WHO LIVED IN THE STELLENBOSCH WINELANDS BEFORE 1652?

This short essay describes what is currently known about the archaeology and history of the Stone Age people who lived in the vicinity of Stellenbosch and adjacent Winelands in the Western Cape before European colonisation.

When and where did the human story begin?

There is abundant archaeological evidence from stone tools, and a few human remains, that Stone Age hunter-gatherer people lived in the Western Cape for about a million years. As yet, there is no evidence in this region for the earliest stone tools and fossil hominin remains that date to between 1 and at least 3 million years ago in the Cradle of Humankind in Gauteng, Limpopo and North-West provinces. It is not clear whether this is a result of a limited ecological range in which the early hominins lived, or of the absence of suitable geological formations for the preservation of bone.

What do we mean by the Stone Age?

The Stone Age was the time when most of the tools that hunter-gatherer people used were made by striking one stone against another – a hammerstone against a core – so that sharp edges were created on the sides of the core and on the flakes that were detached. Many fine-grained rocks will produce flakes with edges that are sharper than a metal knife, but stone becomes blunt much more quickly than metal. Archaeologists focus on stone tools as the primary source of evidence for the presence of people in the landscape in the past because the tools are almost indestructible and therefore are often all that is left behind after bones, wood, plant remains and shells have disintegrated.

People became very skilled at making stone tools, also called artefacts, and over hundreds of thousands of years Stone Age technology and lifestyle in southern Africa underwent several major changes. In the beginning, the tools were made by removing flakes from a core to create a sharp cutting edge around the core. Later, they used the flakes and blades that came from the core and hafted them with gum or glue to wooden shafts. This led to a gradual diminution in the size of stone tools that can be seen throughout the world.

During most of the Stone Age period in South Africa people practised a hunter-gatherer economy and lifestyle, some changing to herding within the last 2000 years but continuing with hunting of game animals and gathering of plant and marine foods. The carrying capacity for people living in the fynbos and relying on plant foods was probably limited and as a result the population density may never have been very high although it was clearly sustainable. Shellfish, fish and seals provided staple foods along the coast, and inland the meat from hunting mainly small game was supplemented with small animals such as tortoises, hares, dassies and birds, as well as insects. Archaeological evidence shows that plants with underground storage organs like corms and bulbs of Watsonia sp., Hypoxis sp. and uintjies of different kinds provided staple carbohydrates, supplemented by above-ground foods like melons, seeds, berries and fruits (see Deacon & Deacon 1999 for further detail).

After the introduction of domesticated animals, milk from both sheep and cows became a staple food for herders. Their animals were slaughtered mainly for ritual purposes and special occasions rather than as a replacement for hunting.


Cultural identity

In this essay the cultural identity of most of the Stone Age hunter-gatherers who lived in the southwestern Cape is essentially unknown beyond their stone tool technology, material culture and economy. However, by the time of the Later Stone Age in the past 10-20,000 years, the population is assumed to have been related to the San (formerly referred to as Bushmen) who came into contact with European colonists in the 17th century and who had a similar belief system and material culture to that of San-speaking people still living in parts of Namibia and Botswana today. Although there is no way of knowing what language hunter-gatherers spoke during most of the Stone Age, it was fortunate that the /Xam San (Bushman) click language of the Northern Cape and Karoo hunter-gatherers was learnt and written down by Dr Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law, Dr Lucy Lloyd, in Cape Town in the 1870s. The 11,000 pages of testimony from a small group of /Xam-speakers, who had been sent to the Breakwater Prison for various offences, share enough cultural and language characteristics with 20th century San in Botswana and Namibia to indicate that there were significant connections between them in the past as well as the present.

On the other hand, the languages of the Later Stone Age herders in the vicinity of Cape Town and Stellenbosch at the time of European contact were never written down and are effectively lost, but it is generally assumed that they spoke Khoe click languages similar to Nama which is still spoken today in the Northern Cape and Namibia. When Nama became an official language in Namibia, a Khoekhoe-gowab dictionary was published (Haacke & Eiseb 2002) to standardise spelling and meaning. In this process words such as Quena (as used briefly by Van Riebeeck), Khoi and Khoikhoi were standardised to Khoe (meaning ‘a person’) and Khoekhoen (a noun meaning people who speak a Khoekhoe language) with the adjective Khoekhoe (as in ‘a Khoekhoe lifestyle’). The new spelling clarifies that the pronunciation is more similar to ‘Que’ or ‘Khwe’ than it is to ‘Coy’ or ‘Koi’. Although not all the Later Stone Age herders spoke the same language, it is believed that there were more similarities than differences amongst them that extended to their material culture and beliefs.

Changes through time in southern Africa

The following stages in tool-making, lifestyle and economy took place in the Western Cape and beyond over the last million years, but within this vast time scale there is no predictable correlation between the physical changes in our human species, the language they spoke, the technology of the stone tools they made, their lifestyle which included the food they hunted and gathered, and their cultural identity.

The classification of stone tools into the broad categories of Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Age was proposed nearly 100 years ago (Goodwin & Van Riet Lowe 1929) and was based on observations of the relative age of stone tools found in stratified deposits in South Africa. The scheme has been broadly confirmed by research since then and the classification system is used throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

- The Earlier Stone Age (ESA) lasted from before 1.3 million to about 300,000 years ago and is characterised by almond-shaped core stone tools (handaxes), on average slightly larger than a human hand, as well as flakes that were rarely shaped after removal from the core.
• During the Middle Stone Age (MSA), about 300,000 to 40,000 years ago, stone flakes and blades predominated. They were often struck from prepared cores that pre-determined their size and shape and the edges were sometimes retouched for particular tasks such as scraping and piercing. Their average size was seldom larger than the palm of a hand.

• In the Later Stone Age (LSA), about 40,000 to 300 years ago, some stone tools were about the size of a thumbnail and few were larger than a middle finger. The people who made them are generally believed to have been the ancestors of the indigenous San (Bushmen).

• About two thousand years ago, domesticated sheep, and later cattle and goats, were introduced from north-eastern Africa through migration and exchange and some indigenous people became herders, made pottery to store livestock products, and continued to make stone tools. These herders were ancestors of the Khoekhoen who met with European sailors from 1488, and interacted on a daily basis with European settlers from 1652.

• By about 300 AD, important technological and economic changes were introduced into what is today South Africa by migrant Iron Age (Bantu-speaking) farmers from central and eastern Africa who mined and smelted metal for many tools, kept livestock, and planted crops like sorghum and millet in the northern and eastern part of the country. They did not settle in the Western Cape until after European colonisation because their crops needed summer rainfall and the climate in the Western Cape had lower and mostly winter rainfall.

• An even greater change took place from the south and west less than four hundred years ago when people of European descent came by sea to farm, build dams, roads and permanent structures, manufacture a wide variety of products and make fundamental changes to the landscape.

The Earlier Stone Age

Evidence comes from thousands of stone tools that have been found on the banks of rivers or near to water sources throughout South Africa, but seldom in caves and rock shelters. Over tens of millions of years, the natural water erosion process in river beds created smoothed and rounded cobbles of an ideal size for the stone tools that we now call handaxes and cleavers. Early humans from as far afield as south-western Europe, the Near East, India, and Africa made these tools to the same pattern for nearly a million years. Handaxes were multi-purpose cutting tools used for skinning and cutting up meat, breaking bones to remove the marrow, digging up roots, wood-working and other tasks. Cleavers were used for similar purposes but were designed with a straight cutting edge in the shape of the metal axe that we use for chopping wood today. The small number of human remains associated with handaxes, found on the west coast near Langebaan, suggest that Earlier Stone Age (ESA) people about half a million years ago were not yet of our species, Homo sapiens, and their brain configuration probably limited their ability to innovate.

Stellenbosch was one of the first places in South Africa where Earlier Stone Age tools, first called the Acheulian culture in the 19th century after the site of St Acheul in France, were described in print. Louis Périnquey called it the Stellenbosch Culture in his report on The Stone Ages of South Africa in 1911: “At the foot of a steep hill called Papegaaiberg runs a small rivulet – a tributary of the Eerste River. The spur of the hill abuts on that rivulet and is intersected on one side by a cart road and by
the railway cutting on the other. The space thus left has been used for a good many years as a brick field from which a thickness of 20 feet of material or more has been removed. I found there, in the vertical wall ... two superposed layers of fractured, water worn boulders, spalls, nuclei, etc. They had been deposited on the granite foundation ... which terminates abruptly on the bank of the Eerste River.”

Public displays at the St Acheul archaeological site in France with information boards explaining the geology and archaeological significance. (Photo: Thomas Dowson https://archaeology-travel.com)

Left: Monument to the Stellenbosch Culture in c. 1995. Right: Bronze plaque before it was stolen in the early 2000s. (Photos: Janette Deacon)
A century of research by archaeologists has confirmed Péringuey’s observation that the stone implements found around Stellenbosch are indeed very old. They are included in the Earlier Stone Age (called the Lower Palaeolithic in Europe) which covers the time between about 1.3 million and 300,000 years ago in southern Africa. Handaxes and cleavers are found in many vineyards in the valleys of the Eerste, Berg, Breede and Olifants Rivers in the south-western Cape, as well as further east near Knysna, Plettenberg Bay and Uitenhage. Montagu Cave is remarkable for the fact that it is one of fewer than ten cave sites in southern Africa with Earlier Stone Age tools.

_Earlier Stone Age tools from the Stellenbosch area. Left: cleaver. Centre and right: handaxes. The drawings show both sides of the core tools and the side view. The examples on the left and right are only slightly shorter than the width of a sheet of A4 paper. (Drawings by J. Deacon)_

Louis Albert Péringuey was born in Bordeaux, France, on 9 October 1855. He qualified as an entomologist specialising in Coleoptera (beetles) and came to Cape Town as a consultant to investigate diseases in South African vineyards. His interest in entomology and archaeology led him to become Director of the South African Museum (now Iziko) in Cape Town in 1906 and he worked there until his sudden death on 2 February 1924. He wrote many scientific papers describing new insect taxa and Stone Age sites in South Africa. His collections are divided between the Iziko South African Museum, Transvaal Museum, Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Genova and the collections of the German Entomological Institute.

In acknowledgement of Péringuey’s work, the site at Bosman’s Crossing near the Eerste River was declared a National Monument in 1961. When the National Heritage Resources Act replaced the National Monuments Act in 1999, all former national monuments became Provincial Heritage Sites. The Stellenbosch Archaeological Reserve is now a Provincial Heritage Site under the jurisdiction of Heritage Western Cape. The original bronze plaque erected by the former National Monuments Council was stolen in the early 2000s but the stone plinth remains as a reminder of the significance of the site.

_The Middle Stone Age_

This time period is not well represented in the Winelands, partly because there are few large rock shelters that would have been suitable for habitation, and partly because the Middle Stone Age (MSA) saw a change in the way that people used the landscape, preferring to live in large rock shelters, often on the coast where they collected shellfish and other seafood, and with less emphasis on proximity to water. A cave in the Wemmershoek mountains has MSA tools on the surface and they have also been reported at open sites at Solms-Delta, Franschhoek and Klapmuts (Malan 2017). Excavations at caves near Elands Bay, Clanwilliam, Die Kelders, De Hoop, Montagu, the Cango valley,
Still Bay, Mossel Bay and Plettenberg Bay have all found MSA deposits, mainly dating between about 120,000 and 40,000 years ago.

Very few human remains have been found with MSA in the Western Cape apart from isolated teeth and some small limb bones, because people were not burying their dead at that time. However, parts of skulls, a mandible, foot bones, and a clavicle have been found in MSA deposits at Klasies River on the Eastern Cape coast, and inland at Border Cave in KwaZulu-Natal. These remains confirm that by at least 115,000 years ago MSA people living on the southern edge of the African continent were anatomically modern and their physical features were within the range of variation of living *Homo sapiens* (Deacon & Deacon 1999).

It is in MSA deposits dating between about 60,000 and 80,000 years ago, that some remarkable discoveries have been made in caves and rock shelters on the Western Cape coast at Blombos near Still Bay (Henshilwood et al. 2018; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blombos_Cave and http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/prehistoric/blombos-cave-art.htm) and at Diepkloof near Elands Bay on the west coast (Texier et al. 2010; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diepkloof_Rock_Shelter; http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/prehistoric/diepkloof-eggshell-engravings.htm). They provide the earliest evidence in the world that people at that time were engraving and drawing patterns on stone, engraving patterns on ostrich eggshell, and decorating themselves with beads and probably ochre body paint as well. The earliest dated rock paintings in Africa (about 28,000-30,000 years old) were associated with MSA artefacts at Apollo 11 cave in southern Namibia (Wendt 1976; Vogelsang et al. 2010). They are on small pieces of rock that are geologically distinct from the walls of the cave so they are different in that sense from the paintings on cave walls and ceilings that are considered to have been made during the Later Stone Age.

Another ‘first’ is evidence that stone tools were hafted onto shafts to make arrows and spears during this phase of the MSA. Caves and rock shelters that were lived in regularly during the MSA accumulated more evidence about the diet of the people who lived there than is possible at most ESA sites. People were hunting large animals like eland, the extinct Cape horse and the extinct giant buffalo, as well as smaller antelope. Where it has been possible to recover plant remains, there is evidence that fruits and bulbs were gathered and eaten too, and that people were knowledgeable about recipes for glues, leather working and body paint.

![Typical Middle Stone Age artefacts. 1: Pressure-flaked point from Still Bay, probably hafted with glue or mastic onto a wooden shaft (Photo: J. Deacon). 2: Backed blades from the Howiesons Poort industry, probably hafted onto wooden shafts as arrowheads or cutting tools (Drawing: J. Deacon). 3:](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blombos_Cave)

Global climate cooled during the last ice age between about 60,000 and 20,000 years ago (Compton 2011, 2016). Archaeological surveys show that there are relatively few sites with MSA artefacts dating to the coldest phase between 40,000 and 20,000 years ago. One hypothesis is that the human population numbers declined because the carrying capacity of the land for hunter-gatherers was reduced by cooler temperatures and lower rainfall. Global temperatures were reduced by an annual average of 5-7 degrees C at the peak of the ice age about 20,000 years ago and as a result of the quantity of water that was locked up in the ice caps at the north and south poles, sea level dropped worldwide by as much as 130 m. This exposed the continental shelf off the southern tip of Africa. The hunter-gatherers, who were already making regular use of sea food, moved southwards with the changing coastline which, by 20,000 years ago was between 80 and 100 km south of its present position off Cape Agulhas and 30 or 40 km west of the present west coast. Any MSA or early LSA sites on this continental shelf would now be underwater as they were covered by rising sea levels when the ice melted between 14,000 and 10,000 years ago (Deacon & Deacon 1999; Compton 2016).

Map of the edge of the continental shelf off the coast of South Africa showing the position of the coastline along the 120 m contour (light blue) about 20,000 years ago (from Compton 2016).

The Later Stone Age

Stone tools that gradually replaced the MSA between about 40,000 and 20,000 years ago became noticeably smaller, perhaps an indication that the raw materials were used more economically. Because the Later Stone Age (LSA) remains are younger than those of the MSA, the LSA sites in the Western Cape generally preserve more bones from animals that were hunted and eaten by the inhabitants. From about 10,000 years ago people in the Western Cape began burying their dead, sometimes in the rock shelters where they lived or in the shell middens they accumulated along the coast. Some of the bodies were decorated with ostrich eggshell, marine shell or bone beads and pendants, occasionally painted stones covered the grave, and at other sites the grave was sealed with a layer of powdered ochre. Some of the people buried in this way had physical features similar
to those of the indigenous San population, and some of the tools were still being made by the San in the last few hundred years (Deacon & Deacon 1999).

The LSA saw the heyday of rock paintings and rock engravings in southern Africa. In the Western Cape Province alone there are more than 3,500 rock painting sites that are likely to date within the last seven thousand years. It is essentially a religious art that illustrates the rituals and experiences performed by trance healers and the animals they believed would help them to obtain power from the spirit world for rain-making, healing the sick, and controlling the game animals. Paintings and engravings probably mark sites where events or experiences took place.

Five rock shelters with paintings have been recorded in the Wemmershoek Dam area and there is at least one site in the Hottentots Holland. Older, so-called ‘fine line’ paintings, are considered to have been done by hunter-gatherers until about one thousand years ago. So-called ‘finger paintings’, with paint applied with a finger or thick brush instead of a fine brush or applicator, are considered to have been made more recently, perhaps within the last one or two thousand years. They tend to be in the form of geometric patterns, dots and lines, but hand prints, stylised human figures and animals occur as well. There is a possibility that this tradition was also connected with ritual and religious beliefs, but in this case with the Khoekhoe herders.

*Bone and stone tools of the Later Stone Age. From left: bone beads and a pendant from Nelson Bay Cave at Plettenberg Bay, between 10,000 and 11,000 years old; polished bone points, possibly used for fishing, from Nelson Bay Cave, between 8500 and 10,500 years old; stone tool from Boomplaas Cave in the Cango Valley used for scraping leather with the mastic glue that once mounted it on the end of a wooden handle still preserved after 2000 years; a bored stone found in the Karoo and used as a digging stick weight. The three items on the left are all less than 4 cm long. The bored stone is about 25 cm across.*
Later Stone Age artefacts. Left: from Nelson Bay Cave dating to between 18,000 years ago. Centre: a core from which bladelets were struck dating to about 6000 years ago. Right: a selection of artefacts from Boomplaas Cave in the Cango valley dating to about 2000 years ago. (Photos: J. Deacon)

Rock paintings in the vicinity of Stellenbosch. 1 and 2: Elephants and human figure from the Wemmershoek area (Photos T. Randle in Malan 2017). 3: Finger paintings near Lourensford, Somerset West. (Photo J. Deacon with DStretch image enhancement)

The first recorded meeting between the hunter-gatherer Soqua (or Sonqua, sometimes also referred to as the Mountain People by the Dutch, and later Bushmen and San) and the DEIC took place in April 1655 somewhere between present-day Malmesbury and Wellington, three years after the arrival of Van Riebeeck. Jan Wintervogel reported to Van Riebeeck that they were short of stature and ‘quite wild’, without huts or cattle and speaking almost the same as the Khoekhoen. It is possible that the meeting took place near what is known today as Sonkwasdrift (Thom 1952:305). Thereafter, Soqua were met regularly along the Olifants River in 1660-1661 and in 1685 during the journey made by Simon van der Stel to Namaqualand. Dapper also described the Soqua as living ‘in massive mountainous country’ and as ‘extremely great plunderers and marauders’. It would seem that although the Soqua made forays onto the coastal plain and the Olifants River valley, they preferred the safety of the mountains. As the European farmers moved beyond the mountains and into the Karoo, they became more aggressive towards the San and commandos killed thousands in a prolonged genocide that lasted more than a century.

Later Stone Age herders

Evidence for domesticated sheep in the Western Cape about two thousand years ago has been documented by sheep bones and fired clay pottery amongst LSA artefacts. There has been much speculation about how the livestock were introduced. One theory is that a migrant population that originated in north-east Africa either migrated with their sheep into South Africa, or passed the herding culture on to Khoe-speaking people in Botswana/Zimbabwe who subsequently migrated southwards. Another theory is that there was only minimal migration of people from north-eastern Africa and sheep were acquired by Stone Age hunter-gatherers who worked as shepherds for Iron Age farmers and gradually acquired the skills of animal husbandry. The exact route taken by sheep and/or people is unclear, but the earliest dates obtained for sheep have come from Namibia, Botswana and the western and southern coast of South Africa (Deacon & Deacon 1999). Studies of the DNA of living Khoekhoe-speakers show a strong affinity with the DNA of San hunter-gatherers,
but not with Bantu-speakers. There are also similarities between some San and Khoekhoe languages, confirming that there must have been strong ties between them in the last 2000 years.

More is known about the lifestyle of the Khoekhoe herders than about the San hunter-gatherers in the Western Cape because written records and illustrations made by European travellers from the late 15th century onwards were mainly about the people with whom the travellers traded and interacted. Maps drawn by the Dutch in the early 18th century, a little more than half a century after Van Riebeeck established a trading post in Cape Town for the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), show the approximate location of kraals of named Khoekhoe groups in the Stellenbosch and Franschhoek valleys (Malan 2017).

Typical pot made by Khoekhoe herders in the Western Cape. Pottery was introduced at about the same time as domesticated sheep because the pots were used for storing dairy products, for rendering fat and for cooking.
Painting by Robert Gordon of ‘Strandlopers’ on the Cape west coast in 1779. Both San and Khoekhoe lived along the coast in this manner for thousands of years and accumulated large shell middens such as the one near the golf course in Gordon’s Bay. (From Raper & Boucher 1988)

Pen and ink drawing by an unknown Dutch artist of Khoekhoen with cattle and sheep at the Cape, c.1700. A translation of the writing reads as follows: “Hottentot with his kierie or walking stick in the hand and a little stick on which is the tail of a fox or dassie which serves them as a handkerchief [lit. nosecloth]. In front of his middle hangs the front kaross. The rings around the right upper arm are made from elephant tusks. On these they parry the blows which their enemy inflicts on them with the kierie. And also to fasten thereto their bag in which they carry their flintstones and everything they take along on a journey. ... Also shown is that these animals have a hole between the nostrils through which they put a stick or rope. If that is pulled the pain causes them to follow.” (From Smith & Pheiffer 1993:52-3)

It is from Dutch colonial maps that it is possible for the first time to know the names of groups of indigenous herders and their leaders from the diaries of Van Riebeeck and the correspondence and reports of subsequent governors. It has been much more difficult to find archaeological traces of the herders. Their camps were ephemeral as they moved around to find the best grazing for their livestock and did not apparently build up middens or rubbish dumps. Their kraals and dwellings were made of wood and reeds and have not survived, and much of the land has been under vineyards and other crops for at least 200 years.

As noted by Malan (2017), “The Drakenstein region was 'discovered' by Europeans while on expeditions to barter for cattle with the Khoekhoen. San hunter-gatherer resources had been impacted by the introduction of domestic livestock about 2000 years previously and San groups had mostly moved away from areas suitable for pasturing herds of sheep and cattle. The Khoekhoe herders used their domesticated animals mainly for milk.” Kolb, a European traveller who reported on his meetings with the Khoehoens between 1705 and 1713, wrote that they sometimes drank fresh
milk immediately after milking in order to quench their thirst, but most milk was eaten when sour. Soon after milking, it was mixed with curdled milk and kept in a leather sack or earthenware pot (Lombard & Parsons 2015). By trading their livestock for metal and other European goods, the Khoekhoen effectively lost an important food source.

Map of the Cape of Good Hope by Francois Valentyn, compiled c.1720, showing location of farms allocated to colonists around Stellenbosch and Drakenstein in relation to Obiqua and Gonnema Khoekhoe (Hottentot) kraals. (Copied from Valentyn 1971)

A generalised map of the territories of the main Khoekhoen tribes (see below) was compiled by Maingard in 1931 from information published by European colonists and travellers but it does not include all the accounts. In a more detailed summary, the Stellenbosch Heritage Inventory (Malan 2017) records the location of Khoekhoe in the south-western Cape as follows: “The Berg River Valley formed the traditional border between the Peninsular Khoekhoen (the Gorachoqua and the Goringhaiqua) and the Cochoqua. The Peninsulars used the pastures between the Hottentots Holland Mountains and the Cape Peninsula and possibly as far north as Malmesbury. The Chariguriqua appear to have occupied the lower Berg River and points around the Piketberg and the Cochoqua the land from Saldanha Bay and the Vredenburg Peninsula across to Porterville. In the 1730s both the Khoekhoe and the San intensified guerrilla attacks against settler farmers in the Piketberg area, on the northern frontier of permanent land grants. The Caledon plains were
occupied by the Chainouqua, a large and powerful group who later brought stock to trade with the colony.”

The Khoekhoe population living near to Cape Town in 1713 was decimated by an outbreak of smallpox and hundreds, if not thousands, died or moved inland. Apart from the loss of life, this and later outbreaks of smallpox finally broke the power of many of the Khoekhoe leaders.

*Map of the distribution of Khoekhoe groups in the 17th century re-drawn from Maingard (1931) and Elphick (1977).*

**The end of the Stone Age**

Stone Age people are often mocked in cartoons and jokes as being primitive and of inferior intellect. In reality they were remarkably successful over hundreds of thousands of years, finding food under different environmental circumstances and adapting to major climatic changes, while accumulating a vast store of knowledge about the natural resources and ways to use them sustainably. The artefacts that have been preserved show evidence of gradual innovation and discovery of technological solutions that made life easier, apparently without making war. Colonisation destroyed their lifestyle, culture, beliefs and languages in less than a century. It would be impossible now for their descendants to return to Stone Age life, but we can at the very least respect the achievements of our indigenous people and create ways to remember and honour their contribution to our city, our cultural life, and our country.

**References**


