all eagerly attended the Sunday school (Ulster 1974:10). Formal instruction commenced as soon as possible, the missionaries and their wives being the first teachers (Balie 1992:42). On 23 August 1824 Christiaan Thomson started formal schooling with four pupils. The pupils received their instruction in the *voorhuis* (front room) of the missionary's residence in the farmstead (Balie 1992:43).

Compulsory school attendance has been part of the first Elim *ordeninge* and is still an important part of all Moravian mission stations (Moos 1985:26). Attendance is compulsory to grade eight (standard 6) or the age of fifteen (Ulster 1947:32). For this reason there is no illiteracy amongst the people of Elim and in fact, Elim was referred to as a *school-plaats* (school place). In contrast to the view of the colonial government, the missionaries regarded formal schooling to be as important as attending church services. School instruction had a clear Christian foundation as well as aim. Regarding the aim of education, the Elim Mission Diary notes: *om in den eerste plaats, te zorgen dat zij hunner Schepper en Verlosser kennen leeren, als ook in kennis op te voeden, dat zij eens nuttige leden der gemeente worden* (Balie 1992:42) (to see that they get to know their Maker and Redeemer, as well as gain knowledge so that they may become useful members of the congregation).

In 1826 a dedicated school room was built. It had a single window which did not allow much light into the room, which soon became cramped as the pupil numbers increased. In those early years there were no benches or books and learning was mostly a verbal exercise. Pupils gathered around the teacher's table to receive instruction (Balie 1992:43). With increased pupil numbers books and other teaching aids became necessary. Mission friends overseas kindly donated the much needed items. In 1831 a friend from Fairfield, England, donated 72 slates. Elementary readers, arithmetic books, Bibles and a textbook known as *Luther se kategismus* (Luther's Catechism) were used (Balie 1992:43). By 1832 twelve of the forty

Elim pupils could read fluently from the Bible (Balie 1992:44). Once pupils reached the age of fifteen they could no longer attend the school. Such pupils each received their own Bible and could attend a class held twice a week for boys and girls separately.

In 1835 the new church was inaugurated and the farmstead could become a dedicated school. The building was divided and the *Kleinkinder School* (Nursery School) and *Groot School* (Primary School) had separate classrooms (Balie 1002:46). By 1842 The first full time teacher, Alexander Hans, was appointed to the pre-primary school (Balie 1992:131). He had received his training from the Genadendal Teacher's Training College (De Villiers 1948:10).

In the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope Educational Return of 1842 there were only eight schools in the entire Swellendam District (which roughly coincides with the area presently known as the Overberg): a *Free School* and a *Dutch Public School* in Swellendam, another *Free School* at Caledon and a *Dutch School for coloured persons* at Caledon and one at Riversdale. *The private Schools in this Division were:*

*Two day Schools and an Infant School at the Moravian Institution at Genadenthal (sic).*

*One day School and an Infant School at the Moravian Institution called Elim.*

In addition to these seven schools for the entire region a few farmers employed their own teachers: *There are 29 private Teachers residing with different Farmers who receive the Children of their neighbours for instruction. The number of Children who attend may be estimated at about 270.*

It is therefore not surprising to read in the a 1914 Moravian report of illiterate employers who were assisted by their educated employees: *In former years it was not at all uncommon for a boer to call his Elim servant girl in from the kitchen to read him a letter which was to him a sealed book, as he had never been to school* (Balie 1992:205). The general lack of education of the Strandveld farming community is often clear from requisition notes sent to the shop (see figure 128).

### 5.3 The years 1842 - 1877

In 1847 Michael Baalie was appointed as teacher. He served for fourteen years. He was soon promoted from the nursery school to assist the missionary Johann Müller (Balie 1992:138). In the *Report for 1848* we read the following about Elim: *The Juvenile School of this Institution has enrolled 172 pupils during the last year, of these 48 could not read, 53 were imperfect readers in Dutch, and 72 could read, write, and cipher in that language. English has not been introduced to the School, nor any branches besides those now mentioned. At the Infant School there was an attendance of 115 pupils, of whom there were 29 removed to the Juvenile School. The population of Elim amounts to 1,000 of all ages, of who there was 240 under 14 years of age. The method and course of Instruction pursued at this Institution is the same as that at Genadendal. The Sunday School has been attended by 41 adults, most of whom could read.*

In the *1853 School Report* we read that the Juvenile School is under Mr Stoltz, Mr Müller and Assistants while the Infant School is under the care of Mr Michael Baalie. It is also stated that the educational system for the Juvenile school is the same as that used in the primary schools in Germany, but the other school has a local Infant system.

In the *1855 School Report* we read that the language used was Dutch, and that English was taught in the senior classes by means of translation but the report complains that *The chief drawback to progress is the little interest taken by parents in the instruction of their children. The schools are in charge of two teachers, aided by two native assistants. The total number of pupils at Elim in 1856 were 299 and by 1861 this figure had risen to 326 (Balie 1992:130).*

The *1875 School Report* provides details of the school and its facilities and activities:  
*Juvenile school – Teacher, Peter Pfeiffers; 1 female assistant. Room large, well-lighted and ventilated; furniture in fair order and conveniently arranged. Registers properly kept. On the books 34 boys, 64 girls; present 14 boys, 36 girls.*

Class I: Present 9 boys, 17 girls; spell and read Volks lees Boek, 24 well, 2 tolerably; Nelson's New No 1V. 22 well, 4 imperfectly; write to dictation (Dutch). 18 well, 8 imperfectly;

(English) 15 well, 11 imperfectly; work compound addition fairly, repeat tables well; did fairly in notation and numeration; wrote copy neatly; geography (map of Europe) did well; translate from English into Dutch fairly; did well in Dutch grammar, Universal history, and Scripture History.

*Class II: 5 boys, 19 girls; spell and read Dutch, 17 fairly, 7 imperfectly; Young Reader, New no 111., 12 fairly, 12 imperfectly; write to dictation (Dutch), 20 fairly, 4 imperfectly; repeat tables well; work simple rules fairly; did well in notation and numeration; 15 write in copy-book and 9 on slate fairly; did fairly in outlines of geography and Scripture History.*

The Infant School has the following description: *Teacher Joseph Hans; 1 female assistant. Room moderate size, tolerably lighted and ventilated, fairly furnished; clay floor. Registers properly kept, On the books 97 boys, 84 girls; present 48 boys, 59 girls. Classes 5.*

*Class I: Present 11 boys, 13 girls; spell and read Dutch fairly; Step by Step, part 11., 21 fairly, 3 imperfectly; write on slate fairly; say addition table well; outlines of geography, did fairly.*

*Class II: 2 boys, 7 girls; spell and read Dutch fairly; monosyllables (English), tolerably; write on slate and say addition table fairly.*

*Class III: 2 boys, 4 girls; spell and read Dutch fairly; write on slate and say addition table fairly; count.*

*Class IV: 18 boys, 15 girls; read Dutch monosyllables, tolerably; begin to write on slate; count.*

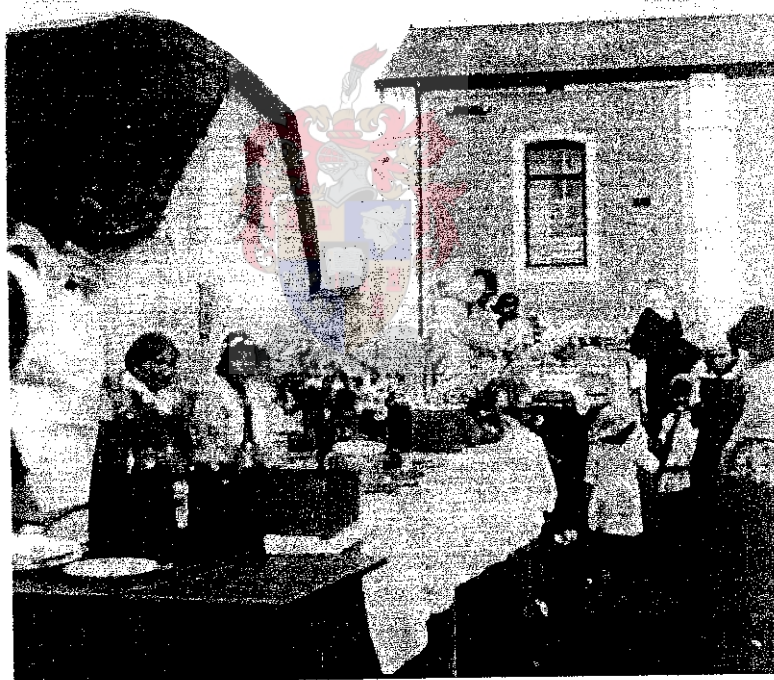
*Class V: 15 boys, 20 girls; vowel sounds; count.*

*Singing taught. All were exercised in Scripture lessons and did fairly. Schools in the same satisfactory state, both as to discipline and instruction as before.*

In 1861 Michael Baalie was replaced by David Mosalah (Balie 1992:138). The *September 1863 Periodical Accounts* reports on page 627 *October the 6<sup>th</sup>*, the examination of the school for elder children was held; on the 16<sup>th</sup> that of the juvenile school. At the former, there were 132 children, at the latter 75. The Rev. Mr. Gibbs was present. At the close six Dutch Bibles were distributed to the best scholars, two of which were presented by Mr. Gibbs, two by the magistrate of Bredasdorp, and two by ourselves. The result of the examination were very

*satisfactory, and the children were greatly delighted with their prizes. However on the next page the following is reported: Our school for elder children was closed, as their number had, for some time past, been diminishing, so many of them being required for field work.*

In 1868 Nikolaas Oppelt was appointed as teacher in Elim (Balie 1992:137). Until 1871 the toddlers and girls received their lessons in the mornings and the boys were taught in the afternoons. From 1872 a full school day for both sexes was instituted (Balie 1992:129). The total number of pupils in 1879 was 328, and rose to 357 by 1884 (Balie 1992:130). Between 1838 and 1888 four Elimmers successfully qualified as teachers at the Genadendal Teachers' Training College (Balie 1992:131).



***Figure 173: A bazaar held between 1913 and 1922 when an additional classroom was added to the left of the Nieuwe School towards the back. The Kleine School in the foreground had no rustication when this photograph was taken.***

The building started in 1876 and was completed by September the following year. The *Kleine School* (Nursery School) required more than 64 000 bricks which were made and hauled to the site. The work was performed by Elimmers without reward (Balie 1992:105). In 1896 it was

decided to enlarge the *Kleine School*. At a bazaar held on 30 March that year the sum of forty five pounds was collected and the walls were rafter height before the winter (Balie 1992:196) Ephraim Engel was in charge of building and the thatching was done under the supervision of Jonas Hans (Ulster 1974:32). Like the *kerkwerf* residences, the roof has two dormer windows and a door in the gable, rendering the attic useful. Short gutters above the two doors serve the purpose of a gable, keeping the collected rainwater from pouring on the doors. The *wolfent* gable however, links this building to the cottages and like the school master's residence, this is a transitional building between the *kerkwerf* and the cottages both in its function, geographical position as well as style. The *Kleine School* today serves as public library stocked by the Cape provincial library service with 6 000 books.

#### 5.4 The years 1877 - 1913

In 1877 Petrus Beukman was appointed as teacher. He specialised in practical subjects such as shoemaking. He taught here till his retirement in 1890 (Balie 1992:140). In 1887 it was decided that children whose school fees were in arrears for more than two years would not be allowed to participate in the *Liefdesmaal* at the Children's Festival. This must have been a severe punishment since children look forward to receiving new articles of clothing for the Children's Festival as well a *bolletjie* and a cup of tea from the elders. After the service children went singing and received something to eat in return (Balie 1992:121). This practice continues today (2000).

The 1890 *School Report* stated the following: text books for Dutch reading included *De Aarde* (the Earth), *Boekje met groote lessen* (Booklet with big lessons), *Boekje met een Prentje* (Booklet with a picture). In 1891 there were a total of 340 pupils (Balie 1997:195). In the *Mission Store Purchasing Journal 1886-1895* the following stationery items were ordered: paper scissors (173), steel spectacles (96), books from Roset & Co. as well as violet ink powder (7, 120 etcetera).



The examination program taken down in September 1894 comprised mainly of reciting, singing and reading of Dutch and English religious and moralistic texts:

*Begin 8 uur*

*Gebed en Gezang*

<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Ps. 121, Louisa Willimse</i>
<i>I Klas</i>	<i>Bybelgeschiedenis/Katechismus</i>
<i>II Klas</i>	<i>Hollandsch lezen enz.</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Laat my tot Jezus komen, Christina Stein</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>Het lieflyk woord</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>De pruimen-boom, Wilhelm Cloete</i>
<i>III Klas</i>	<i>Bybelgeschiedenis</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>Naar't beter land</i>
<i>II Klas</i>	<i>Rekenen</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Anna en haar lamp, Magdalena Cloete</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>De zon en de knaap</i>
<i>III Klas</i>	<i>Hollandsch lezen</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Twaalf en een, Minna October en Dorothea Hess</i>
<i>I Klas</i>	<i>Rekenen</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Wiegeliedje</i>
<i>III Klas</i>	<i>Gezang versen</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>De papier-vogel</i>

*Korte ophoud van 15 minuten*

<i>Zingen</i>	<i>Uitnoodiging to Jezus</i>
<i>Opzegging</i>	<i>Het teederhartige kind, Dorothea Koert</i>
<i>II Klas</i>	<i>Bybelgeschiedenis</i>
<i>I Klas</i>	<i>Hollandse lezen</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>De grootste schat, Aletta Engel</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>De haan</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Een godsdienstige jeugh, Eva October</i>

<i>Klas I –II</i>	<i>Object lessons</i>
<i>Klas III</i>	<i>Rekenen</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>Medegaan</i>
<i>Opzeggen</i>	<i>Genoegelyk Ouderdom, Freek Hendricks &amp; Henry Marcus</i>
<i>Zingen</i>	<i>Voor eeuwig te huis</i>

This exam program continued along much the same lines the following days with recitation, singing, arithmetic as well as reading from Dutch and English texts (Balie 1992:199).



**Figure 174: A headmaster teacher, Meester Richard Rasmus and family. Mr Rasmus was appointed in 1896 (Balie 1992:1077).**

Mr Rasmus' teaching was lauded by the authorities: *The work shown was generally good, and reflects credit upon the earnestness and diligence of the teacher. Singing is taught with marked success, especially in the Juvenile Department. The drill in vocal exercise (the teacher giving the notes with hand signs) was very good, and the precision with which the children took up the notes, even with difficult intervals, was very creditable. Between 1912 and 1916 Elim choir won the schools singing competition at Caledon (Balie 1992:197).*

On 26 March 1913 the *Nieuwe School* (New School) was inaugurated (Ulster 1974:18). The building was constructed with a corrugated iron roof. A stylistic link with the *Kleine School* as well as the *kerkwerf* architecture was established through the use of rustication and arched, smooth plaster bands around the doors and windows and a straight band below the roof. In 1922 the building was enlarged with an additional classroom (Ulster 1974:18). The partitioning walls between the class rooms of the *Nieuwe School* have since been removed to create a large space which presently serves as a community hall.



*Figure 175: The Kleine School can be seen in the front and the Nieuwe School can be seen towards the back (Cape Archives Depot:R503).*

### 5.5 The years 1913 – 1965

In 1908 a fifth standard was added and by 1915 a standard six class was added. Four girls were admitted to the senior class with the aim of training them as teachers. At that stage there were six teachers. *Skoolayas* were teacher assistants. In 1901 the Department of Education expected these aids to pass the Public Teacher exams before a government subsidy would be paid towards the salary. The principal, Mr Rasmus, trained Frederika Hans and Maria Taillard

privately for this examination (Balie 1992:197). After the examinations had been taken the annual teacher salaries were:

	Subsidy	Local Contribution
R Rasmus	70 Pounds	35 Pounds
E Weber	45 Pounds	25 Pounds
Augusta Hendricks	20 Pounds	10 Pounds
Maria Taillard	16 Pounds	8 Pounds
Frederika Hans	16 Pounds	8 Pounds
Annie Cloete		15 Pounds

The local contributions were mainly collected through school fees. In 1909 parents had to pay the following amounts:

Lowest two grades – 6 shillings per year

Next two grades – 8 shillings per year

Final two grades – 10 shillings per year

School Fees were meticulously entered into a book kept between 1896 and 1920. This book is called *Schule* (School) and was retrieved in 1998 from the attic of the old shop. The book provides interesting genealogical evidence quoted in chapter two. Should parents have more than four children at school, the fees for subsequent children were halved. The school fund was further strengthened through bazaars (Balie 1992:189).

Text books in use between 1888 and 1919 included the *Royal Reader I, II, III*, *Menschen en dieren* (People and animals), *Het Bookje met groote lessen* (The booklet with big lessons), and *Het boekje met een prentje* (The book with a picture) (Balie 1992:197). In 1919 a School Committee was selected and appointed (Balie 1992:196).

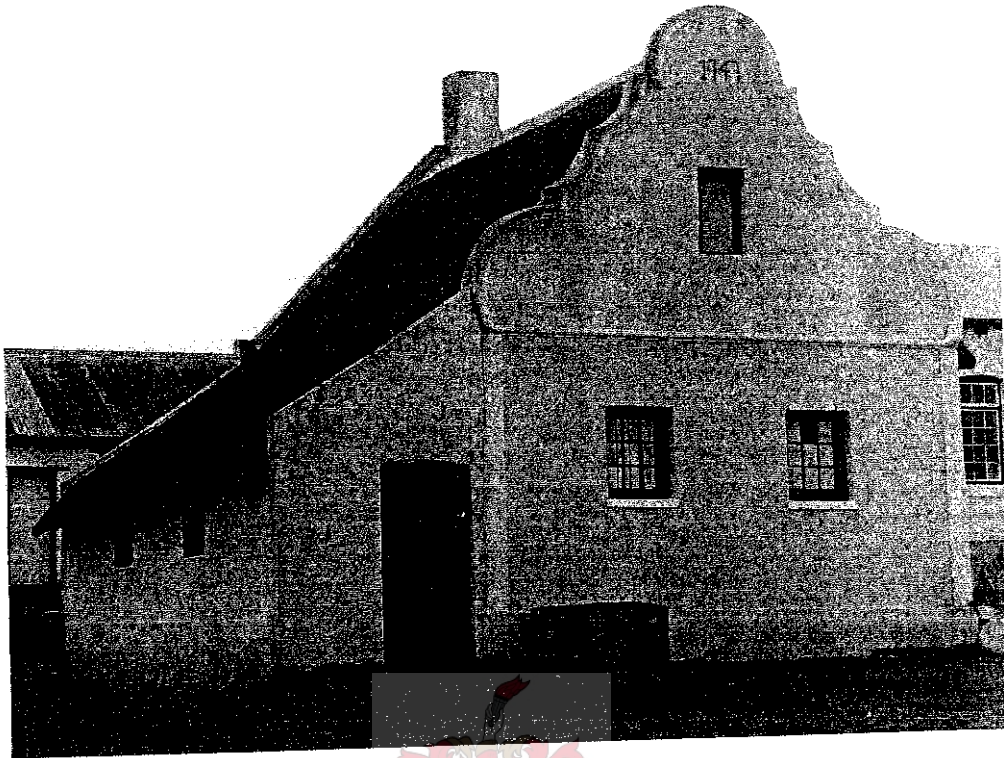
A separate woodwork room was built towards the *akker* and today houses the police station. Figure 176 may well have been taken during the annually church bazaar auction as a missionary can be seen on the steps and he is surrounded by the congregation.



*Figure 176: The woodwork room (Cape Archives Depot: R504).*

In 1999 Samuel Schippers wrote an account of a school holiday in the 1920 at Quoin Point with some interesting references to schooling. His text was copied verbatim:

*Belofte maak skuld, is die spreek woord, wanneer ons mekaar iets belove. Volgen sprake het Pa gesê, Kinders as julle goed is in jul skool werk en slaag bij die end van die jaar, dan gaan ons see toe, nog nie see water gesien nie net hoor dreun waneer sij Omgekrap is [...] Die nag van vijf en twintigste Des het ons gesing die Heiland is gebore. Daarna 'n kort gebedjie en toe Onse Vader gebid so het ons die jaar ook ingegaan, natuurlik met die Seën van die Allerhoogste. Die tijd raak kort ons begin klaar maak vir Elim toe gaan. Die vakansie agter die rug en tijd van werk staar ons weer in die oë met al haar probleme. Ons het die seewater gesien, en soos die werk begin, net so begin ons skool ook. Al dus end ou Sam met hierdie geleentheid en voorreg wat Ou Sam gehad het om hiedie woorde wat so pas neer geskryf is. Die aller beste, voorspoed, gesondheid en Vrede vir die Toekoms, Tot Siens van Oom Schippers.*



*Figure 177: A kos huis (soup kitchen) was completed in 1947. The gable, although slightly more elaborate, is a holbol gable based on the church gables. Although the corrugated iron roofed woodwork room pre-dates this building, thatch was chosen as roofing material. The additional room to the left was built later and served as a much needed funeral parlour (L van der Hoven 1999).*

A decision was taken to build a handwork room for the school. This would have been the start of a U-shaped school which would later have accommodated all classrooms. As a result Reverend Schaberg's classroom stood all on its own. Here he trained some of Elim's tradesmen between 1930 and 1934. By 1948 the school comprised eight spacious classrooms.

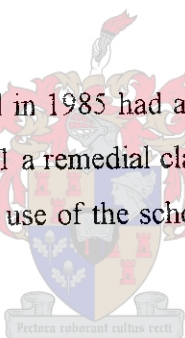
In 1965 the first phase of the present school building was completed. It comprises five classrooms for grade I and II learners (sub A and B), administrative offices as well as ablution blocks. In 1970 the second phase was completed comprising of another four classrooms as well as a library (Ulster 1947:32&33).



*Figure 178: The present school building. In the foreground is the blue gum lined entrance to the akker (L van der Hoven 1999).*

## 5.6 The years 1965 – 2000

According to Mr ES Moos the school in 1985 had around 260 pupils, ten teachers and offered up to grade eight (standard 6). In 1971 a remedial class was added to the school. At present the provincial authorities pay rent for the use of the school buildings and pay the teachers' salaries, as well.



### 5.6.1 The Elim Tehuis

The *Elim Tehuis* (Home) is a sanctuary for fifty five mentally and physically handicapped children of all races, ranging in ages from babies to eighteen years old. An international circle of friends donate their time and financial resources for this cause (Ms M van Breda 1996:interview). In addition the Home receives a disability grant from the government for each child. A therapeutic section was added in 1974 and since then a swimming pool has also been built.

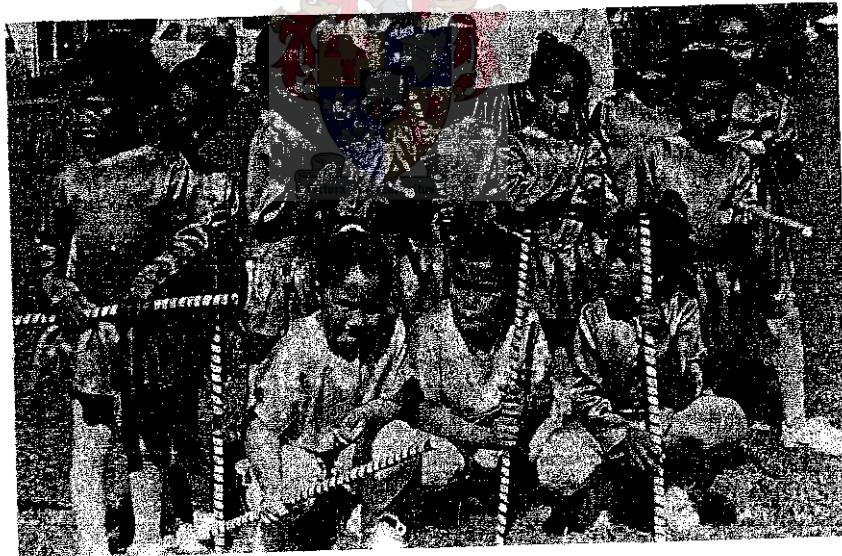
### 5.6.2 The Elim Tehuis Opleiding Sentrum

The *Elim Tehuis Opleiding Sentrum* (Elim Home Training Centre) was established in 1984. In 1996 it housed 38 learners. Although these children are mentally challenged, they are

trainable. New residential facilities are currently under construction to the south east of the Elim Tehuis.

### 5.6.3 Nursery schools

Because Hallbeck was an educationalist he knew the advantages of a nursery school. A nursery school had been initiated at Genadendal with good results. On 1 October 1832 a nursery school was also established at Elim with Reverend and Juffrouw Teutsch as well as a Khoikhoi widow from Genadendal as teachers. There was a total of 43 toddlers. Parents were encouraged to send their children soon after they had learnt to talk because as was reported in the *1834 Periodical Accounts* (p138): *for the tender susceptible mind thus becomes imbued with the seeds of divine truth, before the weeds of human depravity have struck roots downwards* (Balie 1992:45).



*Figure 179: The Dennepitjies Pre-primary School participated in the Elim Flower Festival on 12 September 1999 (L Daniels 1999).*

This tradition has continued to the present (2000). The *Blue Bells* Pre-primary is under the care of Batie Appolis and the *Dennepitjies* Kleuterskool has Janie Engel as teacher.



## CHAPTER 6

### COTTAGES

#### 6.1 Orientation

On 12 May 1825 the first three Elim houses were inaugurated. By 1826 there were eleven cottages and by June 1828 fifteen, with another four under construction. The cottages were all in a row running in an east-west direction. In March 1828 it was decided to build a second row facing the initial row. In 1830 a thirteen metre wide road with two long rows of free standing homes had been constructed. This road would later be called Kerk Street (Balie 1992:27).

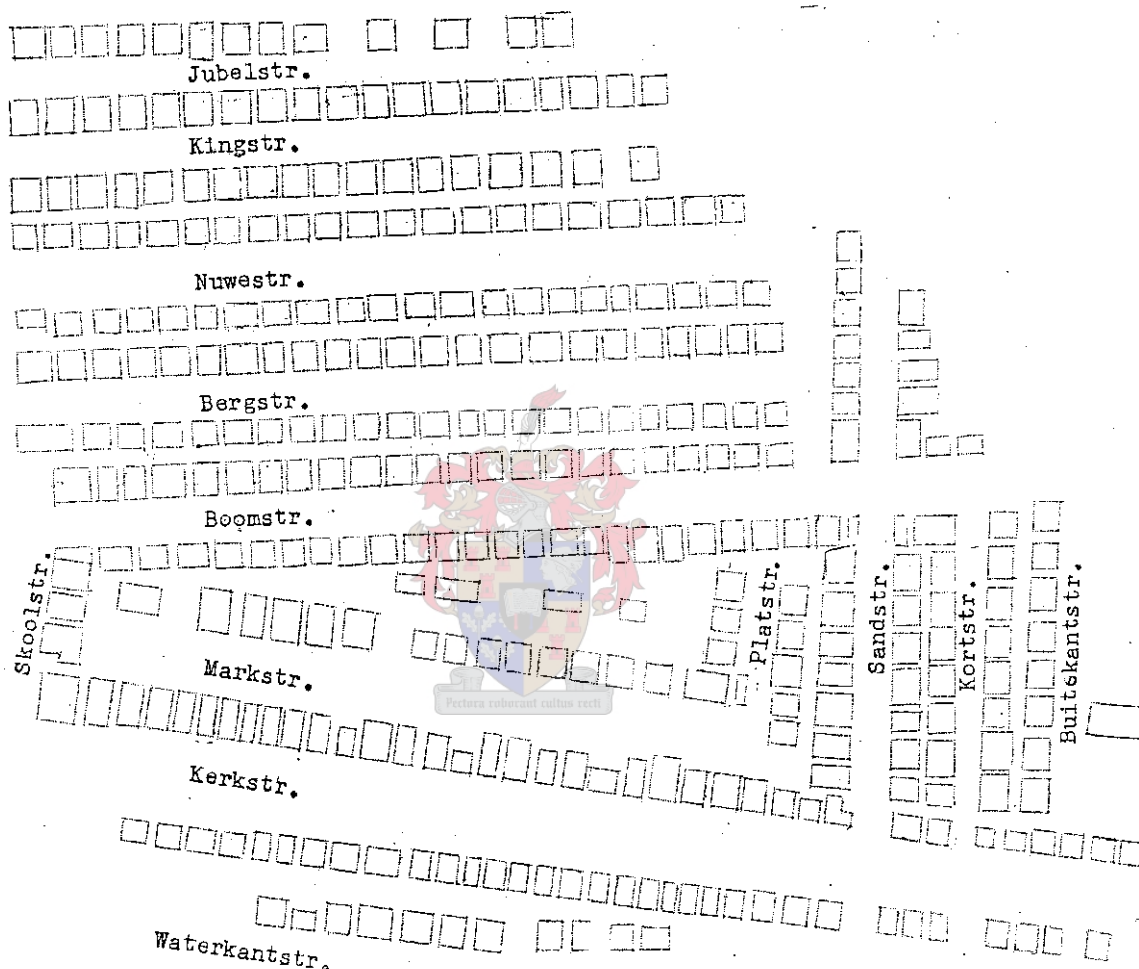


*Figure 180: View of Kerk Street in the early 1900s (Cape Archives Depot:R519).*



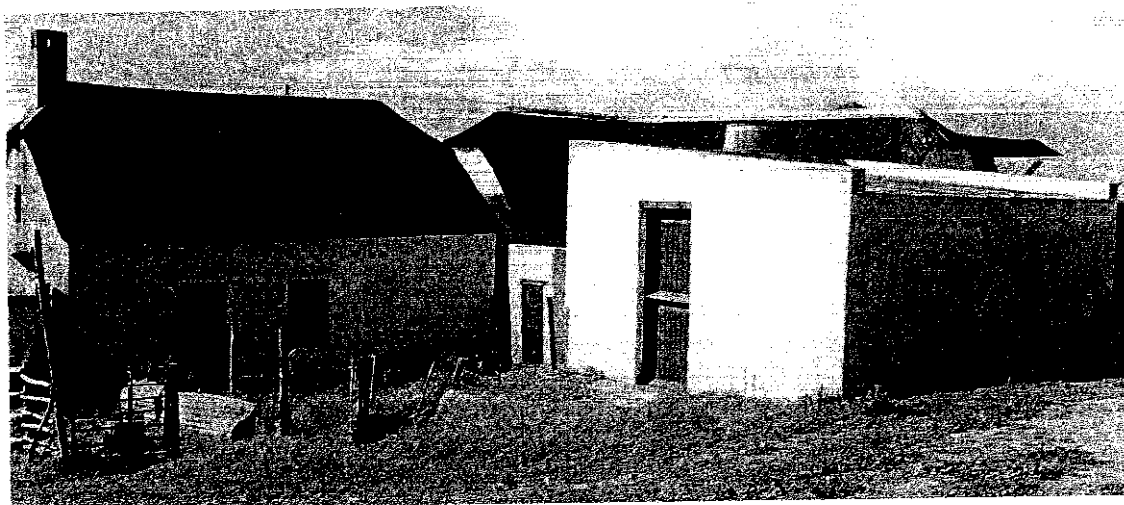
*Figure 181: Kerk Street seen from a greater distance to the church (Cape Archives Depot:R512).*

In 1836, once fifty five cottages had been completed, a new road, *Zand* (Sand) Street running perpendicularly to Kerk Street, added an additional fourteen new plots at the then western extreme of Kerk Street. By 1839 Boom Street running parallel to the south of Kerk Street was added to the town plan (Balie 1992:27).



*Figure 182: The 1948 map of the Elim cottages by De Villiers.*

In 1938 a fourth street was created and called Berg Street. By 1839 there was a total of three hundred cottages and stables at Elim (Balie 1992:186). Transport drivers such as the Cloetes of 25 Kerk Street, kept their horses and vehicles in stables in their backyard. Towards the 1950s the health inspector ruled that animals were no longer allowed to reside in the village (Mr F Cloete 2000: interview).



*Figure 183: The old stables at 25 Kerk Street (L van der Hoven: 2000).*

In a 1893 report it is mentioned that Elim had seven streets: Kerk-, Boom-, Berg- and *Nuwe* (New) Street all run parallel. *Zand-*, *Kort-* (Short) and *Buitekant* (Outside) Street all run perpendicularly (Balie 1992:186). Buitekant Street was one of the shortest with seven plots while Boom Street was one of the longest with forty five plots. In 1895 it was decided to extend Zand Street in the direction of the sheep *kraals*. An open area, known as the *Mark* (Market), between Boom Street and Kerk Street was also cut into plots and it became known as Mark Street. Streets were kept in order and in 1898 a storm water furrow was dug in Kerk Street. It was a big undertaking and twenty five tip-carts were used to dispose of the soil (Balie 1992:186).

As Elim gradually expanded over the years, new roads were added as demand arose. By 1995 there were a total of 375 cottages in Elim (Overplan & Associates 1995:20). Currently (December 2000) there are thirty three new homes under construction. Eight roads run in an east-west direction and five roads run perpendicularly. A new road, *Akker* (Cemetery) Street has been added the south of *Jubilee* (Jubilee) Street. (Please note that Jubilee Street is erroneously marked Jubelstr. In figure 182) Elim presently has 432 serviced residential plots and a further twenty plots on the *kerkwerf* (Mr. J Engel: 2000).

## 6.2 Home ownership

Property ownership played an important role in the development of the various Moravian mission stations. Genadendal, Mamre and Enon for instance were government grant stations where neither the church nor the inhabitants had ownership. Strife and conflict between the mission management and residents and an ineffectual management system led in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to decline in almost every aspect of life at these stations. In contrast life at Elim, Clarkson and Goedeverwacht was harmonious, probably because property rights were more certain. Mission work was most successful at Elim because the Moravian church has full property rights and ruled the station with patriarchal, albeit often autocratic style (Balie 1992:iii).

By the 1890s there were no houses in disrepair, as at other mission stations (Balie 1992:186). In 1948 De Villiers found that seven percent of the community lived in rented homes (De Villiers 1948: 126). Renting a home was totally unknown in Elim prior to that study. The reason for this development was that some tenants could not afford to build because of how little they earned. Since work was often sought further afield, breadwinners could not do the building themselves. Because of improved transport, building material such as thatch and *spaansriet* (Spanish reed) became tradable commodities that had to be purchased rather than collected at no or a nominal charge. This also accounts for the fact that during the fifteen to twenty years preceding the 1948 study only five new homes were built (De Villiers 1948:127).

Apart from the areas declared national monuments, all the land in and around the settlement belongs to the Moravian church. The year 1999 saw various public meetings, held by consultants appointed by the Department of Land Affairs in an attempt to determine the desirability of private land ownership. One advantage might be that Elimmers will qualify for the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme grant of sixteen thousand Rand per property. Securing a mortgage loan without the guarantee of land ownership has proven impossible. However, *Elim Spaarvereniging* (Elim Saving Society) has granted building loans at the same interest rate as the commercial banks and will continue to do so in future. The society's books are properly audited and has a firm standing reputation.



**Figure 184: The inception of the Elim Spaarvereniging in 1905 under the leadership of Pieter October. From the left: Johannes Hans (carpenter), Jacobus Hendriks (cobbler), Frederik Daniels (smith), Karel Jantjies (carpenter), Pieter October (social worker), unknown, Anton Joemath, Daniel Valentine, unknown.**

It seems at the time of writing of this document that the people of Elim are not in favour of private property ownership because they do not want to pay rates and taxes and are concerned that the many retired residents will not be able to pay these taxes. Instead of taxes, each male resident of Elim over the age of eighteen, pays an annual *huurpennie* (rental penny), which amounts to thirty three Rand for the 2000 book year.

Elimmers further fear that the community may lose its unique character if anybody can buy into it. In the past, and at present, a person wishing to procure a property has to firstly apply to the *Kerkraad* to become a member of the Elim congregation, regardless of whether they are from another Moravian congregation. Once the new members have been *opgenoem* (introduced) in the church, they may apply to the *opsienersraad* for *burgerskap* (citizenship). Should their application be successful, they are entitled to rent agricultural land and/or a

vegetable garden and/or a building plot and/or buy an existing house. Ownership of cottages is recorded on a form which is validated by the *voorstander*. A copy is given to the owner and another copy kept by the church.

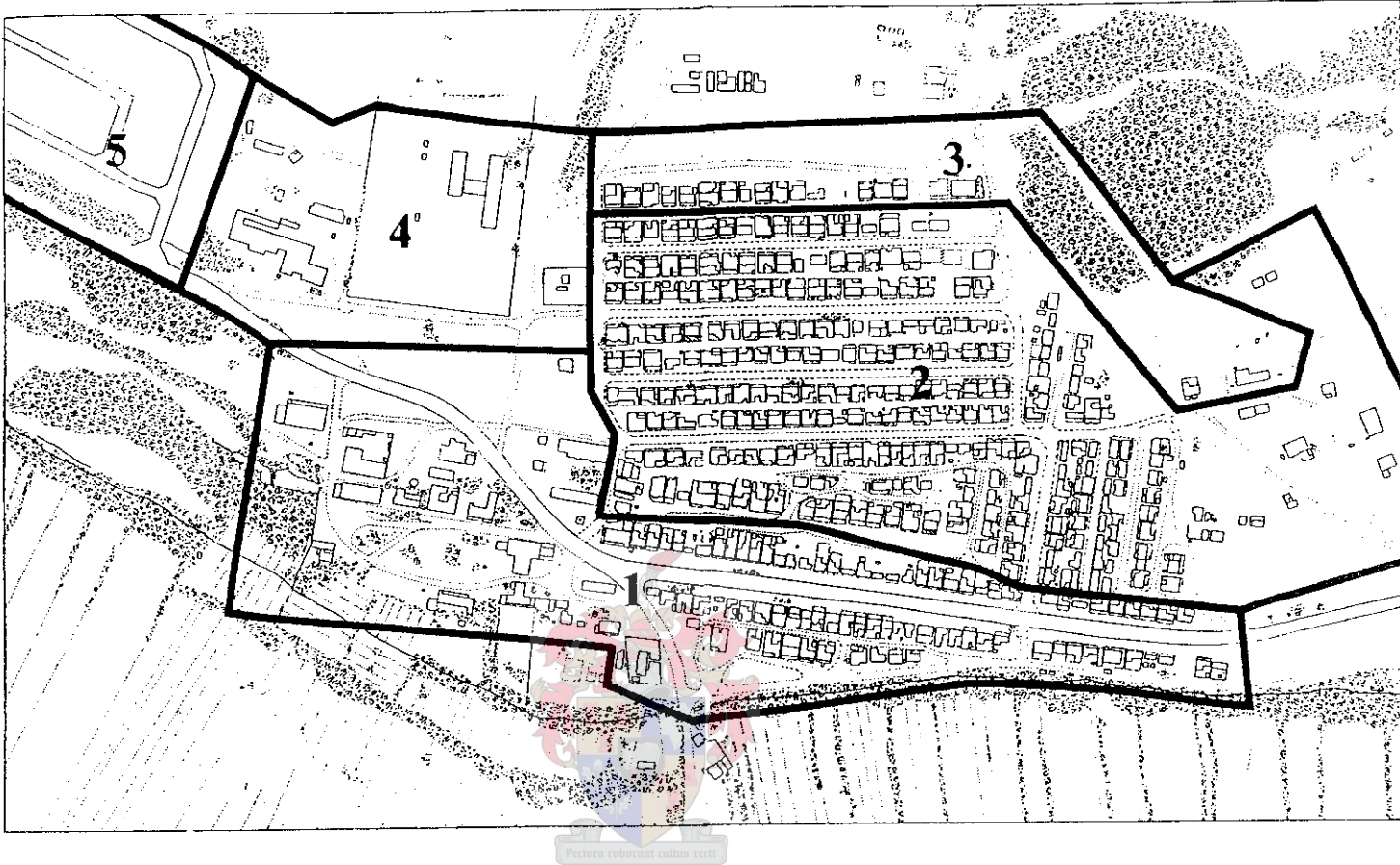
## 6.3 Architecture

### 6.3.1 Building regulations

From the beginning Hallbeck insisted that only *decent* or freestanding houses may be built. There has to the present not been a compromise on this original rule, although some of the earliest cottages consist of one or two rooms only. The pioneering cottage builders each received twenty five Rix-dollars as well as wood for the roof construction from the Moravian church (Balie 1992:27). The residents helped each other build and the cottages were completed one after the other (Krüger 1966:154) using locally available materials.

By 1948 it was not permissible to build a flat roofed, semi-detached or a double storey house in Elim. The building of a two roomed house was then also not permitted and three roomed homes were not favoured either (De Villiers 1948:104). In 1995 architectural conservation guidelines were drawn up by Lucien le Grange Architects, commissioned by the Overberg District Council in conjunction with the National Monuments Council and the Elim community. A booklet guiding home owners and home builders called *Elim Riglyne vir Bewaring* (Elim Guidelines for Conservation), is available from the *opsienersraad*.

In these Guidelines, a plan of Elim divide the town into various zones, each with its own building restrictions. Zone 1 is the historical nucleus, zone 2 is a transitional zone, zone 3 and 5 are less restricted zones and zone 4 is the area where institutions like the Elim Tehuis and school are.



*Figure 185: Elim architectural conservation zones (Le Grange 1995:16 & 17).*

### 6.3.2 Plans



*Figure 186: Basic cottage plans can be deduced by looking at the façades (Le Grange 1995).*

The missionaries drew up the earliest building plans themselves. The cottages measured 6,1 metres by 3,7 metres (Balie 1992:27). The single window asymmetrical style house had one room only. There are few remaining examples. The larger two roomed house has a symmetrical façade and there are remaining examples, such as the *Elim Huisie* museum. The symmetrical façade with a *bolig* (fanlight), had three rooms and there are many examples. The *wolfent* (thatch protruding over the side walls and sloping like hanging shoulders) and the *wolfneus* gable (thatch following the rounded contour of a small rounded gable above the front door) of the three roomed houses are typical (De Villiers 1948:24). Figure 180 reveals that chimney gables were also common and sometimes combined with the *wolfneus* gable. The later houses had corrugated iron roofs and no external hearths or chimneys (De Villiers 1948:25).

The main style characteristics of the Elim cottages include:

- Thatch with limed plaster band protecting the roof apex
- Chimney and a *bakoond* (oven) on the outside of a gable wall
- The *wolfneus* gable with small window placed centrally above front door
- Wooden casement windows with six, nine or twelve panes
- Stable type front doors with fanlights
- Plastered and limed walls (Le Grange 1995:8)
- *Wolfent* or chimney gables



*Figure 187: An Elim cottage displaying all the above characteristics (Le Grange 1995:8).*





*Figure 188: 7 Mark Street in 1966 (Mr F Cloete).*



*Figure 189: 7 Mark Street in 1977 (Mr F Cloete).*

The earliest cottages measured approximately 3,69 metres by 10,15 metres and later cottages 6,15 metres by 10,15 metres. In 1948, 58 percent of cottages had four rooms, two serving as bedrooms and the others as lounge and kitchen (De Villiers 1948:113). The three and five roomed houses represented eighteen percent each of the total number of cottages. Very few cottages had less than three or more than five rooms (De Villiers 1948:114&115). At present few homes have not been added onto. Additional rooms were usually built towards the back, shrinking the backyard but preserving the façade.

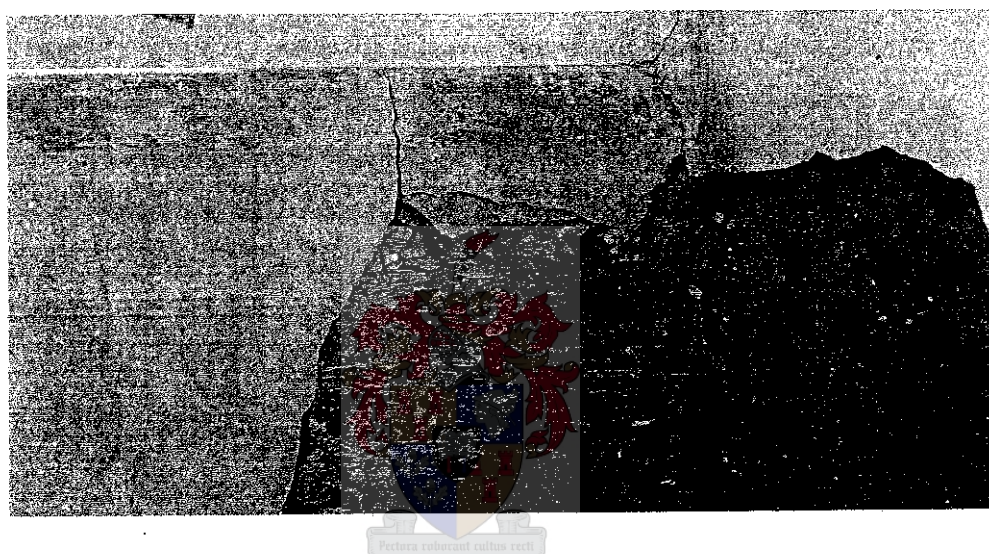


*Figure 190: A contemporary view of Boom Street shows that not all additions had been done towards the back (L van der Hoven 1999).*

### 6.3.3 Walls

The earliest cottages were built of stones held together by clay and are particularly sturdy even though walls are seldom straight and may even slant ominously. In some cases the stone foundations are visible above ground level. New cottages were not plastered on completion but left to weather for a few years, which minimized plaster cracks (Bahe 1992:27). Later houses were built of round sun baked *kleibolle* (clay balls). The balls were placed in position, the gaps filled with plaster and row for row left to dry. By this method two or three houses

could be constructed simultaneously (CD Temmers 1998:interview). Another informant remembered that cattle treaded the clay to which water had been added. The kneaded clay was then cut into blocks of forty five centimetres square (W Cloete 1998:interview). Yet another informant remembered that clay or cement (or a mixture of the two) was trodden under horses' hooves before being mixed with straw and poured into moulds (P Wyngaart 1998:interview). Probably a variety of mixtures, mixing methods and drying shapes were used over time, therefore these sources are not contradictory.



*Figure 191: Detail of 15 Boom Street shows a variety of construction methods. The damaged plaster reveals the kleibol walls of the house, while the garden wall is constructed of stones packed in clay (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Between the years 1839 and 1869 specialised masons are mentioned in the Elim Marriage Register: Thomas Hans, Wilhelm Dietrich, Cornelius Gabriel, Hendrik Onverwacht, Zacheus Botha, Johannes Gerts, Jacobus Engel, Frans Engel, Thomas Joemat, Andreas Muller, Zacharias Joors and Theodore Jonkers (Balie 1992:105). It would seem that by then owners employed skilled labour to construct the cottages rather than doing it themselves with the aid of their neighbour as in the very early years.

In 1948 no houses had been built with fired brick as Elim's soil is not suitable for this process (De Villiers 1948:106-107) and fuel for the hearths was at a premium as it is not part of the

occurring vegetation. More recently the *kerkraad* initiated a cement brick project to the west of the village, using local sand. These cement bricks or blocks have replaced clay as primary building material.

The exteriors of cottages were originally earth colour, from a mixture of clay plaster strengthened by cow dung or straw (CD Temmers 1998:interview). Figures 180 and 181 show that by the early 1900s some houses had been lime washed. It is notable that the two limed houses in figure 180 also sport additional garden walls protruding from the façades. Further down the street in figure 181, only the façades of houses had been limed. It seems as if liming was a luxury at the time that few could afford. Lime was initially obtained at Elim by burning shells (CD October interview:1998). Good quality lime, however, became available in the 1920s from the Bontebok as well as Piquetberg & Bredasdorp Limeworks at the neighbouring town of Bredasdorp (Mr S Thompson 2000:interview). By 1948 De Villiers noted a tradition of liming homes prior to Easter celebrations. A total of 172 cottages were found to be limed all around and 107 were not limed at all. Unslaked lime was mixed with sheep fat, water and salt and left to stand overnight before application. This annual tradition of *afwit* (white washing) is still observed by Elimmers today although more durable paints are in use and exteriors are often not the traditional white any more. Mr Sammy Thompson of Bontebok Lime Works suggests that clean motor oil is an acceptable substitute for sheep fat. Most home owners who can afford a fresh coat of paint or lime still apply it just before the Easter visitors arrive, even if the budget only allows the façade a new coat. Windows and doors were traditionally painted either green or brown, and backdoors were often unpainted (De Villiers 1948:113). The interior of the cottages were painted with a mixture of coloured clay, cooked starch and salt. Kitchens were usually painted in red clay. White, yellow and blue clay was used for other rooms (PA Hans 1998:interview).

The interiors of houses were all plastered by 1948. In most cases, especially the older homes, straw or other fibrous plant material had been mixed with the earth and or sand and cement mixture to increase the plaster strength (De Villiers 1948:111). Of the 289 cottages, 204 were found to be white washed on the inside. Kitchens, however, were mostly of an orange colour from clay collected from furrows. A total of 71 cottages was decorated with wallpaper and

only seven were painted inside (De Villiers 1948:124). Today most homes are painted, although wallpaper is not uncommon (see figures 193). Gloss enamel paint is preferred for the interior as this paint cleans easily and the gloss sheen gives a reflective, luxurious appearance. Another reason for the preference of gloss paints might be that walls are often damp and gloss enamel does not show water marks from *klamat* (rising damp) as water based paints tend to do.

#### 6.3.4 Roofs

All roofs were pitched and covered by local thatch which was supported by round pine or poplar poles. Wrought iron staves were used to strengthen the roof construction (Balie 1992:98). The thatch at the top of the roof was protected by a limed plaster band. In 1948 it was found that of the 289 cottages, 244 were thatched, 39 had corrugated iron roofs and six had a combination of thatch and corrugated iron (De Villiers 1948:107 &108).

Since local and inexpensive thatch sources became depleted, thatch has to be transported further adding to its cost. A south facing thatch roof which never dries properly, usually rots after about twenty years. Roofs that are sunned, generally lasts much longer (C Afrika 1997:interview). Because of the cost factor and the relative short life of a thatched roof corrugated iron was favoured for newer cottages and older cottages re-roofed with asbestos or corrugated iron (see figure 189 and 206). Cement dams to collect rainwater were added to some cottages. As thatched roofs have no gutters to channel the water to the dams it further contributed to the replacement of thatch. Mrs Helena Oberholzer of Boom Street tells that her house was built in 1896 with a thatched roof (M Schippers 1989:interview). The present view (figure 190) has very few thatched roofs left.

#### 6.3.5 Ceilings

*Spaansriet* grown as windbreaks and separations between the vegetable gardens was used for ceiling material. The ceiling was supported by poplar or pine poles seldom of less than fifteen centimetre in diameter placed approximately one metre apart. Older cottages' poles are

sometimes fashioned into irregular square beams, presumable to provide better support for the reeds as well as for a more refined appearance. In 1948 all homes were found to have ceilings. Only two homes did not have ceilings in the kitchens. 275 Cottages had *spaansriet* ceilings, five had plank ceilings, eight had a combination of plank and reed and one an asbestos ceiling (De Villiers 1948:108).

Ceilings in older cottages were also varnished which gives a uniform brown appearance to the ceiling, supporting beams, *muurkas*, skirtings and bidou rails (if any) as well as to the furniture. This shiny appearance contrasts with the mat dung floor and lends sophistication to the interior.



**Figure 192: Most cottages, like 16 Boom Street, has an attic staircase in the kitchen and a removable wooden lid which closes the gap in the *spaansriet* ceiling (L van der Hoven 1999).**

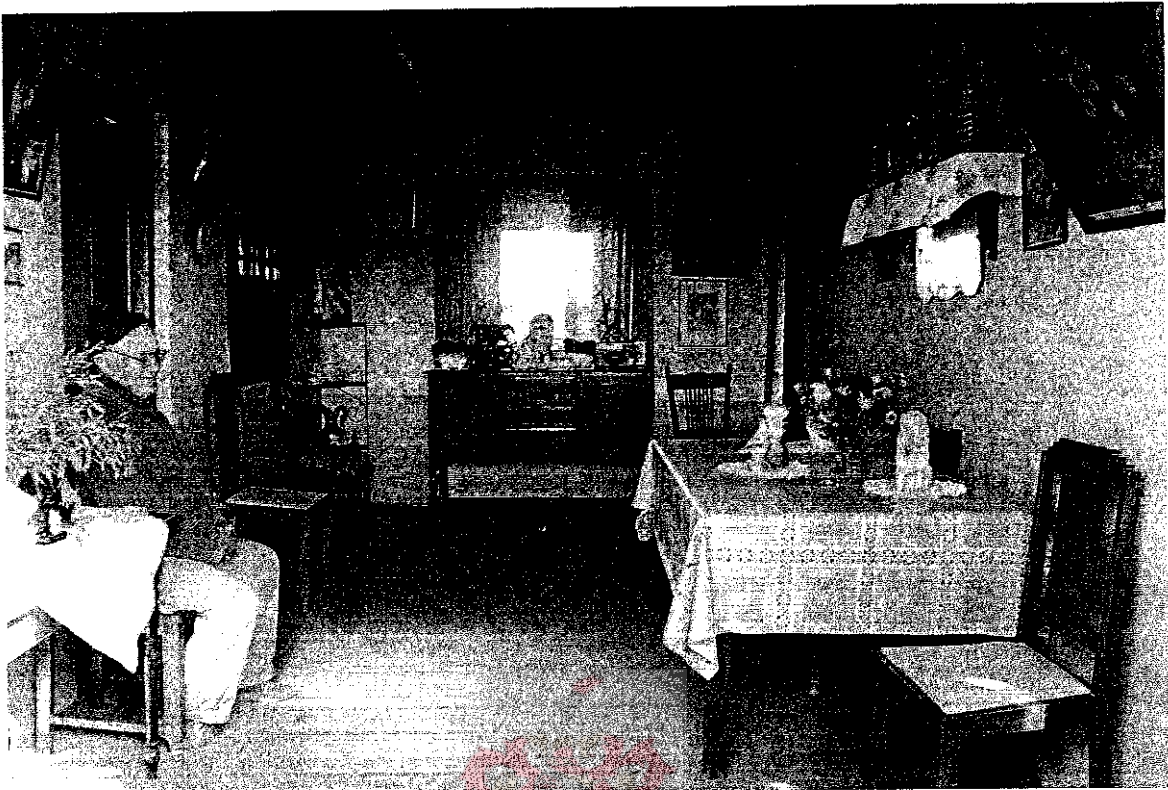
A layer of clay was spread over the *spaansriet*, which made the ceiling strong enough to store articles (De Villiers 1948:109). The clay also acted as a *brandsolder* (fire loft) which was a barrier between burning thatch and the interior of the house. This protection, coupled with the fact that the walls are so sturdy, often only necessitates a new roof to restore a burnt down

house. Surplus crops from the vegetable gardens could be kept dry on the *brandsolder*. Sweet potato, onions, pumpkins and dried beans would last through the winter and be conveniently close to the kitchen. The *brandsolder* continuously deposits a fine clay dust into the interior. Sometimes the reeds were lime washed to limit the dust rain (De Villiers 1948:109). At present most houses have a variety of ceilings. The original rooms still have *spaansriet* ceilings and rooms added later have asbestos, pressed board or rhino board ceilings, depending on the date of the addition.

### 6.3.6 Floors

Of the 289 Elim cottages De Villiers recorded in 1948, 277 had clay floors, eight had some clay and some wooden plank floors and only four had wooden floors throughout (De Villiers 1948:106). Cow dung was smeared over the clay on a regular basis. It was generally the children's duty to collect cattle dung on Fridays and Saturdays. In the Alice household, Dettol antiseptic and Jeyes Fluid were added to the dung (JS Alice 1998:interview). Mr Hans remembers floors being smeared every eight days and not having any substance added to the finely pounded dung (PA Hans 1998:interview). Magdalena Schippers remembers that the kitchen and lounge were smeared just before bed time so that they could dry overnight. The dung was spread from the walls to almost the centre of a room on either side so that a narrow strip or *kroon* (crown) was left uncovered running down the centre of the room. This strip was covered last. The floor would be charmingly finished by a horizontal clay band separating the dung and the wall. Blue, white and yellow clay was collected at different locations and mixed with cooked starch and salt. The mixture would be applied to the floor using a section of sheepskin (M Schippers 1997:interview).

The house at 25 Kerk Street shows a preserved dung floor and interior which has changed very little since the winter of 1924. The present owner, Mr Faan Cloete's father, who was a transport driver, tragically died in a horse cart accident when the boy was only five months old. Faan Cloete, a bachelor now aged 76, has lovingly preserved the house in memory of his parents. The Elim Huisie Museum has probably the only dung floors presently in good order.



*Figure 193: Mr Faan Cloete in his voorhuis at 25 Kerk Street (L van der Hoven 2000).*

### 6.3.7 Windows and doors

Since winter rains are predominantly from the west, illumination for the attics is usually from openings in the east-facing end gables. In older cottages only a narrow opening was left and later wooden doors or glass windows were used. If the cottage has a *wolfneus* gable in the façade, a small rectangular window would be fitted into the rounding of the gable. Sometimes an attic window was fitted directly into the thatch (Balie 1992:100).

The windows of the older cottages are usually 45 by sixty centimetres wooden casement or sash windows (De Villiers 1948:107). Casement windows with either six, nine or twelve small panes can be regarded as typical of the historical cottages (De Villiers 1948:23). Fanlights are usually thirty by sixty centimetres. Newer homes generally had bigger rooms and higher walls that accommodated larger windows.





*Figure 194: Front as well as back doors commonly have small glass sections to allow light into otherwise windowless rooms (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Stable type doors are used as front and back doors of most cottages. Interior panel doors made of *greinhout* (American pines or deals) as well as doors constructed of two or more planks are most commonly found. See figure 227 for an example of a two-tone interior panel door.



*Figure 195: Left: a stable type front door constructed of five planks; centre: an outside toilet door made of two planks with wedges removed to aid ventilation; right: an interior panel door (L van der Hoven 2000).*

### 6.3.8 *Voorhuis* (Front room)

With their thick walls, earth floors and reed ceilings these buildings are environmentally harmonious as they are constructed exclusively from naturally occurring material from the area. While this earthy quality is inescapable, the levels of comfort and sophistication offered by some of these buildings and their content are remarkable.

The front door normally opens into the *voorhuis*, and most other rooms lead from it. In 1948 only five of the 289 cottages did not have a *voorhuis*. These cottages are located in the older part of the settlement and comprised only of kitchen and a bedroom. An inside door was a luxury which the *voorhuis* often lacks. The kitchen and *voorhuis* are most often still separated by a curtain.



*Figure 196: A typical traditional Elim multi-purpose voorhuis. A muurkas (wall cupboard) is on the left, a sideboard stands against the opposite wall and a table fills the central space. A bench is placed under the window facing the front door. Four doors lead from this room so that it serves the purpose of a passage (L van der Hoven 1999).*

### 6.3.9 Bedrooms

In 1948 there were 53 cottages with one bedroom, 169 with two bedrooms, 52 with three bedrooms and only five, all of well to do owners, had four bedrooms. In these four-bedroomed cottages, the main bedroom was used by the parents, the daughters used another and the sons another and the last bedroom was reserved for guests. In the majority of cottages with two bedrooms, the parents as well as daughters slept in the larger of the two rooms while the second smaller bedroom was used by the sons (De Villiers 1948:116). Until fairly recently, families of ten children and more were not out of the ordinary. Sleeping conditions must have been very cramped compared to today's standards where shrinking families and extended homes result in far greater privacy.



*Figure 197: The main bedroom of 25 Kerk Street with a candle for light and an enamel bowl for washing. The room has two double beds in (see figure 231) (L van der Hoven 2000).*

### 6.3.10 Lounges and dining rooms

Of the 289 cottages only eleven had lounges in 1948. These rooms were often ex-bedrooms converted to lounges once children had left the house. These rooms were used exclusively to receive guests. At present lounges are not considered such a luxury as in the past, especially in the homes of retired couples. Television sets are usually accommodated here.

### 6.3.11 Kitchens and power supply

All Elim cottages had hearths. The hearths were inside the houses and the *bakoond* (baking oven) protruded into the alleys between the homes. The enclosed *bakoonde* are situated behind the hearth and opens with a door into the hearth, so that the *bakoond* could share the chimney. Many *bakoonde* and hearths have been demolished in the process of kitchen enlargements. In 1948 De Villiers recorded that of the 289 homes, 202 homes had already been fitted with a cast iron stove. Cooking facilities were extended by small oil burners (De Villiers 1948:122).



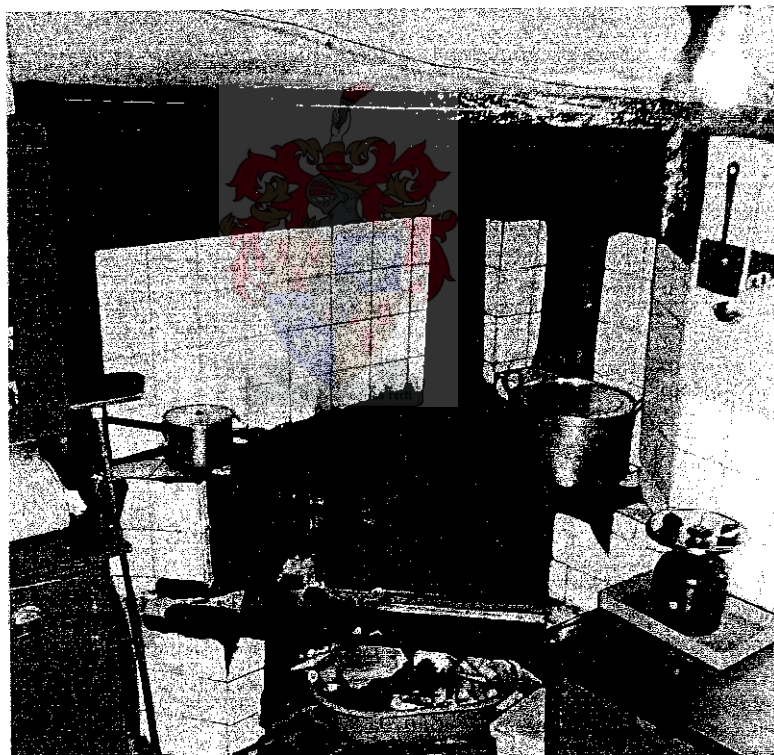
Figure 198: Sideboard mirrors double the light from oil lamps (L van der Hoven 2000).

Shop records show that candles, paraffin and lamps were regularly retailed articles (*Debtors Journals & Stock Journals*). Open hearths and *bakoonde* must have made firewood an indispensable article in which the *fynbos* did not really supply. The missionaries remedied this problem by planting trees. While the supply of firewood must have scarcely met the demand in the early years, it certainly exceeded the lower demand in recent years when electrification contributed to the alien trees becoming an invasive threat.



*Figure 199: Decorative oil burning lamps could be lowered from the ceiling, then lit and pulled to the desirable height (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The *Rapport Metro* of 29 November 1992 carried an article under the heading *Ouma Bertruida vertrou nie elektriese goeters nie* (Ouma Bertruida does not trust electrical things). Bertruida October, then in her nineties, is reported to still walk briskly for two hours in search of flowers and fire wood and she wants nothing to do with electricity. In the same article Dora Cloete, then 97 years of age, who lived her entire life in a cottage on *Kerk Street* says: *In my dae moes jy elke dag gaan hout kap. Nou kom daar mos so 'n wa om en jy koop net jou hout. Dis alles so maklik.* (In my days you had to make fire wood every day. These days a sort of wagon comes past and you just buy your wood. It is all so easy.) In 1985, 230 of the 325 houses were supplied with electricity (Overplan & Associates 1985). However, wood burning stoves are still a regular feature of most houses.



*Figure 200: The kitchen of 16 Boom Street has a generous supply of firewood in the yard (see figure 208). Pine cones are collected for kindling material and can be seen in the retired bath tub below the stove. The big pots are filled with water and are being heated on the wood burning stove for a use in a modern built-in bath. Although the house has electricity as can be seen from the electric bulb in the top right corner, the cost of running an electrical stove and installing a geyser is prohibitive. The single-burner gas appliance is used to quickly heat something if the fire is not burning (L van der Hoven 1999).*



*Figure 201: The floor covering is called tapyt (carpet) but are infact thin sheets of printed vylon plastic. As can be gathered from the patterns not joining up, these sheets are fitted by residents themselves. The material is replaced every few years (L van der Hoven 1999).*

### 6.3.12 Bathrooms and water supply

Until 1948 Elim's cottage only had essential rooms - luxuries like bathrooms were unknown (De Villiers 1948:115). This has changed during the past fifty years. Bathrooms are now considered essential and many homes have expanded towards the back yard to include a variety of rooms found in most modern dwellings elsewhere.

*Fynbos* roots tend to colour water so that it resembles cola or strong tea. Elim residents only consider *wit water* (white water) which is unpigmented by *fynbos* roots, fit for drinking.



According to De Villiers's 1948 report there were two sources of drinking water on the periphery of town (see figure 2.9). The water was brought to these points via open furrows. The last thirty metres of the point near the old school was piped and sported a tap at the end. Buckets had to be dipped into an open furrow at the other water point. Furrows were cleared annually by the male residents, who also had to supply their own tools for the job. A day was appointed, announced from the pulpit, and the work carried out (De Villiers 1948:153). On a daily basis water was carried to residences from these water points in galvanized buckets and paraffin tins (De Villiers 1974:153). A sturdy stick was often placed on the shoulders, across the top of the bearer's neck, and two buckets hung from either side of the stick.

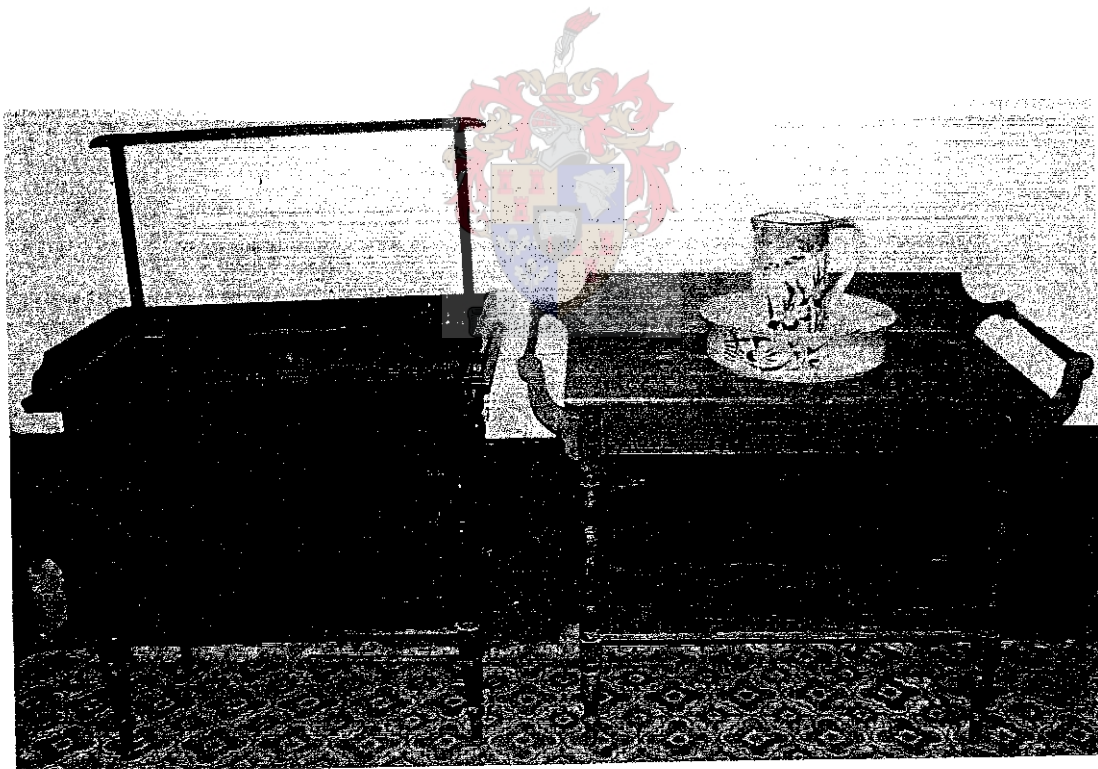


*Figure 202: Carrying water (Cape Archives Depot:R519).*

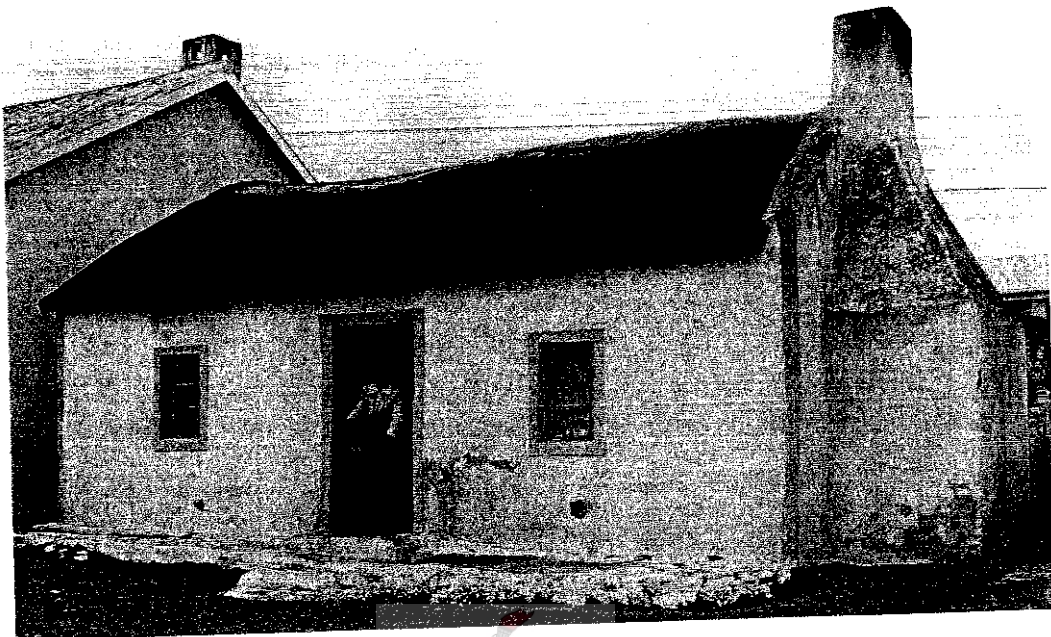
Until 1944 no water purification was necessary. In 1943, however, a few cases of gastric fever were reported. The district health inspector was then given the additional responsibility of weekly placing a little chlorine bag into each furrow (De Villiers 1948:154). In 1974 Reverend Ulster reports that water flowing in pipes had been brought to central places in the village by the church authorities (Ulster 1974). This reduced the distance residents had to carry

household water. By 1995 some residents had tapped off the piped water supply to communal taps for private use. No charge was levied for this water. Rainwater tanks were also in use and positioned above garages to supply house water (Overplan & Associates 1995:29). In 1999 pipes were installed and water as well as sewage pipes laid to each of the residences. Not all residents have chosen to connect to this new supply, because it carries a monthly cost.

Running water inside the houses created a problem as to how to dispose of the water. Residents used to tip buckets of used water into the road and the pools would gather on plots or in the roads (Overplan & Associates 1995:30). In addition to waste water, storm water reduced Elim's streets into slippery mud paths during winters. In 1999 a sewage as well as storm water removal piping system was installed.



*Figure 203: Wash stands made in Elim. The top on the left has a hole for a basin to fit into and both have towel rails (P Hans 2000:interview) (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 204: Resident emptying a bucket of used household water into Boom Street (L van der Hoven 2000).*

### 6.3.13 Toilets and sewage

Until 1999 Elim made use of a bucket sewage disposal system. Each house had to have a toilet in the back yard, with a flap that opened into the passageway running between the back to back rows of houses. Alleys between houses facilitated the easy daily removal of the full buckets of waste. Nico August and Magdalena Schippers remember how they as children, had to carry their family's bucket at the crack of dawn, with the aid of a stick to the *blikkampie* (tin enclosure), for disposal. New dumping holes were dug every day, about a kilometre to the west of the village and covered with soil at six o'clock in the morning. There was a strict rule that buckets had to be emptied before that time and dunked into a drum with disinfectant before being taken back home (Mr N August & Mrs M Schippers 1998:written communication). In 1948 De Villiers reports that the District Council health inspector visits Elim on Wednesdays and inspects a few toilets. If any problems occur, the homeowner is warned or a charge is laid with the church authority (De Villiers 1948:126).

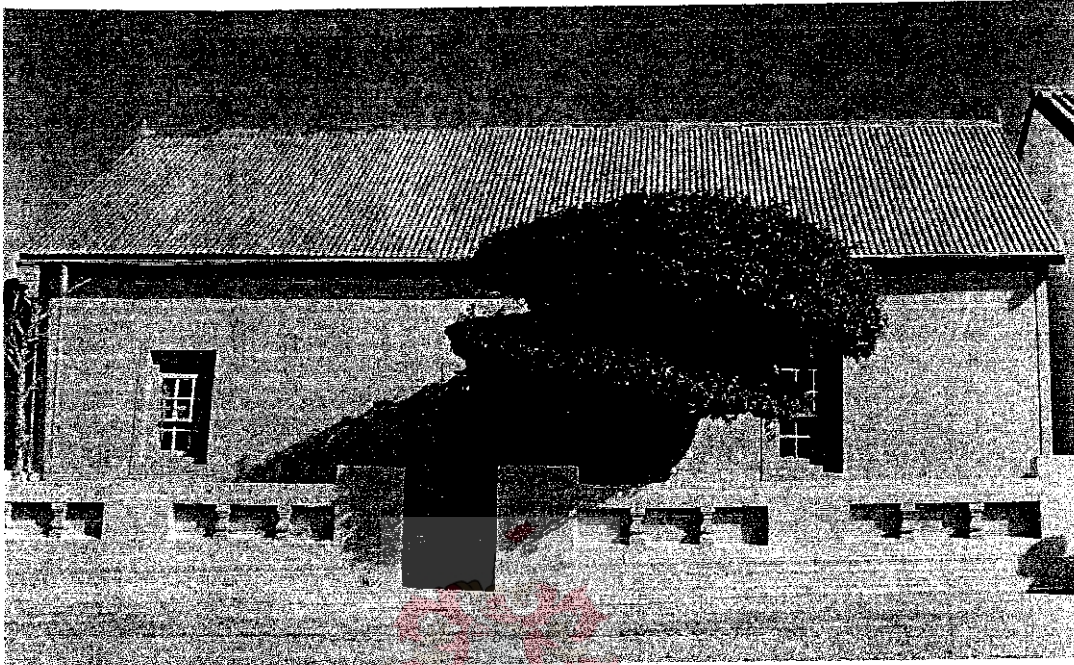


*Figure 205: Toilet of 16 Boom Street. The front of the seat is also a flap so that the bucket could be handled forward or backward. A wooden seat added comfort while the lid reduced odours and health risks (L van der Hoven 1999).*

Septic tanks were not considered as they were too costly and the houses positioned too closely to each other. By 1995 a few properties sported flushing toilets, notably the church, Elim Tehuis, a few business sites and one or two residences (Overplan & Associates 1995:30).

There is a gap at the top and bottom of the door as well as a small gap in the wall behind the toilet seat to promote fresh air circulation (see centre figure 195). The gap at the bottom would have given a potential visitor notice whether the facility was occupied or not. The door is of further interest as it is constructed of only two planks and is the work of Elim's own carpenters who obtained their wood in plank form via the mission store or directly from the Cape Town wood merchants (P Hans 2000:interview). The backyard further housed poultry runs and served as storage areas for garden and other tools.

### 6.3.14 Yards



*Figure 206: Although often not restricted to the traditional one metre high limed walls, Elim houses display an array of front yard enclosures (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Figure 180 and 181 reveal only two houses with front gardens in Kerk Street by the turn of the century. By 1948 very few houses had developed their front gardens and those that had, were the same width as the house, (De Villiers 1948:111). Most residential plots measure eighteen by twenty two metres. The cottages divide these spaces into front and back yards. Residents are responsible for the upkeep and cleanliness of half of the passage between houses as well as half of the road in front of the house (De Villiers 1948:104). De Villiers noted that residents tended more carefully to the front than the back yards, which housed the toilets, and that only sixty two percent of homes had enclosed backyards (De Villiers 1948:113). The Cloete family of 25 Kerk Street had horse stables in the back yard as well as a toilet (see figure 183). In the 1940s the health inspector demanded that all animals be removed from the residential area (P Cloete 2000:interview).



*Figure 207: The passageways between the houses showing the enclosed backyards. Fig trees bearing white fruit were planted in the back yards while the purple fruit bearing figs were planted in front of homes (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Not a single property was fenced all around (De Villiers 1948:104). This is not surprising because if passageways are to remain open there is simply no room for fencing to surround any cottages. Most back as well as front gardens are however, enclosed today, some with partial fencing, mainly to keep roaming horses, donkeys and cows out of the gardens.



*Figure 208: Contemporary view of the back yard of 16 Boom Street shows an ample supply of fire wood to the right and a tool shed to the left. Overhead are washing lines as well as a grapevine. Note the metre high boundary wall just behind the bed of decorative plants. A gate just outside of view to the left allows access to the back road. A layer of concrete prevents the yard from turning the often visited back yard into a winter mud bath (L van der Hoven 1999).*

#### 6.4 Trades

The people of Elim often earned their bread in varied, interesting and sometimes unique ways: in the service of the Mission, such as millers, smiths, butchers and bakers (discussed in chapter 4) and in other instances as private entrepreneurs, which will be discussed in this chapter. This division is, however, not always applicable, as tradesmen and women sometimes fell in both categories but will only be mentioned in one section.

By the 1850s Elim had a booming economy. About half of the men at Elim earned a good living as tradesmen. The other half worked as labourers in the district. Families further enhanced their earnings through the produce of the gardens and fields (Ulster 1974:16). By the 1870s and 1880s, machines slowly robbed the tradesmen of their work and income. Farming was also mechanised and fewer jobs were available. The result was that Elimmers had to look further afield for employment and many had to work as far as Cape Town (Ulster 1974:17). Some tradesmen were forced to abandon their independence and seek employment as tradesmen with surrounding farmers. Ratelrivier for instance had a blacksmith as well as carpenters in full time employment in the early 1900s. Few trades survived the 1950s and today only survive in the memory of Elim's elderly.

As far as the artifacts go, two home owners reported that they had obtained furniture pieces by buying the home. The furniture and the home changed hands together. It seems as if furniture seldom changed addresses within Elim. However, furniture dealer Zelda Helder, is reported to have said, *The most interesting thing about antiques is the way it travels* (LJ le Roux 2000:interview). Since 1948 furniture dealers have targeted Elim to collect pieces for restoration and resale with the result that few articles have remained in Elim. Once removed, it is seldom that an article is found of which the exact origin is known. Elim furniture pieces were often inherited from one generation to the next. Sadly, many of these pieces have recently been replaced by "modern" furniture, although there is currently an awareness of the value of Elim's furniture inheritance.

#### 6.4.1 Carpentry shops

A local carpentry shop on the *kerkwerf* was established as early as 1825. The carpenter, who is unfortunately not named, completed his apprenticeship under missionary Leither (Balie 1992:54). Doors and windows for the cottages as well as the buildings within the *kerkwerf* must have been needed with some urgency. During Elim's early years the name of another carpenter, Abraham Engel is mentioned in the *Marriage Register 1839-1869*. Apparently he received his training at Genadendal before he became an Elim entrepreneur. The missionaries



supported and encouraged him (Balie 1992:54). In *De Bode* of 1913 mention is made of carpentry entrepreneurs Eliël October and Augustinus Hans (Balie 1992:205).

In the early 20th century Andreas van der Heyden trained young men for the carpentry trade (Balie 1992:205) In later years members of the Hans family were carpenters over four generations.



*Figure 209: Four generations of carpenters in the Hans family. Seated second and fourth from the left are Johannes and his only son Augustinus. Standing on the left is Augustinus' son Johannes. Johannes' son Augustinus, is the baby in the front row. All four were carpenters.*

Augustinus probably built the Raterivier stables in 1905 and Johannes was in the full time employment of the Freys as well as the De Saumerez's (owners of Raterivier in the first half of the 1900s). Johannes and Elizabeth had three sons who followed the carpentry tradition: Augustinus, Paulus and Fredrick (P Hans 2000:interview).

A 1914 report mentions that Elim had five carpenters and two wagon builders (Balie 1992:205). In another carpentry shop Petrus Jonas, Willem and Koos van der Heyden and Frans Daniels made coffins, sash windows, doors, benches, wagon wheels as well as donkey and horse carts (N August 1998:written communication). The Van Breda family also has a carpentry tradition.



*Figure 210: Abraham van Breda.*

#### 6.4.1.1 Tools

Tools were precious and expensive articles usually passed with trade skills from father to eldest son as in the Hans family. The tools shown in figures 212 - 215 belonged to the Hans family before they were bought by the Genadendal museum. Paulus Hans identified and named them from the photographs shown (2000).

ACCOUNT NO.

SHEET NO.

NAME

Augustinus Hans

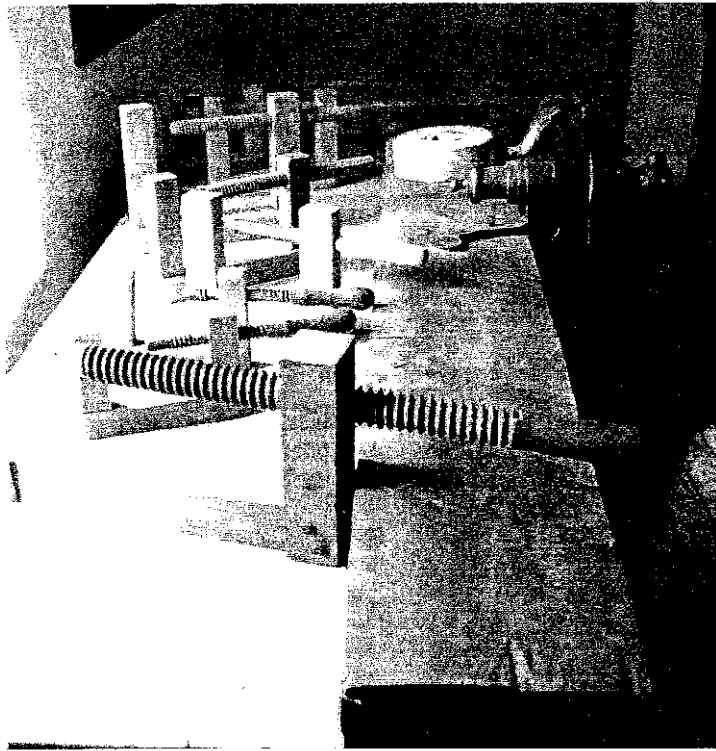
ADDRESS

Elmer Carpenter's apt

U  
M  
L  
I  
G  
T

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1890	100 y on floor	157.70	1921	24 yellow pine	194.80
1900	3 feet of pine 4x4	5.30	1922	5 yellow pine	24.18
1902	0 foot red deal 9x3	8.30	1923	4 yellow pine	43.13
1904	1 - Ruston Board 2x8	6.00	1924	60 yellow pine	47.15
1906	100 y on floor	119.00	1925	60 yellow pine	47.15
1908	16 foot red deal 9x4	10.80	1926	60 yellow pine	47.15
1910	16' 19x3	13.40	1927	60 yellow pine	47.15
1911	15' pine board	1.50	1928	60 yellow pine	47.15
1912	48' pine board	1.50	1929	60 yellow pine	47.15
1913	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00	1930	60 yellow pine	47.15
1914	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00	1931	60 yellow pine	47.15
1915	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00	1932	60 yellow pine	47.15
1916	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1917	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1918	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1919	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1920	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1921	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1922	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1923	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1924	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1925	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1926	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1927	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1928	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1929	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1930	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1931	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			
1932	2 feet of pine 4x4	2.00			

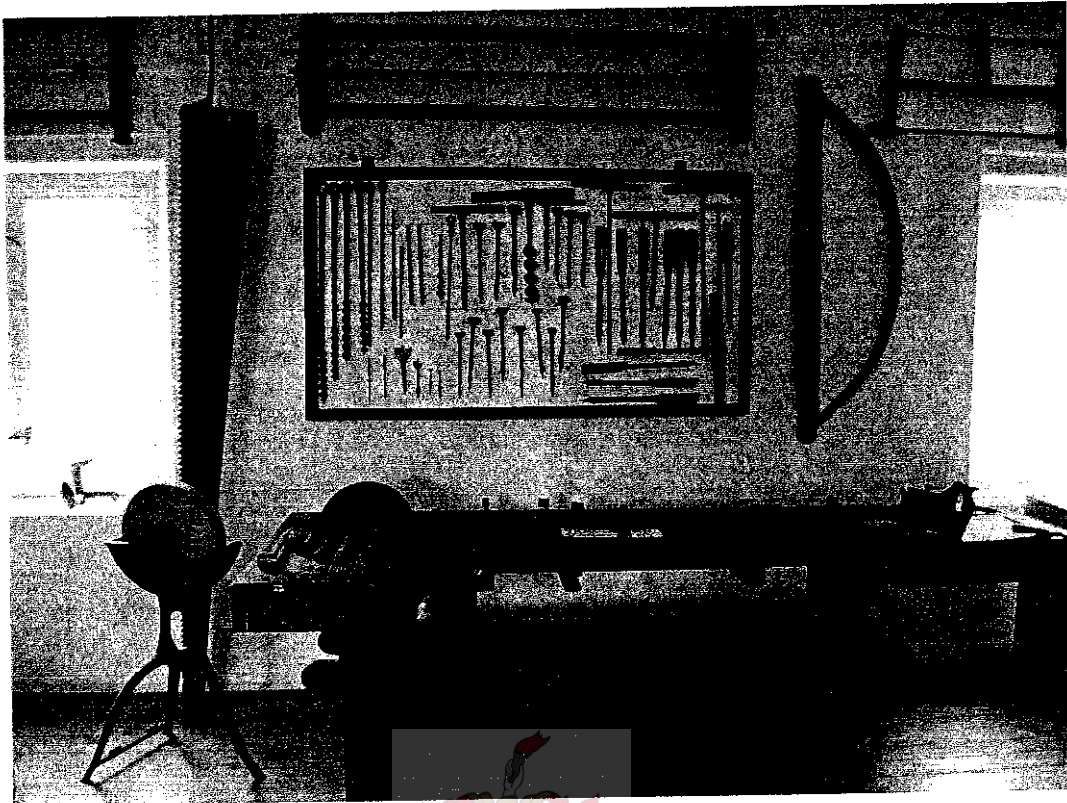
Figure 211: A page from the Mission Store Debtor's Ledger 1919 - 1932 recording Augustinus Hans' carpentry purchases which included yellow wood, American deals or pines (for example red deal), stinkwood, ironwood and others.



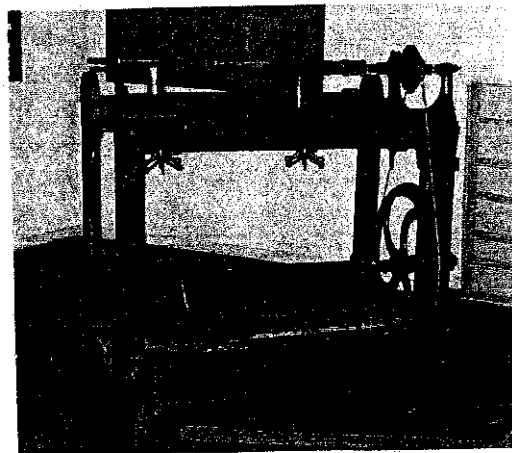
*Figure 212: A metal vice and wooden G-clamps (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 213: Drill for making wagon wheels. The wheel hub on the right of the tool was bought ready made. Holes were drilled into the velling (outer wooden rim of wheel) into which the wooden spokes were inserted. Stinkwood was used for the spokes and the rim (L van der Hoven 2000).*



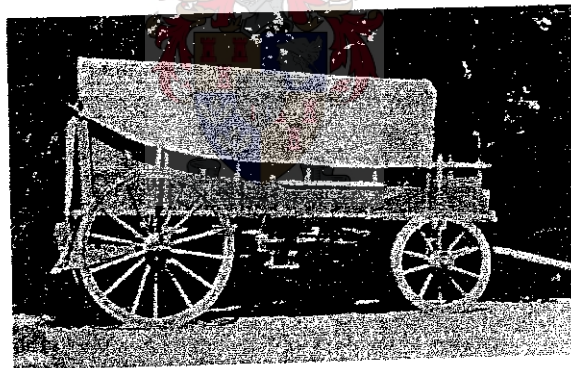
*Figure 214: The Hans work bench with a collection of tools. The bits against the wall all have a tube at the top through which a wooden handle was inserted in order to give the carpenter leverage when manually turning the tool. The saws at the top are raamsae (frame saws) and the long saw on the left is a kuilsaag (pit saw) and the saw on the right is a boesmansaag or a boomsaag (bushman or a tree saw). The blade sharpener is not from Elim (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 115: A foot pedaled lathe (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.1.2 Wagons

*Die Huisgenoot* of 28 August 1964 carried an article on the science of wood identification written by dr Hartwig of the University of Stellenbosch. A *kakebeenwa* (ox-wagon) of the Moravian Mission found at Genadendal, probably built before 1810, had been investigated to determine the wood used in its construction. Ten different woods were found, namely: *geelhout* (yellow wood), *stinkhout* (stinkwood), *assegaai* (assegai-wood), *ysterhout* (ironwood), *saffraan* (saffron-wood), *witpeer* (white pear), *harde peer* (hard pear), *wit els* (white alder), *sybas* (silk-bark) and *greinhout* (American pine or deal). The wagon makers used the most suitable wood for each part of the vehicle. They had considerable technical skill and knowledge of woods. No wonder that Lichtenstein on his 1803 and 1806 travels to the interior remarked that no finer and more durable wagons were to be found than at the Cape (*Die Huisgenoot* 1964:74).



**Figure 216: The Moravian ox-wagon (*Die Huisgenoot* 1964:21).**

Until the early 1900s animal drawn carts and wagons was the only means of transportation. Wagons were built and repaired by carpenters and blacksmiths, a vital combination on offer at Elim. It is hard to overestimate the importance of these facilities for the Strandveld farmers and the Mission Stores. A 1914 report mentions that Elim had two wagon builders (Balie 1992:205).

Arvitaville 11 de February  
1892

Mr Lemmers.

Wees Als u belieft zoo  
goed en geeft  
mijn Leon Durk  
voor zijn wagen  
wielren en speken  
ik zal goed staan  
voor u geld na grante  
blyf ik u te land

L. C. Swart

Figure 217: A note to the missionary Lemmerz requesting rims and spokes to be put on the author's son's wagon.



Figure 218: A donkey drawn cart from Elim. Paulus Hans, born in 1927, built a complete cart for a fellow Elimmer in the 1950s.

In order to survive the decline of trade after the introduction of internal combustion engines, carpenters built scale models of wagons which were sold as toys. In 1930 the Mission Store had a huge display of gifts imported from Germany as well as miniature wagons (N Naude interview:2000).



*Figure 219: The Freys of Ratelrivier in 1925 with a wagon complete with canopy.*

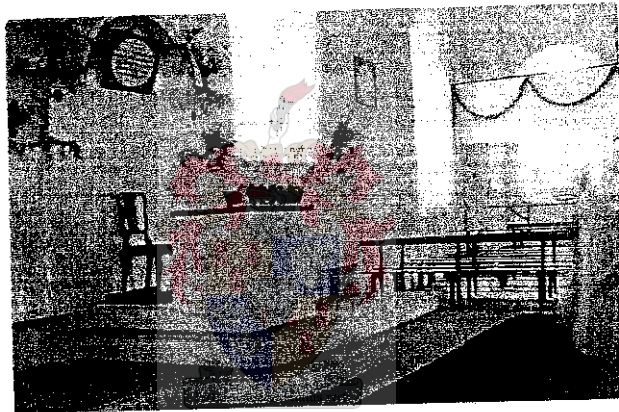


*Figure 220: Missionary families outside the old hotel.*



### 6.4.1.3 Chairs

Balie found the old Houtkloof church chair in one of the Elim cottages. He describes it as a Neo-Classical chair made of stinkwood with a string back. The arm rests are curved and the seat has riempies. The legs are tapered and grooved (Balie 1002:189). In the Elim church is a stinkwood Rococo chair with three back slats, a cane seat and cabriole legs (Balie 1992:189).



*Figure 221: The Elim church chair.*

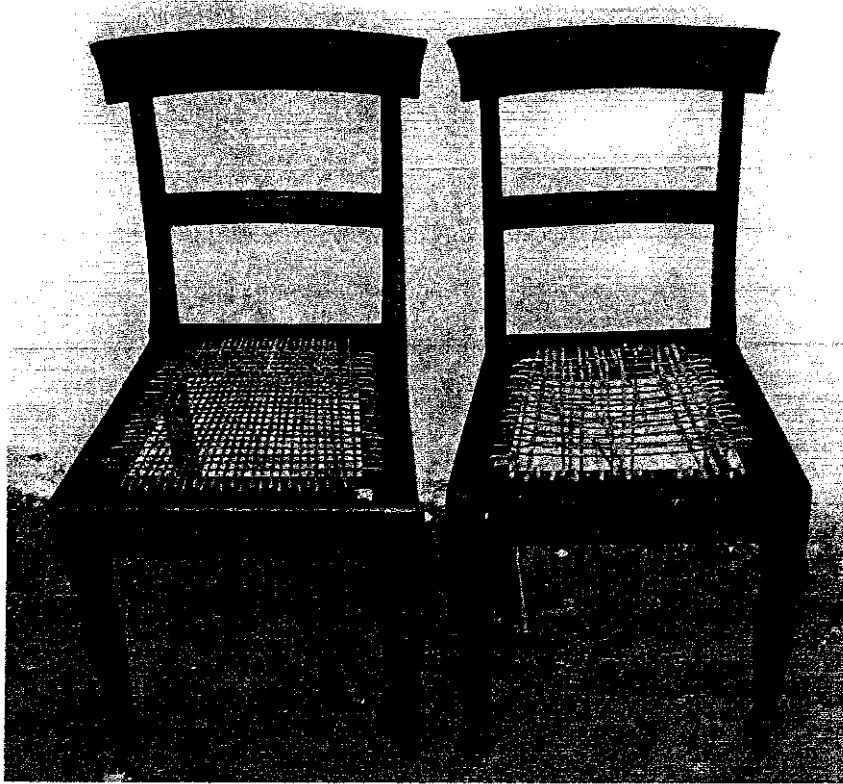
Not one Neo-Classical chair as described by Balie (1992:188) could be traced. A single chair with certain Neo-Classical characteristics was, however, found. The chair is made of *greinhout* (American pine or deal) and has no vertical back slats. The tapered legs and two simple horizontal rails are typical of the Neo-Classical style. The seat of this chair is made of *riempies* (leather thongs) platted into a pattern more often used for caned chairs.



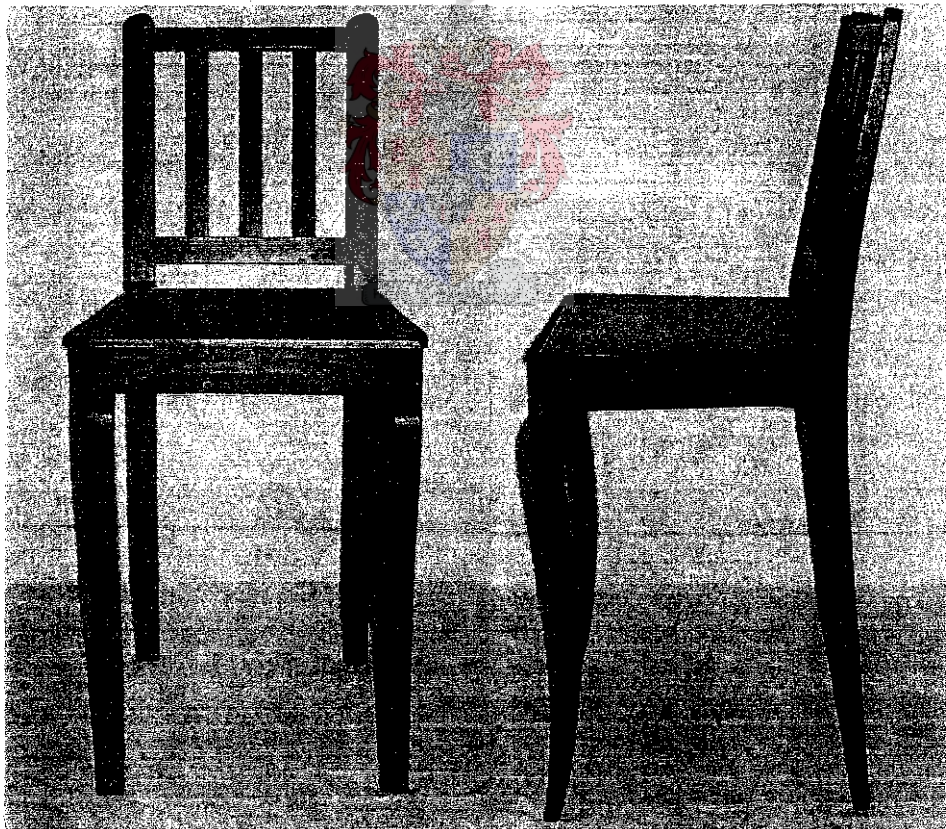
*Figure 222: Neo-Classical chair without back slats made in Elim (L van der Hoven 2000).*

A pair of Regency stinkwood chairs with Regency turned front legs were found. One front leg of one of the chairs had been replaced by a Neo-Classical tapered leg. The seat of this chair is similar to the one described above.

A child's high chair was made by Johannes Hans in 1935. This teak chair has cabriole front legs, tapered back legs and a solid wooden seat. The three back slats are typically Neo-Classical. The two posts extend beyond the rail, which is not a typical feature of the Neo-Classical style.



*Figure 223: Two stinkwood Regency chairs (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 224: High chair made at Ratebrivier for Nell Fry in 1935 (L van der Hoven 2000).*

The Van Bredas made a kitchen chair in the 1930s with a solid seat which shows the cottage furniture influence. The back is a typical variant of the Neo-Classical style with Regency influence (M Burden 2000:interview).



*Figure 225: Elim kitchen chair (L van der Hoven 2000).*

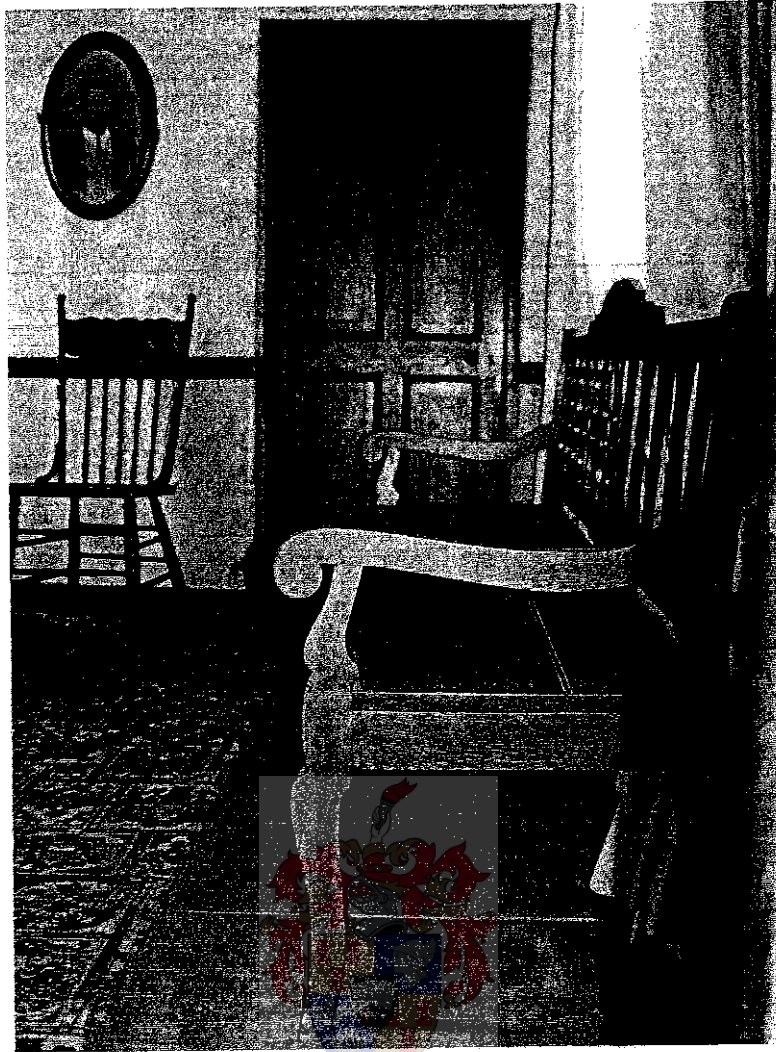
#### 6.4.1.4 Benches

Benches were made at Elim in a variety of styles. A number of stinkwood benches (see figures 196, 226 and 239) were made by Abraham van Breda. Around the turn of the century he made four similar benches as heirlooms for each of his sons (P van Breda 2000:interview). These

benches are eclectic in style. They give an overall impression of the Regency style, although on closer inspection there is not a single Regency style feature. The shaping of the top back rail is a Baroque feature, while the pierced carving motif is Rococo. The shaped back slats are in the typical vase shape of the Baroque style with Queen Anne influence. The slender cabriole legs are Rococo. The armposts are slightly moulded with the armrests ending in volutes (M Burden 2000:interview). The solid wooden seat is unusual, but typical of Elim benches.



*Figure 226: Early 1900s stinkwood bench (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 227: Another similarly eclectic bench made of teak (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 228: Neo-Classical bench with twelve back slats, shallow grooves and tapered legs. Inverse tapered arm supports joined to the back by a rounded curved arm rest. It has a solid wooden seat made of planks running from the front to the back (L van der Hoven 2000).*



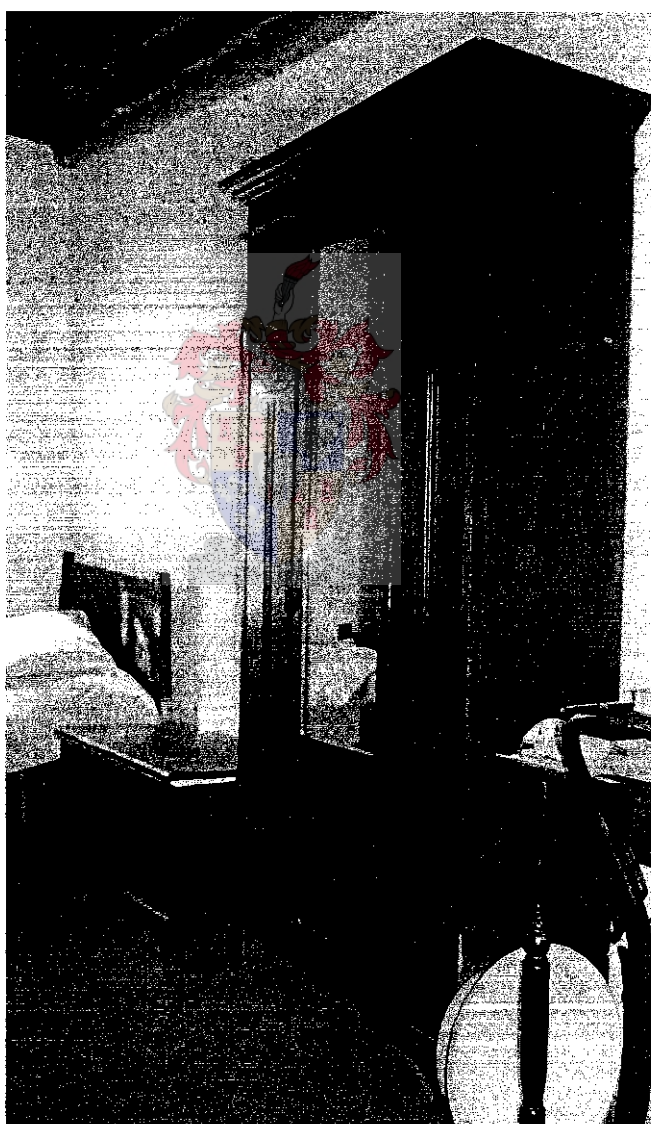
*Figure 229: A turn of the century Neo-Classical Elim bench at Ratelrivier made by a member of the Hans family who was in permanent employment at the farm (Mrs N Naude).*



*Figure 230: Not all Elim benches have solid seats as this example from Ratelrivier proves (Mrs N Naude).*

#### 6.4.1.5 Furniture for storing clothing

Traditionally wooden *kists* were used for storing clothing, especially Sunday best. Clothes worn during the week were either on the body or in the wash and did not need to be stored. De Villiers, however, mentions that wardrobes were found in most of the bedrooms during his survey (De Villiers 1948: 121). In many bedrooms a plank to which about five pegs are attached served as hat and coat hanger.



*Figure 231: Cottage wardrobe and an unadorned wooden kists were used for the storage of clothes. The kist had a little drawer just below the lid for smaller articles such as collars (L van der Hoven 2000).*





*Figure 232: Clothes hung on a plank attached to the wall into which a varying number of slanted pegs have been secured. The pegs may be round or square and some have slender necks and bulbs at the tip to prevent articles from slipping off. This pragmatic solution to clothes storage might have been influenced by saddle, bridle and halter rails (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 233: Jonkmanskaste (Young man's cupboards) seem to have been a speciality of the Hans workshop and these two artifacts are still owned by Hans descendants. Left: a yellowwood cupboard with moulded front corners. Right: this cupboard has yellowwood door panels and the rest is American pine or deal. The decorations on the top of the doors are identical. This cupboard is decorated with vertical and horizontal grooving (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 134: Left: a jonkmanskas and right: a jonkvroukas (young woman's cupboard) also from the Hans workshop. The jonkvrou cupboard has a decorative gable, false top drawers and two drawers placed below the second shelf (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 235: Left: a jonkmanskas and right: jonkvroukas from another Elim workshop. These articles probably date a bit later than the previous cupboards. The cottage furniture influence is reflected in the fact that only American pine or deal was used throughout. The jonkvroukas has no false drawer and the shelves are reduced to three. Vertical grooving is reminiscent of the earlier cupboards (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.1.6 Beds

A variety of *lynkatels* (string beds) were found. A grid of strings supported the mattress. Mattresses, called *bulsakke* (bolsters), were filled with dried everlasting flowers or straw. The parents' and guests' beds usually had a mattress stuffed with feathers (N August & M Schippers 1998:interview).



*Figure 236: A modest lynkatel and home made mattress, called a bulsak was made of ticking supplied by the Mission Store. The mattresses were filled once a year with fresh straw or sewejaartjies (L van der Hoven 2000)*

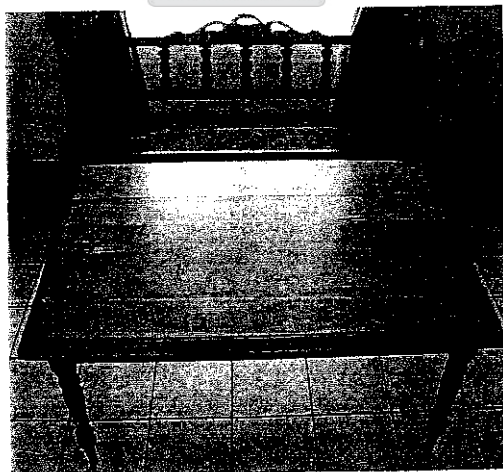


*Figure 237: Lynkatel with a Neo-Classical headboard with nine yellowwood slats and decoratively shaped triangles joining the headpiece to the bed. The frame is made of American pine or deal and the rest is stinkwood (L van der Hoven 2000).*

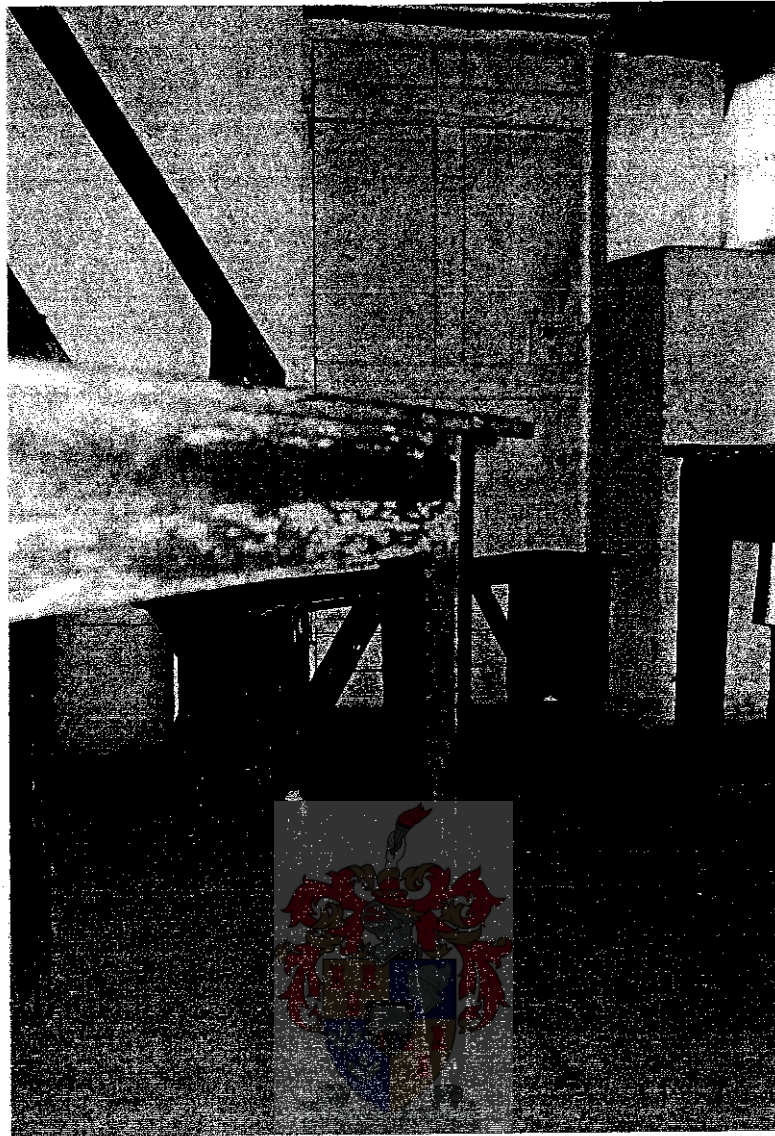


*Figure 238: This cot was made by Johannes Hans for Nel Frey of Ratelrivier in the 1920s. It only has three sides and riempie has been used for the mat. The legs taper and the uprights are decorated by chamfered corners (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.1.7 Tables



*Figure 239: Yellowwood table with stinkwood Regency turned legs with an extra strip of wood fitted around the edge of the top to give an appearance of an unusually thick top (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 240: An interior door constructed of planks, a staircase to the attic, two tables with tapered legs and a waterbankie (water bench) are all the handiwork of Elim's carpenters (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.1.8 Wall cupboards

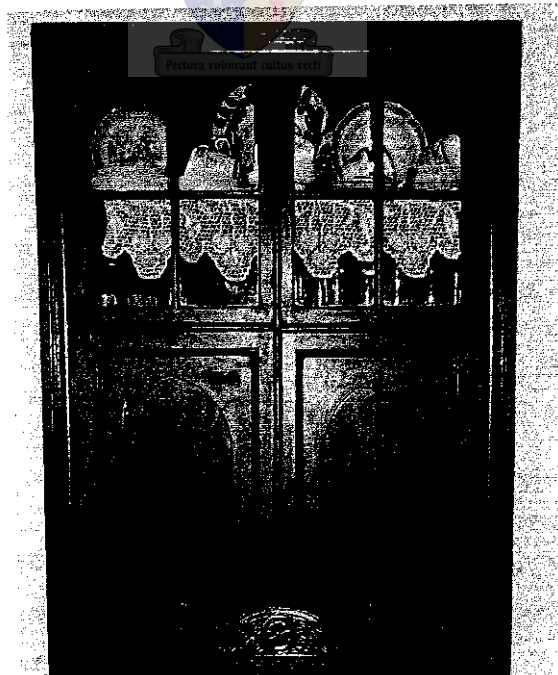
All houses in Elim have wall cupboards ranging from modest to luxurious. In two-roomed houses the wall cupboard is found in the bedroom, but more commonly the wall cupboard is to be found in the *voorhuis* where it is used as display unit. The shelves are often adorned with lace or paper folded and cut to produce repeat patterns. The most modest version was found in the Elim Huisie (see figure 236) and comprises of a space in the wall divided by a plank, the



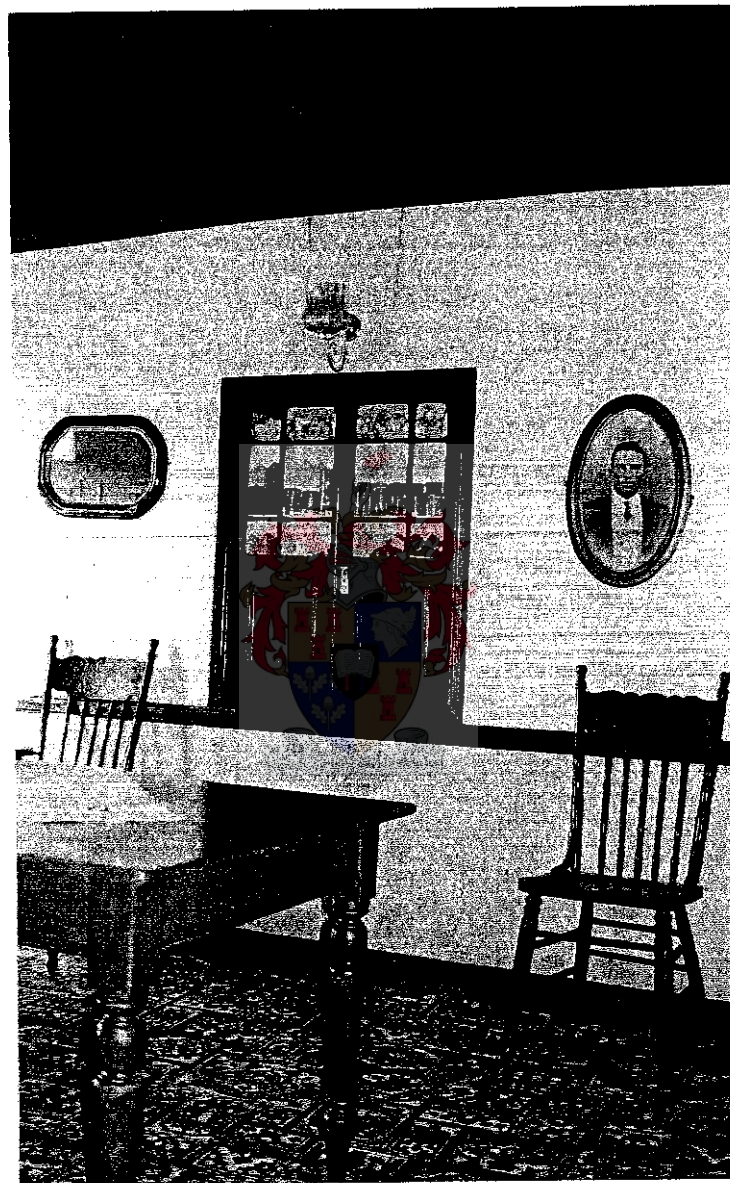
end of which is inserted into the wall. Another simple wall cupboard features a wooden back, sides, top and bottom as well as two shelves.



*Figure 241: A simple muurkas (L van der Hoven 2000).*



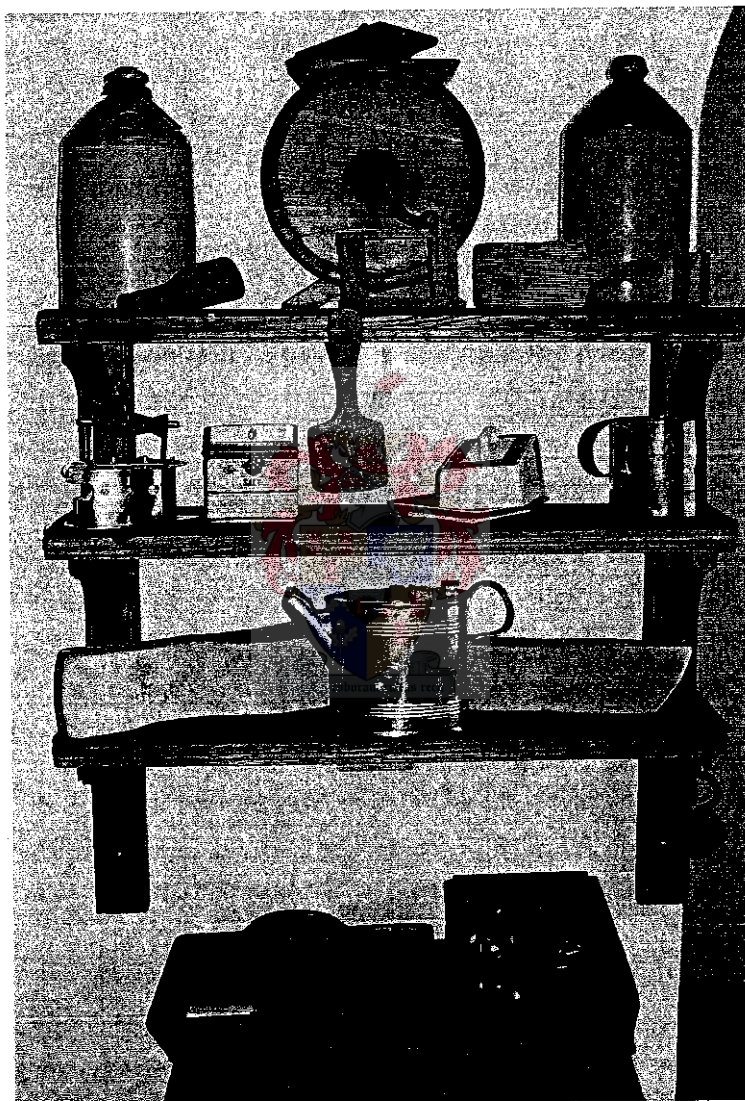
*Figure 242: A muurkas with eight glass panes and arched panels decorating the door (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 243: The most elaborate muurkas found has twelve glass panes, two wooden panels and a decorative escutcheon. A matching wooden rail, treated with the same gloss finish as the muurkas, ceiling and skirting board stretches right around the voorhuis (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.1.9 Household articles

In a pre-plastic world the materials used in and around the house were either metals wrought by the smiths, wood fashioned by the carpenters or clay fired by the potters.



*Figure 244: Top shelf: ceramic jars and wooden butter churn with wooden butter mould and spatulas. Middle shelf: a clothes iron made of copper and wood which was warmed by hot coals, a ceramic salt and butter container and a copper mug. Bottom shelf: soap made of animal fat and copper tea pot and a metal padlock. Bottom: wooden cutlery holders with bone and metal knives and forks (L van der Hoven 2000).*



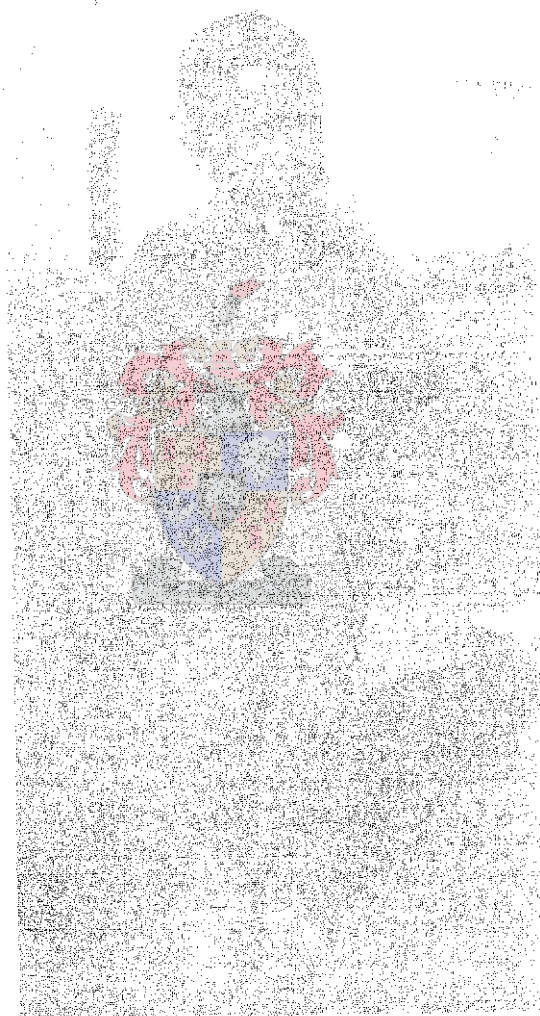
*Figure 245: A wooden foot warmer and broodspaan (flattened wooden shovel with long handle for inserting dough and removing bread from the bakoond) and a wooden sieve surround as well as wooden hay working tools were common Elim articles (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.2 Tailors

After the grand opening of the Elim church on 18 October 1835, the following report appeared in the 1836 *Berigten*, pages 95-96: *De geringste Hottentot was even feestelijk gekleed als de Kolonist, zoodat ik zelfs in Europa bij dergelijke gelegendheid nooit meer deftigheid, en althans nooit meer aandacht heb waargenomen* (Balie 1992:40) (Even the most lowly Hottentot was dressed festively like the colonists, so that I have not seen in Europe at similar occasions people dressed more smartly, or with more attention to dress).

The 1852 – 1861 *Debtors Ledger* gives an insight into the haberdashery articles sold by the Mission Store. From the records it is clear that clothing and homeware articles were sewn rather than bought ready made. The extensive selection of materials discussed in section 4.13.3.2 and 4.13.3.3 and the frequent sales of haberdashery articles affirm a tailoring industry at Elim. This lasting tradition was initiated by the missionaries' wives. The 1890 *School Report* states: *The industrial department in this school, under Mrs Grasse, is of exceptional merit. Very beautiful specimens of various kinds of plain and fancy needlework were*

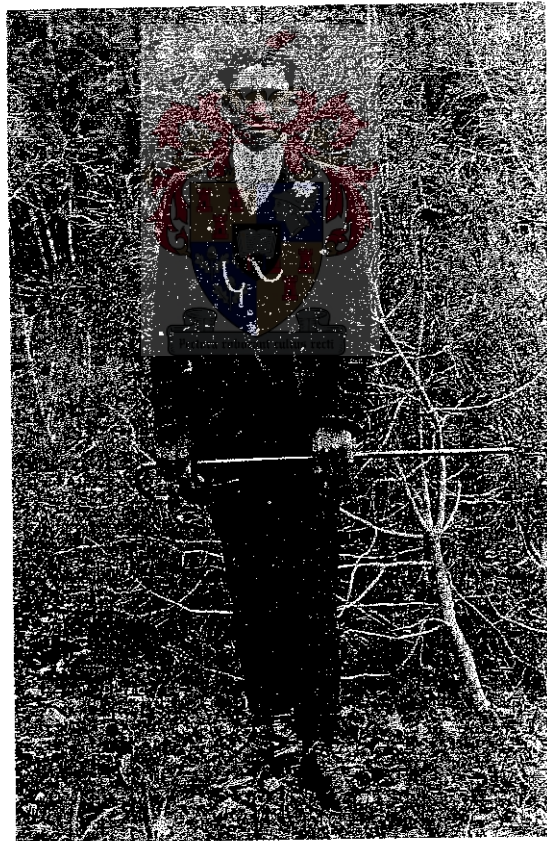
*exhibited. Industrial: 33 girls received two lessons of an hour and a half each every week from Mrs Grasse. Some excellent specimens of various kinds of needlework, patching, darning, knitting, and crochet were exhibited.*



*Figure 246: Martin Schippers in the 1930s with a suit his mother made from cloth she saved from other worn out articles (Mrs M Schippers).*

The missionaries and their wives set a dress example with their formal black and white attire. White is an important colour in the Moravian church tradition as a symbol of purity. The *kerkraad* still dresses in black and white. At communion services the congregation is similarly dressed. Young girls are confirmed in white dresses and female congregation members wear white head scarves.

Apart from this influence, prevailing fashions must have inspired Elim's tailors. To this day it is important for Elimmers to look their best. Children's Festival is still celebrated by each child receiving some new article of clothing.



*Figure 247: Emil Hans, fashionably dressed, cuts a dashing figure.*

### 6.4.3 Laundresses

White would have been in stark contrast to Elimmer's daily existence of vegetable gardening, trade practices as well as the interior of houses with their earth floors and exteriors. A full day's work was traditionally spent washing fabrics.



*Figure 248: Women and girls in loose frocks and aprons spread their white washing over shrubs to dry and bleach in the sun (Cape Archives Depot: R514).*

In the morning articles were twice soaped in with *boerseep* (home made soap made of animal fat, salt and soda) or *harpuisseep* (home made soap of crackling, resin, soda and borax), rubbed clean and rinsed (C Apollis 2001: interview). Garments were then soaped a third time and spread open on the grass to bleach. After a few hours they were splashed wet again. In the afternoon the articles were collected, rinsed and finally rinsed in *blousel* (bluing), which turned grays into pure white even using the brown furrow water. Lastly the washing was rinsed in a cooked starch solution before being spread over the bushes to dry. Once the articles were ironed a much desired pure white stiffness was achieved, the pride of many a housewife (M Schippers 2000: interview).

Most Elimmers have a spare set of linen, including curtains, which is only used during church festivals such as Christmas, Easter and Children's Festival. After festivals the articles are carefully washed and stored until the next festival.



*Figure 249: A clothes iron warmed on a wood burning stove was used to iron the clothes. Before placing the iron on the clothes it was carefully wiped with a cloth as illustrated by Mrs M Schippers (L van der Hoven 1998).*

**J. & J. COLMAN'S  
NO. 1  
STARCH.**

REQUIRES NO BOILING.

To meet the increased demand for this article, J. & J. COLMAN beg to inform Ladies of Families and Laundresses, that they have made arrangements by which their Starch can be procured of any respectable Grocer and Oilman throughout the Kingdom and the Colonies.

To ensure the genuine article, please be particular and inquire for

**Colman's No. 1 Starch,**

and observe that each packet has the name on the label, and one of these papers inclosed, signed,

*J. & J. Colman*

*Figure 250: An advertisement for Colman's starch was found among the Mission Store documents.*





*Figure 251: Two photographs taken years apart from more or less the same vantage point both with carts and wagons at the top of Kerk Street (left: Cape Archives Depot:R519) (right: Ulster 1974:13).*

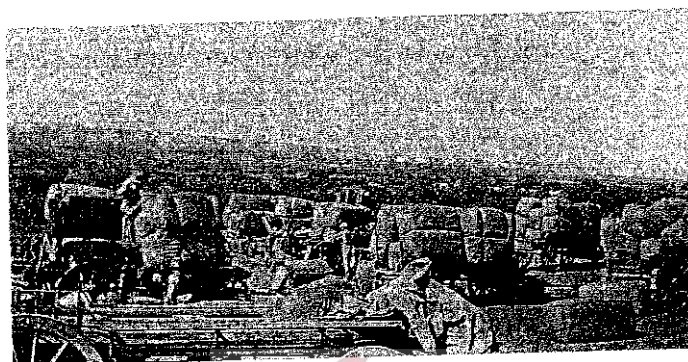
Mr Samuel Schippers born in 1915, describes a trip from Elim to Quoin Point when he was a young child. He remembers the names of the oxen, the road travelled, the outspan which included enjoying coffee, and finally arriving at the sea: *Ons gaan Hoewal toe met ons buurman se Os-kar. Ag Osse is voor die kar. Wileman, Strooi-muis, Opperman, Kolblom, Haarkol, jolly-man, ink-swart, + Botterblom, al ag sluit. Sweep word geswaai met die weg trek en word die osse bij hulle name geroep. Eerste hek gekom is die skeiding, waar ons Elim se grond virlaat ons gaan in Bruin-Klip se grond. 'n entjie gerij draai die pad uit lings weg uit die groot pad berg uit, anderkant af na 'n ander plaas met die naam Eentjie Skuil. Daar vir bij, oor die lang vlak, dan ontmoet ons die plaas Dirk Uis-Kraal, is die laaste plaas. Uit gespan, beeste water gedrink en ma het koffie gemaak, ek het met daar die besigheid niks te doen, wil op die strand wees en sien wat daar aangaan en hoe die see water gemaak is, ek is mos dom van so eits...* (Mr S Schippers 1998:written communication).

ons gaan. Het walt te met ons  
 buur-man se Os-kaar. Ag. Esse is voor die kar. Wilman,  
 Strooi-muis, Opperman, Holblom. Daar heb, polly-man,  
 ink swart, + Bitter blom, slag sluit. Sweef word gewaai  
 met die weg trek en word die osse by hul name geroep. Eerste  
 heb gekom is die scheidig, waar ons Eden se grond vrlaat en  
 ons gaan in Bruin-Felip se grond. In endtye gery draai die  
 pad uit lings weg uit die groot pad Berg uit, anderkant af  
 na in ander plaas met die naam Entjie skuil. Daar vir  
 by, oor in langvlak, dan ontmoet ons die plaas Dirk Vis-  
 Kraal is die laaste plaas. Wit gespan, heeste water gedrink  
 en ma het koffi gemash, ek het met daar die besigheid niks  
 te doen, wil of die strand wees en sien watter aan gaan en  
 hoe die see water gemaak, ek is mos dom van seits,

Figure 252: Mr Samuel Schippers' written communication.



Figure 253: An eight oxen cart as described by Mr Samuel Schippers arrives at the bottom of Kerk Street led by a touleier (person leading the oxen)



*Figure 254: The 1925 wool clip from Raterivier being loaded onto eight wagons. The farm had four wagons and as the Mission Store had purchased the clip it is most probable that an additional four wagons from Elim assisted with the transportation (Mrs N Naude).*

#### 6.4.6 Elim farmers

Elim and agriculture are synonymous. Animal husbandry, grain farming and vegetable gardening were all interrelated, as the *1873 Periodical Accounts* reports: many Elim fathers and sons left the village each April and May to help with ploughing on farms in the vicinity. October to January were harvest months. Once the schools closed in November many families departed to assist European farmers in bringing in the harvest. This was also sheep shearing time and apart from persons having to tend their own vegetable crops, the elderly and the ill, Elim lay deserted. Most residents returned by the end of November. They earned one or two shilling per day or, if a person had worked hard they would receive enough grain to last the whole year (Balie 1992:56).

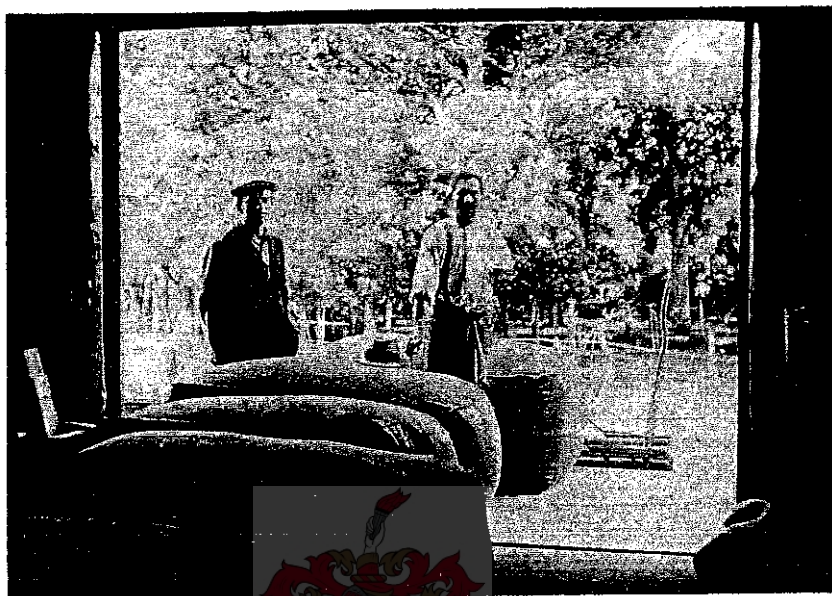
The first domestic livestock were introduced into South Africa about 2 000 years ago. Early indigenous pastoralists (Khoikhoi) lived a semi-nomadic life, moving on and burning the veld once it had become depleted by grazing. The more fertile *renosterveld* areas, such as those found in the valley in which Elim is situated, would have been the preferred places for grazing. While milk and meat from livestock were major food sources, hunting and collecting food from the veld remained important activities (Kilian 1996:17).

When the Elim Mission Station was established in 1824 there were only two heads of cattle and a few sheep brought from Genadendal. As a result of the availability of grazing the missionaries encouraged the residents to keep animals. In the *1826 Periodical Accounts* it is mentioned that a single cow from Elim was yielding more milk than three cows from Genadendal (Balie 1992:47). Hyenas, leopards and other animals of prey caused problems (Balie 1992:48).

In 1860 a country wide drought took its toll. Newspapers reported that in the Caledon and Bredasdorp districts more than 70 000 sheep had perished (Balie 1992:143). The drought was followed by heavy rains and the *1863 Periodical Accounts* have the following report: *Towards the middle of June the rain began to fall, and so continuously did it descend that every brook and stream became a torrent, which caused much injury to bridges and roads. The long continuance of the rain has also been attended with great disasters among the cattle. The neighbouring farmers have lost no less than 80,000 all-in-all cattle and sheep, with their young lambs. Our congregation lost 64 head of cattle, 11 horses, and about 800 sheep. Happily the corn is all in the ground, and the young crops appear to promise a rich harvest* (1863:625).

Around the 1900s the only animals allowed in the gardens were cattle to be slaughtered and they had to be *op lyn gesit* (on a rope and peg). Poultry found in the gardens could be killed. It was expected that animals which could damage the vegetable gardens be under the supervision of a herdbooy. Donkeys kept at home had to be taken to a *verafgeleë plek* (a remote area)

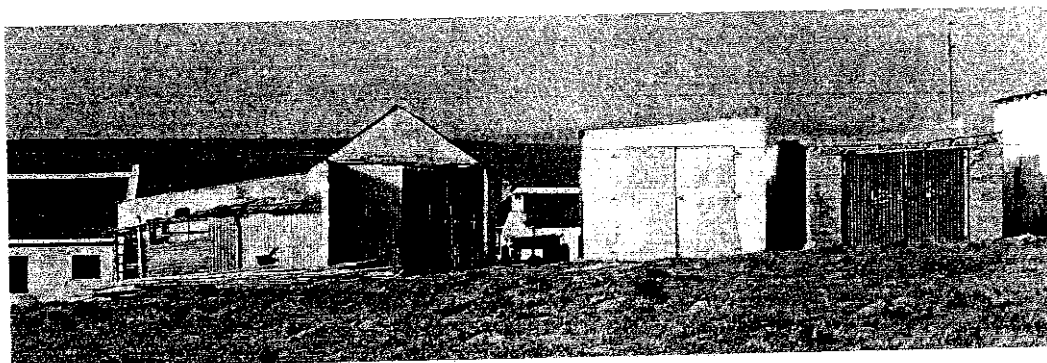
during the mating season. Grazing could not be burnt at will. From 1889 a person was appointed to burn the veld in March (Balie 1992:202).



*Figure 254: Wool clip in the Bloemenhuis above the mill pond.*

Elimmers sold wool for a good price but during the First World War the prices plummeted. Strict dip rules were also instituted in 1914 (Balie 1992:202). Subsistence animal husbandry in conjunction with vegetable gardens, provided food and employment to the mission station's inhabitants. Few families did not keep pigs and chickens. In 1948 De Villiers recorded that pigs were kept in pens erected a few hundred metres beyond the houses to the South East and South West of the town. These pigs and chickens received all leftover food (De Villiers 1948:155). Milking cows were kept in stables outside the town and milk was delivered in buckets to home owners (De Villiers 1948:155). Elimmers also kept pigs, oxen, donkeys and horses for transport.

At present (2000) rules about the keeping of animals have not been observed and animals roam the street freely, much to the dismay of gardeners and motorists. Hansie Hans, a retired schoolmaster from Cape Town, has returned to Elim and started farming with free-range hens. He sells his "Hansie's Hens" brand of free-range eggs locally as well as in Bredasdorp.



*Figure 256: Waenhuis and chicken coups to the north of the cottages (L van der Hoven 2000).*

#### 6.4.6.2 Grain farming

The 1904, 1914 and 1916 records contain these names of ploughed fields: *Verbrandekraallande* (Burnt Enclosure Field), *Stompiesklooflande* (Stubble Ravine Field) (A fynbos species, *Mimetes*, is called *stompies*), *Bruinklipvlak* (Brown Stone Plain), Kouderivier, Spanjaardskoof, (the previous three names are derived from the proximity to neighbouring farms), *Boomkloof* (Tree Ravine), *Diepkloof* (Deep Ravine), *Vaalgat* (Colourless Hollow), *Kranskloof* (Cliff Ravine), *Kortkloofies* (Short Ravines), *Brakgat* (Brackish Hollow), *Draaihoek* (Turn Corner), *Blokvloer* (Square Floor), *Platrug* (Flat Ridge) (Balie 1992:204). In 1907 the Mission procured a threshing machine so that animals were no longer used to tread out the harvest (Balie 1992:204).

Although most activities were and are at a subsistence level there are exceptions particularly with grain production, where expensive implements have replaced manual labour and necessitate commercial farming proportions.

### 6.4.6.3 Vegetable gardens

Church records reveal that vegetable gardens formed the backbone of Elim's self-sufficient economy. The plots were situated below running streams on the boundary of the town and were flood irrigated. *Spaansriet* or quinces often separated gardens. The *spaansriet* forms a good wind break and is used as ceiling material in the cottages. Plots were generally cultivated by men but in their absence women and children continued the work (Ms M Schippers 1998: interview).

Through the years and even to the present the growing of crops has been an important activity at Elim. Because the prior owner of the farm had kept it in good order, the cultivation of crops during the pioneering years proved relatively easy and successful. There were two gardens, the *Valleituine* (valley gardens) (see figure 62) and the *Ruggenstuine* (hill gardens, currently known in a corrupted form as *Reustuine* or giant gardens.) As interest in gardening increased, an additional section of approximately 560 metres long was divided among fifty one farmers (Balie 1992:49).

Although the gardens were a big success there were also lean years. Locusts ruined the 1834 crops. Shortly after the big drought in the early 1860s floods in January and October of 1863 caused great damage. In 1882 *lemoenboomluise* (orange tree lice) were a problem (Balie 1992:144). In 1890 and 1902 floods destroyed many foot bridges and fruit trees (Balie 1992:203).

The vegetable farming was a great success and in 1926 a visitor described the gardens as *in charming order*. A crop known as *broodwortel* (bread root) was particularly successful. It tasted like toasted chestnuts and could only be kept for fourteen days. Balie suggests that it might have been the floury yams (*Dioscorea*) from the tropics. Because wheat crops were not always successful the missionaries kept a store of barley in case of shortages (Balie 1992:51). It is possible that *broodwortel* became a wheat substitute in lean years. Protecting the gardens from grazing animals proved difficult. Trenches were dug and in 1837 a decision was made to

build a wall next to the top border and the water furrow (Balie 1992:49). Furrows were cleaned annually in January (Balie 1992:144).



*Figure 257: Furrow which floods the lower lying garden down the centre. A sandbag visible just above the gate is used to block the water in order to flood a particular section. Although some plots are lying fallow, some are still actively cultivated (L van der Hoven 2000).*



#### 6.4.7 Fishermen

Elim is close enough to the sea that men from Elim could go fishing when other work was scarce. The distance was travelled by horse, oxen and later by bicycle. Mr Samuel Schippers, born in 1915, relates in detail about fishing and camping trips at Quoin Point when he was a young child. The following is a verbatim account: [...] *Hoe-Wal toe, daar waar Pa, Oom Natan Oktober, Oom Hendrik Oktober, Oom Willie Thorp + Oom Temoties Pieters Harder vis gevang het. langs saam het die tyd om gegaan maar eindelik het die tyd aan gebreek. Dit is 'n afëring... Pa sê die water is levendig, Gods waar kan water dan lewe? Pa lieg sommer vir mij. Na alles klaar is, weer ingespan en daar is ons weer op reis, die laaste skof na die see. Die naste is die Wonder Werk die Golwe wat beweeg en nooi stil word van hul bewegings nie. ek vra nader hand wat dreun so, toe is ons nabij die see, maar kan net nie sien nie, nog 'n klein entjie. Owereld daar kom die strand huise uit Die (Pandokke) Of fie (Kawies) soos die mense dit nou noem, nou is Ou Sam se hart gerus. Mij broer vra Pa daai wit goed wat daar, so agter mekaar rol bijt hulle nie. Dit is wat die Skepper alles in Ses Dae Gemaak het. En die Wereld daarbij. Na virloop van tyd was die vissermanne klaar, om hulle werk te gaan begin, eers die twee nette regop geskut, en daarna laat vat plaat toe, waar hulle die vangs gaan doen, indien die vis te voor skijn, ek sê vir jou dit is 'n afëring. Vier mënne gaan, twee het die voorstok en twee die agterstok. en een op die wal wat wijs hoe hulle moet loop. Tevirgeefs het hulle die heel dag geloop op en af maar tevirgeefs, maar luister mooi. Die spreekwoord sê, is al dag vis dag maar is nie aldag vang dag nie. en is die grondige waarheid. Die volgende dag was heel wat anders, is daar so na aan die vijf honderd gevang maar toe gaan dit dik, en is 'n groot virrassing toe die mense met die sakke vis daar aan kom. Snaaks skeeppe sien 'n mens nie. daar vër agter op die see, hier en daar 'n ou verdwaalde. Rob wat ook snuffel en soek vir iets om te eet. So het die tyd van Kersfees ook nader gekom, ons het die dag in gewag waar die Heiland gebore sou word...(Mr S Schippers 1998:written communication).*

Samuel explained that there used to be a front and back carrier on his bicycle in which the catches were placed. In addition fish were strung together and hung inside the bicycle frame. Cycling great distances was no problem, even Caledon was considered within reach (Mr S Schippers 2000:interview).



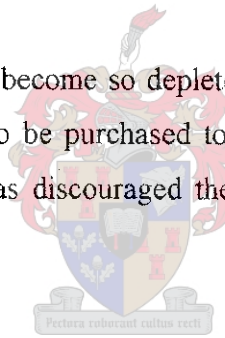
*Figure 258: Mr Samuel Schippers with his rod, kees (wooden reel), rucksack for the tackle and Hercules bicycle purchased in 1950 (L van der Hoven 2000).*

Around the 1960s Anna Nowers of *Buffeljagsbaai* (Buffalo Hunting Bay) sold fish catches in Elim from a bakkie. She use to hoot driving up and down the roads and then parked in Kerk Street. Housewives would then descend the hill with their baskets to buy fresh fish. Until the 1980s the Schippers family from Elim who has a shack at Quoin Point netted mullet, wind dried the catches and paid for their fare and holidays with the income (Mrs M Schippers 2000:interview).



*Figure 259: Martin Schippers with the day's catch of three galjoen and a heap of unshelled perlemoen (abalone) (Mrs M Schippers).*

In recent years the catches have become so depleted that this is not possible any more. Since 1998 a government permit has to be purchased to catch line fish. The permit in conjunction with the depleted fish stocks has discouraged the remaining aging fishermen from reaching the shores.

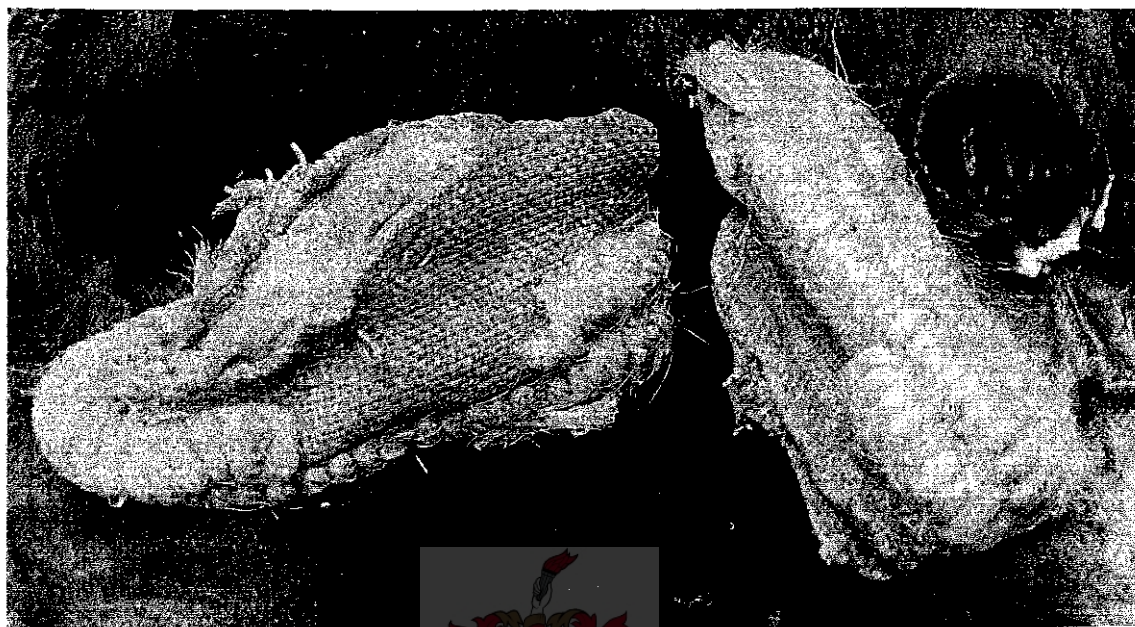


#### 6.4.8 Seal clubbers

When work was scarce in the latter part of the twentieth century, Elim men went seal pup clubbing at Dyer Island and as far as Kleinzee near the Namibian border. Skins and wages were brought home after months of absence. Special rope shoes were made by the sealers for standing in the water while skinning the clubbed seals.



*Figure 260: Sealskin brought home by Martin Schippers are displayed over the voorhuis chairs (L van der Hoven 2000).*



*Figure 261: Home made shoes of hessian and rope, worn by sealers when standing waist deep in the water, hours at a time, to skin clubbed animals (M Schippers 1999:interview) (L van der Hoven 2001).*

#### 6.4.9 Salt scrapers

On the farm Springfield in the direction of Cape Agulhas, naturally occurring salt pans have been yielding salt since time immemorial. Hendrik van As, owner of Brandfontein who died in 1899 at the age of 55 after he fell from his wagon, used to collect the salt and drive his heavily laden ox-wagon to Eersterivier near Cape Town (P van As 1983:written communication).

The year in which Elimmers started scraping salt, could not be determined. The *1924 Periodical Accounts* mentions this as a source of revenue for Elim (Balie 1992:57), but it is quite probable that the practice goes back to pre-colonial days. In the early 1950s, Lord de Saumerez, then the owner of Springfield, formalised the pans with dividing walls. Once the summer winds had dried up the water in the pans, the salt was scraped into high heaps,

judged by the interrupted operation of the pans it did provide Elimmers with work in the dry summer months. The salt was analysed in Pretoria and found to be seven times more salient than the sea. Fisher folk along the coast preferred this product for preserving their catches (C Hans 2000:interview).

### DIE SOUTWA

Kinders kinders help stoot die wa  
 Die vrag is swaar en dronk is pa  
 Kinders kinders help stoot die wa  
 Die Kaap is vêr en die vlieë pla  
 Die pan se sout is as-diep swaar  
 Die osse is maer  
 En die kos is klaar  
 Kinders kinders maak tog gou  
 In die Kaap is daar 'n honger vrou  
 Kinders kinders as julle weet  
 Hoe jul pa nou sweet  
 Kinders kinders help stoot die wa



*Figure 262: Illustration and poem by Hendrik van As's descendant, Piet van As.*

#### 6.4.10 Thatchers

Elimmers have earned an international reputation as fine thatchers. Teams from Elim have not only worked all over South Africa but as far afield as the middle East and North Africa. Due to continued demand this trade is an exception in being alive and well at present. In 1997 the Viljoenshof Mission Store was re-thatched and the process documented:



*Figure 263: Old thatch is removed and a tarpaulin put in place in case of rain (L van der Hoven 1997).*



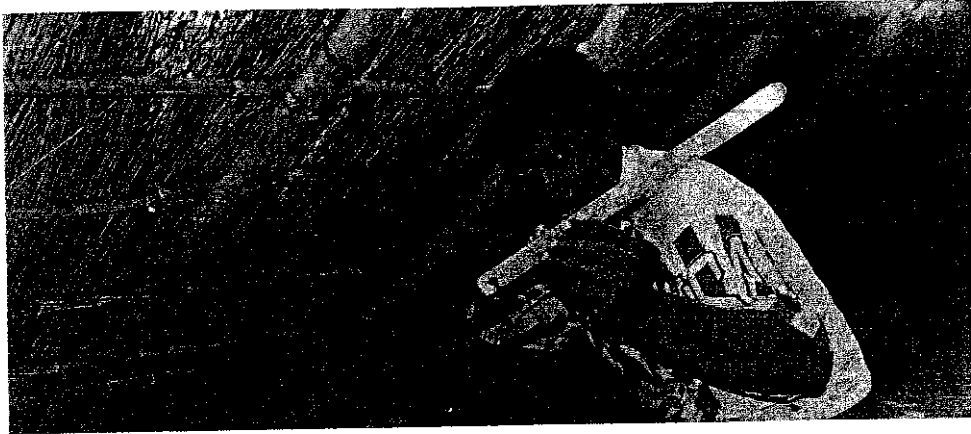
*Figure 264: New spaansriet supports are placed horizontally parallel and measured by Mr Neels Afrika before being tied into place with tarred string (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 265: Thatchers work in teams of two. Bundles of thatch are bent and shot through the air towards the catchers on the scaffold (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 266: A string is tied fifty centimetres away from the wall in order to thatch a straight overhang by means of a wooden instrument with a handle on the one side and holes on its working surface. Lengths of wire are placed on top of the thatch (L van der Hoven 1997).*

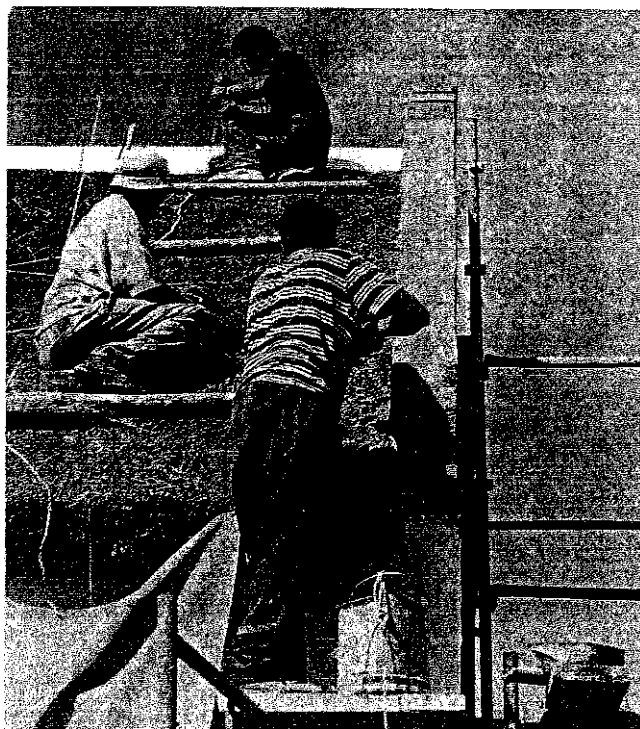


*Figure 267: The inside thatchers are responsible for sewing the thatch neatly around the *spansriet* and the outside thatchers for returning the needle after having looped the wire on the outside. Needles are fashioned from hoop iron (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 268: The process is repeated until the apex is reached. The thatch is bent over the top and sewn down on the other side (L van der Hoven 1997).*

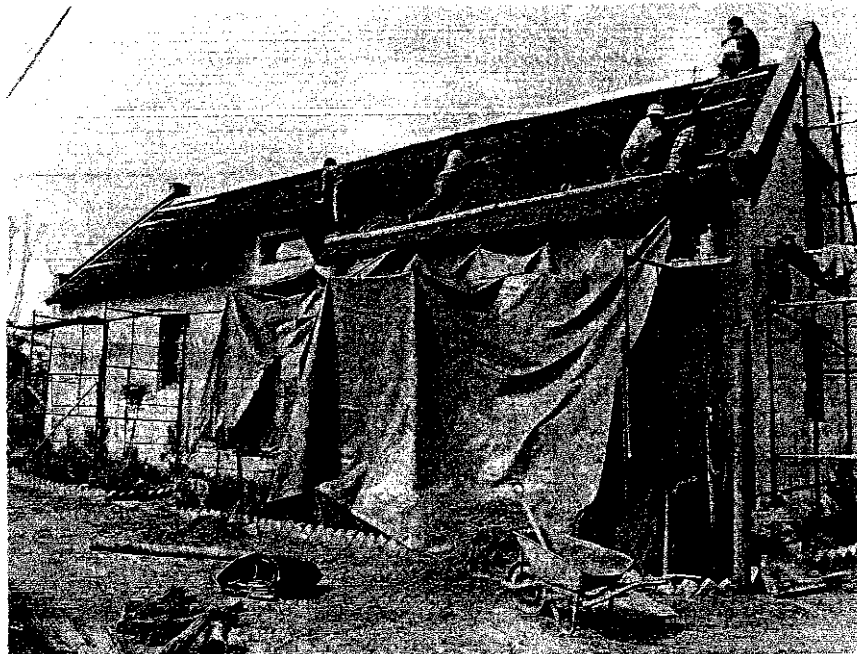




*Figure 269: Traditionally a plaster band protects the apex but in this case a one metre wide iron sheet is placed over the top and sown over the thatch. A plaster band between the gable and the thatch was put in place. In order to finally neaten the thatch, poles are supported from the inside roof structure by means of ropes (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 270: To neaten the inside a spreiligie (spread out layer) is inserted so that only the bottom of the thatch is visible as the top ends of the thatch sprigs are thin and have unsightly seeds attached (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 271: A south-facing roof rots more quickly than a north-facing one because it is shaded (C Afrika 1997:interview). The north-facing thatch of the Viljoenshof Mission Store is being “overhauled”. New bundles of thatch are inserted into the existing roof at regular intervals, to pack the thatch as tightly as that of the new south-facing roof (L van der Hoven 1997).*



*Figure 272: The thatch of an east- west facing cottage in Sand Street is worn thin with age and has some plants growing in it. The reason it has endured so many years is because it is in the full sun (L van der Hoven 2001).*

#### 6.4.11 Ship wreck assistants

During the course of history the inhabitants of Elim assisted the unfortunate ship crews that had been wrecked on the treacherous coast line. The *1835 Periodical Accounts* mention a ship having stranded near Agulhas with many corpses washing up the beaches. From the documents collected on the beach it could be determined that the ship was en route from Mauritius to England (Balie 1992:57). Which ship it was, is not clear.

Clear evidence of the 1838 stranding of the *Duke of Northumberland* is reported in the *1839 Periodical Accounts*. Men and women from Elim earned a good income from collecting the valuable cargo for the Cape authorities (Balie 1992:57). Burrows reports the events as follows: *A British Barque of 235 tons, carrying troops and passengers from Mauritius to England, wrecked near Ratel River. Most lives were lost, only a few survived. When Edward Jerram of Borradales, the Cape Agents, reached the scene, he found that the local field-cornet and his men had already interred the thirty eight bodies washed ashore and put head-boards over them. The survivors were starving, and Jerram sent to the village of Elim for meat and flour to feed them. He salvaged all he could from the wreck and held an auction on the beach, which yielded 3 307 rix-dollars (1994:172).*



*Figure 273: The Quoin Point light house and nearby shacks (Mr F Schippers 1990s).*

The October and Schipper families who have shacks near the Quoin Point Lighthouse claim to have been granted permission by Queen Victoria to occupy this land (C October 1998: interview). The authorities may well have reasoned that to grant a few Elim families the right to live here was a cost effective way of assuring assistance to shipwrecked survivors and cargo while connecting to the existing infra structure at Elim. However, only a thorough and lengthy search through the Colonial Letters in the Archives of the Colonial Secretary at the Cape Archives Depot would conclusively verify the claim.

Be as it may, the following is an account of Mr Samuel Schippers' experience of the stranding of the *Avala*, a Yugoslav cargo steamer of 6 403 tons carrying Welsh coal to Rangoon (Burrows 1994:173). The account relates how Samuel spotted the ship close ashore at Jessie (named after the *Jessie* another British vessel which went aground here in 1829). The ship drifted closer ashore and two life boats were lowered. The front life boat headed for a reef. The party on land constructed a makeshift flag, but to no avail. A fire was lit and the smoke the attracted the necessary attention. The lifeboats came safely ashore opposite the makeshift flag. Years later it was claimed that an old white couple saved the seamen's lives, but this is not true. Once landed, there was difficulty with understanding each other but both sides could understand English to a degree. The crew was very worried that their belongings might be stolen by Samuel and the other men. The account is transcribed verbatim:

*Ouderdom van 17 jaar het ek die strand Jessie leer ken, waar ek mij stukkie brood begin virdien het om harders te vang bij 'n goeie Ou bejaarde man met die naam Herman, die van Oktober. Luister mooi wat ek neer geskryf het. soggens is ek soos hulle my geroep het (sampie) die eerste op die been waar om, ek het bij Oom Herman geblij en moes eerste op staan om koffie water te kook. Horlosie het ons nie gehad nie, maar het altyd met die sterre in aan raking gekom, daar is in die oggende sekere sterre wat aan wijs welke tyd dit is, as U of ander nutiesie vat. Nou begin die storie. Ek het opgestaan, toe ek buitekant kom en so 'n bitjie rond kijk sien ek die skip aan kom, oor die water sij is nie vêr van die wal af nie. ek merk dat bij daar die skip is onraat, sij is darm te na aan die wal. Ek gaan in en sê daar, maar of hul mij wil glo is nie waar nie. deur mij het die oudste seun opgestaan. Hij het Buffeljag skuit vis gevang, toe hy die skip sien sê hij sij gaan nie vêr loop nie, hij gaan maar weer lê maar ek sit*

bij die koffie water pot en hou die skip dop. Toe ek weer kijk gaan daar niks aan nie sij staan, sien net waterskuim staan, 'n rukkie later toe druive daar 'n skuit langs die skip. Soos ons dit noem as die waters gaan sterk word die water is see aar. See se kant drywe ook 'n skuit. 'n rukkie later gaan die skuit weg van die skip af maar toe gaan hulle in die gevaar in, daar is 'n rif, is 'n klip bank, en die branders begin al breek, hulle gaan reguit soon toe, toe sê die Ou bejaarde man ons moet twee stirlasies paalle vat, aan mekaar las en 'n sak daar bo aan vas maak in plek van 'n vlag. Maar dit het nie gehelp nie. Toe ons sien dit help nie, gee die ou oom bevel dat ons moet bossies bij mekaar maak, die hout is somer gelukkig nabij die hand, gou is die hout bij mekaar gegooi, en nie lank daar na nie, trek daar 'n dik rook en wat gebeur daar draai die skuit met die mense terug soos hulle gegaan het, kom terug na die skip. Toe sê die Ou bejaarde man. Vat nou die vlag en gaan maak dit staan in die baai, natuurlik het daardie mense die vlag gehoorsaam en hul kom tot redding. So het ons daardie mense se lewe gered. Na virloop van tijd was hier gesigte dat 'n Ou Baas + Ou Nooi die mense se lewens gered het (dit is onwaar) Ek het daardie skip eerste gesien die oggend daar bo Buffeljag buite kant oor die see sien aan kom, en was die eerste wat Haar gesien het toe Sy daar Jessie vorentoe beur maar die kalf was virdrunk. Sij het vas geloop. Toe die mense met die skuit reg oor die vlag kom het hulle natuurlik ons gesien bij die vlag en so het hulle aanwal gekom was ons so bekommer toe daar die mense aan wal kom, vir eers die taal, ons virstaan nie hulle nie hulle virstaan nie ons nie. Daar was sewe mense in die eerste skuit nog 'n ander ding, ons wil help maar hulle wil nie toe laat dat ons aan die goet moet nie. Toe sê oom Natan vir oom Herman hij Engels Praat toe werk dit. Maar hulle is God weet baie bang vir steel. Toe ons die eerste goed daar op die wal neer sit toe daar een. Ons het die skuit se goed almal help uit dra daar was niemand meer nie. Toe kom die tweede skuit daar was nege mense vir persone op, waar om die kaptein was daar bij. Hulle was sewentien man, almal fris mense, maar die taal is en was 'n raaisel om te virstaan. Vate met wijn het daar uit gekom, is stukkend geslaan twee entwintig vate het hier bij Jessie langs die see gelê. en sewe dromme Olie hulle het gesê is vis Olie ons weet. Sekerets het hier in die baai gelê pakkies met twintig in almal mat die naam Awalla. En die twee skuite ook.

## EVALUATION

This study has shown how important a Cultural Historical impact study of a geographic area is prior to any major project, be it a development or as in this case, the declaration of a national park. Although Krüger's Moravian Church History, De Villiers's 1948 Sociology study and Balie's 1992 study of the Cape Moravian mission stations recorded valuable information, the present study offers additional and new information and perspectives that will inform park formation and management decisions in future.

Over the years Elim and the surrounding white farmers enjoyed a fruitful symbiotic relationship. The relationship can be summarized as follows:

- Farmers were able to share the privilege of an educated labour force, the advantages of a school, a church, a mill, a smithy, carpentry shops and all the other trade shops. In addition the shop supplied in all their needs and on credit when necessary, as well as bringing and transporting their produce to the distant markets. In effect the Moravian Mission Store fulfilled the role of the first Strandveld Farmers' Co-op until this function was taken over by the Bredasdorp Napier Co-op. Furthermore the missionaries had medical knowledge and supplied the farmers with much needed medicines. *Aia Driekies Afrika* was a renowned midwife who delivered most of the white children born in the early 1900s (Col E Benade interview:1998).
- The Elimmers had the privilege of employment, education as well as enviably high standards of life.
- The Moravian Mission to South Africa reaped the financial benefits of Elim's good relations with the Strandveld farmers in that other mission efforts could be partly financed by Elim's financial success.

With the Gospel and commerce as common interests, the various races at Elim found it possible to co-exist to the benefit of themselves and other South Africans. Elim was found to be a community where shared spiritual and commercial interest created opportunities for all. This is not to say that there was and is no racial tension, strife or poverty.

The Elim Mission station was a successful venture by the the Moravian Mission to South Africa that should be proudly owned by the Moravian Church and all the people of the Strandveld. The recording of this history of inter-dependence will hopefully bridge some of the present divides between the Elimmers and the white Strandveld community.

The success of the study can be measured along the problems mentioned in Reverend Hans' funding motivation letter (see figure 3).

- it created an educational resource for future generations
- it recorded a way of life and traditions
- it is the author's intention to publish an adapted version of this text and contribute to the realisation of the region's tourism potential
- informed conservation guidelines can now be developed
- the impact of future developments and decisions can be gauged against the present.

In addition the study has contributed the methodology of workshops resulting in written communications. These written communications of which Samuel Schipper's contributions are good examples have the following advantages:

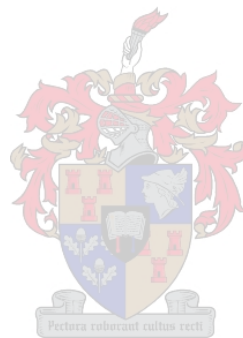
- focused content rather than personal ramblings
- accurate because verified with others and memories unhurriedly pondered
- documents worthy of conservation were created
- high level of involvement and ownership of process.

Figure 274: *Mr Samuel Schippers* (L. van der Hoven 2000).





Other mission communities such as Wuppertal and Zuurbraak can follow this methodology in order to record their own cultural histories. By doing so valuable information can be prevented of going to a silent grave with the passing on of elderly people.



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