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“Oh Africa, long and much-neglected Africa, to what a state of misery art thou sunk?”: a study of the archival and household remains of the Wesleyan Missionary, Thomas Hodgson AD 1823

Moshe, Karyn

2021
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“Oh Africa, long and much-neglected Africa, to what a state of misery art thou sunk?”: A study of the archival and household remains of the Wesleyan Missionary, Thomas Hodgson AD 1823.

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

2021

DIVISION OF ARCHAEOLOGY

SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

Declaration

I, Karyn Moshe, declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination at any other university.



17 June 2021

Abstract

The arrival of missionaries in southern Africa in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was a new experience for both the African people and the English mission representatives. While the effects of Christian missions on indigenous people are explored at length, there is a dearth of literature exploring household archaeology and lived experiences of individual missionaries at mission stations in southern Africa. This research examines the household archaeology of and possible individuals, agents, actions, activities, gender relations, and politics within Hodgson's Cottage during its period of occupation between May of 1823 and February of 1824. Reverend Thomas Hodgson arrived in southern Africa in 1821 as a representative of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. He spent five years with the Seleka-Rolong under chief Sehunelo, from 1823 until the chief's death in 1828. The Seleka-Rolong were displaced from their residence by the *Difaqane* and were still in search of a new home when found by Hodgson in February of 1823. After much urging by the missionary, Sehunelo established a permanent residence at Matlwasse in mid-1823, where a mission was started. Here Hodgson built a cottage which he, his wife, Ann, and their daughter, Mary Ann, occupied from May of 1823 until February of 1824. Subsequent to their departure, the cottage was occupied by African groups whose identity has yet to be established. Hodgson's Cottage was excavated by Revil Mason in 1964. A weatherproof structure was erected in 1975 to protect what remained of the cottage. By 1999, however, the property was completely vandalized and destroyed. Most of the artefacts recovered during Mason's excavation are kept at the University of the Witwatersrand and were unsorted and unstudied until the commencement of this research. This study will use extracts from Hodgson's journals, letters sent by Ann to her family in England as well as selected academic books and papers to interpret the material culture, gender relations, and household archaeology of the site.

Acknowledgements

Professor Amanda Esterhuysen

A supervisor like no other. Thank you for all your time, effort and patience. Your guidance through moments of self-doubt had a bigger impact than you would imagine.

Moshe Family

Thank you for continuously encouraging me; even when you didn't understand my assortment of glass and rocks.

Blou Family

Thank you for being my second family and for letting me use your internet.

Jacob

Your endless love and support have gotten me to where I am. Thank you for always being proud of me. I love you.

Tawfeeq

I can hardly sum up two years of memories and emotions into a few lines. University would be lame without you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Christian missionary in southern Africa is seldom considered an individual agent, rather being thought of as part of a homogenous whole. Missionaries as individuals are infrequently discussed and when they are mentioned in literature, the lived experiences of singular missionary families are largely overlooked. Additionally, Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) argue that literature concerning the presence of Christian missionaries among African people is often presented as one-sided. Significant attention is paid to the culture and social order of African polities, but missionaries are simply a "taken-for-granted, faceless presence on the colonial stage" and become "an anonymous agent of social change" or "colonial domination" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:54). This research uses material culture excavated from Hodgson's Cottage in Matlwasse, in conjunction with written evidence in the form of Hodgson's journals and Ann's letters, to explore the household archaeology of the site with the aim of gathering information regarding the roles, activities, and politics of and gender relations amongst its occupants.

Hodgson's journals provide a central reference point to this research. Their importance lies in the fact that they present a first-hand account of Hodgson's experiences in southern Africa, which is particularly valuable to the reconstruction and interpretation of events associated with the *Difaqane*, which will be explored further in chapters to follow. Additionally, Hodgson's journals provide an interesting and comprehensive narrative regarding the first interaction between Christian missionaries and an African chiefdom. Finally, and most importantly to this research, the journals are a personal record of circumstances, difficulties, interactions, and events experienced by Hodgson and his family (Cope 1977).

1.2 Research Question

What does the household archaeology of Hodgson's Cottage reveal about the politics, gender relations, individual inhabitants, and activities within the residence?

1.3 Aims

1. Use the methods of historical and household archaeology to study the specific case of Hodgson's Cottage.

2. Explore Hodgson's Cottage as the smallest unit of activity during Hodgson's residency in Matlwasse.
3. Investigate possible individuals, agents, actions, activities, gender relations, and politics within the household.
4. Determine whether any actions or activities taking place within the household were in opposition to Wesleyan directives or values.

1.4 Rationale

Extensive literature has been dedicated to the discussion of the impact of missionary presence on the people of southern Africa throughout history. However, very little consideration has been given to the personal lived experiences of foreign missionaries in southern Africa. This research follows a new line of inquiry into missionary households in 1820's southern Africa.

1.5 The Site of Investigation

Hodgson's Cottage was built by Reverend Thomas Hodgson in April of 1823 and was occupied by Hodgson, his wife, Ann, and their daughter, Mary Ann, from May of that year until February of 1824. Hodgson played a leading role in the establishment of the first Christian mission station beyond the Vaal River, in the interior of the country. The cottage served as the Hodgson's home when they resided, along with Reverend Samuel Broadbent and his family, with the Seleka-Rolong at Matlwasse. The residence was vacated by the Hodgson's on February 9th after it was requested of Hodgson to return to Cape Town (Cope 1977, Garson 1977). Hodgson returned to Matlwasse in 1825 and constructed a new residence, however, Mason was unable to locate it (Mason 1986). Hodgson recorded the construction of the 1823 cottage in his journals as well as the events which occurred while he was stationed there, which form an integral part of this research.

The site is located near the present-day town of Wolmaransstad, situated between Johannesburg and Kimberley in North West Province. The excavation of Hodgson's Cottage was undertaken by Revil Mason and his team in 1964. The dates of occupation which appear in Hodgson's journal differ from those given by Mason (1986), who records 9 August to 29 September 1823 as the period of occupation. This research uses the dates which appear in Hodgson's journals. After Hodgson's departure, Mason (1986) purports that the cottage was occupied by African groups whose identity has yet to be established in this thesis. Mason holds that these groups were responsible for the

accumulation of certain artefacts recovered from the site. This possibility will be considered as part of this research.



Figure 1.1: Map view of Wolmaransstad. Sourced from Google Maps.

After settling in Matlwasse, Hodgson mentioned in his journals the presence of a river near the residence. It is unclear which river Hodgson referred to in his writings. On the map provided by Cope (1977) (see figure 1.2 below), the river adjacent to Matlwasse is the Wolwespruit. On a modern map, however, the river now called the Wolwespruit is located approximately 220km from the site of Hodgson's Cottage. The Makwassiespruit river currently flows near the site (see figure 1.3 below). It is possible that the river then called the Wolwespruit has been renamed the Makwassiespruit. Another possibility is that the Wolwespruit which ran near the site in Hodgson's time no longer exists.

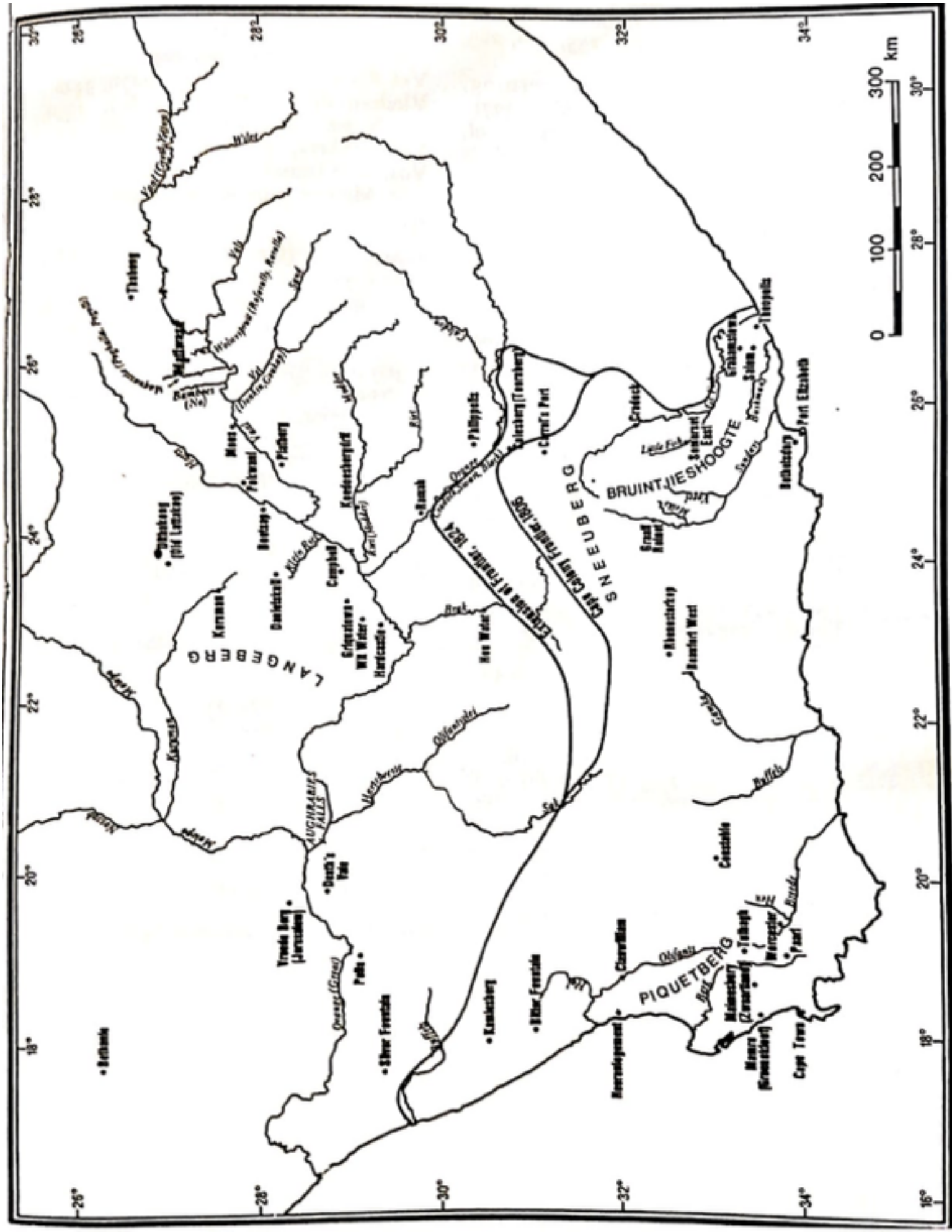


Figure 1.2: Map of South Africa in 1823 (Cope 1977).



Figure 1.3: Map view showing the location of the Makwassiespruit. Sourced from Google Maps

1.6 Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach to this research draws on the theories of practice, gender, and agency. Practice theory uses the activities of people as its primary unit of analysis. These activities can range from everyday routines to structured practices in formal and established settings. Some activities may be culturally, geographically, or historically specific while others may be more general, transcending tradition, time, and place (Rouse 2007, Postill 2010). The identification and examination of human activities are often dependent on the study of material culture (Rouse 2007),

as is the case with Hodgson's Cottage. The material remains from the site were used to examine the activities and practices which were performed by the inhabitants within and around the residence.

This research is also informed by gender theory. Gender in archaeology is a complex term and has long been a topic of debate amongst academics. The development of the theory led to the split of "gender" and "sex" into individual concepts instead of interchangeable terms. "Sex" came to be viewed as a scientifically objective biological phenomenon while "gender" introduced the male-female dichotomy. This perspective supported the view that gender was a socially constructed idea and provided the basis for the cultural categories of male and female (Hill 1998). While physical sexual characteristics can be used to differentiate one sex from the other, they cannot be used to determine sexual identity. It is important to note that sexual identities differ cross-culturally and Western ideas of gender are not always applicable to other cultures (Hill 1998, Varteresian 2014). Gender is regularly used as an organising principle and it is relevant to archaeological concerns regarding household organisation, status, production, and division of labour (Hill 1998), as in Hodgson's Cottage. Gender theory was used to examine the roles of Thomas and Ann Hodgson within their residence by looking at the material evidence of activities performed in and around the household.

Finally, agency theory holds that people play individual roles in the worlds which they occupy and do not simply react to changes in their environment. Individuals are actively involved in the formation of their social realities and purposefully act to alter these realities (Dornan 2002). In any given society, some individuals prioritise certain goals over others and it is agency that allows for the independent pursuit of such objectives (Robb 2010). Owing to the focus of agency theory on the sole actor, the unit of analysis used by many scholars is the individual. Dornan (2002) however, argues that this unit of analysis is insufficient as it can only be applied to generic individuals. A further problem is the absence of cross-cultural applicability, as western notions of individuals are not always appropriate when considering individuals of other cultures. For this reason, the broader environment and political landscape in which Hodgson and his family were located was considered and not just the individuals themselves. Focus included multiple people within one setting, instead of only one individual, lending multi-vocality to this research. Agency theory was used to understand both Thomas and Ann Hodgson's subjective roles and experiences both individually and within the household.

The political landscape of southern Africa during Hodgson's occupation at Matlwase was marked by turmoil and upheaval throughout the country. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are recorded as a period of rapid socio-political changes in southern Africa, which culminated in the *Difaqane* in the 1820s. The causes of the conflict are widely argued amongst academics, with multiple interpretative approaches being presented (Lye 1967, Cobbing 1988, Hartley 1992, Etherington 2004). Eldredge (1992) argues that the conflict was sparked by a combination of social and environmental factors, resulting in vast migrations, raids, and battles. The ivory trade at Delagoa Bay had made some rich at the expense of others, allowing for the accumulation of wealth and power. The resultant inequalities both between and within chiefdoms began to weaken African communities, making many vulnerable in times of drought and food shortage (Eldredge 1992). The formation of the Zulu state in what is currently known as KwaZulu-Natal, created a chain reaction throughout the interior of the country, triggering violent conflict. Shaka, leader of the Zulu state, and his militant regiments ruled with terror, annihilating those who resisted. Survivors either surrendered or fled, with refugees initiating attacks on their neighbours, spreading violence in every direction (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991, Eldredge 1992). The subject of the *Difaqane* is considered extensively throughout this research.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

2.1 Historical Archaeology and the Study of Colonialism

Historical archaeology is a sub-discipline of the broader archaeological field, which combines the methods of both history and archaeology (Little 2007). Its scope has long been a topic of debate amongst academics, with most agreeing that its main focus is the modern historical period from AD 1500 and colonial and post-colonial contexts, also known as the "New World". As a result, the field is often referred to as the study of capitalism or colonialism (Funari, Jones & Hall 1999, Hicks & Beaudry 2006, Govaerts 2014). Originally developed by northern American archaeologists in the 1920s, historical archaeology focused on the study of European expansion, colonialism, past social and cultural processes as well as material culture. Its attractiveness was rooted in the opportunity it presented for northern American archaeologists to study their history as opposed to the history of Native American groups (Funari, Jones & Hall 1999, Connah 2007). More recent approaches have shifted the focus of historical archaeology to social processes, such as the spread of capitalism and colonialism beyond European borders, and also examines the concepts of ideology, inequality, gender, race, and power relations (Little 1994). This serves "to incorporate non-European societies as active agents within history" (Funari, Jones & Hall 1999:4), which is of particular importance to southern African historical archaeology. The field has also contributed towards historical supplementation, cognitive studies, processual studies, and the reconstruction of past lifeways (Little 1994).

Many archaeologists agree that colonialism and capitalism are integral to the study of historical archaeology and so must be acknowledged and understood. Colonialism, as explained by Lawrence and Shepherd (2006), is the spread of one polity into the land of another which can be accomplished through either conquest or trade. It involves political, cultural, psychological, economic, and social repercussions as a result of the new systems and relationships which emerge. Colonial archaeology is identified as a major subdivision of historical archaeology that studies the spread of Europeans and European culture around the globe and investigates the adjustment of Europeans to their new environments. Consequently, colonial studies often overlook the indigenous people of colonised lands. Historical archaeologists have become aware of this oversight and recent research aims to incorporate non-Europeans into the making of history (Orser Jr. 1994, Lawrence & Shepherd 2006). Colonial sites provide historical archaeologists with contexts through which to study the main

themes of historical archaeology such as power, gender, race, identity, and inequality which are often visible and accessible through material culture (Lawrence & Shepherd 2006). Another area of interest within colonial archaeology is the study of acculturation to measure the impact of European expansion on the lives of indigenous inhabitants (Little 1994, Orser Jr. 1996). It was initially believed that an examination of indigenous artefacts was a sufficient indication of the measure of acculturation: the more indigenous artefacts that reflect European influence, the higher the degree of acculturation. Instead of allowing for indigenous culture survival, colonialism forced new cultural forms and identities, a concept referred to as creolization. This is not a single-sided process, however, and for Europeans to extend their reach, they had to rely on the labours of non-Europeans around the globe (Little 1994, Orser Jr. 1996, Lawrence & Shepherd 2006). A central theme of colonialism is the presence of unequal power relations imposed on subaltern groups. However, indigenous communities could and did resist domination and persisted with traditional ways of life, selectively adopting new goods introduced by the Europeans (Lawrence & Shepherd 2006).

2.2 The Establishment of the Southern African Mission

During the 1700s, white control was contained within the limits of the Cape Peninsula and indigenous communities south of Limpopo remained largely uninfluenced. These communities were politically autonomous and included Bantu-speaking, Khoi, San and ethnically or culturally mixed groups. By the 1800s however, white control had spread to an area approximately the size of the current Cape Province, the result of which was an erosion of political power and independence of indigenous groups through their absorption into mixed communities as subordinates (Legassick 1940). This introduces the next series of events: the arrival of the missionaries. Pioneering missionary work was done amongst the Khoi by Georg Schmidt, a representative of the Moravians. The Moravians were followed by the London Missionary Society (LMS) who arrived at the Cape in 1799, led by Dr. Van der Kamp and Dr. Read. As the most powerful missionary society in southern Africa, the LMS had 20 missionaries in the country by 1816 when the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) and Glasgow Missionary Society reached southern African shores. These were followed by the Church Missionary Society in 1821 (Mackenzie 1888, Boas & Weiskopf 1973, Omer-Cooper 1994, Moravian Church Archives 2009). Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) argue that literature concerning the presence of Christian missionaries amongst African people is often presented as one-sided. Significant attention is paid to the culture and social order of African groups, but missionaries are simply a “taken-for-granted, faceless presence on the colonial

stage" and become "an anonymous agent of "social change" or "colonial domination" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:54).

The southern African mission had two separate but closely related aims. The first was to spread the gospel amongst the people, and the second was a civilising quest. The chasm between the redeemed and the damned was correlated with that between the civilised and the savage. The missionaries believed that only once the Africans had abandoned their heathenistic and animalistic traits, could they accept the gospel and be converted to Christianity (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991, Bowie 1993). There existed a stark contrast between nature - the innate qualities that existed before enlightenment - and the civilised and cultured human being. The missionaries' aim was to take the "natural" African and mould him into a refined man. In the eyes of the Europeans entering Africa, the "other" was defined by his lack of European qualities, and it was the task of the missionaries to instil them (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). Moreover, a potent and enduring view at the time was Africa as a wasteland, a characteristic which was assumed to be shared by its inhabitants. The landscape was often described as "lonely", "desolate" and bereft of "productivity and culture" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:174), descriptions which also came to be applied to the Africans themselves.

Thomas Hodgson and his wife, Ann, arrived in Cape Town in June of 1821. They remained here for their first fifteen months in southern Africa, during which time their daughter was born. Hodgson and his family departed from Cape Town in September of 1822 and travelled to Graaf-Reinet, where they met Reverend Samuel Broadbent who, along with his wife, was to accompany the Hodgsons into the interior of the country (Cope 1977). It was in the interior that the missionaries were to establish a mission amongst the Seleka-Rolong. However, the regions into which the missionaries were venturing at the time were riddled with conflict as a result of the *Difaqane.*

2.3 Politics of the People: the *Difaqane*

Hodgson and Broadbent had unknowingly chosen a most unfavourable time to venture into the interior, as it was in 1822 that the first waves of the *Difaqane* reached the Tswana country. This period is recorded as one of rapid socio-political changes in southern Africa, caused by the invasion of the highveld by groups of refugees from Natal. The conflict was sparked by a combination of socio-political and environmental factors, resulting in vast migrations, raids and battles. The rise of Shaka Zulu's empire among the Nguni speaking people, which ultimately became the Zulu kingdom, caused bands of refugees - first the Hlubi followed shortly by the Ngwane - to flee over

the Drakensberg mountains and into the interior. These bands attacked other groups in the interior who, in turn, were forced to attack their neighbours to survive. This series of attacks spread throughout the interior, devastating many communities. The first victims of the refugee raids in the interior were the Tlokwa who were driven from their home in the foothills of the Drakensberg in 1822. In turn, the Tlokwa, under their infamous and formidable leader Mmanthatisi, became notorious plunderers, so much so that the "Mantatees" were blamed for much of the devastation. Additionally, their notoriety was so established that the name Mantatees came to be applied to any group of attackers at the time (Lye 1967, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). Following the Tlokwa, the Taung, Fokeng, Hlakwana and Phuthing began a series of attacks on the Tswana, causing further devastation. The Tswana lived in fear of attack, migrating before they could be reached by raiding groups. One of the marauding groups, most likely the Taung, drove the Seleka-Rolong from their Thabeng settlement and they were still on the move and in search of a new place to settle when found by Hodgson and Broadbent at the beginning of 1823 (Cope 1977, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). Despite the conflict which erupted in 1822, Etherington (2004) argues that southern African societies were not at peace before the *Difaqane* began, as previously suggested. He uses excerpts from John Campbell's diary to support this. Campbell was a missionary sent to southern Africa on behalf of the LMS from 1814 to 1820, and his writing suggests that he did not witness a country at peace. Rather, he heard chiefs speaking of the sons they had lost in battle, saw abandoned stone ruins and was told that chiefs built their headquarters atop hilltops to escape enemies.

Lye (1967:109) puts forward the following points as the basic pattern of the *Difaqane*:

> (i) the raiders were displaced by the coming of the refugees through the Drakensberg mountains (ii) the refugees were comprised of a mixed group of remnant communities (iii) the raiders in the Tswana area were the Mantatees (iv) the raiders moved northward of the colony as the Orange River was in flood (v) the Mantatees are blamed for devastating Basutoland, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (vi) the raiders are stopped by the Griqua in the battle of Dithakong (vii) the surviving raiders split into the Kololo, the Tlokwa and the group of refugees taken to work at the Cape Colony farms. Certain researchers have put forth the idea that the raiders at Dithakong were not Mantatees, as Mmanthatisi had not crossed the Vaal.

Cobbing (1988:490) suggests the following as the accepted version of events:

(i) the refugees from Natal flee into the upper Caledon valley to escape the Zulu revolution (ii) here they begin a second reign of terror which initiated the *Difaqane* (iii) the Tlokwa, or Mantatees, were driven from their home by the invading refugees and moved westward, raiding and marauding as they went (iv) older versions of the chain of events suggest that the Mantatees now cross the Vaal into the Northern Cape. Newer versions suggest that the Mantatees did not cross the Vaal and returned to the upper Caledon instead (v) once across the Vaal, the Mantatees moved southward and continued raiding as they moved (vi) the raiders were finally stopped by Griqua at the battle of Dithakong in 1823. Cobbing (1988) states that it is unclear who the raiders were at this point. He asserts that the rise of the Zulus became the explanation for everything during this period in southern Africa and other avenues of inquiry were not followed.

Environmental circumstances also played a significant role in the outbreak of the *Difaqane.* Both oral and written sources assert that southern Africa was afflicted by serious droughts between 1800 and 1803, in 1812 and again between 1816 and 1818. Certain regions also suffered from crop destruction by crop rust as well as cattle epizootic from 1816 to 1818. This resulted in competition for arable land, cattle, food and water. The years of drought correspond chronologically with periods of political upheaval as communities began fighting over meagre supplies, culminating in battle. With water sources running dry, animals soon died and grain stores were quickly diminished. The ivory trade at Delagoa Bay had made some rich at the expense of others, allowing for the accumulation of wealth and power. The resultant inequalities both between and within chiefdoms began to weaken African communities, making many vulnerable in times of drought and food shortage. During periods of shortage, the wealthy took advantage of their access to food and used the opportunity to extend their control over arable land at the expense of the poor. Their access to food and water also provided an incentive for the poor to submit to political authority as oppression was preferable to starvation (Eldredge 1992, Pike 2012). Thousands died as a result of crop failure and even more died during battle. However, due to the erosion of oral history and insufficient records, it is impossible to say how many perished. Some early scholars estimated approximately one million, while others reached totals nearer two million. However, modern historians suggest that these counts are based on insufficient evidence and the number of deaths has been considerably overestimated due to a lack of empirical research. Nonetheless, the *Difaqane* did result in substantial loss of life caused by armed conflicts and food shortages and has since been labelled a holocaust by some (Cobbing 1988, Etherington 2004). Many Africans displaced by the wars died of

starvation (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991) and numerous others allegedly turned to cannibalism to survive. Some are said to have eaten from the bodies of those who had already perished while others laid traps to capture unfortunate passers-by. Worst-case scenarios estimate 300 000 people dead as a result of the *Difaqane* (Etherington 2004, Reid 2012). Hodgson witnessed many of the effects of the *Difaqane* while travelling through the interior, most prominent of which appeared to be starvation.

Despite the significant loss of life, missionaries and agents of the British government travelling to the region between 1833 and 1835 reported large populations living in peace and prosperity. There was no resemblance to the legendary devastated landscape which many were expecting. Most interesting is the fact that the primary "villains" of the *Difaqane,* including the much-feared Mmanthatisi, were living within the same region as each other (Etherington 2004). Etherington (2004) goes on to suggest that accounts of the *Difaqane* were greatly exaggerated in the claims for land in the Caledon Valley, with a self-interested version of events being told. These partly fictional accounts may have filtered down to form part of the current *Difaqane* legend. Cobbing (1988) in particular takes great issue with the concept of the *Difaqane,* calling it a "crudely conveyed… myth of a cataclysmic period of black-on-black destruction" (1988:487) which came about from "some astonishingly selective use or actual invention of evidence" (1988:519). Cobbing (1988:519) further calls for a complete abandonment of the term, and indeed, of the concept itself. Although certain facts may have been exaggerated throughout history, Hodgson's first-hand accounts attest to the fact that many lived in constant fear of attack by raiding groups and that a great loss of life due to murder and starvation did occur. Hodgson himself was greatly affected by this tumultuous period. As such, this research uses the term *Difaqane* to refer to the period of political and social upheaval in the southern African interior described by Hodgson in his journals. During the time of the *Difaqane*, missionaries became an invaluable method of defence as "predatory herds in the interior fled at the sight of the white churchmen" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:191). Such a reaction was prompted by fear of the guns which the missionaries carried. Mission stations were one of the few stable entities during this period of upheaval, and many African communities turned to the missionaries for protection and guidance (Watson 1977).

Hodgson and Broadbent selected an arguably inopportune time to venture into the interior and it is reasonable to anticipate that the artefact assemblage will reflect the socio-political backdrop of the mission. The circumstances which Hodgson was forced to endure are pertinent to the archaeological

record in a number of ways. It is possible that the difficult reality faced by the missionaries resulted in resources and supplies being limited, meaning that the archaeological record may not be as rich as one from a site that was inhabited during less trying times. Additionally, Mason's (1986) supposition that the cottage was reused as a refuge by African groups subsequent to Hodgson's departure allows for the possibility that certain artefacts and deposits would reflect their presence. This research should be approached with the understanding that the *Difaqane* likely impacted the activities of the missionaries and that mission work may not have been conducted in the traditional sense. The archaeology of Hodgson's Cottage should therefore be viewed within the context of the D*ifaqane* as the upheaval would have had direct and specific impacts on the missionaries.

2.4 Hodgson and the Seleka-Rolong

The Seleka-Rolong are a branch of the Rolong people, who are part of the Sotho classification and Bantu speakers. They are generally placed within the Tswana class (Watson 1974) and it was with this group that Hodgson established a mission in the southern African interior.

After departing from Graaf-Reinet in December of 1822, Hodgson and his companions continued up the Vaal with the objective of starting a mission amongst the Seleka-Rolong. The period was not conducive to the missionary cause, however, as the shockwaves of the *Difaqane* were being felt throughout the southern African interior. Tales of wars raging further upriver reached the missionaries and their African attendants became increasingly unwilling to continue further, with many abandoning the group throughout their journey (Cope 1977). Hodgson and Broadbent found the Seleka-Rolong as they fled an attack on their Thabeng settlement. The chief, Sefunelo led the survivors away while his brother, Tshabidira, and the Seleka army covered the retreat (Legassick 1969, Watson 1974). The missionaries found Tshabadira while he was leading the retreat and he was pleased that the missionaries intended to settle with the Seleka-Rolong. At this time, the Seleka-Rolong, under their chief Sehunelo, was looking for a new permanent residence and the missionaries travelled with them until Sehunelo decided to settle at Matlwasse (Cope 1977). Mrs Broadbent was nearly due to give birth but Sehunelo and the Seleka-Rolong would only move to Matlwasse in June after the circumcision ceremony was complete, so Hodgson and his companions went ahead, arriving at the site on the 8th of April. They soon began building houses and were firmly established in their new homes by the time Sehunelo and the Seleka-Rolong joined them (Cope 1977).

On the 9th of July 1823, Hodgson and his family left Matlwasse for Campbell to collect supplies, unaware that the Battle of Dithakong had taken place on the 26th of June (Cope 1977, Cobbing 1988). When Hodgson arrived in Campbell on the 19th of July he found the home of the missionary who had been stationed there, Mr. Sass, deserted. Hodgson was informed that Mr. Sass had heard that the raiders, or commando as called by Hodgson, was coming towards Campbell and he had removed his family to Griqua for safety. Hodgson continued to Griqua which he reached on the 21st of July. Here he found Mr. Sass as well the missionaries from Kuruman, Robert Moffat and Robert Hamilton, who were astonished to see Hodgson alive. Hodgson was informed by Moffat that he had heard that a hostile group consisting of the Phuthing, Hlakwana and Fokeng (Kololo) were approaching. A tribal ceremony had been held at Kuruman and it was decided that the Griquas would be asked for help. Between 80 and 100 mounted Griquas went to battle with the enemy, killing 500 and causing the rest to flee in what is presently known as the Battle of Dithokong. The Griquas then heard that a horde of Mantatees was approaching and decided to retreat, with the missionaries following close behind. Moffat had been informed by one of the prisoners that they had come across two wagons and had killed the men, women and children inside. Moffat assumed that this had been Hodgson and Broadbent. Hodgson, now much concerned for Broadbent's safety, hurried back to Matlwasse where he found Broadbent and his family unharmed, but the station otherwise deserted. Broadbent told Hodgson that they had heard of a horde of Mantatees approaching and the Seleka-Rolong had decided to flee. Broadbent was in ill health and his wife had recently given birth, and so they were unable to follow, being forced to stay at the station. The Mantatees had moved east instead of towards Matlwasse and so Broadbent and his family were spared. Satisfied that the Mantatees had moved away, the Seleka-Rolong moved back to Matlwasse and Hodgson and Broadbent began their mission in earnest. Hodgson remained at Matlwasse until February of 1824 when he was informed by missionary Edward Edwards that the Committee in London had requested that he take control of the Cape Town mission station. Edwards agreed to stay at Matlwasse until Hodgson's replacement, Reverend James Archbell, arrived at the station (Cope 1977). The presence of Edwards and Archbell at the site is worth considering. It is possible that either missionary may have moved into Hodgson's recently vacated home, and a number of artefacts in the assemblage may therefore have been deposited by either Edwards or Archbell.

Interestingly, the assemblage from Hodgson's Cottage is relatively small. This may be owed to the fact that Hodgson's Cottage was vacated by its occupants of their own volition, rather than having been abandoned, and the family was, therefore, able to pack all of their belongings (Mason 1986).

This limited assemblage from Hodgson's Cottage stands in stark contrast with the assemblage recovered from Broadbent's home during Mason's 1968 excavation, which is comprised of thousands of artefacts. The reason for this is that Broadbent left behind most of his belongings when he was forced to leave Matlwasse for Griqua as a result of ill health (Broadbent 1865, Mason 1986). Broadbent intended to return to Matlwasse, leaving his cattle, sheep and goats with Sehunelo as proof of his intentions. He further remarked "I also left behind my garden produce, furniture, books and other goods" which he intended to return for (Broadbent 1865:120-121). However, soon after Broadbent's departure, the Matlwasse settlement was attacked by the Taung, who ransacked Broadbent's house, emptying his possessions in front of the residence and destroying many items (Mason 1986). Mason (1986) goes on to suggest that a number of these items were presumably carried off while others were potentially taken into Hodgson's residence by the post-Hodgson occupants.

2.5 The Impact of the Missionaries

Christianisation was started in southern Africa at a time when traditional societies and social systems were still intact, resulting in opposition by the politically independent Bantu-speaking groups. Nevertheless, many missionaries were welcomed by indigenous societies and were even personally invited to reside amongst them. The motivation behind this was not an interest in the gospel, however, but rather, an interest in the material benefits that Europeans were thought to bring such as firearms, beads and tobacco. Missionary presence also protection from enemies, prestige to the chief and a direct link to the Cape government (Schapera 1958, Omer-Cooper 1994).

Much of the hostility towards missionary teaching was generated by the opposition of the gospel towards African traditions such as Lobola, rainmaking and polygyny, which were seen by missionaries as an obstacle to the spread of evangelization. However, these practices formed the social cement of the community as well as the basis of the chief's authority. It was further believed that the adoption of a new religion would incur the wrath of the ancestors, who were considered to be responsible for the fate of the people, and ill-fortune would befall the members of the community. Conversion to Christianity soon became seen as a betrayal of the chief and an abandonment of the culture. Converts were ostracised and sought refuge at mission stations. For this reason, Christianity was appealing to social misfits and outcasts, who began seeking refuge at mission stations. These were orphans, the elderly, the disabled, individuals accused of witchcraft, widows, as well as girls looking to escape arranged marriages. To the missionaries, mission stations

were seen as a haven for these victims, but to the Africans, they were centres for the disreputable and social undesirables (Cope 1979, Fast 1993). Battles for control soon began to ensue between missionaries and African chiefs, the first of which was over water. It was believed by indigenous societies that the control of water lay in the realm of the chief, who would bestow the annual rains on the community. The missionaries, on the other hand, argued that only God could bring the rain and rainmaking ceremonies were seen as abhorrent pagan rituals. The authority of the chief over rainmaking was first challenged by the WMMS among the Seleka-Rolong. In the absence of a water source, Reverend Broadbent dug a simple well to irrigate his garden. The chief contested this, stating that water came from the clouds and Broadbent subsequently attempted to prove him wrong. Broadbent was later confronted by the chief who explained that community members were refusing to participate in rainmaking ceremonies despite the drought. This scene indicates the shift of rain and water control from the domain of the chief into the domain of the public. This was a direct challenge to chiefly control as it became so that any wealthy man could create his own well (Cope 1977, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). Despite such battles over control, it was not the intention of the missionaries to interfere in the political realm of the community and Hodgson "was careful not to interfere in the domestic government of the chiefdom" (Cope 1977:24). The missionaries were proponents of the distinction between religion and politics and believed that the two could be separated into non-conflicting spheres. During early interactions with the Tswana, the missionaries made clear their intention to leave secular powers in the hands of the chief and only be involved in religious affairs. To prove this, missionaries went to great lengths to request the permission of the chief before undertaking any task be it trading, building houses or felling trees. Nonetheless, it soon became apparent that Tswana religion and politics were not easily disentangled. The first problem was the understanding of "government". To the Tswana, government included the entire fabric of tribal authority, both on earth and in the realm of the ancestors, which regulated all aspects of daily life. This was embodied by the chief who shaped all community activity. To the missionaries, government referred only to a ruler's worldly authority. This mistranslation was evident when Broadbent and Hodgson attended a council held by the Seleka-Rolong. The missionaries were only spectators at the affair and in their minds, their silence lent them a degree of invisibility. This was not so in the eyes of Chief Sehunelo and the community, who saw their mere presence as a political act. Despite this, the missionaries were often turned to by Sehunelo for advice and as diplomatic agents (Cope 1977, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). To the missionaries, freedom of religion did not challenge the political or secular authority of the chiefdom. To the Tswana, however, abjuring from communal events was akin to abjuring from the political community as a whole (Comaroff &

Comaroff 1991). Evangelization posed a threat to the very fabric of African communities and it is for this reason that Christianity was vehemently opposed.

While the message of the missionaries was not wanted, they were still valued as trading intermediaries, scribes, and for their medicinal and agricultural knowledge. Missionary trade had a significant impact on the economy and culture of African societies in the interior of southern Africa and helped bring about transitions in trade from beads, buttons and other local fare to blankets, European clothing, metal tools, and utensils. In time, this increased the dependency on European products, eventually transforming African societies (Beck 1989, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). After the establishment of the Cape colony, the Dutch East India Company banned trading between white settlers and the neighbouring Africans. This ban was upheld by the British when they took control of the Cape in the nineteenth century and it was only in 1830 that trade became legal outside the colony for licensed colonial traders. However, missionaries located in the interior of southern Africa were forced to trade with the Africans out of necessity. Their remote location allowed them to escape the scrutiny of the Cape authorities and they were able to engage in bartering. This "secular" undertaking was a cause of anxiety for many missionaries, but it was necessitated by a need to survive. Missions often received insufficient funding and supplies, and trade became the only way to survive in the isolated interior. Money was of no use to them, the accepted currency amongst the Africans was most often beads (Beck 1989, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). This will be considered further in chapters to follow.

Value was also placed in missionaries as scribes. Literacy became an important tool in missionizing African groups as "the ability to read opened a window to the truth by cultivating the inner being of the person" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:192). This skill soon became coveted by the Africans, even those with no intention to convert, and they were taught to read through the use of Christian texts. Christianity and education were inseparable entities, each provided the model for the other as both conversion and education aimed to reconstruct the moral core of an individual. Significantly, the Tswana term for missionaries was *moruti* (teacher), and that for inquirers was *barutwi* (students). The education of the missionaries aimed to reorder the religious events of the Africans and replace them with Christian festivities such as Sunday church services, communion and feasts. Missionaries would sometimes go so far as to invent new ceremonies, in a bid to usurp indigenous events (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991).

Nonetheless, it was in the medical realm that both parties were receptive to the ideas of the other. For the missionaries, it gave them a course to enter the personal, daily life of the Africans. The missionaries saw the administering of medicines as a physical means to a spiritual end, and it thus became a central theme in the civilizing mission. A refined African was seen not only seen as proper but also as healthy. Interestingly, despite the importance of healing to the mission, evangelists did not construct hospitals or clinical centres. Rather, they relied on their medicine chests which became a part of missionary equipment in Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). For the Africans, on the other hand, European healing was the most alluring aspect presented by the Christians. Reputations of mission healers soon spread and Africans began travelling long distances to be cured. It was not only the prospect of being cured that attracted the Africans but also the desire to increase their range of healing practices. Although missionary medical techniques were limited to humoral and herbal treatments as well as basic surgical procedures, evangelists were often asked to remain with indigenous groups as doctors (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). European healing remedies and those of the Africans are not as different as they appear at first glance. Both aimed to restore equilibrium, the former corporeal equilibrium and the latter social equilibrium, which was believed to impact the physical health of the community. European cures were therefore seen to complement African ones, and not challenge them. Moreover, indigenous groups viewed European medicine as the source of missionary magic and power, which they wanted to tap into. The allure of schooling and Christianity fluctuated over time, but the demand for European medicines remained unwavering (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997).

Another important impact made by the Christians on African communities was the introduction of agriculture. Missionary societies regularly emphasised the importance of evangelists as men of action as opposed to men of contemplation, and many missionaries entering southern Africa were practically skilled in crafts and cultivation. For this reason, correlations are often made between the Christian mission and the Industrial Revolution, as discussed above (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). For the evangelists, salvation was inextricably linked to cultivation and it was through this that they hoped to civilise the Africans. Until then, the indigenous groups had been pastoralists with no fixed homestead. The missionaries aimed to establish “sedentary agriculture” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:123), which was believed to precede civilisation and evolution. No permanent abode meant that Christianity and enlightenment could easily be abandoned. The evangelists also disapproved of the apparently random way in which the Africans used the landscape and pushed for neat rectangles, squares and straight lines; the very expression of civilisation. Missionary gardens provided a prime

example. These cultivated squares were not only an invaluable food source, but they also showcased the value of labour, agricultural techniques, individual ownership of ground and accumulation of surplus. In his journals, Hodgson recorded that he maintained a garden while at Matlwasse. This interested Sehunelo, as the chief approached Hodgson to obtain seeds which he wished to sow (Cope 1977:206). The missionaries who followed later wished to dispel the superstitions of the Africans surrounding cultivation and importantly, invert their sexual division of labour. In traditional Tswana culture, the men mind the cattle while the women toil in the fields. The evangelists took issue with this, believing that such laborious work was not fitting for a woman. They aimed to "domesticate" the women, and teach the men to toil. The women rebelled against this inversion, stealing fruit and breaking dams to demonstrate their displeasure. This rebellion stemmed from the knowledge that should men take over the fields, the women would lose control over the very thing that their households depended on. Nevertheless, men soon began to show an interest in agriculture and European technology, such as the plough to replace the hoe (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). The introduction of the ox-drawn plough resulted in the disintegration of traditional sexual division of labour. Further, the desire to acquire such equipment meant that men were required to find work to earn the money with which to purchase one. Consequently, indigenous crafts decreased (Cope 1979). As agriculture began to take hold, some Tswana communities became regular exporters of crops. Others, did not, or could not, replace their hoes with ploughs because of a dearth of oxen, labour, and fertile ground. The result was increasing distinctions of wealth and status, and those who could not acquire ploughs became economically dependent after their land was bought by wealthier neighbours. The former was driven into the labour market and the remaining land came to be controlled by fewer and fewer people. Significantly, none of the Southern Tswana lived the agricultural ideal as envisioned by the missionaries. Poverty became rife as class divisions became more apparent. Large numbers became labourers for wealthier landowners or whites, some became self-employed craftsmen, others took refuge at mission stations and a handful managed to reap the bare minimum for survival from the soil (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). Those who most resembled the missionary ideal were the resultant upper class, or "local bourgeoisie" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:157) who came to constitute most of the mission church congregations.

Significant changes began taking place within African societies, as illustrated above, and the ambivalent attitude of the Africans toward evangelization soon began to shift. Transformations were soon put in motion, including the adoption of techniques introduced by the missionaries. New

irrigation techniques and absorption into a money economy provided the option of buying food and the importance of rain-making dwindled, eroding the power of the chief. The move towards a European way of life meant that traditional cultural systems became less applicable and satisfying, and the resulting gap was filled by many with Christianity (Cope 1979). The church became central to the "civil" society in which Africans now found themselves, and it came to pervade every facet of existence. Moreover, affiliation with the church became paramount to the advancement of Africans, access to employment opportunities and schools, and the possibility of a better life for future generations.

In light of the above discussion, it is perhaps worth exploring the role of Hodgson and Broadbent as colonial agents, which is particularly relevant given the context into which the missionaries were thrust. The ultimate goal of any mission is to gather converts, and Hodgson and Broadbent were certainly driven in their attempt. Hodgson mentions preaching almost every Sunday, although he admits that at times "very few attended the service" (Cope 1979:222). The fact that Hodgson and Broadbent were the first missionaries to venture into the interior meant that Christian influence was not as pervasive at the time as it would come to be in the future. As a result, the missionaries found that many of their sermons seemed to falling on deaf ears. Hodgson bemoaned the fact that he was "led…to abandon the hope that [individuals] could be reformed by means of [the missionaries'] power, as [African people] appeared most awfully sunk in treachery and wickedness" (Cope 1979:207). A possible reason for this seemingly failed missionizing attempt is the tumultuous reality faced by those in the interior at the time. The unrest as a result of the *Difaqane* meant that the Seleka-Rolong did not settled with the missionaries for any extended period of time, meaning that significant missionary influence would have been unlikely. Additionally, the primary focus of both the Seleka-Rolong and the missionaries would have been survival. Hodgson's journals suggest that the violence, which was seemingly rife in the interior, posed no small threat to one's life. Given these considerations, it stands to reason that Hodgson and Broadbent were perhaps not as successful as other missionaries would be in years to come in furthering the aims of evangelisation and colonialism. Additionally, the circumstances of the *Difaqane* would have directly influenced the dwelling dynamics within the cottage. It is certainly possible that the turbulent reality faced by the missionaries would have disrupted traditional dwelling dynamics with regards to values, status, and gender. A day-to-day existence characterised by anxiety may well have caused traditional roles and values to be renegotiated and shifted. As a result, the dynamics discernible in the archaeological

record from other missionary sites may be obscured or altered in the record from Hodgson's Cottage.

2.6 Women and Missions

Historically, and to a large extent even today, missionary work has been associated with male actors and actions. Women are perceived to have played only supplementary roles, with many details of their involvement having been left out of letters and records. As a result, these women are often overlooked. Despite the fact that missionary societies in the early 19th century depended on the work of women to function, little to no mention has been made of the contribution of women in the missionary field. This may be due to the male bias present in many primary sources, as well as the priorities of early researchers. Histories of missions abroad have largely been constructed using male missionary reports as their primary resource, wherein the activities of women have been largely omitted. The invisibility of women in history is nothing new, however, and researchers and authors of more recent publications, especially from the 1970s onwards, are aiming to unveil the presence of women in the past (Bowie 1993, Kirkwood 1993, Doran 1996, Midgley 2006). The general belief about women in England during the early to mid-1800s was that the greatest accomplishment a woman could achieve was to marry well. Women were therefore treated as emotionally, intellectually and socially inferior to men. At the time, the Church declared that women should be subject to their husbands, they should remain silent and direct any questions to their husbands (Thompson 1982, Swaisland 1993). In light of this, the topic of female missionaries was controversial at best and it was only during the 1860s that women were accepted and recruited as missionaries. Before this, women could only be sent into the field as a missionary wife and their husbands assumed that they would contribute to the mission. Even when women began to be accepted as missionaries in their own right, only ten percent of female applicants were accepted. The reason for this, as stated by a member of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) Committee for Women's Work, was that "Far too large a proportion of people who are seriously pathological, or at least queer are offering" (Bowie 1993:6). Only women between the ages of 21 and 28 could apply and important criteria for consideration were appearance, voice, accent, social skills, manners, moral standards, common sense and patience. The achievements of female missionaries were often accredited to their husbands or male colleagues so the names of few women have been recorded in history (Endfield & Nash 2005, Bowie 1993, Doran 1996). Attitudes towards female missionaries began to change over time. It was recognised that missionaries entering the field needed more experience in education, medical care and domestic work, usually a woman's

domain, especially women of higher social classes. Training colleges and homes for female missionaries were established and in the 1890s and the Church Missionary Society revised its laws to allow for women to be accepted into the Ladies Committee (Kirkwood 1993). Many individuals, men and women alike, still believed that the role of women in missionary work should be to collect money and busy themselves with prayer. By 1900, however, women were beginning to outnumber men in certain missionary societies (Williams 1993).

Initially, women could only go into the field as missionary wives or daughters. Missionary wives were often given subordinate roles as they became increasingly marginalised in the Church, with one of their most common duties being domesticating girls in mission schools. These girls were usually prepared to be wives and mothers, with very little academic education involved. Academic education was often omitted to prevent women from competing with men for jobs, as was the case in England (Bowie 1993, Kirkwood 1993). Despite the marginalization of women, it was believed that women were vital to the success of a mission. Male missionaries were encouraged to take their wives with them on missions for several reasons. Firstly, it was believed that the communities they hoped to settle with would receive them as friends, as the presence of women would indicate a peaceful approach. Secondly, missionary societies hoped that women would serve as models of female behaviour, setting an example of a Christian family and enacting appropriate gender roles. Missionary wives also taught indigenous women Western domestic skills such as sewing, cooking and laundry and it was hoped that they would be able to reach the female heart in a way that men were unable to. It was anticipated that the qualities of modesty, refined behaviour and cleanliness would be passed on to the women by example. It was further hoped that the missionary wives would encourage, through their teaching, the conversion of indigenous women to Christianity as, if the conversion of men was to succeed, they would need available monogamous Christian partners. Thirdly, the presence of their wives would reduce the missionaries' sexual temptation among indigenous women (Madsen 1986-87, Kirkwood 1993, Swaisland 1993, Doran 1996, Endfield & Nash, 2005, Daggers 2011, Klatzow 2018). What the missionary societies failed to consider, however, is the financial pressure of having to support a wife and family far from home. Missionary families received one salary, even if the wife was a teacher in her own right. This meant that missionary families often lived in abject poverty (Kirkwood 1993). The contribution of missionary wives and daughters in terms of education for women and girls, midwifery and domestic skills must have been significant, yet they worked without pay and acknowledgement (Hastings 1993, Labode 1993, Doran 1996, Woodward 1996). Some missionary women would also raise orphaned children

in their own homes (Doran 1996), as is the case with Ann Hodgson. While travelling through the interior in 1823, the Hodgsons and Broadbents passed through a village which had been recently deserted because of the wars. Here, they found a small girl of about five years who had been abandoned in the village with her two siblings. Her siblings had already died of starvation and the girl herself was close to death. The missionaries were affected by the child's desperate situation and she was adopted by Ann, who named her Orphena. Ann raised Orphena and she remained with the Hodgsons for many years, even going back with them to England in 1831. She was taught to read and sew and received religious instruction. When Hodgson returned to southern Africa in 1835, Orphena returned with him (Shaw 1836, Smith 1875).

It is agreed that women did experience more difficulties than men in the field. Health was a concern for both men and women, with women being at greater risk because of pregnancies. The chances of miscarriages and complications were greatly increased compared with pregnancies at home. Women were also responsible for rearing children and would have had to do so without family support or reliable medical care. Children were highly susceptible to illness and disease and it was not uncommon for children to die during infancy (Bowie 1993, Endfield & Nash 2005). To illustrate, Hodgson and Ann's only child, Mary Ann, died of an unknown illness in November of 1826 at the age of four, causing her parents much heartache (Smith 1875, Cope 1977). The LMS archival letters speak of "a long litany of illness and deaths through epidemics, dysentery, fever, cholera. They tell of ailing children, dying wives, dead missionaries, missionary widows and orphans, as well as the occasional mad woman who has to be shipped home" (Bowie 1993:7). Further difficulties experienced were the stresses of missionary life, many of which were highlighted for women: illness, sunstroke, respiratory diseases, dysentery, organ complaints, malaria, psychological disorders, a change of environment, adapting to a different culture, learning a new language, living in two worlds, maintaining family life, balancing evangelical work and family duties and navigating social attitudes (Bowie 1993, Doran 1996, Endfield & Nash 2005). Significantly more women than men returned home early from missions, almost always for health reasons. Other women died in the field, most commonly as a result of childbirth (Madsen 1986-87, Endfield & Nash 2005). In her letters home, Ann often wrote of the difficulty of being a missionary wife, stating that she "would advise no fine lady to think of marrying an African missionary, for certainly they have much to do that a person in England can have no idea of" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1822). This certainly would not have been an exaggeration on Ann's part, as challenges faced in the African wilderness would have been unimaginable to those in England. She longs for the great privileges of "highly favoured

England" of which she is now "entirely deprived" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). Ann was certainly not alone in her longing for home, saying that she found such notions "the general complaint amongst all the missionaries' wives" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). Nonetheless, missionary wives were convinced of the importance of their work, despite its onerous nature. In the words of Ann Hodgson, "… but some must prepare the way, though preparing the soil is not so pleasant as either sowing the seed and reaping the harvest, yet it is equally necessary" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825).

2.7 Conclusion

Missionaries emerged fairly early in southern African history and certainly played a role in the way the country was shaped. As the first missionaries to venture into the interior, Hodgson and Broadbent were not spared from the upheaval associated with the *Difaqane* and we can anticipate that this will influence the the nature of the archaeological record. The availability of Hodgson's journals and Ann's letters provide a glimpse into the realities being faced at the time, which allows us as archaeologists to better frame the archaeological assemblage associated with Hodgson's Cottage.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Historical Archaeology

Historical archaeology is a multidisciplinary field which is able to draw on diverse evidential sources and historical archaeologists often use broader, holistic approaches to landscapes as opposed to starting with the specific. This allows archaeologists to take long term processes and their impacts into account as well (De Cunzo & Ernstein 1999, Schofield & Johnson 2006). Historical archaeology is concerned with material artefacts from human social life that survive from the relatively recent past. Practitioners of the discipline study material remains, some of which have surviving associated documentation. However, this is not true in all contexts. Historical archaeologists must be aware that even if some objects of daily life were not recorded, they are no less important than those that were (Hicks & Beaudry 2006). The juxtaposition of material culture with written documents contrasts reality and imagination. All texts, as well as archaeological interpretations, are simultaneously based in imaginations as well as in real material artefacts (Joyce 2006).

Hall and Silliman (2006) explain that historical archaeology means different things to different people and the discipline is defined by method rather than content. The methodology of historical archaeology is distinct in that it uses specific historical dates obtained from documents or from artefacts themselves in conjunction with archaeological data to establish detailed chronologies of the historical record (Lucas 2006). Artefacts such as coins, pipe bowls, and selected pottery types are inscribed with a year, period, or maker's mark, indicating the age or date of the item (Lucas 2006). Two extensively used methods for data description and the establishment of research problems are pattern recognition of functionally defined artefact categories and the economic-scaling index which was generated for English ceramic vessels. Both methods have proved useful in organising and comparing data (Little 1994). Alternatively, another prominent and widely used method within historical archaeology is the study and use of written documents that provide precise chronological parameters (Johnson 1999, Lucas 2006). Documentary evidence is used by researchers in different ways. Certain researchers use documents as a frame with which to support their arguments while others attempt to match archaeological evidence with documentary sources (Johnson 1999). Historical archaeology's study of the post-contact period, or events within the last 500 years, places research focus on dominant societies "with history" who were able to produce

written records (Little 1994, Govaerts 2014); meaning historical archaeology is often considered the study of literate groups (Connah 2007). It is worth noting that literacy did not extend to all members of any given society. Powerful and wealthy individuals were often able to read and write, and literacy was used as a tool of oppression and exertion of power. This may call the reliability of such documents into question as other sections of the same society as well as other societies without written documents may be invisible within the written record (Little 1994, Wilkie 2006, Little 2007). As a result, criticism of the use of written sources has been raised. Funari (1999), Jones (1999) and Little (2007) argue that written documents do not provide objective and comprehensive information about the past. Rather, written documents are fragmented and tend to represent only the point of view of the dominant group within a society. Some archaeologists have therefore chosen to prioritise archaeological evidence over historical documents because of its objective nature (Jones 1999). Others argue that archaeological and documentary evidence should be considered as distinct and independent sources of information entirely, which should not be conflated. This approach also has its shortfalls, such as a disregard for individualism and subjectivity in the formation of social, economic, and political processes (Jones 1999). Moreland (2006) divides historical archaeologists into two groups, those who are too quick to accept documentary evidence as fact and those who are too quick to dismiss it. She goes on to say that because literacy was used as a tool of power and oppression in past societies, documents cannot be accepted at face value. Only when documentary evidence is considered within the unique circumstances from which it originated, can it be used to provide useful insights into history. More recent movements in archaeology have attempted to incorporate into history people who were previously overlooked by examining concepts such as ideology, power, inequality, gender, and ethnicity (Little 1994).

Attempts have been made to reconcile archaeology and documentary sources, with some archaeologists opting to use documents to form a descriptive basis and then turn to archaeology to look for obscurity and discrepancies (Jones 1999). Little (2007) writes that archaeological and documentary sources are not equal, they were created for different purposes and with different intentions, which is why they often appear to contradict each other. She goes on to say that concurrent use of both archaeological and documentary evidence can help create more realistic and comprehensive histories. Documents can be used to identify the function, date, typology, and location of objects from different archaeological contexts. Additionally, Pikirayi (1999) claims that even in cases where written histories seem to provide a full and comprehensive picture, archaeology is still an important tool for understanding the past. Unfortunately, archaeology is still largely

considered a supplementation to history, beneficial only when gaps in documented societies need to be filled. Supplementation, however, draws attention to these gaps. Instead of an aide to history, archaeology is more accurately described as a colleague which may often correct histories obtained from documents and provide alternative questions and interpretations (Little 1994). Little (1994:14) goes on to outline five approaches used to combine documentary sources with archaeological artefacts, (I) the data sets are offset against each other to look for anomalies (II) the data sets are used to complement each other, filling in details which the other may lack (III) either the documentary or archaeological data set, usually the documentary, is used to formulate a hypothesis which is tested against the other, usually the archaeological (IV) either the documentary or archaeological data set is used to disprove a historical account provided by the other (V) either the documentary or archaeological data set, usually the documentary, provides a source of context which is used as the basis for interpretation.

The power struggle between documentary and archaeological sources emphasizes the importance of an integrative approach to the study of past societies, one which considers written sources in addition to oral histories, folklore, archaeology, and ethnography (Funari, Jones & Hall 1999). This is critical to southern African historical archaeology. Despite the potential and benefit of historical archaeology in the study of previously overlooked populations, Pikirayi (1999) explains that many definitions of the discipline are very limited when applied to southern African contexts. For example, Pikirayi (1999) mentions academic definitions that limit historical archaeology to the study of the material culture and documentary evidence of literate societies only, and also don't take the views of the indigenous societies themselves into account. The problem with these definitions is that most African societies were not literate and did not produce their own written documents. When these societies did appear in text, it was in the writings of foreigners who had come into contact with African people, making these records very one-sided and, therefore, inadequate (Pikirayi 1999). Certain societies, such as those of southern African, largely relied, and continue to rely, on oral traditions to recall their histories. Oral histories are imparted between generations and many become part of formalized cultural storytelling. These histories are useful in gaining a broader understanding of a site and the events which occurred there from the indigenous communities themselves (Lawrence & Shepherd 2006, Wilkie 2006, Little 2007). Pikirayi (1999) illustrates the importance of oral traditions by explaining that most of the history of the Zimbabwe Plateau was compiled from oral testimonies. The definitions which we choose to apply to historical archaeology need to be carefully considered, as parameters that are relevant to American and European

archaeology are often inadequate when applied to southern African contexts. Another example that highlights the value of oral histories comes from an archaeological investigation of the escape routes taken by the Northern Cheyenne during the outbreak from Fort Robinson in Nebraska during 1879. The archaeological evidence successfully supports the Cheyenne oral history and challenges official army accounts of the events. This reinforces the notion that oral traditions and archaeological research are mutually supportive and can provide a more accurate account of history which accounts for biases and political influence (Little 1994).

Historical archaeology is a hybrid field with significant overlaps with other fields, making its approach multi-faceted and integrative. Texts, oral histories, and archaeological evidence must all be considered when any study is to be conducted effectively (Hicks & Beaudry 2006, Wilkie 2006, Connah 2007). The diverse nature of historical archaeology means that multiple evidential sources, including theories from other disciplines such as history, geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, and folklore are often used to gain a broader understanding of context (Little 2007, Stahl 2010, Society for Historical Archaeology 2015-2021). Historical archaeologists make use of varied sources of evidence, such as the written and oral records discussed above, as well as material culture (Govaerts 2014). Material culture is central to historical archaeological studies. Its importance is highlighted in the definition of historical archaeology given by the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA 2015-2021): “the study of the material remains of past societies that also left behind some other form of historical evidence”. Sites of excavation for historical archaeologists have often been limited to areas occupied by famous or influential individuals who left behind significant material remains, meaning that many large groups have gone unnoticed. More recent movements have attempted to broaden the scope of historical archeology, concentrating on groups who are underrepresented in the historical record. Herein lies the importance of material culture. By using artefacts, archaeologists can piece together the everyday contexts of all individuals, not just the elite, and understand the development of societies, both in isolation and in relation to each other (Funari 1999, Mitchell 2002, Connah 2007, Govearts 2014, Schrire 2015, Klatzow 2018, SHA 2015-2021). The relationship between people and objects is vitally important, as just as people shape objects, objects shape people. This means that people and objects share complex inter-relationships which, when taken into account, can enrich historical studies by providing insight into practices and processes of the past (Stahl 2010). The concept of material culture will be discussed further below.

Funari (1999) emphasises the need to pay particular attention to the relationship between material evidence and written documents in different societies and attempts must be made to use both artefacts and written records as complementary sources of evidence. Their concurrent use can aid interpretation as well as highlight any disparities between texts and artefacts. The ability of historical archaeology and material culture studies to illuminate the lives of elites and non-elites alike provides a view into the conditions of class division and exploitation, making the ethos of ordinary people accessible, thereby helping researchers negotiate the one-sided nature of written records. This perspective further allows archaeologists to negotiate the complexities of a society, including its features and changes, approaches that would otherwise remain ignored. In a similar vein, Little (2007) explains that history and archaeology must be inclusive to be authentic. This allows archaeologists to learn from the mistakes of the past and their understanding can be enriched by the diverse experiences of others, allowing archaeologists to continually improve their methodologies. Additionally, the concepts, methods, and techniques applied to historical archaeological studies need to be continually developed. This will allow archaeologists to probe deeper into the past by asking more sophisticated questions about the past and present (Little 2007).

3.2 Household Archaeology

Household archaeology emerged under the auspices of historical archaeology in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a reaction to grand theories and macro-scale perspectives (Allison 1998). The shift towards household archaeology relied on anthropological theories and micro perspectives, with focus being placed on individual and independent agents, proving useful to the study of multiple facets of human behaviour. This followed the realization that studies at a household level could offer a more specific unit of analysis as opposed to a neighbourhood or community level. As a result, much of household archaeology focuses on detailed micro-histories (Kruczek-Aaron 2002, Lucas 2006, Godino & Madella 2013, Beaudry 2015). Interest in household archaeology was largely driven by the desire of researchers to “acknowledge the actions of individuals in social and cultural change, and the social construction of domestic space” (King 2006:295) as it is within this space that people carried out the majority of their daily activities.

The household is recognized as the smallest unit of activity and analysis and, as a result, is fundamental to the study of society. A strength of household archaeology is therefore its ability to shift between personal lived experiences and broader social contexts, allowing for the identification of patterns and complexities (King 2006, Pluckhahn 2010, Reeves 2015). Small-scale activities

which are characteristic of households can be used to understand large-scale social change by viewing the household as an active setting that inspires social action (Hendon 1996, Godino & Madella 2013). Household activities are identified as complex social actions that impact the development and transformation of social life (King 2006, Cobb 2015, Beaudry 2015). Macro studies of societal evolution often eliminate the individuals who experienced it. Herein lies an advantage of household archaeology: it allows for the identification and expression of individual lived experiences and provides an overlap between artefacts/people and grand narratives/processes (Pluckhahn 2010). Households are seen as the smallest building blocks of larger societies and as the point at which societies and economic and ecological processes merge (Pluckhahn 2010). Social action begins with the choices and actions of individuals and household archaeology allows researchers to access and study individuals and the choices which they made in the worlds which they occupied (King 2006). Households present "measureable socio-economic units of a wider community" (Beaudry 2015:3), meaning that the household represents the smallest indivisible unit that serves as a representation of society (Beaudry 2015). The household has been identified as a productive level of study, providing insight into the daily lives of individuals which can be identified archaeologically. Households are social settings with material remains of activities and practices, including a combination of production, consumption, reproduction, and coexistence (Allison 1998, Puckhahn 2010).

There are three primary analytical approaches to historical archaeology that have also proven useful in studies relating to household archaeology and material histories: biographical, depositional, and genealogical. The biographical approach has two standpoints. The first is concerned with the biographies of individuals or households. The availability and comprehensiveness of documentary sources allow archaeologists to successfully connect specific people with their material remains, resulting in a unique interpretative approach. The resultant narratives and biographies are often very personal and are written from a particular perspective. This approach is useful in the study of the life cycles of individuals and households in historical archaeology (Lucas 2006). The second standpoint focuses on material culture instead of people (Lucas 2006). This approach is used to study the associations of objects and how these associations change as the objects move within and between contexts across spatial scales. Importance is placed on the changing cultural meanings of archaeological sites and material culture instead of on the people who used them. The associations, uses, and effects of items are subject to change with ownership and are altered by those who use the items. The focus of this type of biographical approach is the life history of an object through the

analysis of the differences and similarities in the association and effects of an object during its circulation. Objects are recontextualized as they move from one cultural context to another and are actively involved in shaping human experiences. At any given time, items are connected with past practices as well as with new and novel ones, and object biographies are transformed through this constant circulation (Lucas 2006, Stahl 2010).

Depositional approaches draw attention to the bundling or grouping together of objects in specific contexts. In other words, objects originating from different contexts may be grouped, producing new connections and relationships which shape human experience. Depositional practices configure social processes, establishing people as social beings. Depositional acts can range from the symbolic such as ritualized practices to the habitual such as refuse disposal, with both being equally important to emerging culture and formalized action (Stahl 2010).

Finally, genealogical approaches focus on the reproduction and transformation of practices over time. Genealogies of practice is established through a systematic comparison of similarities and differences in practices at sites within a region over time. In archaeology, a genealogical approach is one that resists totalizing representations of the past. Rather, the approach traces specific practices that are subject to change depending on the course followed. Genealogy is akin to a web of connections with a time-related basis. Following different connections within the web will produce different histories or genealogies. There can therefore be no totalizing genealogy as each is dependent on the starting point and path which it follows (Lucas 2006, Stahl 2010).
A combination of all three approaches is ideal as this can provide insight into contextual groupings of material culture through which individual worlds were created.

Reeves (2015:23) explains that archaeologists “unwittingly characterize household patterns at a predetermined scale that is influenced by spatial units we impose as archaeologists”. Households studied at an individual level are not always related to the social level at which they acted, meaning that archaeologists often assume that the limits of the household historically are defined by the limits of the excavated site. This assumption neglects other structures that were in place both at a family and community level. Archaeologists attempt to bridge the gap between the physical site and social relations within the household by using documentary and ethnographical evidence to account for household composition and structure (Reeves 2015). Further, household archaeology has much to gain by exploring wider-ranging comparisons between household assemblages. This will allow

for the limits imposed on households to be broken, taking comparisons beyond community and even regional parameters. Households are all situated globally and by extending the parameters of comparison, archaeologists can begin to understand the relationship between individual households and the larger whole (Reeves 2015). Cobb (2015) writes that the household is the liminal point between the local and the external and its reproduction is dependent on both internal and external processes.

The limited way in which households have been treated by archaeologists needs to be addressed if household archaeology is to provide extensive and valuable information. The view of the household as a homogenous and isolated entity fails to take into account the networks of people involved. Multi-vocalities within single households have not been extensively considered. Diverging goals, interests, relationships, and struggles within single households need to be considered if the decisions taken and actions performed by members of the household are to be understood. Only then can researchers begin to interpret the archaeology of the household adequately (Kruczek-Aaron 2002, King 2006).

3.3 Material Culture

Material remains play an important role in historical archaeological studies and are no less important to household archaeology. People have always been surrounded by material culture and little can be done without it. As the disciplines of historical and household archaeology grow, the understanding and interpretation of material remains become just as important as their identification and classification, as it is recognized that such objects play an active role in the lives of the people who make and use them (Cochran & Beaudry 2006, Little 2007). Our access to people situated in the past is mediated through material culture and artefacts. Consequently, archaeology is a study of the interaction between people and material objects. Material culture is central to the creation of identity, knowledge, and subjective reality and through its study, we as archaeologists can create abstract conceptions of past peoples (Lesick 1997). Until the 1990s, many American historical archaeologists were set on developing standardized and universal classification systems that could be used for comparison amongst historical archaeological sites. Consequently, historical archaeologists were reluctant to implement alternative approaches to the study of artefacts, such as those used in material culture studies (Cochran & Beaudry 2006). Material culture generally refers to items that have been influenced by the culture in which they were created. This extends beyond excavated items and documents, it also includes artworks, gardens and landscapes, architecture, and

objects from public and private collections (Little 2007). Material remains are important to the interpretation of the past as they impart information about the daily lives of people, beyond what is recorded in written documents. Features and artefacts from household contexts provide a view into the individual lives of those who considered the site home (Reeves 2015). Archaeologists use material remains as a means by which to study people and interpret past human behaviour. This provides a view into how people expressed themselves and interacted with each other and with the world through objects (Cochran & Beaudry 2006, Little 2007). Material culture studies have developed into a multi-disciplinary field that uses theories and methods from across the humanities and social sciences. However, many archaeologists who specialize in the study of certain artefacts, such as clay pipes or ceramics, continue to study objects from certain contexts in isolation, which is still a major stumbling block in the development of interpretative archaeologies of material culture (Cochran & Beaudry 2006). If material artefacts are studied solely at the household level, researchers fail to consider differences at the community level, disregarding the impact that differences amongst houses have on the community in general (Reeves 2015).

Important to the study of household archaeology is the understanding that an object's qualities are not fixed. Objects are often chosen by people for their own uses and not those intended by the producer. What is given is not necessarily what is received. This gives objects a "doubleness" or duality: while they still retain their prior values, they become imbued with new ones by new users. This is a reciprocal process. Historically, object recontextualization was done by both receivers of items from Europe as well as receivers of items from the colonies. In other words, objects do not mean the same regardless of context and became charged with new meanings when they transcended cultural boundaries (Jones 1999, Sørensen 2006, Stahl 2010). European goods were sometimes used in place of pre-existing indigenous items, but most imported goods were used in entirely new ways. The meaning of material objects is arguably arbitrary as a result, as meanings are historically constructed and reconstructed, being reinterpreted by the user. New meanings which are assigned to objects can often be interpreted from the archaeological context from which such objects are recovered (Lydon 1999, Nassaney 2004, Little 2007). Approaches to the study of material culture have been polarised into the study of function on the one side and the study of symbolism on the other. Function may include economic factors such as production and consumption while the symbolism of objects is generally considered culturally specific and shared. An approach that considers both function, as well as symbolism, has yet to be more widely explored (Beaudry 2015).

3.4 Gender

Gender archaeology is set apart from non-gender archaeology by its definition of the very concept of gender. Non-gendered archaeology equates the notion of gender with biological sex while gendered archaeology argues that gender is distinct from sex in that it is socially and culturally constructed as opposed to inherited. Gender is classified as fluid and unfixed and it is argued that the male-female dichotomy does not take the variable nature of gender into account. Gendered research evaluates gender power dynamics while non-gendered research accepts longstanding androcentric ideologies as universal to past gender practices, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes (Gilchrist 1994, Hendon 2006, Sørensen 2006, Spencer-Wood 2006, Voss 2006). A move towards gendered archaeology does not necessarily require new data sets, but rather new sets of questions and attitudes towards women in history, such as a critique of androcentrism (Gilchrist 1994).

Gender is central to the structuring of households both past and present and gender studies have the potential to highlight tensions experienced within groups and between people on a small scale, which may point to larger struggles and conflicts on a macrocosmic level. A strength of the study of gender in archaeology is the flexibility in terms of scale which allows researchers to move between micro and macro perspectives (Hill 1998, Nassaney 2004, King 2006). Household archaeologists who do not consider the role of gender as a structuring principle demote the household to a single unit of analysis which ignores social dynamics and, by extension, the individual actors (Hendon 2006). A study of daily activities influenced by gender, ethnicity, and class, as well as the social relations among the members of a household, have proved useful to the analysis of various social actors in society as a whole (Hendon 2006). At its core, a household is a social unit with economic functions. Recent approaches to households have moved away from the categorization of households as an autonomous whole and have begun to acknowledge individual members with different social and gender roles. This has allowed archaeologists to identify diverse and individual lived experiences within one setting. However, individual members of a household could not act selfishly, rather, they had to cooperate and make decisions that put the functioning of the household and wellbeing of the group first (Hendon 1996, Hendon 2006, Wilkie & Hayes 2006). By identifying individuals within the archaeological record, researchers can explore gender-related behaviour and individual relationships at household sites. This can help break the silence of women in the historical record both as individuals and as groups. Women's experiences were historically different from men's and gender is, therefore, a relevant and important structuring social process worth investigating (King 2006).

The division of labour within a household is commonly organized according to gender. Central to the functioning of a household is the domestic activities usually performed by women. Despite their importance, these activities were largely assumed to be irrelevant to the study of society on a larger scale (Woolf 1997, Hendon 2006). Hendon (2006) writes that this assumption explains women's global inferiority. The notions of gendered activities led to the idea of a gendered division of space. This idea is not problematic in and of itself. It is possible to identify gendered space through the presence of particular artefacts and a relationship indubitably exists between space and the performance and experience of gender. Gendered space encourages routine and repetition, entrenching ideas of gender hierarchy and power relations. However, it is problematic to assume that a binary opposition of male and female space exists. One cannot conclude that either men or women were confined to specific sections of the house and that their use of space never converged. Dwelling areas are often also working areas and it is possible, if not probable, that multiple members of a household participated in the same production activities within the same space (Brumfiel 2006, Hendon 2006, Sørensen 2006).

Material culture can reflect change and continuity of gender roles in archaeology, both individually and on a household level (King 2006). Archaeology's primary focus is on material culture and Lesick (1997) therefore argues that an archaeological study of gender should be characterized by an emphasis on material artefacts. Nassaney (2004) explains that gender roles directly influence the objects that are fashioned and used by men and women, as material culture is used to create and reproduce social identities. Material culture is involved in the construction of gender and meaning, and a strength of gender studies has been its attention to the connection between material culture and the social and psychological ideas about gender. Concerning gender studies, material culture represents the external and physical expression of gendered constructs and experiences (Sørensen 2006). The incorporation of material culture studies into gender research was motivated by the aim to locate women in the past and identify their importance. In other words, researchers wanted to insert women into domains of activity that have historically been considered male (Sørensen 2006). Later approaches to material culture studies view objects as active partners affected by human intentions, influencing the creation and negotiation of gender, and are consequently not simply outward reflections thereof. Objects are situated within contexts of action, which are likely to involve gender, and can therefore not be studied in isolation. Material culture can be used to mark changes in the life cycles of individuals as gender is not static and is constantly changing with the acquisition of new knowledge (Søsensen 2006). Archaeologists also use material culture and

personal artefacts to assist in the identification of the gender of past occupants in any given site under investigation (Spencer-Wood 2006). However, despite this interconnectedness between material culture and gender, objects maintain a level of independence from the politics of the subject, so that gendered archaeology is not relegated to a study of politics (Brumfiel 2006).

3.5 Conclusion

Household archaeology has the potential to contribute significantly to our understanding of the past. Through the study of residences and the material culture that remains, information can be gleaned about the activities, roles, relations and lived experiences of the people who resided there. The study of households can broaden our knowledge of Christian missionary experience in southern Africa by revealing details about the individual missionaries and their families, their gender roles, the conditions under which they lived, the activities which they performed and the experiences and trials which they faced.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Introduction

The artefacts from Hodgson's Cottage have the ability to reveal information and answer pertinent questions about the lives of its inhabitants, the activities which they performed and the social context in which they lived. The excavation of Hodgson's Cottage commenced in 1968 under the leadership of Revil Mason. The residence was constructed by Hodgson using stones, and much of the original stone-walling still stood at the time of excavation. Mason first erected a scaffolding to protect the delicate walls before removing or trimming the shrubs and trees surrounding the site, exposing the deposit beneath (Mason 1986). The first stage of the excavation was to remove the soil and collapsed wall stones which had accumulated above the original floors of the residence. This deposit reached a depth of approximately one metre in the kitchen. Mason then laid out a grid of 1x1 metre squares along the length and breadth of the site, which covered both the interior and the exterior of the cottage (see figure 4.3 below). Mason ascertained that this grid would cover artefacts directly related to the residence, both inside and outside the structure (Mason 1986). He determined that the cottage was divided into two rooms, a kitchen and a bedroom, the walls of which would have measured 1,68 and 3,35 meters in height respectively. The walls of the kitchen were built lower for a practical reason: to allow the smoke from the fireplace to escape.

The exterior was excavated in two three-inch spits, 0-3 inches (0 - 7,62 cm) and 3-6 inches (7,62 - 15,24 cm). In the kitchen deposit, Mason (1986) identified five layers:

Layer 1: 10 cm thick floor of grey-brown sandy soil laid by Hodgson. Contains ash-filled depressions baked yellow by later occupants. This layer is directly above Ventersdorp quartz porphyry.
Layer 2: 10 cm thick ash layer consisting of three lenses, accumulated by post-Hodgson occupation. Almost all artefacts excavated from the interior were situated in this layer.
Layer 3: 15 cm thick yellow-brown soil layer, directly above the ash layer. Numerous wall blocks were found in this layer, originating from collapsed cottage walls.
Layer 4: 1 m thick layer of wall blocks and grey daga soil which may have come from the wall plaster laid by Hodgson.
Layer 5: 10 cm thick layer of soil, grass and roots.

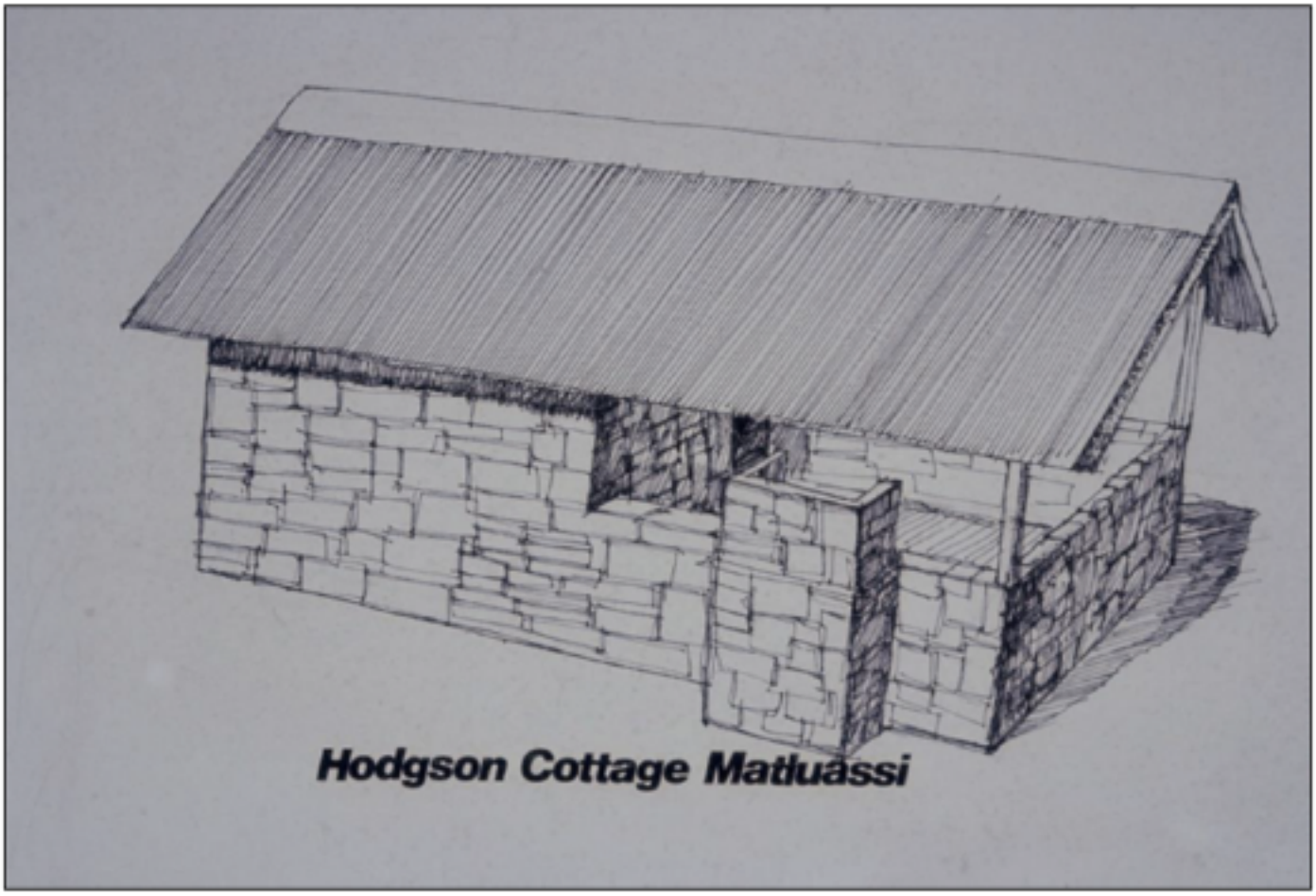


Figure 4.1: Sketch of Hodgson's Cottage by Mason (1964). Retrieved from Mason's slides stored at Wits University Archives.

Hodgson's Cottage was a two-room structure comprised of a kitchen and a bedroom. These would have measured approximately 1,68m and 3,35m in height respectively, making the area of both rooms approximately 3,3 x 2,7m (Mason 1986). Mason's measurements were taken in feet and inches. These measurements were converted into centimetres and a sketch of the cottage, based on Mason's original representation (Appendix A), was done (figure 4.2 below). The converted measurements were rounded to the nearest centimetre.

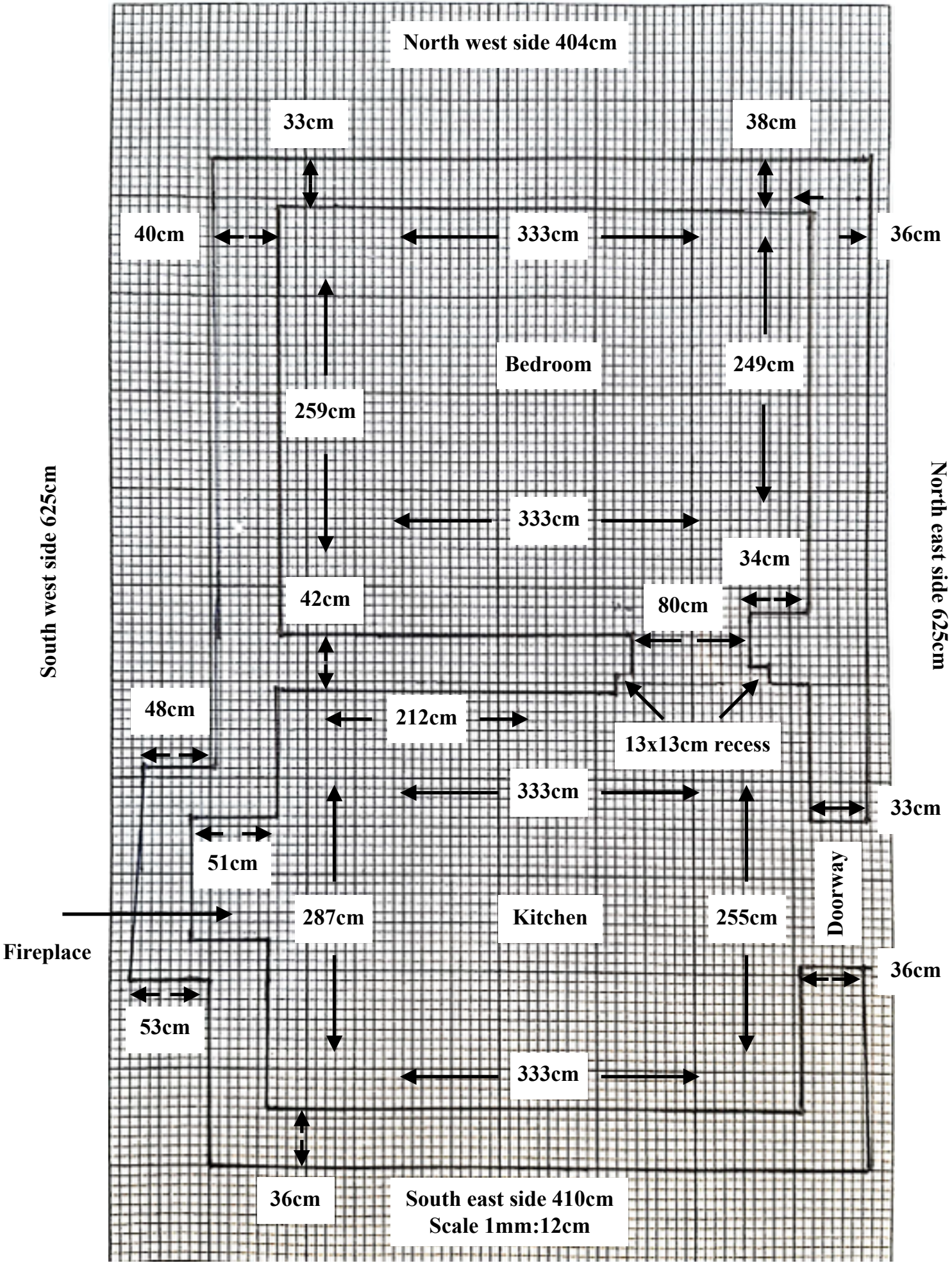


Figure 4.2: Sketch of Hodgson's Cottage.

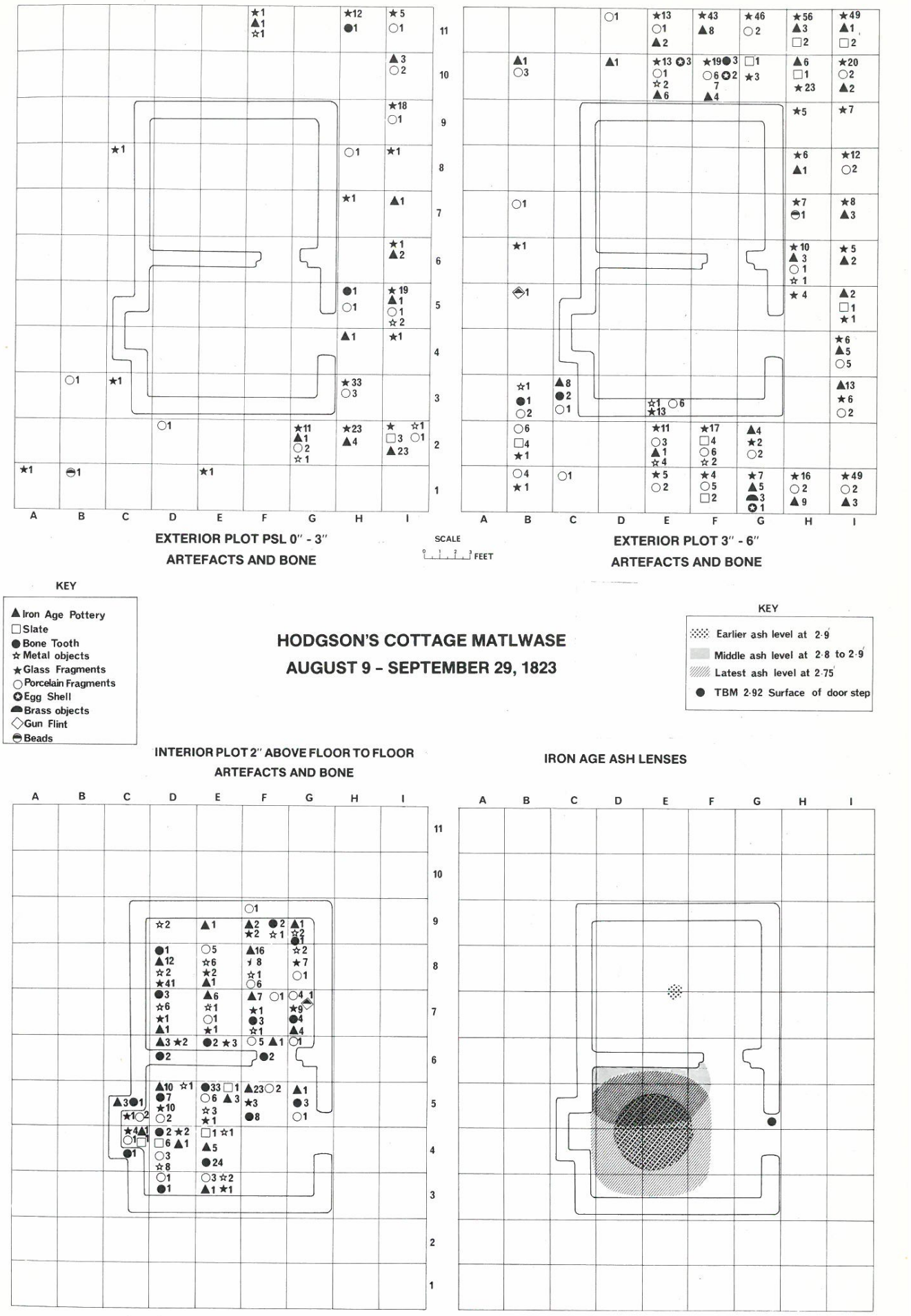


Figure 4.3: In situ positioning of artefacts recovered from Hodgson's Cottage (Mason 1986:885).

Mason's (1986) data regarding the location of artefacts *in situ* was used, as each was plotted on a map showing the exact location, level and square from where it was excavated (see fig. 4.2 above). This allowed for a conceptualisation of the space, allowing for a more accurate interpretation. Mason sorted the recovered artefacts into 10 categories: Glass Fragments, Iron Age Pottery, Porcelain Fragments, Metal Objects, Slate, Bone Tooth, Egg Shell, Gun Flint, Percussion Caps and Beads. For the sake of clarity, some of these categories were altered and two were added, which will become apparent below. The results are presented in tables which follow the areas and levels which Mason used when excavating the site. The two levels of the exterior are here labelled as Exterior 0-3" and Exterior 3-6". The artefacts excavated from the interior are classified according to the room in which they were found, either bedroom or kitchen, here labelled Interior Kitchen and Interior Bedroom. These classifications allow for better analysis and comparison of artefacts.

4.2 Glass

Glass is a durable and resistant artefact type, making it common at many historical archaeological sites and, if analysed properly, can provide important insight into archaeological inquiry (Scharfenberger 2004, Weiland 2009). Originally manufactured as long as forty-five hundred years ago, early glass was used as a glaze for surfaces, as an imitation of semi-precious stones and later, for vessels of various descriptions as well as for window panes (Slough 2005). Most early glass vessels were luxury items, but the glass industry was revolutionised by the discovery that glass could be blown. The blowing technique simplified and accelerated the manufacturing process while reducing costs, thereby making glass products available on the general market (Grose 1977, Slough 2005).

Mason's classification placed all glass fragments into one broad category. For this research, the glass was divided into two subcategories: flat glass and non-flat glass. Fragments from both subcategories were counted and the thickness of each was measured using a calliper, through which an average was reached. For non-flat fragments, the thickest point was measured. The source of recognisable glass fragments was identified, where possible, and this information was used as a basis for the interpretation of objects used and activities performed within and around the house. The colour of each glass fragment was identified and fragments were also analysed for air bubbles, and evidence of retouch, which could shed light on the method of manufacture, the original function of the glass, and the possible reuse of shards by other groups. The identification of retouched glass

fragments proved difficult as natural alterations to glass are often very similar to retouched pieces, which will be discussed further below.

Glass is the most common artefact type recovered from Hodgson's Cottage, with a total of 717 fragments counted. There is significantly more flat glass in the collection, with a difference of 291 fragments between flat glass and non-flat glass. The highest number of glass fragments was recovered from Exterior 3-6". This is possibly owed to the fact that the artefacts further below ground level were better protected and preserved.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Flat Glass	101	377	7	19	504
Non-Flat Glass	28	113	14	58	213

Table 4.1: Total number of glass fragments counted.

4.2.1 Flat Glass

Most flat glass fragments in the collection likely originated from window panes, but the category is classified as such as other sources of flat glass can easily be confused with window glass, such as mirrors, cabinet glass, flat panelled bottles, and decorative glass (Weiland 2009).

4.2.1.1 Average Thickness of Flat Glass

The average thickness, or mean, was calculated by first measuring the thickness of each fragment. The mean was used as a representative for the thickness of flat glass in the collection. The mode represents the thickness of the majority of fragments present. This indicates whether the majority of flat glass fragments may have originated from the same source, such as windows. The minimum represents the thinnest glass fragments and the maximum, the thickest. The glass fragments from both the kitchen and bedroom were combined for these calculations. The rationale was that significantly fewer fragments were excavated from the interior in comparison to the exterior, and a larger count tends to yield more representative results.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior
Mean (mm)	1,44	1,42	1,52
Mode (mm)	1,2	1,4	1,4
Minimum (mm)	1,1	1,1	1,1
Maximum (mm)	2,1	2,5	2,7

Table 4.2: Mean, mode, minimum & maximum of flat glass.

The mean of the flat glass is representative of the collection as the variation amongst the thickness of individual fragments is not significant. The most significant differences are seen between the minimum and maximum measurements of all three levels. However, the maximum measurements are outliers and do not significantly affect the mean.

4.2.1.2 Colour Variation of Flat Glass

Three variations are present amongst flat glass fragments: colourless, dull and the presence of a multicoloured shine.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Colourless	77	256	1	5	339
Dull	23	121	1	11	156
Shine	1	0	5	3	9

Table 4.3: Colour variation of flat glass.

All flat glass fragments were originally colourless, and the majority still are, but weathering, and thereby colour variation, has occurred as a result of the chemistry of the soil in which the glass was buried. Dulling is the condition whereby glass loses its clarity and transparency, becoming translucent. This is the simplest type of weathering and is distinct from dulling caused by scratches or stains (Davison 2003, van Giffen 2014). Iridescence is a form of weathering which causes a rainbow-like effect on glass. This is caused by the chemical disintegration of the glass surface, but the effect is striking. Both dulling and iridescence are caused by alterations in the composition of the glass surface, changing its refractive index (Davison 2003, Slough 2005, van Giffen 2014).

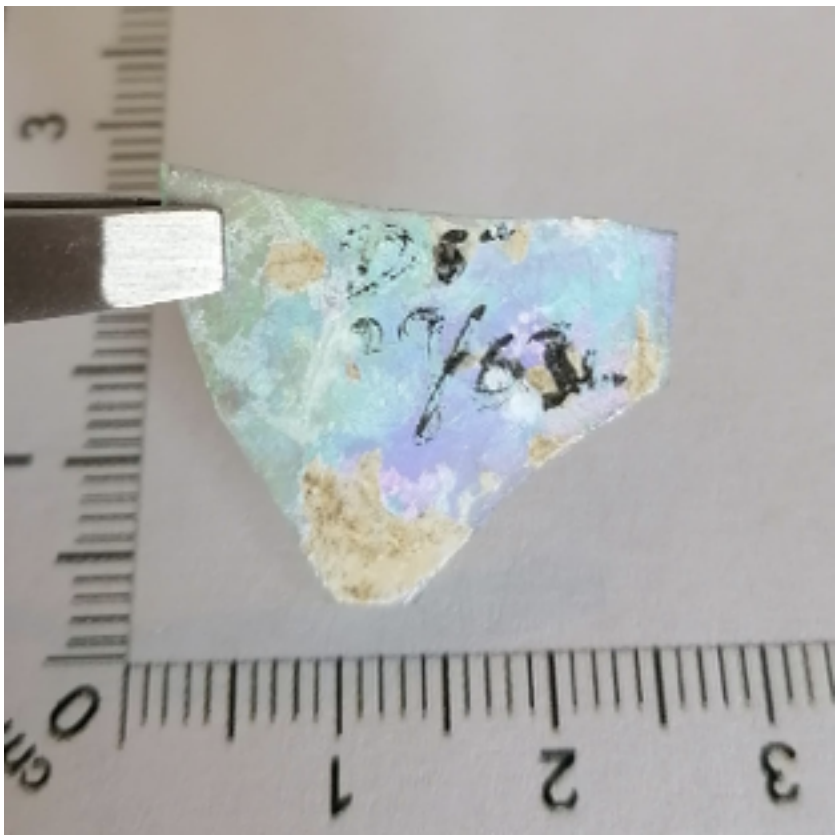


Figure 4.4: Iridescent flat glass fragment.

4.2.2 Non-Flat Glass

Non-flat glass fragments likely originate from bottles of various descriptions, such as those used to store consumables, medicine, ink and snuff (Lindsey 2020). Mary Ann would have been an infant during the family's stay at Matlwasse, so some glass fragments may have originated from feeding bottles, but it is impossible to tell definitively.

4.2.2.1 Average Thickness of Non-Flat Glass

The average thickness, or mean, was calculated by first measuring the thickness of each fragment. The mean is used as a representative for the thickness of other glass in the collection. The mode represents the thickness of the majority of fragments present. This indicates whether the majority of non-flat glass fragments may have originated from the same source, such as bottles. The minimum represents the thinnest glass fragments and the maximum, the thickest. As with the flat glass, the glass fragments from both the kitchen and bedroom were combined for these calculations. The rationale is the same.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior
Mean (mm)	3,21	3,6	3,72
Mode (mm)	2,9	1,7	2
Minimum (mm)	1	1	0,6
Maximum (mm)	10	8,5	23,3

Table 4.4: Mean, mode, minimum & maximum of non-flat glass.

The average thickness, or mean, of the non-flat glass is not representative of the collection as significant differences exist amongst the thickness of individual fragments. This is represented in the differences between the minimum and maximum measurements.

4.2.2.2 Colour Variation of Non-Flat Glass

Six colour variations are seen amongst non-flat glass fragments: dark green, which can also appear black, mid-green, light green, colourless, purple and amber. Most of the fragments are dark green. Of all the non-flat glass fragments, three have a multi-coloured shine as a result of the soil chemistry.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Dark Green	24	97	12	56	189
Mid-Green	1	2			3
Light Green	1	3			4
Colourless	2	11		3	16
Purple		1			1
Amber			1		1

Table 4.5: Colour variation of non-flat glass.

Colour variation of glass is a universal attribute and provides researchers with a simple classification device. However, Jones and Sullivan (1989) argue that classification by colour provides little value to research as most colours correlate with neither glass types nor production technology. Despite this, glass colour can be useful for dating techniques since certain colours were more commonly used during specific eras (Lindsey 2020).

4.2.3 Identifiable Non-Flat Glass Fragments

Five non-flat glass fragments could be definitively identified as having originated from bottles.

Fragment Identification	Frequency
Bottle base	1
Bottle neck	4
TOTAL	5

Table 4.6: Identifiable non-flat glass fragments.

It could not be determined whether any of the fragments originated from the same vessel. The significant number of dark olive green non-flat glass fragments present in the assemblage prevented a minimum number of vessels (MNV) from being determined as any number of these may have originated from the same glass bottle.



Figure 4.5. Concave bottle base.



Figure 4.6. Concave bottle base.



Figure 4.7. Partial bottle neck.



Figure 4.8. Partial bottle neck.

4.2.4 Retouch

Retouched glass artefacts have been identified by archaeologists at historical sites since the mid-20th century. According to Andrefsky (2005:260) retouch is the "intentional modification…by either pressure or percussion flaking technique". The identification of retouched glass pieces in the collection from Hodgson's Cottage proved to be difficult. Porter (2015) suggests that the most useful method of identifying retouched glass fragments is visual examination and the use of low-power microscopy. The fragments tabulated below were identified based primarily on visual analysis under 50x magnification using a Dino Lite Premier Digital Microscope. In this research, retouch was identified by the pattern of the flake scars. Some scars, or notches, appeared evenly spaced and similarly sized, seeming to have been intentionally made. Usewear, as opposed to retouch, is "modification of a fragment by use" Andrefsky (2005:260). The modification to the glass fragments from the site were identified as retouch instead of usewear as there was no residue on the glass edge. No flat glass fragments were retouched. Non-flat glass fragments were likely chosen over flat glass fragments for tool production as these fragments are thicker, making the tools more durable. Although the largest number of retouched glass fragments was recovered from Exterior 3-6", these tools were likely made and used by the inhabitants of Hodgson's Cottage who stayed

there subsequent to Hodgson's departure. One hundred and forty five years elapsed between the time of occupation and the excavation of the site. It is, therefore, possible that the retouched fragments closer to the surface were scattered and lost while those lower down remained *in situ*.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Flat Glass					0
Non-Flat Glass	2	14	2	5	25

Table 4.7: Retouched glass fragments.

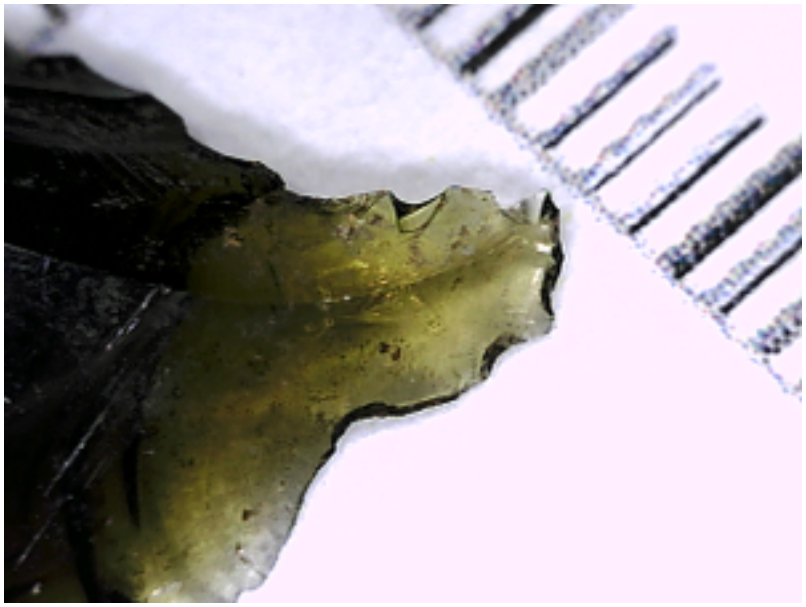


Figure 4.9: Retouched non-flat glass fragment.

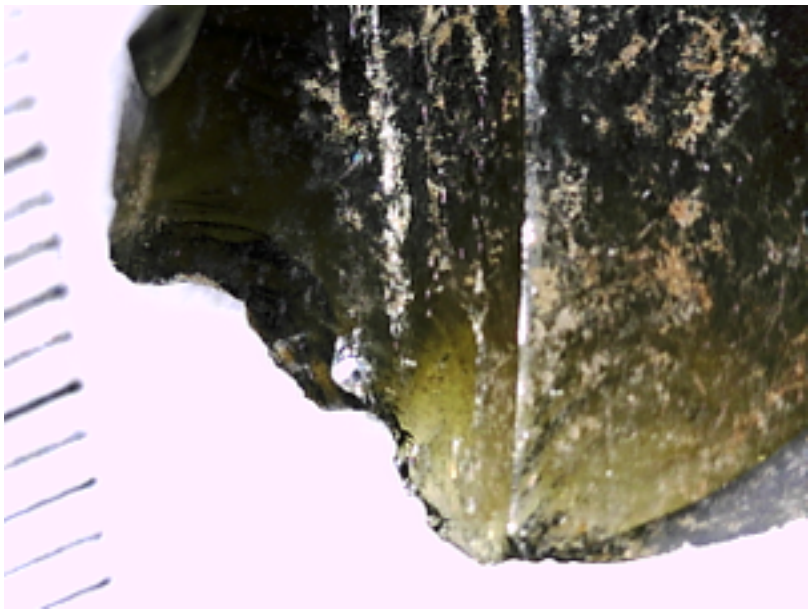


Figure 4.10: Retouched non-flat glass fragment.

4.2.5 Air Bubbles

Bubbles are formed in glass when air gets trapped during the manufacturing process (Lindsey 2020). No flat glass fragments present contain any air bubbles, but they are visible in several non-flat fragments. This may reveal information regarding the manufacturing process of the glass.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Flat Glass					0
Non-Flat Glass	6	20	3	3	31

Table 4.8: Air bubbles in glass fragments.

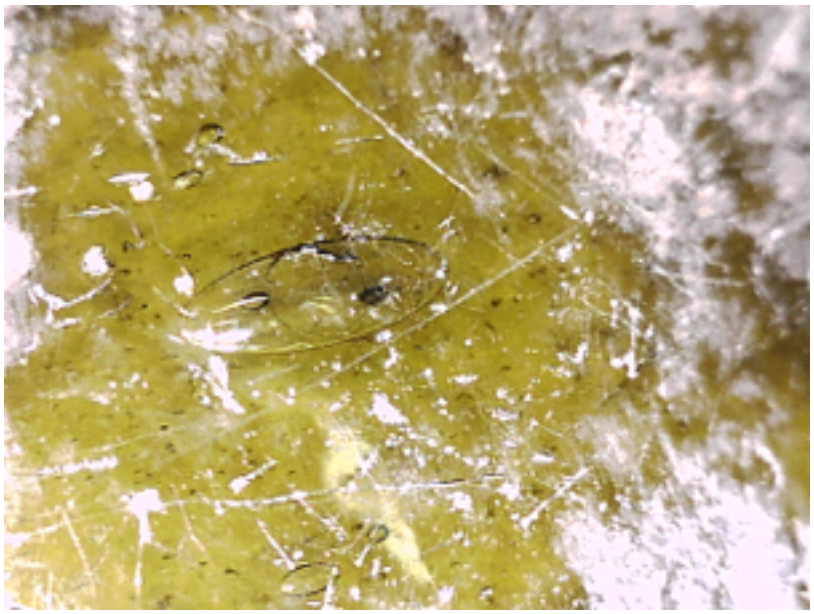


Figure 4.11: Air bubbles in non-flat glass fragment.

4.3 Local Earthenware

The name of this category was changed from Mason’s original Iron Age Pottery, as it is unclear when or where the pottery was made. A MNV could not be determined due to the variation of thickness and colour which exists within a single vessel; two or more fragments which appear entirely different could have originated from the same earthenware product, skewing the result and making the MNV unrepresentative of the collection. The pottery fragments recovered from the site may have been traded in from Bantu speaking people interacting with the mission, which could indicate patterns of trade between the Hodgsons and the indigenous people (Barker & Majewski

2006) but it is also possible that these were deposited by African groups during the subsequent occupation of the site. Another possibility is that the local earthenware sherds were deposited by the Hodgsons themselves. Mason (1986) assumes that this is the case, explaining that the fragments probably originated from complete vessels acquired from the Seleka-Rolong, “either as a curiosity or for use for holding water or other materials” (1986:911).

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Local Earthenware	14	94	45	53	206

Table 4.9: Total number of local earthenware sherds counted.

4.3.1 Decoration

The sherds are all undecorated and grit tempered, matching the description of earthenware produced by Bantu speaking groups in southern Africa. These are easily distinguishable from hunter-gatherer earthenware forms which are usually highly decorated and grass tempered (Thorp 1996). The presence of these pottery sherds in the cottage can perhaps suggest the location and patterns of movement of different groups in the interior at the time, although the identity of these groups, and thereby the users of the local earthenware, remains up for debate. As previously discussed, many groups were displaced by the *Difaqane,* being forced to adopt a migratory lifestyle as they couldn't settle in one location for too long out of fear of the raiders. Hodgson’s Cottage may have been a temporary residence for a Bantu speaking group navigating the turbulent interior, as suggested by the presence of pottery.

4.3.2 Burning

Present in the collection are local earthenware sherds which exhibit evidence of burning, likely caused when the pots were originally fired or when subsequently placed in a fire for cooking purposes. When fuel sticks to a vessel, an anaerobic atmosphere is created wherein iron compounds in the clay oxidise, turning black (Lawton 1965).

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Evidence of burning	3	32	31	40	106

4.10: Earthenware sherds with evidence of burning.

4.3.3 Colour Variation of Local Earthenware

The local earthenware sherds are all comprised of one or more of the following colours: brown, grey, black, red, yellow and orange. Many sherds are comprised of different coloured layers, some of which repeat. This could be the result of a deliberate colour application by the maker using raw materials such as graphite and ochre (Lawton 1965). Another cause may be clay discolouration from fire when the earthenware vessels were used for cooking. No food residue was found on any of the sherds, however.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
1 layer	12	71	28	31	142
2 layers	2	23	13	6	44
3 layers			3	3	6
4 layers				4	4
More than 4 layers			1	9	10

Table 4.11: Colour variation of local earthenware sherds.

4.4 Metal Objects

The metal objects present in the collection are in a poor state of preservation and flake easily at the touch. In his count, Mason identified 62 metal objects, while only 48 are currently present.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Metal Objects	2	16	12	18	48

Table 4.12: Total number of metal objects counted.

4.4.1 Identifiable Metal Objects: Nails

Most of the metal objects recovered from the site are unidentifiable as they are heavily oxidised and only flakes remain. The only identifiable metal artefacts are nails, which are fairly well preserved.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Nails		9	4	7	20

Table 4.13: Identifiable metal objects.

4.4.1.1 Nail Length

The nails in the assemblage are varied in length and shape, with a difference of 46,8 mm between the longest (68 mm) and the shortest (21, 2 mm).

Nail Length	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
20-30 mm			2	2	4
30-40 mm		2	1	4	6
40-50 mm		2		1	4
50-60 mm		3		1	4
60-70 mm		2			2

Table 4.14: Nail length.



Figure 4.12: Longest nail in artefact assemblage (68mm).

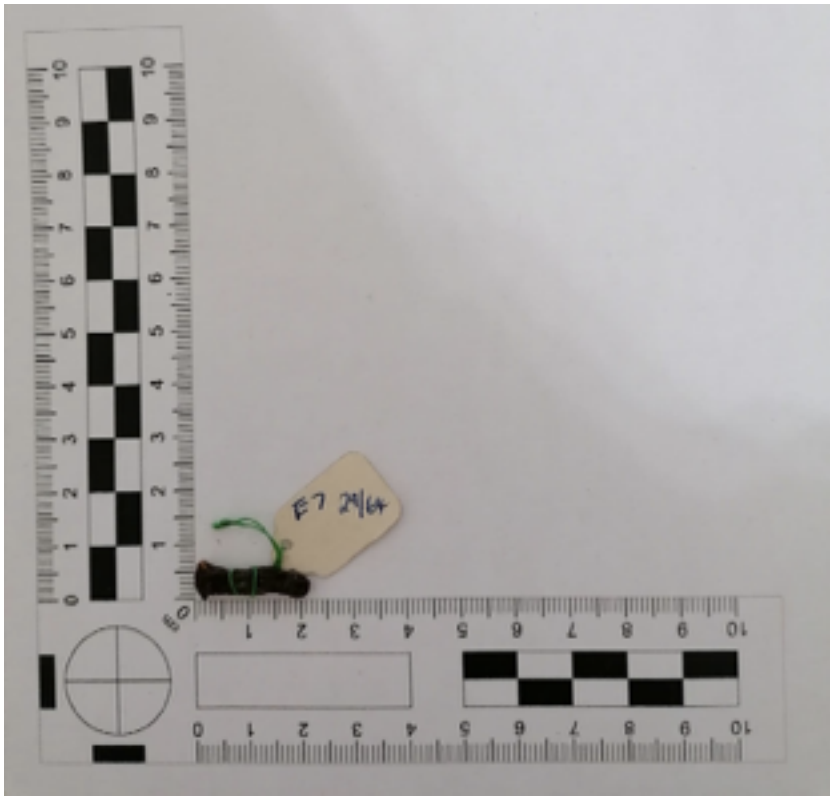


Figure 4.13: Shortest nail in artefact assemblage (21.2mm).

4.4.1.2 Nail Identification

Using Nelson's technical leaflet (1968) and Middleton's (2005) paper, the nails were classified into types:

Type of Nail	Frequency
Rosehead	6
Sprig / brad	7
Flathead	3
Clout	1
Unknown	3
TOTAL	20

Table 4.15: Identification of nail types.

4.5 Slate

Archaeologically, slate was commonly used to write on and was commonly used as a teaching aid during missions for reading and writing (Davies 2005, Smith 2014). Hodgson and/or Ann likely used slate during their time at Matlwasse for the same purpose.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Slate		17	8		26

Table 4.16: Total number of slate fragments counted.

4.5.1 Markings

The slate fragments present are unlined and markings could only be definitively recognised on four of the fragments. No letters could be seen, only lines and shapes. It is difficult to determine whether these markings were intentionally made or whether the slate was scratched after being discarded. The markings seen on the fragments in figures 4.14 and 4.15 appear to have been intentionally made, as assumed by Mason (1986).

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Markings		3	1		4

Table 4.17: Slate fragments with markings.



Figure 4.14: Slate fragment with markings.



Figure 4.15: Slate fragment with markings.

4.6 Bone

In his original count, Mason recorded 108 bone fragments from Hodgson's Cottage. However, only one is currently present and due to its small size, is unidentifiable. No incisions or other distinguishing marks are present on the fragment. As an analysis could not be conducted, Mason's (1986) analysis of the bone fragments recovered from the site was used.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Bone				1	1

Table 4.18: Total number of bone fragments counted.



Figure 4.16: Bone fragment.

According to Mason (1986), 100 of the 108 bone fragments were found in the interior of the cottage and were deposited by the African groups who occupied the cottage subsequent to Hodgson. The following animals were identified from the bones on the floor of the kitchen and bedroom:

1 hartebeest size bovid

1 sheep/goat size bovid

1 impala size bovid

1 duiker size of smaller bovid

1 red rock hare

1 fish bone

Amongst the bones are at least six long bone fragments with well-rubbed ends. This suggests that some of the bones were used for skin rubbing in the preparation of clothing (Mason 1986). No further discussion of the bone fragments is provided by Mason.

4.7 Ostrich Eggshell

Ostrich eggs are highly valued amongst southern African groups; partly because of their high nutritional value and partly because of their cultural and functional use (Hitchcock 2012). However, ostrich eggshells were also used by other individuals on the landscape, including missionaries, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Egg shell		3		2	5

Table 4.19: Total number of ostrich eggshell fragments counted.



Figure 4.17: Ostrich eggshell fragment.

4.8 Mollusc Shell

The mollusc shell present in the collection was misidentified by Mason as a bone fragment. The presence of such a shell may indicate an interaction between Hodgson and the surrounding environment and the use of available resources in order to survive.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Mollusc shell		1			1

Table 4.20: Total number of mollusc shell fragments counted.

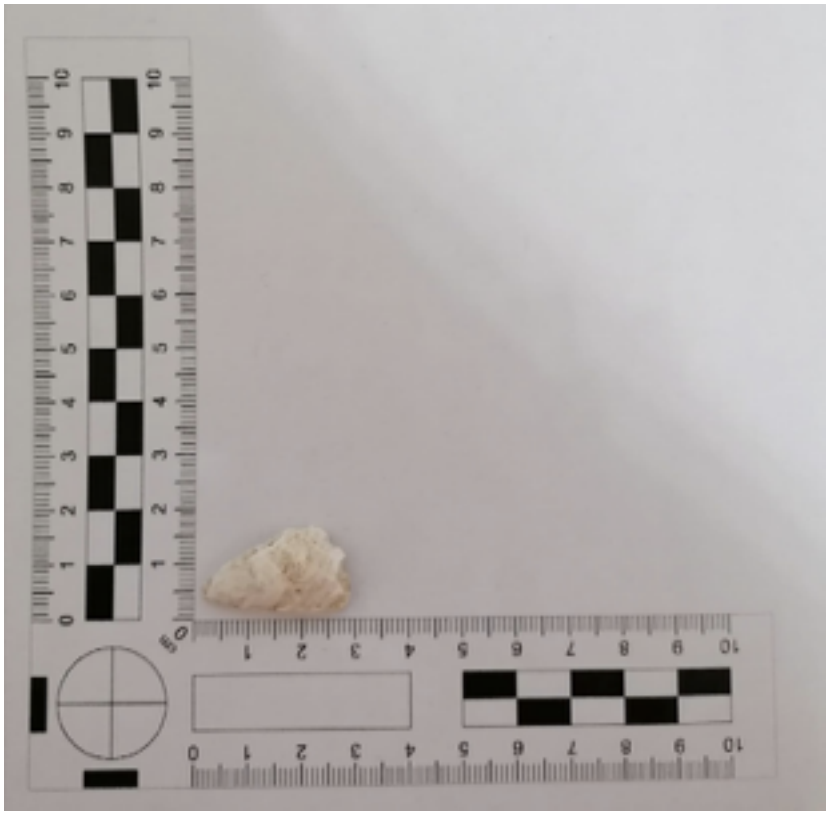


Figure 4.18: Mollusc shell.

4.9 Gunflint

Historically, gunflint was needed to ignite the flintlock of a firearm, lighting the gunpowder stored in the barrel (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 2016). The fact that missionaries carried firearms attests to the political milieu of the country during that time. This will be explored at length in the chapter to follow.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Gunflint		1		1	2

Table 4.21: Total number of gunflint pieces counted.



Figure 4.19: Gunflint.

4.10 Percussion Caps

Three percussion caps are present in the collection from Hodgson’s Cottage, all of which were excavated from square G1 in the Exterior 3-6” layer. Like gunflint, percussion caps were used in the ignition mechanism of firearms. The flintlock system proved to be unreliable due to powder dampness and an inadequate spark for ignition, paving the way for the invention of percussion caps in the early 19th century (Weber & Scott 2006). The cap contained fulminate of mercury and was sealed between the nipple and hammer of the firearm. When the hammer struck the cap, the fulminate of mercury exploded and sent flames through the hollow nipple and drum, igniting the powder in the barrel. This method provided faster ignition and increased reliability, and although

flintlock firearms were produced into the 1970s, their use began to decline by the 1830s in favour of more dependable percussion cap systems (Bennett 2011).

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Percussion Caps		3			3

Table 4.22: Total number of Percussion Caps counted.

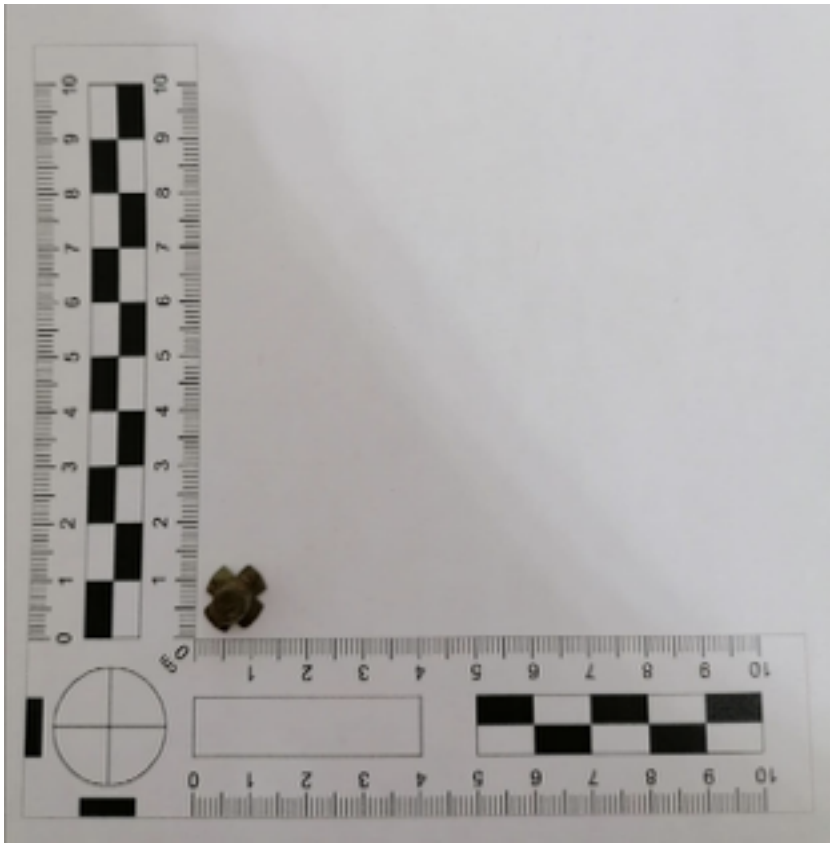


Figure 4.20. Top Hat Percussion Cap.

4.11 Lithics

As the most durable artefact type, lithics are invaluable to archaeologists, often being the only remaining material culture from archaeological sites. Lithic technology is ubiquitous across time and space, having been used by almost all historic societies on all inhabited continents. Although changes in the fundamental technology are rare, differences in the way primary flakes are produced or in the style and extent of retouch can be attributed to distinct societies. Further, lithics provide crucial information regarding the social organisation, economic activities and organisation of

exchange networks of past people over space and time (Phillipson 2009, Horowitz & McCall 2019). Aside from the identification of lithic type, little information could be gathered from the lithics excavated from Hodgson's Cottage. In his analysis, Mason (1986:889) refers to the lithics as Late Stone Age artefacts, which he surmises may have been incorporated in the plaster which Hodgson applied to the walls of the cottage.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Lithics				4	4

Table 4.23: Total number of lithics counted.

4.11.1 Identification of Lithic Types

The diagnostic features used for identification were those outlined by Patterson (1983) namely, bulb of percussion, undulating ripple lines, flake scars and striking platform. These lithics were likely made and used during the post-Hodgson occupation. However, their use could not be determined as there was no residue present.

Type of Lithic	Frequency
Flake	2
Scraper	2

Table 4.24: Identification of lithics.



Figure 4.21: Scraper.



Figure 4.22: Scraper.

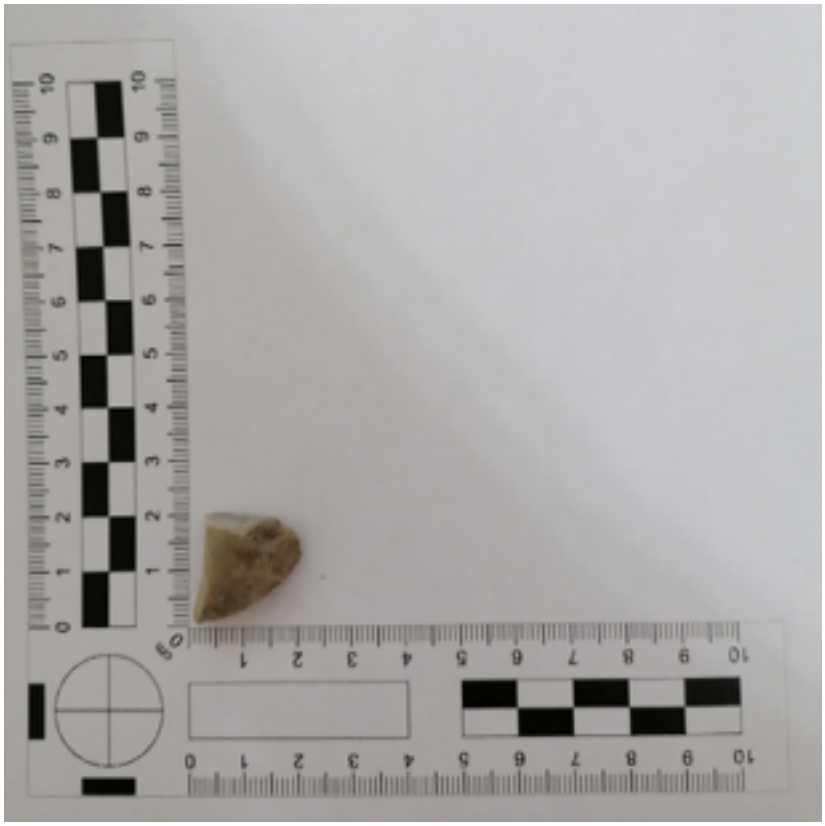


Figure 4.23: Flake.



Figure 4.24: Flake.

4.12 Imported Ceramics

The ceramics from Hodgson's Cottage likely originated from vessels which were brought by Hodgson from England and would have been utilitarian, rather than ornamental, in nature. Utilitarian items are those designated for general household use and may have included plates, bowls, dishes, cups, jugs, and containers for the preparation and/or storage of consumables (Klose 2007:6). Owing to the fragmentary nature of the ceramic collection, variations in thickness within a single vessel and the intricacy of some of the patterns, the MNV could only be calculated by variation in colour or significant differences in thickness between fragments. As a result, the MNV calculated came to 10, which is likely non-representative of the collection.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Imported Ceramics	14	63	16	19	112

Table 4.25: Total number of imported ceramic fragments counted.

4.12.1 Identification of Ceramic Classes

Klose (2007) describes three classes of ceramics: stoneware, earthenware and porcelain. In non-technical terms, these can be defined as follows (Klose 2007:5):

- **Earthenware:** relatively soft, low-fired, porous, opaque ceramic. Must be glazed to be completely watertight. Can be either coarse in texture and earth-coloured or fine-grained (refined) with a wide colour variation.
- **Stoneware:** hard, dense, high-fired, non-porous, opaque ceramic. Can be either coarse-textured or fine-grained and is generally stone coloured.
- **Porcelain:** hard, dense, high to very high-fired, non-porous ceramic. White to grey-white in colour, fine-textured, translucent.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Porcelain					0
Stoneware	5	18	2	6	31
Refined Earthenware	9	45	14	13	81

Table 4.26: Identification of imported ceramics.

4.12.2 Colour Variation of Imported Ceramics

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Dark Brown		1	2	5	8
Medium Brown	1	6		1	8
Light Brown	4	5			9
Grey		5			5
Beige		1			1

Table 4.27: Colour variation of stoneware fragments.

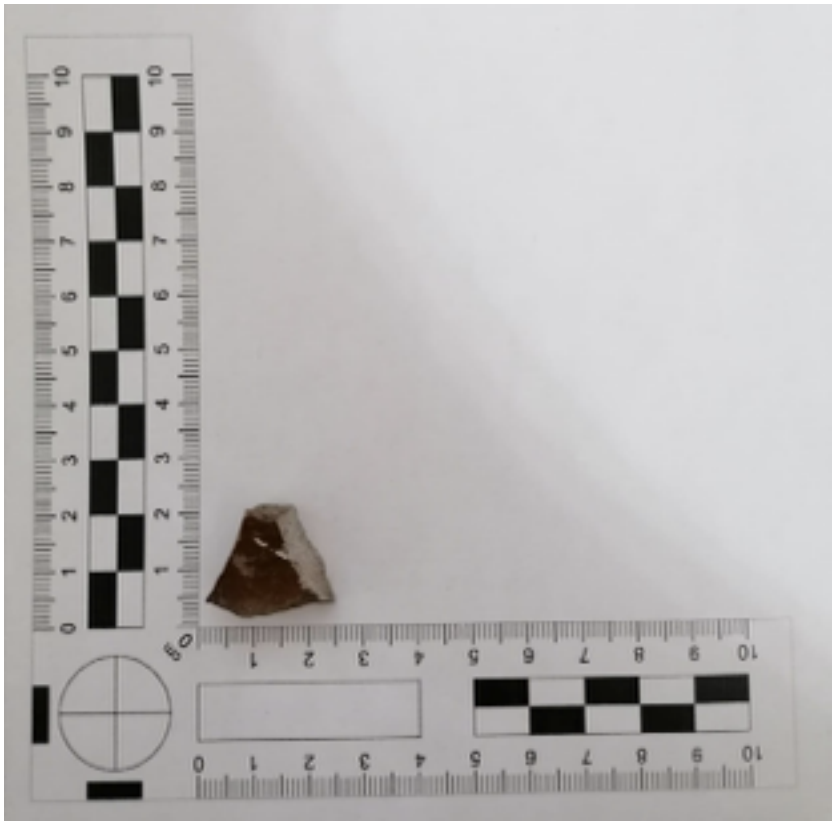


Figure 4.25: Dark brown stoneware fragment.



Figure 4.26: Medium brown stoneware fragment.

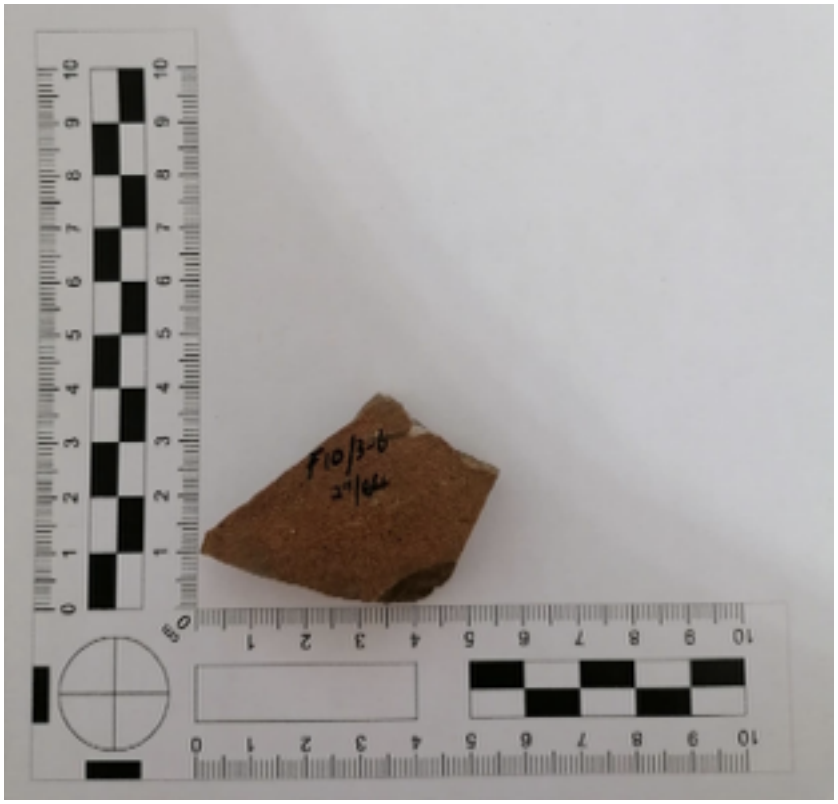


Figure 4.27: Light brown stoneware fragment.



Figure 4.28: Grey stoneware fragment.

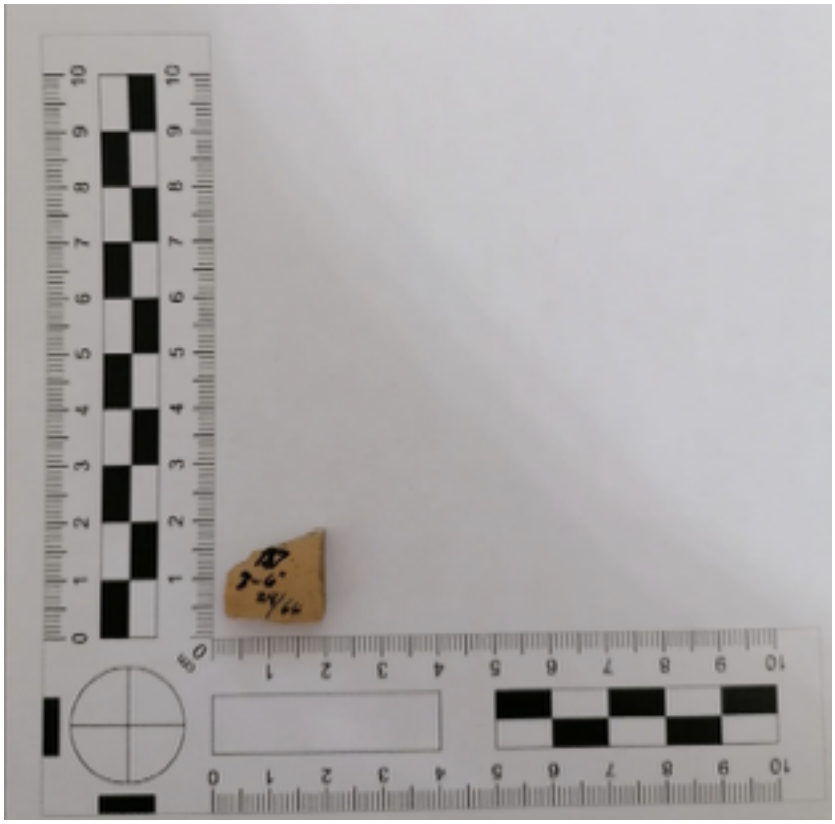


Figure 4.29: Beige stoneware fragment.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Cream/White	6	23	21	4	54
Blue & White	3	19	1	1	24
Black-Brown		1			1
Green & White		1			1
Brown & White		1			1

Table 4.28: Colour variation of refined earthenware fragments.

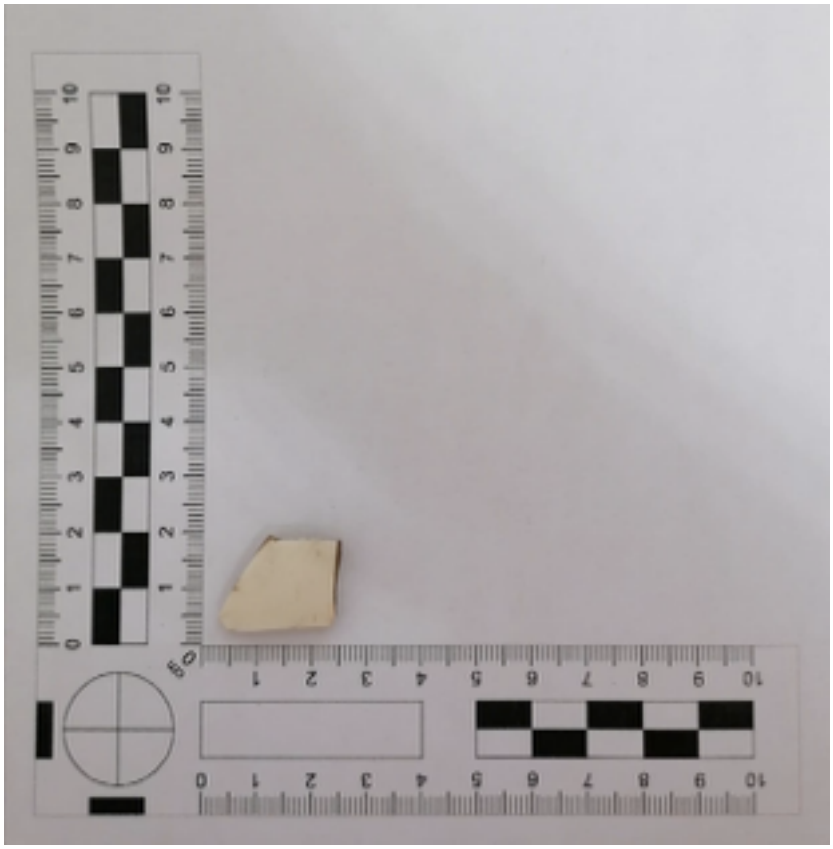


Figure 4.30: Cream/white refined earthenware fragment.

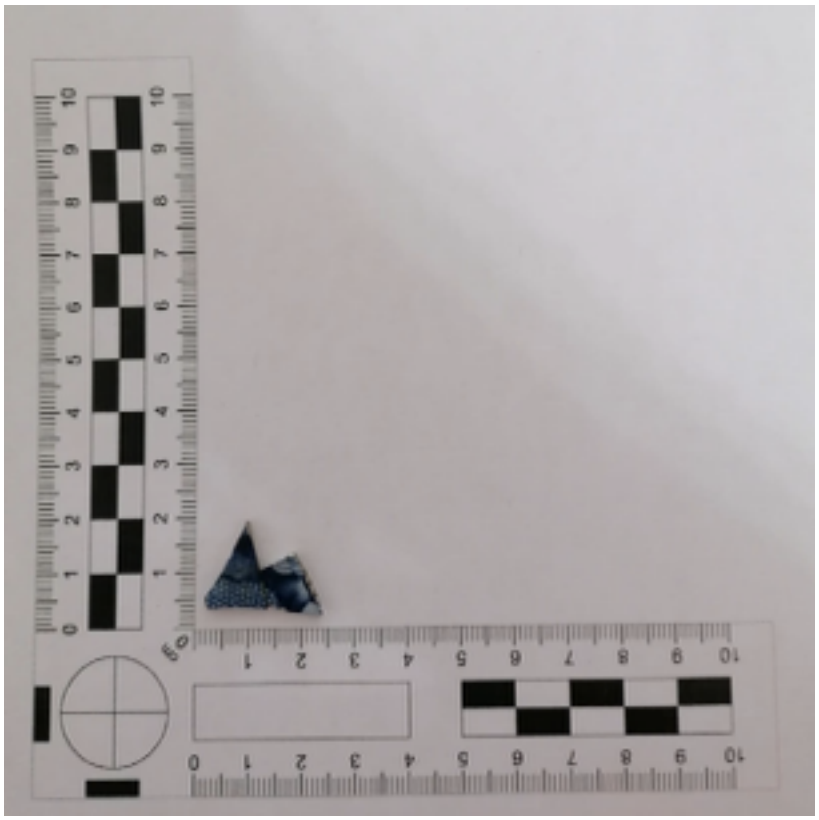


Figure 4.31: Blue & white refined earthenware fragment.

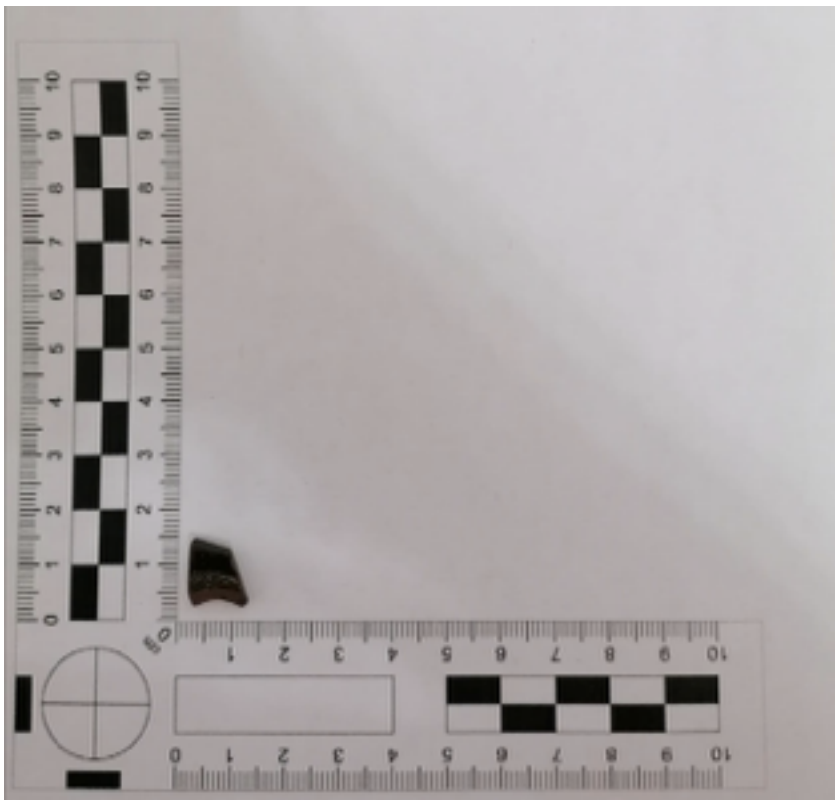


Figure 4.32: Black-brown refined earthenware fragment.

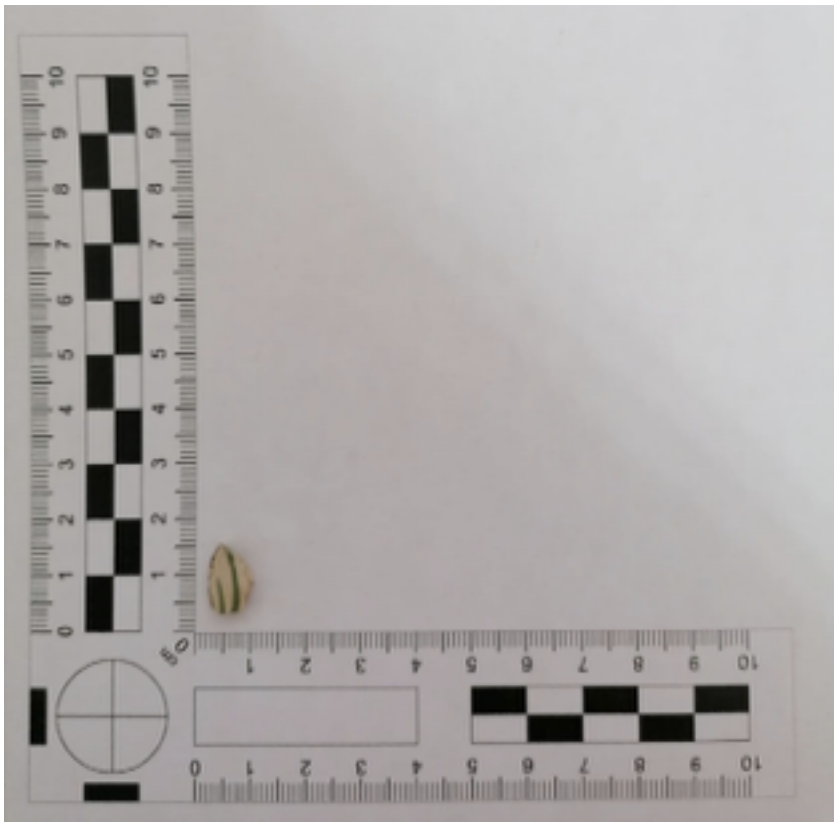


Figure 4.33: Green & white refined earthenware fragment.

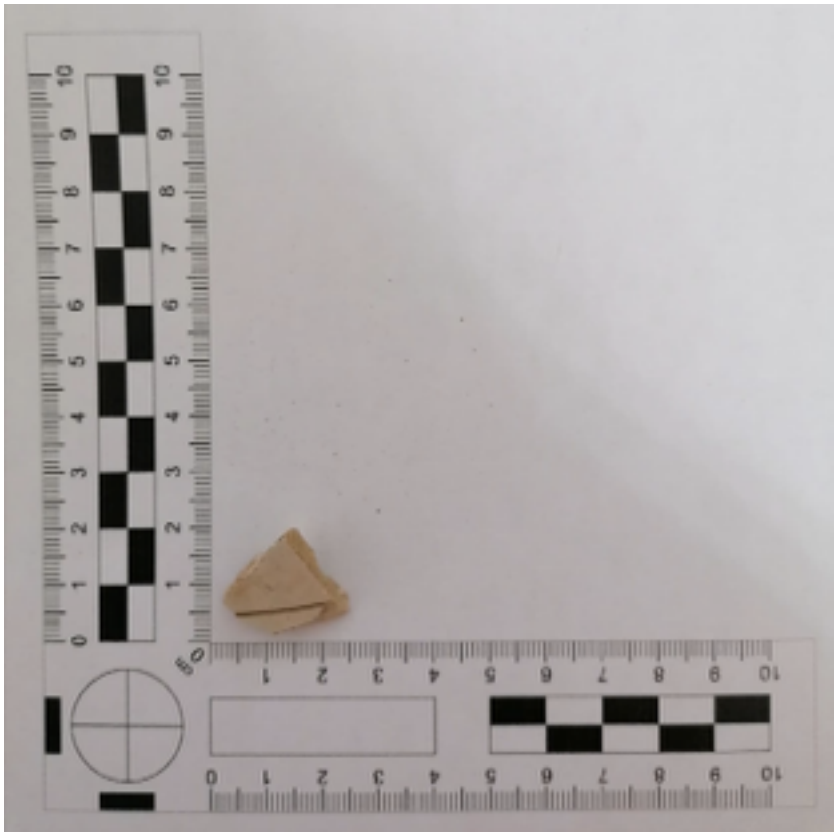


Figure 4.34: Brown & white refined earthenware fragment.

Mason was able to match nine blue and white refined earthenware fragments:



Figure 4.35. Imported ceramic fragments matched by Mason.

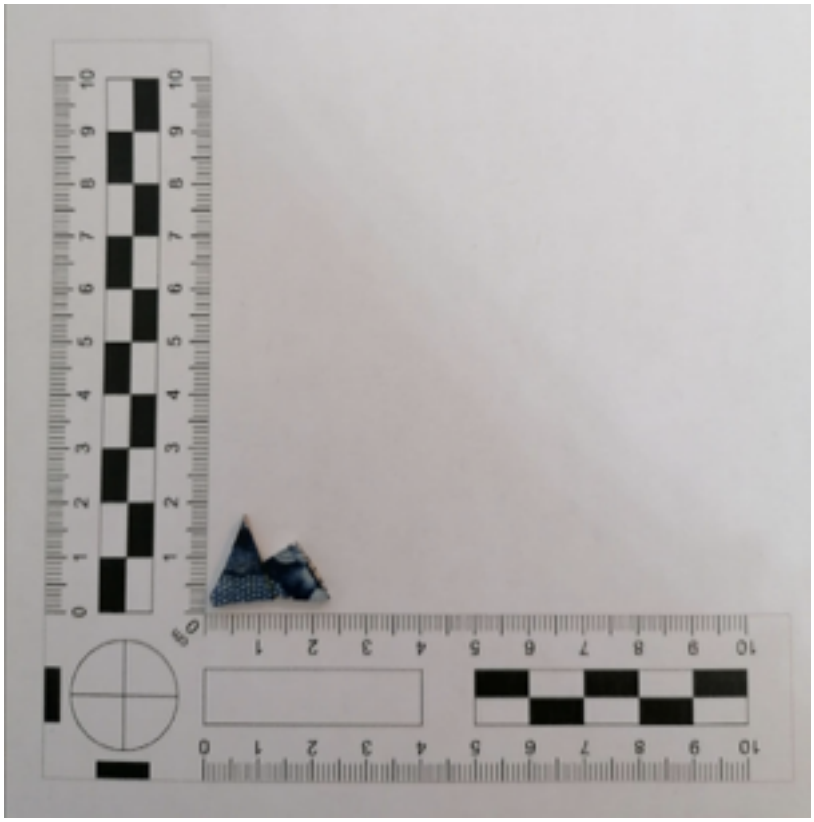


Figure 4.36. Imported ceramic fragments matched by Mason.

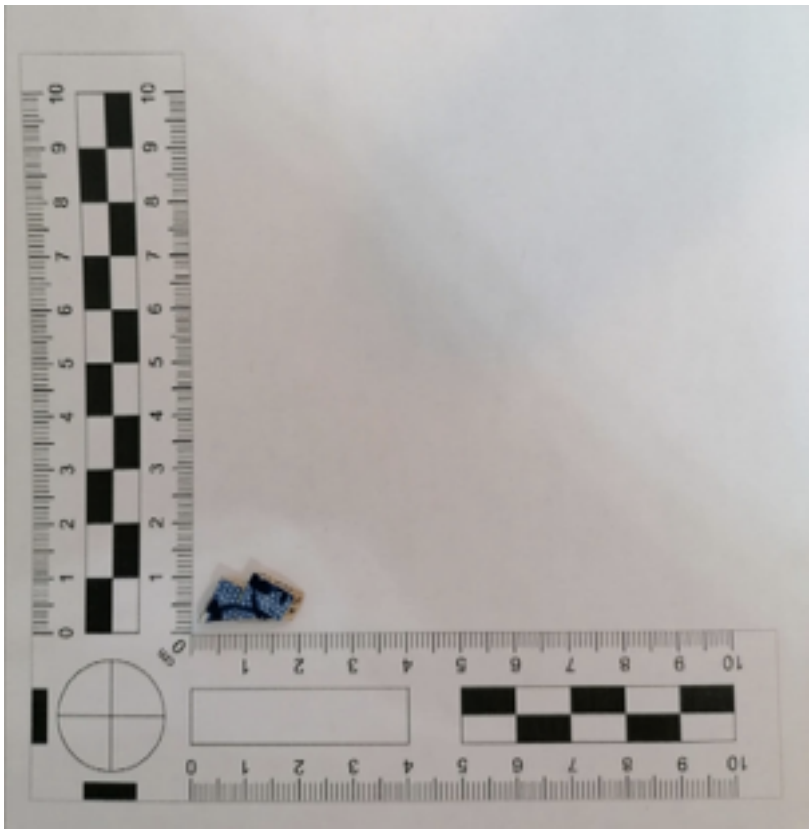


Figure 4.37. Imported ceramic fragments matched by Mason.

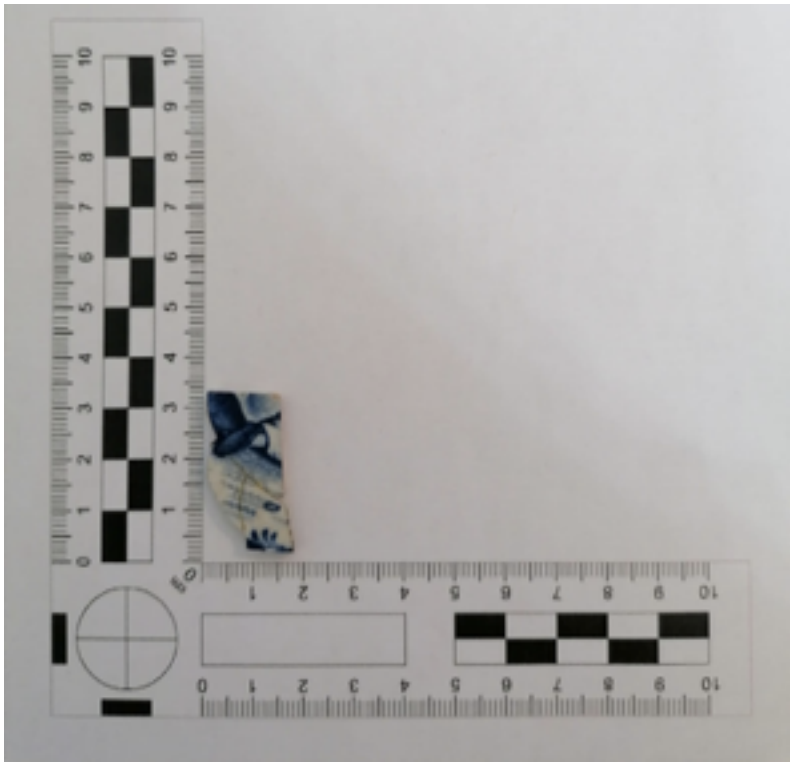


Figure 4.38. Imported ceramic fragments matched by Mason.

4.12.3 Rims & Footrings

The vessels from which the rims and footings originate are unknown. The rim fragments could have originated from most household vessels, such as plates, bowls, cups etc. Based on observation, the fragments with part of a footring on the underside could have originated from plates.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Rim	4	9	1	4	18
Footring		4		1	5

Table 4.29: Ceramic fragments with rims and footrings.

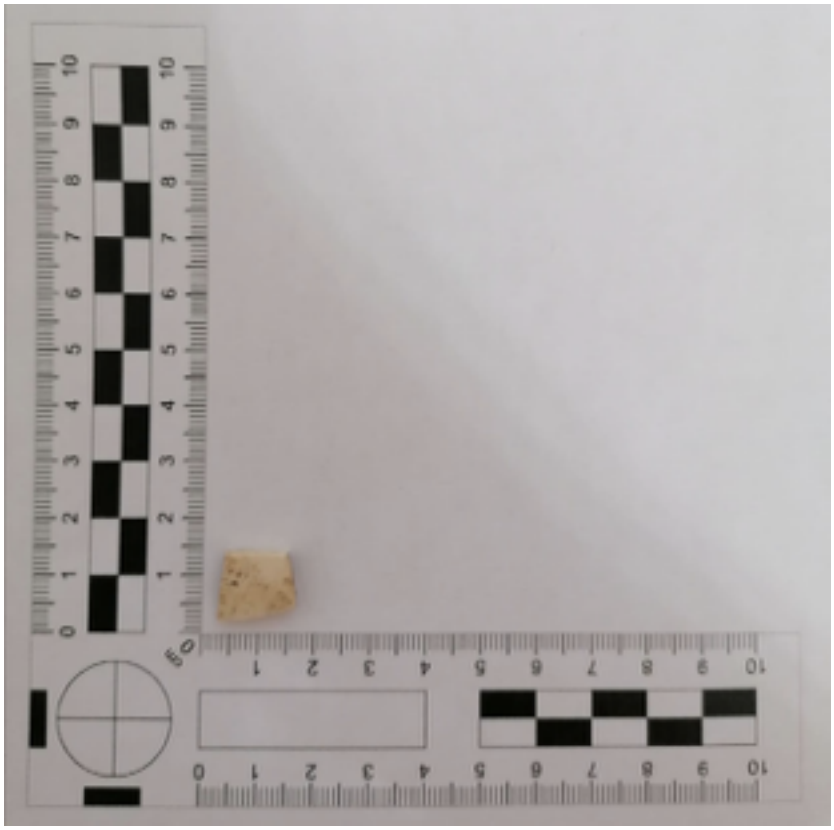


Figure 4.39: Vessel rim.

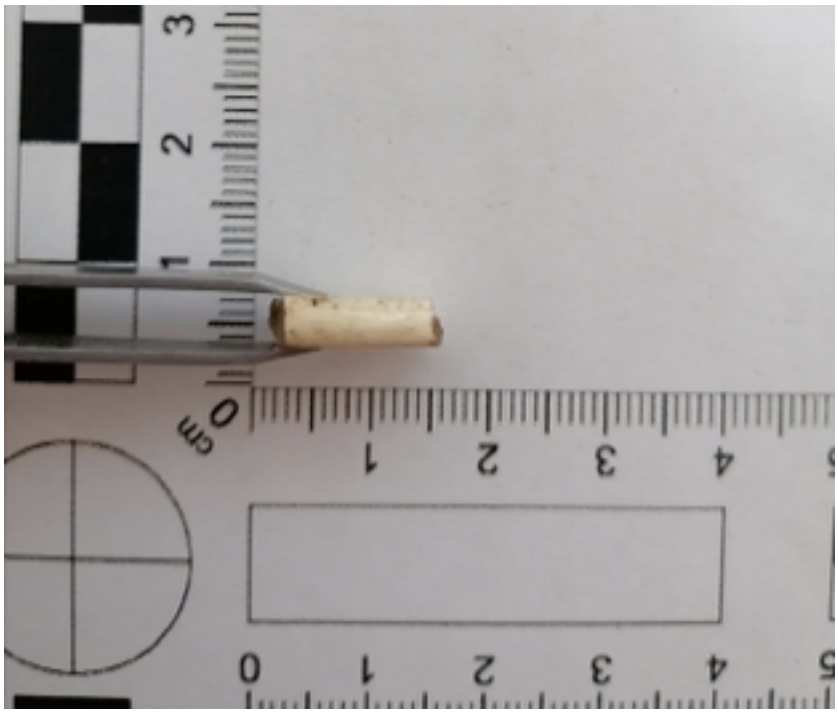


Figure 4.40: Vessel rim.



Figure 4.41: Footring.

4.13 Missing Artefacts

A significant number of artefacts counted by Mason are not currently present in the collection. Some of these were sent to the British Museum, although it is unclear which.

	Exterior 0-3”	Exterior 3-6”	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Glass	63	6	2	2	73
Iron Age Pottery	23	1	4	3	31
Metal Objects	1	2	5	6	14
Percussion Caps	1				
Slate	3	1			4
Bone	2	6	84	14	106
Egg Shell		3			
Mollusc Shell					

Gunflint					
Lithics					
Beads	1	1			2
Imported Ceramics	1	4	6	5	16

Table 4.30: Missing artefacts.

4.14 Additional Artefacts

A number of additional artefacts were also identified. These were not accounted for in Mason's tally of artefacts from any particular square. These may have been accidentally placed in the wrong bags and may account for some of the missing artefacts. However, it is impossible to ascertain which squares these artefacts may have been excavated from.

	Exterior 0-3"	Exterior 3-6"	Interior Kitchen	Interior Bedroom	TOTAL
Glass		7		1	8
Iron Age Pottery		2	1	1	4
Metal Objects			2		2
Percussion Caps					
Slate		1			1
Bone					
Egg Shell			4		4
Mollusc Shell		1			1
Gunflint					
Beads					
Lithics	5		4		9
Imported Ceramics			1		1

Table 4.31: Additional artefacts.

4.15 Conclusion

Hodgson and his family spent a number of years in Africa, but only settled at Matlwasse for several months in 1823, and were able to pack all of their belongings when they relocated (Mason 1986). As a result, the accumulation of artefacts that they left behind is minimal. Although the assemblage is small, certain suggestions can be made about the possible activities that were performed in and around the residence. Additionally, Hodgson's Cottage provides a lens through which to study the political situation at the time, providing insight into how this affected both the missionaries as well as the African people. These themes will be explored further in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The material culture from Hodgson's Cottage provides valuable information about the lives and activities of the people who lived there. Artefacts provide access to people who have long since died, allowing researchers a glimpse into the users' identities and subjective realities (Lesick 1997). In the case study of Hodgson's Cottage, the residence provides the smallest unit of analysis which can be used to study the activities of its occupants. However, material culture cannot be studied in isolation. The broader political situation in the country at the time needs to be considered to understand how the household reflects wider social and cultural realities. Individual lives need to be understood in relation to wider social contexts so as for archaeologists to achieve an accurate representation of the lived experiences of the inhabitants of any given household (King 2006, Stahl 2010, Beaudry 2015). The multi-disciplinary nature of historical and household archaeology means that the written evidence in the form of Hodgson's journals and Ann's letters significantly enriches the interpretation of the site, shedding light on both the personal and greater social contexts in which Hodgson and his family found themselves. Additionally, the written evidence provides precise chronological parameters regarding the occupation period of the cottage, which is central to the interpretation of the artefact assemblage (Johnson 1999, Lucas 2006). It must be mentioned, however, that the journals and letters are written from a subjective standpoint. They should therefore be used only as a basis for interpretation and a frame with which to support arguments based on the archaeological data (Johnson 1999). Be that as it may, the written evidence, when used in conjunction with the material culture, can help researchers not only gather information about the lived experiences of English missionaries in southern Africa at the time but also about the harsh realities faced by the African people in the time of the *Difaqane*. In the case of this research where the archaeological assemblage is so small, the use of the available written evidence proved vital to the interpretation of artefacts.

Interestingly, Ann's letters which were written during her time at Matlwasse are missing from the collection accessed from the Historical Papers research archive at the University of the Witwatersrand. In the mid-1830s, Hodgson compiled an account of Ann's life at the request of many of his friends. The subject matter was so well received that Hodgson was urged to allow its publication, so he handed the project over to William Shaw who compiled the Memoirs of Mrs.

Anne Hodgson (1836). This memoir is primarily composed of extracts from Hodgson's journals but also contains excerpts from letters written by Ann while stationed at Matlwasse, as well as excerpts from her diaries, which, like some of her letters, also seem to have been lost. Some of the extracts provided by Shaw have been used here. Additionally, Shaw (1836) spelled Anne with an "e", but when signing off on her letters, Mrs Hodgson spelled her name, Ann. For this reason, I have used the latter spelling of her name in this thesis.

5.2 Analyzing the Artefacts

While the assemblage recovered from Hodgson's Cottage may not be extensive, there are artefacts which certainly require further discussion. As archaeologists, our access to people situated in the past is mediated through objects and artefacts, making the study of material culture central to this research. Since human beings experience material forms every day, the meanings with which these objects become imbued usually go unnoticed. Hence, is our job as custodians of the past to actively engage with material culture and extrapolate the symbolism and significance of past objects (Burkhart 2006, Brewer & Fritzer 2011). Blandy and Bolin (2012:42) outline a three-part system for investigating artefacts:

1. Descriptive Operation: describe the object with regard to shape, details, weight, colour, etc.
2. Classification Operation: classify the object based on comparisons with other similar objects.
3. Interpretive Operation: interpret the meanings attributed to the object.

Material culture remains central to studies about the past as they convey knowledge about the lived experiences of individuals and groups, beyond what is available in the form of written evidence (Reeves 2015). Additionally, material culture allows one to consider the interaction between different groups (Stahl 2010). This is relevant to the case of Hodgson's Cottage as numerous groups of different identities were present on the landscape during this period in history.

5.3 Flat Glass

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the flat glass recovered from Hodgson's Cottage during Mason's excavation most likely originated from window panes. Historically, window glass was manufactured primarily through one of two methods: crown or cylinder. The crown method generally yielded smaller panes which varied considerably in thickness from the centre to the edges (Scharfenberger 2004:65). On the other hand, the cylinder method yielded larger panes of a more uniform thickness. Both of these methods were used from the 16th into the 19th centuries, but crown glass fell out of use early in the 19th century while cylinder glass remained in use until the

machine-driven manufacture of modern window glass in the early 20th century (Lorrain 1968, Scharfenberger 2004). In his paper, Weiland (2009) writes that glass recovered from an archaeological site which was made in accordance with the cylinder method can provide valuable dating information as this method was predominantly used during the 19th century. Over the course of the century, the thickness of panes gradually increased to accommodate an increase in overall pane size. This continued until workers were replaced by machines in the 20th century and glass panes became standardised to between 3.0 mm and 3.3 mm in thickness. Consequently, particular pane thicknesses can be correlated with specific periods in history. This method works best at sites with short occupation periods as original thinner window panes are less likely to have been replaced with thicker ones. Weiland (2009) adds that this method is best used in conjunction with other dating techniques as window thickness does vary slightly between regions, which could confuse results. The average thickness of between 1,42 mm and 1,52 mm for flat glass fragments from Hodgson's Cottage is considerably thinner than the 3.0 mm - 3.3 mm modern-day standard, which suggests very small panes. Smaller panes would have been easier to transport and less likely to break when being transferred to the site via wagon (Esterhuysen, Klatsow & Hunt 2019). During his research, Mason sent several glass fragments to Dr. R.J. Charleston from the British Museum in London for study. Interestingly, Charleston explained that the window glass "is very imperfect and does not really offer any possibility of dating" (Mason 1986:892). Four hundred and thirty-eight out of 504 flat glass fragments were recovered from the exterior of the cottage. This suggests that the windows were either broken outwards after Hodgson's departure or the walls collapsed outwards when the structure began to crumble.

5.4 Colour Variation of Non-Flat Glass

The colour of glass vessels is usually produced by metallic oxides. The concentration of the oxides, their level of oxidation or reduction, the thickness of the glass itself as well as the presence of additional oxides and impurities all affect the colour of the glass produced. Common metallic oxides added to glass to alter the colour are iron, manganese, cobalt, copper, tin, uranium, nickel, silver and chromium (Jones & Sullivan 1989:13). Most bottle glass is primarily comprised of silica, soda or potash, and lime. The silica makes up 60-80% of the glass and is obtained from sand. The purer the sand, i.e. the greater the concentration of silica and the lower the concentration of iron, the greater the control over the final colour. Glass produced from pure silica would yield colourless glass, but the expense of pure silica and the much higher temperatures needed for proper smelting make it an impractical commercial choice (Lindsey 2020). The final colour of glass is determined

by the control of impurities in the batch as well as the addition of certain compounds in varying quantities to achieve the desired colour (Lindsey 2020). Bottles made from only sand, soda and lime with no additional colourants will usually be various shades of green because of iron in the sand. Generally, lower levels of iron produce pale blues, greens and aquas while higher levels of iron produce darker greens and browns. To achieve other colours, iron needs to be neutralised and other colouring agents added (Lockhart 2006, Lindsey 2020).

5.4.1 Dark Olive Green

Dark olive green is achieved by using coal instead of wood as fuel during smelting as well as through the inclusion of high levels of manganese, iron, carbon and occasionally cobalt (Jones & Sullivan 1989). Dark green or olive green glass often appears black and can be nearly opaque. These bottles were more commonly used during and before the 19th century for wine and champagne, mineral water (during and prior to the 1880s), ink (during and prior to the 1880s), snuff (prior to 1970), medicines (during and prior to the 1860s), beer, ale and all types of liquor (prior to 1910), figured flasks (prior to 1870) and some, but seldom, food items (during and prior to the 1880s) (Newman 1977, Jones & Sullivan 1989, Lindsey 2020). The dark hue offered the most protection to the contents, shielding it from light. Darkly coloured bottles were typically used for liquor, wine and ale during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, as these liquids required protection from light to maintain quality (Jones & Sullivan 1989, Lindsey 2020). Dark, or olive, green is one of the oldest bottle shades, dating back to at least the 17th century in Europe. Fragments of such bottles are prevalent at archaeological sites predating 1880, making them useful for site dating (Lindsey 2020).

The majority of non-flat glass fragments from Hodgson's Cottage are dark green and likely originated from bottles, as suggested by the presence of bottle bases and neck shards. As mentioned above, bottles of this colour were usually used for alcohol in the 19th century. This deduction is supported by the relatively large bottlenecks and concave bases. Interestingly, no mention of alcohol is made by Hodgson in his journals. Missionary James Cameron at Platberg mission station often spoke of difficulties in restricting alcohol at the station. Particular favourites were traditional beer and brandy (Hunt 2020). The consumption of traditional beer is an ancient custom for many Africans, with its production being one of the early technologies developed and subsequently refined over millennia. Traditional beer is prepared through the fermentation of millet or honey and sorghum (Myadze & Rwomire 2014). The migratory lifestyle of many African communities at the

time, as a result of the *Difaqane,* would have prevented the preparation of alcoholic beverages, and such drinking practices were therefore not brought to Hodgson's attention. Brandy would have originated from the colony, and traders would arrive at Platberg to sell the beverage to the African people living there (Hunt 2020). It is worth noting that Platberg was established in 1833, 10 years after Hodgson's first stay at Matlwasse. It stands to reason that alcohol only became problematic to missionaries later, and was not a concern of Hodgson at the time.

Additionally, alcohol has been used within the medical realm for centuries, with some of the earliest evidence dating to approximately 5000 years ago (Holloway 2014, Mundasad 2014, Rourke 2017). It is therefore possible that missionaries used alcohol as part of their medicine chests, although no mention of this is made by Hodgson. The occurrence of missionaries as medical men was not uncommon, and many missionaries chose to emphasise their medical work as it was in this area that progress was being made amongst indigenous groups. It was through medicine that missionaries were able to integrate into African societies, contributing significantly to their acceptance by the people. Their medicine chests made missionaries important to the groups amongst which they lived (Woodward 2011). In southern Africa, an indigenous doctor and healer was commonly referred to as a *ngaka* by the BaTswana, with variations such as *nganga* and *inyanga* existing amongst other Bantu speaking and Zulu groups (Dube 2014). This term was often applied to missionaries, and the presence of medicine kits served to strengthen this identity (Landau 1996). To illustrate, while Robert Moffat was quick to condemn indigenous healing practices and the healers who performed them to the realm of evil, the BaTswana began integrating him into their guild of healers as they shared a common goal: improving people's lives (Dube 2014). As part of their preaching, missionaries would speak of 'everlasting life', and in many Bantu languages, the word for life also signifies health. As a result, when missionaries connected healing with salvation, their message seemed to be understood. The goal of the gospel - a bettering of one's life - was seen to be in line with the role of the *ngaka* and Jesus himself was likened to an *ngaka,* owing to his apparent healing powers described in the Bible (Landau 1996, Dube 2014). Moffat's successful administering of medication served to strengthen his identity as an *ngaka*, fostering respect amongst the BaTswana (Dube 2014). By providing medical care, missionaries gained personal entry into the homes and lives of African people, which often had a positive effect on evangelization. Missionaries believed in the interrelatedness of illness and sin and their role as healers allowed them to preach this idea to those who sought help (Landau 1996).

In light of the importance of missionaries as medical workers and of the role of alcohol in medical practices as highlighted above, the presence of alcohol bottles at Hodgson's Cottage is indeed possible. However, medicine does not seem to have been administered by Hodgson, although he was no stranger to illness during his time in Africa. On different occasions, Hodgson writes of Mary Ann being ill: "… having sore eyes, a complaint which much and dreadfully prevails in this part of the country. My child has been afflicted in the same way, in addition to disordered bowels and the pain of getting a tooth… the nurse is also afflicted with the same disorder" (Cope 1977:147) and "… my little girl had been seriously ill" (Cope 1977: 195). On November 19th 1826, while Hodgson was stationed at Platberg, Mary Ann passed away after a six-day illness. The actual cause of her death is unknown, but her symptoms included convulsions, a sore throat, difficulty breathing and constipation (Smith 1875, Cope 1977). While Hodgson was deeply affected by the death of his only child, his faith in the Divine remained unwavering: "I trust we meet the shock not only with resignation but a good measure of acquiescence in the Divine will, knowing that he who orders all events for our good is too wise to err" (Cope 1977:355). Hodgson and Ann went on to have another child, Isabella, in 1829 while stationed at Boetsap (Cope 1977, Letters of Ann Hodgson 1829). Additionally, Broadbent is almost constantly unwell and is frequently indisposed on account of illness. Yet, only once does he mention taking an antidote: "One day, when very ill, I requested my wife to take down the volume of the Encyclopedia [encyclopaedia], containing the article on Medicine, and read to me what was said on the subject of dropsy [oedema]. From this I learned that certain drinks were recommended… Of these, whey was the only one we could obtain. So, forthwith, a pan of milk was set on the fire, and curdled with vinegar… The effect was very beneficial, leading to so speedy an abatement of the worst symptoms, that in ten days the dropsy had disappeared" (Broadbent 1865:119-120). The only instance wherein Hodgson mentioned administering medication was on December 24th, 1823 when Schudeep, the Kora chief, came to the missionary for medicine for his eyes, which were causing him pain (Cope 1977:211). This event may suggest that Hodgson did indeed administer medication, but simply does not mention it in his journals. Another possibility is that Hodgson, unlike Moffat, was unable to establish medical practices and a healing relationship with the Seleka-Rolong, owing to the frequent migration of the group, and he therefore very seldom administered medication.

In addition to losing Mary Ann, Hodgson was dealt another blow on September 30th 1831, when Ann passed away from breast cancer. The family had returned to England in May as a result of Ann's illness, which proved to be a temporary return for Hodgson. Following his wife's death,

Hodgson observed that “The strength of natural affection sometimes makes me feel under the bereavement; but my judgement is quiet, and tells me that my heavenly Father hath done all things well” (Smith 1875:107). Hodgson’s life was not without hardship, yet he bore these with absolute faith in God.

5.4.2 Colourless

Colourless glass has been the primary goal of glass manufacturers almost since glass production began. This glass became important for windows and tablewares before being produced in the form of containers. To achieve colourless glass, the materials used for manufacture needed to be almost impurity-free, but these were too expensive to make economical sense. Manufacturers, therefore, had to find ways of “decolourizing” glass by neutralising the impurities, particularly iron. These decolourizing agents were usually manganese dioxide, selenium dioxide, antimony and arsenious oxide, or a combination of these. Despite efforts made to decolourize glass, colourless glass was very seldom completely transparent and was usually faintly tinted with purple, amber, grey, greyish-green or greyish blue. These tints are mostly visible when looking through the base, which is the thickest area of the bottle (Jones & Sullivan 1989, Lockhart 2006, Lindsey 2020). The colourless glass fragments excavated from Hodgson’s Cottage are fragmentary and no bottle bases are present, meaning that it could not be ascertained whether the glass was tinted. Since manufacturers have been attempting to produce colourless glass throughout history, fragments are of little use to classification. Some dating reliability can be found in manganese dioxide decolourized glass, which will be discussed further below.

5.4.3 Purple

Purple, or amethyst, colouring in glass is created when glass decolourized by manganese dioxide is exposed to ultraviolet light. This fairly uncommon type of glass is known as sun-coloured amethyst (SCA), solarized amethyst, solarized purple or irradiated glass (Newman 1977, Jones & Sullivan 1989, Bolton 2005, Lockhart 2006, Lindsey 2020). The higher the level of manganese in the glass batch and the longer the glass is exposed to sunlight, the greater the colour change will be. This is most easily seen in partially buried bottles. Manganese was used as a colouring agent as early as 660 B.C.E in Egypt and from the 4th century B.C.E to the 9th century A.D. in Rome. It was used as a decolourizer since approximately 1662 and the solar irradiation, or purple tint, has attracted interest since as early as 1823 (Lockhart 2006). An array of experiments have been conducted whereby it was discovered that the original colourless form could be recovered through heating the

glass. It is difficult to determine the exact time at which the use of manganese was discontinued, but it is thought to be concurrent with the end of mouth-blown bottle production (Lockhart 2006). The purple glass fragment recovered from Hodgson's Cottage is a fairly dark purple hue, suggesting high levels of manganese or a prolonged period of sun exposure. The original use of the bottle could not be determined.

5.4.4 Amber

Bottles in shades of amber were very common between the late 18th and mid 20th centuries as, like green, this colour was produced by the naturally occurring impurities in the raw ingredients of glass. Amber hues were also achieved through the addition of nickel, sulphur, black lead and carbon in the form of coal, charcoal or wood chips. Given the ubiquity of amber coloured bottles, the glass fragment recovered is of little value to dating and typing (Lindsey 2020).

5.5 Retouched Glass

A difficulty in the study of retouched glass is differentiating between intentionally knapped tools and glass shards which have broken edges that closely resemble retouched glass. These resemblances can be caused by unintentional fragmentation which leaves conchoidal scars similar to those created by cutting, scraping and chopping. Resemblances can also be caused by post-depositional factors such as trampling of the site (Allen & Jones 1980, Cooper & Bowdler 1998, Niemoeller & Guse 1999, Conte & Romero 2008, Porter 2015). Conte and Romero (2008) write that experiments conducted up until the time of publishing yielded no positive results, as alterations produced by "accident" closely resembled deliberate retouch. However, Porter (2015) argues that later experimental research revealed that the damage to the glass edge created by cutting and scraping cannot be replicated by unintentional fragmentation or post-depositional trampling. Although acceptance of flaked glass remains largely subjective (Wackett 2015), there have been attempts to set a standard for the appearance of glass tools, with factors such as the pattern and angle of flake scars being taken into consideration. Other factors to be considered are the portion of the bottle from where the glass originated as well as the colour, as a preference towards dark green or black glass fragments has been noted. Allen and Jones (1980:231) also provide a set of identifying guidelines based on their analyses. These can be summarised as follows:

(1) the amount of bottle wall attached to the base (2) the use of thicker areas of bottles (3) the presence of a high percentage of identifiable flakes in the collection (4) an examination of

bifacial versus internal and external unifacial flaking on the lower parts of the bottle wall when this was attached to a base or part thereof.

Other scholars suggest that apparently deliberately retouched glass fragments should not be accepted as such unless the circumstances make it highly unlikely that the glass shards could have been accidentally altered. An example of such circumstances would be a sealed cave deposit (Cooper & Bowdler 1998).

It has been argued that the presence of retouched glass artefacts in colonial contexts indicates not only the presence of indigenous groups but also the endurance of cultural traditions despite European influence (Porter 2015). In the short term after contact with Europeans, people maintained a traditional lifestyle but incorporated elements of European culture into their own (Cooper & Bowdler 1998). This is what Ulm et al. (2009:111) call "transformed material culture". Indigenous people likely adopted glass as a raw material due to its properties, such as ease of fracture, and archaeological and ethnographic sources suggest that glass was commonly used in the manufacture of arrowheads, side scrapers and end scrapers (Conte & Romero 2008). Further, ethnographic evidence exists for a variety of uses; African groups used glass shards as razors for hair drawings, an activity which was also seen in the Bahamas in the 1930s and the Philippines. On Louisiana plantations, large glass shards were used as axes and hoes, and among the Aonikenk and Maya Indians of Guatemala, glass fragments were used for hide working and the scraping of other soft materials. A body of evidence also exists regarding the use of glass shards for the smoothing and polishing of wood (Wilkie 1996, Conte & Romero 2008). Glass, and retouched glass tools by extension, is one of the most ubiquitous artefact types found at historic sites the world over. Porter (2015) suggests that this is because of the rapid commercialisation of glassmaking during the colonial period. Some scholars have argued that the replacement of stone with glass as raw material and the later loss of knapping skill is evidence of the acculturation of indigenous groups into European culture (Porter 2015).

Based on the above information, the retouched glass from Hodgson's Cottage hints at use of the dwelling by African post-Hodgson inhabitants. The presence of only non-flat retouched glass pieces is also significant. During the construction of residences, window glass may have been knapped to fit in the mortar that framed the window. In this case, the absence of flat retouched glass pieces eliminates any possible confusion between glass tools and fragments of knapped window panes.

Additionally, the retouched glass represents a recontextualization of material culture. As discussed previously, an object's qualities are subject to change based on the user and items can become imbued with new meanings when cultural boundaries are crossed (Jones 1999, Sørensen 2006, Stahl 2010). To Hodgson, the glass fragments may have been just that; broken bottles which no longer served any purpose. To the African groups who later inhabited the site, the broken glass provided the material needed to produce functional and useful tools.

5.6 Air Bubbles in Glass

Air bubbles in glass can be indicative of the method of manufacture, which could in turn point to the period during which the glass was produced. Concerning the glass from Hodgson's Cottage, air bubbles could indicate whether the glass vessels were mouth-blown or machine-made.
Amongst glass manufacturers, small bubbles were commonly referred to as seeds and larger bubbles as blisters. Bubbles can be caused by a variety of irregularities in production, such as a glass tank which is too hot or not full enough, glass shearing irregularities, and gob feeder problems (Lindsey 2020). The number of bubbles present is also related to where in the glass tank the melted glass was drawn from for blowing. As glass was melted, it became filled with bubbles of air and gas which originated from (1) the release of carbon dioxide from the soda-ash, potash and lime and (2) the gas trapped between the particles of the raw materials. During the refining stage of the melting process, these air bubbles would float to the top and burst, disappearing (Lindsey 2020). In the case of mouth-blown bottles, molten glass was drawn from the top of the vat where bubbles were still concentrated. Further, the insertion of the blowpipe into the vat could have resulted in bubbles of air being drawn up into the glass. Consequently, mouth-blown bottles would have many bubbles in comparison to machine manufactured ones. The bubbles in mouth-blown bottles tend to be orientated vertically due to the stretching of the glass during production. A large number of bubbles and their vertical orientation are generally less common in machine-made bottles, so this phenomenon may indicate mouth-blown bottles in archaeological collections (Lindsey 2020).
Seventy-three, or 34.27 percent, of non-flat glass fragments from Hodgson's Cottage had visible air bubbles, with most shards containing more than one bubble. Their orientation could not be determined owing to the fragmentary nature of the glass. Thirty-four point two seven is a significant percentage, which may suggest that the glass present at Hodgson's Cottage originated from mouth-blown vessels.

There exists a debate as to whether the presence of air bubbles in bottles is an indicator of age. Some researchers argue that the presence of a large number of bubbles is evidence of production prior to 1904 - when machine manufacture began in earnest - while others suggest that the number of bubbles has no relation to the age of the glass (Jones & Sullivan 1989, Lindsey 2020). During the early 20th century, the machine operated bottle industry gradually developed and the manufacture of mouth-blown bottles began to decline. Bubbles in glass became largely uncommon as machines drew glass from the centre of the vat as opposed to the top. Archaeologically, this means that glass fragments which contain bubbles likely originate from mouth-blown bottles (Miller & Sullivan 1984, Lindsey 2020). Between 1880 and 1920, machine bottle manufacture revolutionised the glass industry, putting an end to mouth-blown manufacture almost entirely (Miller & Sullivan 1984). Given the presence of elongated air bubbles in certain glass fragments from Hodgson's Cottage, combined with the fact that the fragments excavated would have originated from bottles manufactured prior to 1823, it is unlikely that the glass vessels would have been machine made.

5.7 Nails

Like glass, nails are commonly found at historical archaeological sites. Although glass tends to receive more attention, nails are also useful data sources and dating tools (Lenik 1977, Wells 1998, Hampton Adams 2002). The nails present in the assemblage are wrought from iron, identifiable by a wood-like grain and longitudinal striations. This is distinguishable from steel, which exhibits a surface covered in small circular pits when cleaned of rust. When iron deteriorates, the metal flakes off lengthwise (Wells 1998, Middleton 2005), as is the case here. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, nails were forged by hand in British industrial towns. The transition towards machine-made nails only occurred between 1840 and 1860 in Britain, meaning that the nails recovered from Hodgson's Cottage were all hand-forged (Hampton Adams 2002, Middleton 2005). The nails in the assemblage would have been used by Hodgson in the construction of his cottage. Hodgson explains that the roof was made using wooden beams which supported thatch. He also mentions constructing a doorframe, which was likely made of wood and a window, the frame of which was also likely constructed using timber. Approximately 145cm below surface level, Mason (1986) identified the original packed soil floor which was laid by Hodgson. Although Mason does not record evidence of a wooden floor, it is possible that one was built by Hodgson to make the floor even and to insulate the cottage. The nails recovered from the site were consequently likely used in the construction of the roof beams, door and window frames as well as the floor.

5.8 Slate

The use of slate as writing equipment began in earnest during the late 18th century, with most slate pencils coming from Europe. The reason for its popularity lay in its economy, convenience and durability, providing a cheap and reusable alternative to paper, and was widely used in both domestic and educational contexts (Davies 2005, Smith 2014). Its usefulness as a teaching aid would have made slate a popular acquisition amongst missionaries, as teaching formed an integral part of missions the world over. In some missionary schools, education was limited to religious instruction, while in others, secular subjects such as history, grammar, geography, and arithmetic also formed part of the syllabus. Regardless of the curriculum, where missionaries went, a somewhat formalised education system usually followed; one that greatly differed from the traditional educational system which was based on the informal inter-generational transmission of knowledge and skills (Frankema 2012, Smith 2014, Sen 2015). The missionaries' primary intention regarding education was the conversion of Africans to Christianity and schooling was the "Trojan horse" (Smith 2014:624) for this goal. For the missionaries, education and religious instruction were two sides of the same coin, as one would need to be literate in order to read and interpret the Bible. It, therefore, stands to reason that prospective converts were attracted through the classroom (Klatzow 2018). The prospect of education attracted many and the missionaries, using religious texts to teach basic literacy, taught pupils "to read and write through the Word of God" (Sen 2015:535, Meier zu Selhausen 2019). Based on Hodgson's journals, it is evident that missionaries were using slate as a teaching aid in Africa at the time. This is made apparent after Hodgson encountered a waterfall near Campbell, made primarily of slate stones "upon which persons may be taught to write" (Cope 1977:87). He went on to write that slate was already being used for this purpose in Griqua, and concluded that "as the slate can be used as a pencil as for a slate to write upon, the rock may be found at some time a valuable acquisition" (Cope 1977:87).

The slate pieces excavated from Hodgson's Cottage likely originated from the writing slates brought by Hodgson and Broadbent for the purpose of teaching (Mason 1986). Seventeen of the 26 slate fragments were recovered from the exterior of the cottage, which could indicate informal religious classes were being held by Hodgson outside of his home. Having been identified as the smallest unit of analysis, the household, along with the immediate surrounding areas, allows researchers to shift between personal experiences and wider social contexts, which is useful in this case (King 2006, Pluckhahn 2010, Beaudry 2015, Reeves 2015). The space outside Hodgson's Cottage may represent the point at which the public and the private intersected. Hodgson may have wanted to keep his personal space separate, while still wanting to impart "civilised" values to the

Seleka-Rolong. The space outside of the cottage may therefore have represented the literal and figurative threshold between the civilised and the savage, the public and the private.

There is no evidence of formalised education of the Seleka-Rolong taking place at Matlwasse. This could be because of the disorganisation caused by the political climate during that period. Although the Seleka-Rolong did settle at Matlwasse, the internal wars raging at the time ensured that they were prepared to flee at any moment. This was indeed the case in mid-1823. On July 9th, Hodgson and his family left Matlwasse for Campbell to fetch supplies. Finding their destination deserted, they continued to Griqua, arriving on the 21st. There, Hodgson found missionaries Hamilton and Moffat as well as Mr Sass, who had removed themselves and their families from Campbell out of fear of the approaching raiders. Hodgson was told that the "commando", the identity of which is unclear, had advanced as far as Old Lattakoo where they were attacked and defeated by 100 mounted Griqua armed with firearms, and after three hours of battle and four hours of pursuit, between four and six hundred of the commando were dead or dying (Cope 1977). This attack was the battle of Dithakong, which took place on June 26th 1823 (Cobbing 1988). According to the account of John Melvill, the raiders "were like children before them [the Griquas], that their number amounts to at least 30,000 men, women, and children, that they attempted to surround the Griquas, that he saw one man fighting though ten assegais were fast in his body, and that they are alarmingly formidable" (Cope 1977:181). Melvill's account may be exaggerated, which would align with Cobbing's (1988) assertion that many accounts of and papers written on the battle of Dithakong contain "embellished nonsense" which have been "injected [with] swathes of additional fiction" (Cobbing 1988:516). The group of raiders engaged in battle at Dithakong has been immortalised as the Mantatees, however, several writers have suggested that Mmanthatisi never crossed the Vaal (Lye 1967, Cobbing 1988). According to Hodgson, the commando consisted of the Phuthing and Kwena, commanded by chiefs Tshwane and Nkgaraganye respectively. After the battle, the remainder of the commando divided into the Kololo and Tlokwa, as well as a group of refugees who went to work on Cape Colony farms (Lye 1967).

After being informed of the events which had transpired, Hodgson, concerned for Broadbent's safety, hurriedly returned to Matlwasse, arriving on the 6th of August. He found Broadbent and his family unharmed, but the station otherwise deserted. Broadbent informed Hodgson that the Seleka-Rolong had fled towards the mountains the previous day, fearful of the approaching enemy who was advancing towards Matlwasse on their retreat from the Griqua. Broadbent was unwell at the time

and his wife had recently given birth, making them unable to follow. The Seleka-Rolong returned to Matlwasse on August 14th, satisfied that the enemy had moved upriver (Cope 1977). This account highlights the volatile situation at the time, characterised by fear and uncertainty. This turbulent political and social environment certainly did not lend itself to the establishment of education systems. Despite this, Hodgson and Ann took it upon themselves to teach literacy to indigenous people when possible, and Hodgson notes taking great "pleasure in teaching two of my [his] people to read" (Cope 1977:152). Ann too would teach some of the wives to read. In addition, she would teach Mary Ann and Orphena, the orphan whom Ann took into her care, to read and write. In a letter to her sisters, Ann remarks that "Orphena improves in her reading… Mary Ann makes not great proficiency, she is too wild, she has not quite leant the small alphabet" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1826). According to Ann's letters (1825), Mary Ann's first language was Dutch, although she could repeat "the Lord's Prayer and a few verses of hymns very correctly in the English language" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). This language barrier could explain Ann's trouble in teaching her daughter. Additionally, Ann remarked on the difficulty of teaching children while travelling, which would also have played a part. This household-level unit of analysis projects an interesting dynamic. Orphena, who would have been considered wild by nature by dint of the fact that she was African, was taught by Ann to read, write and sew. This presents an intriguing juxtaposition to Mary Ann, who was described by Ann herself as wild, despite being raised in a "civilized" home with British parents. In the same section of her letter, Ann remarks on the importance of not indulging children. Mary Ann would frequently lay a rod beside her doll, should she require correction. It stands to reason that Mary Ann was imitating her mother through this behaviour, suggesting that Ann would discipline the girls, should the need arise. This would be in line with Christian directives, which support the discipline of children for their own good. Several Bible verses have been brought down which seem to condone physical punishment of children, such as "He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him is careful to discipline him." (Proverbs 13:24), "Folly is bound up in the heart of a child. But the rod of discipline will drive it far from him." (Proverbs 22:15), "Do not withhold discipline from a child; if you punish him with the rod he will not die. Punish him with the rod and save his soul from death." (Proverbs 23:13-14) and "The rod of correction imparts wisdom, but a child left to itself disgraces his mother." (Proverbs 29:15). These verses can be misleading, however. The Bible does not encourage parents to beat their children, but rather to create a culture of accountability through gentleness, forgiveness, and love (Haller 2018). This understanding of the Bible's words is relatively recent,

however, and it was not uncommon for parents, as seems to be the case with Ann, to enact the adage "spare the rod, spoil the child".

Nonetheless, Ann loved and devoted a significant amount of time to Mary Ann and Orphena, and Orphena quickly became woven into the fabric of the Hodgson's lives. Ann raised her alongside Mary Ann, although she experienced some difficulty as Orphena was not easily managed. Nonetheless, Ann persevered and Orphena grew into "a very engaging child" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). Ann further observed that Orphena "sews very neatly and is not only a playmate for Mary Ann but is becoming useful to me, especially as an Interpreter… she understands English and speaks Dutch well" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). Orphena would also have spoken seTswana, which made her useful to Ann as in interpreter. Orphena remained with the Hodgsons throughout their time in Africa. She assisted Ann after the birth of Isabella and ultimately returned with the family to England as an aide to Mrs Hodgson, presumably entering the employ of the second Mrs Hodgson after Ann's death. She returned to southern Africa with Hodgson in 1835, where she remained (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825, 1826, 1829, Smith 1875). While in the care of the Hodgsons, Orphena would have been taught Christian religious truths by Ann, becoming an asset to the mission. She was able to converse with the Tswana and Dutch-speaking people, thereby helping the missionaries reach larger audiences.

Despite the challenges faced by the missionaries in establishing a formalised system of education, in 1826 Hodgson and Mr Archbell undertook the task of writing and printing an elementary book in seTswana, with the intention of starting a school. Although it was a book of only 16 pages, it was no small feat considering that the missionaries first had to understand the language themselves while negotiating the challenges of the interior (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1826). Although Hodgson was unable to establish formalised education at the time, catechising still played an important role in the mission and indeed, in most missions over the years, with many missionaries having "succeeded in indoctrinating the [Africa people] with Christian beliefs and principles [so that] many converted to Christianity" (Sen 2015:537). The slate recovered from the site is a symbol of both the education taking place in and around the cottage itself as well as for the wider educational context experienced and implemented by the missionaries. It is arguable, however, that in this context the slate fragments also symbolise the missionaries' failure to implement teaching systems.

5.9 Ostrich Eggshell

Ostrich eggs were highly valued among southern African groups; partly because of their high nutritional value and partly because of their cultural and functional use (Hitchcock 2012). Culturally, ostrich eggshells (OES) were used to make beads for personal ornamentation and trading purposes. Beads were small and usually square, with a small hole in the middle, drilled using a sharpened piece of wire, a sharp piece of bone or stone or the tip of a pocket knife. OES beads were then strung together and "… made into a number of different kinds of items that serve as jewelry: necklaces, waist bead strings (belts), bracelets, headbands, aprons, anklets, and ear-rings. The beads were also sewn on skin bags or, in some cases, on clothing items, mainly by women." (Hitchcock 2012:97). Another important use of ostrich eggs was as canteens for water storage. Canteens were very useful in places, or during periods, of water scarcity as they allowed for the transportation of water during travel or from water sources to places of residence (Hitchcock 2012).

The OES fragments from Hodgson's Cottage are undecorated and have been worn smooth over time. These are not beads and may be the remains of water canteens or ostrich eggs acquired by Hodgson either as a gift to through trade. In his journals (Cope 1977), Hodgson recounts several instances involving ostrich eggs. In two of these, he writes about obtaining ostrich eggs, either through trade or as a gift. Similarly, Ann writes of acquiring newly hatched ostrich chicks in exchange for a few beads. The ostriches grew very tame, following the missionary family around during the day and sleeping nearby at night. The Hodgsons eventually had to leave them behind when they were forced to move on and the ostriches had grown too big to fit into the wagon (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). It is likely that the missionaries, like the Africans, valued ostrich eggs as a source of food with which to feed themselves and their families. The living conditions of missionaries would have made it extremely difficult to keep chickens, or any other domesticated birds, making eggs a scarce and valuable food source. In another instance, Hodgson recounts the use of an ostrich egg "… to carry water for the road" (Cope 1977:130). This shows that like indigenous groups, missionaries also used ostrich eggs as canteens when travelling. The use of OES by missionaries reinforces the notion that archaeologists must guard against making assumptions about the users of historical artefacts. Although individuals of a certain identity may have used particular objects more commonly, this was not to the exclusion of everyone else. Objects, such as OES canteens, are not imbued with single identities and we as archaeologists must take care to consider all possible agents and users.

5.10 Mollusc Shell

Molluscs are soft-bodied, unsegmented organisms, normally found inside a shell (Appleton 1996), the remains of which are commonly found at archaeological sites worldwide. Despite this, only recently have archaeological shell remains been systematically recorded and studied. The analyses can provide insight into many different aspects of prehistory, such as "palaeoclimatic conditions, trade, burial ritual, site seasonality, settlement patterns, and the environmental effects of past land use" (Peacock & Jenkins 2010:106). Molluscs are well documented for their food value, and their easy availability and low risk may have led to shellfish being a commonly exploited food source archaeologically. However, despite their high nutritional value and importance in daily subsistence, molluscs are not calorie-dense and provide significantly fewer calories per unit in comparison to other animal meat sources (Parmalee & Klippel 1974, Deshpande-Mukherjee 2008-2009).

Six classes make up the Mollusca phylum, all of which occur in oceans and seas. Molluscs occur more commonly and in greater diversity in saltwater, but two of the six classes occur in brackish and freshwater as well. These are Class Gastropoda (snails and limpets) and Class Bivalvia (mussels and oysters). There are approximately 51 gastropod species and 110 bivalve species in southern African freshwaters (Appleton 1996). The mollusc shell present in the collection can be identified as a valve, originating from a freshwater bivalve. Based on its elongated shape, the valve likely originated from a freshwater mussel of the family *Dreissenidae.* There are four species in the *Dreissenidae* family: *Mytilopsis sallei, Mytilopsis leucophaeata, Dreissena bugensis* and *Dreissena polymorpha*. Dreissenids display significant differences in shell morphology, hence taxonomic keys based on shell morphology are not always sufficient for differentiation of species (Voroshilova 2016). Therefore, no attempt was made to classify the valve into a species. Little information could be obtained relating to the climate in which Dreissenids live, other than freshwater environments.

The presence of the mollusc shell at Hodgson's Cottage could indicate resourcefulness on behalf of the missionaries in their use of the surrounding environment. When Hodgson and Broadbent were still travelling through the interior of southern Africa in search of Sehunelo, Hodgson writes of Broadbent catching fish in the Modder, now the Riet, river (Cope 1977:75), indicating that Hodgson and Broadbent used the rivers as a source of food. Additionally, as mentioned in chapter 1, Hodgson records in his journals the presence of a river near their residence at Matlwasse. Although not mentioned by Hodgson, it is possible that the river was used as a source of food as well as water. However, other than the mollusc shell and fish bone recovered by Mason (Mason 1986), no other

evidence of aquatic food sources was found. Nonetheless, the possibility exists that Hodgson disposed of household waste away from the cottage, and for this reason, no other evidence was discovered during Mason's excavation.

5.11 Gunflint & Percussion Caps

Like most missionaries at the time, Hodgson carried a firearm for the duration of his stay in southern Africa. This served as a defence against wild animals as well as a hunting tool, although Hodgson remarks that "shooting is an engagement I dislike and have no skill in" (Cope 1977:140). Despite their usefulness to missionaries, firearms most appealed to the African populations. For the Africans, firearms represented safety against marauding enemies, making firearm-toting missionaries invaluable and widely sought after. African chiefs would personally appeal to missionaries to set up stations with them, often claiming a desire for the gospel. Hodgson experienced this first hand in the interior, once while in search of Sehunelo and again after having settled with the Seleka-Rolong. In January of 1823, Hodgson was approached by a party from the Kora people who tried to persuade Hodgson to settle with them, expressing a "great desire for the Word" (Cope 1977:97). Hodgson, cognisant of the upheaval at the time as a result of the *Difaqane*, was aware of their ulterior motives and surmised that "Their desire for our residence amongst them I have no doubt arose from a wish to benefit by us in the use of our guns and powder" (Cope 1977:98).

Shortly thereafter, Hodgson and Broadbent did reside with the Kora for a few days while *en route* to the Seleka-Rolong. When the time for the missionaries' departure came, Schudeep, the Kora chief, "declared his resolution that we should not go. He stated that he should take the whip and drive our waggons [wagons] to the place he intended to reside at, which was better than where he now lived and where we could make gardens and sow corn, that he was arranging to supply us with animals, food and milk, that he had long wished to have teachers and that if we would not remain he would lie down and breathe his life out" (Cope 1977:104). Schudeep did indeed drive the missionaries' oxen and sheep off, in an attempt to prevent them from leaving. Despite the chief's dramatic reaction, Hodgson knew that it was inspired by the fact that "the residence of missionaries will be an advantage in a temporal sense" (Cope 1977:106). The motivation behind the Seleka-Rolong's wish for missionary presence was no different, Sehunelo also "strongly expressed his desire for us to reside at his place, promising to give us [Hodgson and Broadbent] ground upon which to build our houses and make our gardens, that he would furnish us with cows to give us milk, oxen to

slaughter etc." (Cope 1977:141). The fight over the missionaries was not so much a fight over the individuals themselves, but rather a battle for "the protection that the residence of white men with guns among them would afford" (Cope 1977:18). Despite the constant petitions for firearms on behalf of the Africans, the missionaries were unable to fulfil their request as "the Colonial Government… prohibits our [the missionaries'] furnishing the natives with guns, powder etc" (Cope 1977:103). The gunflint and percussion caps recovered from Hodgson's Cottage are evidence of the use of firearms by missionaries, supporting the writings in Hodgson's journals, although little other information can be gathered from the objects themselves.

5.12 Imported Ceramics

Ceramics is one of the most prolific artefact classes found at historical archaeological sites. This is largely owed to their durability; ceramics survive for significantly longer periods compared to other artefact classes. Their archaeological value is high as they are readily datable, although most ceramics are only recovered in a fragmentary state. Additionally, ceramics often act as the most important diagnostic material type in the interpretation of archaeological sequences (Barker & Majewski 2006). Ceramic analysis can also contribute to the understanding of "cultural change and colonisation; the identities of groups and individuals; the social and economic status of consumers; the emergence of changing practices relating to the consumption of food and drink; patterns of trade and local and regional variations in trade; and technological change and industrialisation" (Barker & Majewski 2006: 205).

As part of his study, Mason sent a sample of the imported ceramic fragments to Dr. R.J. Charleston at the British Museum for study, to confirm the date for Hodgson's Cottage. While Charleston was able to provide loose periods during which the types of wares were produced, the fragments did not provide much dating reliability. He wrote that only the blue-printed fragments which Mason sent could "offer much hope of a reasonably firm date" (Mason 1986:892). These, he reported, were remnants from wares produced in Staffordshire and could be dated to "probably first-quarter of 19th century… but perhaps nearer 1825" (Mason 1986:891). Ultimately, while Charleston's results could be used to place these ceramics, and therefore Hodgson's Cottage, within a particular period in history, the sample sent by Mason was small, and so Charleston's deductions can unfortunately not be applied across the ceramic assemblage. The ceramic fragments also reveal information regarding the missionary's disposal patterns. The lack of near-complete or slightly damaged vessels suggests that even when ceramics were chipped, as suggested by the shards, they were kept for as long as

they still proved useful to Hodgson and his family (Esterhuysen, Klatzow & Hunt 2019). In the southern African interior supplies, especially those which came from England were scarce and the missionary families used items for longer periods than they might have at home. Ceramic vessels were kept for as long as they were functional, and the Hodgsons appear to have taken theirs with them upon leaving Matlwasse.

The stoneware fragments were either grey, beige or shades of brown. The medium and dark brown fragments appeared more highly glazed than the light brown ones. The beige and grey fragments appeared more matte than glazed. This light glazing could be the result of smear glazing, a barely discernible layer of glaze commonly used on 19th-century British refined stonewares (Klose 2007). A wider variety of colour was seen amongst the refined earthenware fragments, the most common colour being white/cream, called white-bodied. The category of white-bodied refined earthenware is comprised of creamware, pearlware and white-ware. The similarities between the three make differentiation problematic at best (Klose 2007) and for this reason, white/cream fragments were classed only as white-bodied. These were all glazed and some showed signs of crazing, the phenomenon whereby the body of the ceramic absorbs moisture and salt, causing it to swell and ultimately crack the glaze (Klose 2007). The second most common fragment colour was blue and white patterned. These are remains of white-ware ceramics transfer printed with blue Willow pattern, which was popular on tableware from 1790 to the present day.

Twenty fragments exhibit printing on one side only while five are patterned on both sides. Based on observations, plates tend to be printed on the up-side only, while bowls and cups are sometimes printed on the inside as well as the outside. If this is the case with the ceramics from Hodgson's Cottage, it would suggest that plates were broken more easily than other vessel types. One shard with green transfer printing is also present in the collection. Owing to its small size, no further information could be gathered. One brown ceramic fragment with a shiny dark glaze was also identified. This could fall under the classification of blackware or teapot ware and could have originated from tea or coffee wares (Klose 2007). One fragment shows lined decoration, a cheap and quick method for decorating tea and tableware used from the late 18th to the early 19th century. This type of decoration was common on creamware plates, usually in olive green or brown, as seen here, and on whitewares in blue, red and green (Klose 2007). The presence of imported ceramic fragments at Hodgson's Cottage indicate the importation and use of European wares, likely brought by the missionaries when they travelled from England to the Cape. While Mason (1986) does

suggest that the Hodgsons were using local earthenware vessels, it was not to the exclusion of their own ceramic wares.

5.13 Discussion

Hodgson's Cottage, so painstakingly constructed by Hodgson and certainly a first of its kind in the southern African interior, provided the missionary family with much-needed shelter during their sojourn with the Seleka-Rolong. To the Hodgson family their two-roomed home was a luxury, as Ann remarked about residences in the interior: "but what you consider scarcely comforts in England would be thought luxuries indeed here… and I believe we value our lowly cot more than many their fine carpetted [carpeted] rooms" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). Following the completion of his residence, Hodgson wrote "Slept last night in much comfort and thankfulness… My house in respect to size and appearance is what I once should have thought a miserable dwelling, but from having lived so many months in a waggon [wagon] it is as a palace… I am ambitious in the wilderness to have; 81/2 feet by 11 feet inside, a double window measuring… a door made of aartebeest [hartebeest] skin, the walls plastered with clay and thatched with grass…" (Cope 1977:173). Ann further wrote that their "apartments are neither spacious nor elegant; but after being in a wagon *eight months,* we think them very comfortable, and enjoy them much" (Shaw 1836:147). Hodgson acknowledged that "pleasures in this life arise much from contrast" (Cope 1977:139), making their modest dwelling a palace after spending so long cramped in the wagon. It is interesting to consider that Hodgson, Ann, Mary Ann and Orphena would likely have all slept in the single bedroom, meaning that there certainly wouldn't have been much room or privacy. This drives home Hodgson's point that "pleasant feelings in temporal matters arise from contrast" (Cope 1977:173).

While the cottage was assuredly appreciated by its occupants, it cannot be viewed simply in terms of the physical shelter it provided the Hodgson family. The residence was imbued with considerable symbolism, particularly in light of the surrounding havoc wrought by the *Difaqane*. The cottage would have provided the family with an escape from the devastation and death occurring outside its walls; a refuge amid the chaos. In one journal entry, Hodgson remarked "Upon opening the door of the house this morning, the first salutation I heard was "the crows are eating a dead body" " (Cope 1977:190). It seems that when Hodgson opened his door, death awaited him on the other side. The cottage may therefore have provided insulation from the outside, offering protection to Ann and the children from the horrors around them. Hodgson's religious standing would certainly have framed

how he viewed his home and the surrounding landscape, thereby influencing the way in which he depicted his reality in his journals. A reader's conception of the landscape may be skewed if it is not remembered that Hodgson's reality was coloured by his religious beliefs. In Hodgson's mind, the cottage represented both a physical as well as a spiritual refuge, set apart from the wilderness in which he found himself. Hodgson seems to have drawn attention to the contrast between his home and the surrounding wilderness in his writings. The cottage is a symbol of safety amid the turmoil, which can be linked to Hodgson's ideas about the protection offered by God. Hodgson often wrote of God's role in the success of the mission, and the protection He offered to those who do His holy work: "we had the satisfaction of seeing a salvation wrought out for us; the plans of a wicked man were all frustrated" (Cope 1977:99), "we again stand s[t]ill to see the salvation of the Ld., believing that He will make a way for us" (Cope 1977:102), "Oh, how gracious is the Lord! how watchful over His servants!" (Cope 1977:133), "I felt, however, no fear and could cheerfully rely upon the protection of Him who can protect in the wilderness" (Cope 1977:135). Hodgson felt little fear of the marauding groups, feeling "abundantly secure" (Cope 1977:111) under God's guardianship and he stated that "Though our people were in no small degree alarmed by the relations they had heard of the enemy… we had no apprehensions from such subjects but slept confidently secure in the protection of Him who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth" (Cope 1977:111). Similarly, Ann wrote "He was truly our 'pillar of cloud by day, and our pillar of cloud by night'. Though surrounded by danger, and by death, not a hair of our heads was injured" (Shaw 1836:146). Further, when Hodgson found Broadbent and his family unharmed after the raiders bypassed Matlwasse, he wrote: "Surely the Ld. is good and gives us strong proofs of His mercy, as well as clear marks of His approbation upon our attempts to introduce the gospel amongst this people" (Cope 1977:188). From this excerpt, it is clear that Hodgson firmly believed that God was defending their mission and keeping himself, Broadbent and their families out of harm's way so that they could continue to spread the gospel. In his journals, Hodgson presented his home as a refuge protected by God, although surrounded by danger. In this regard, the cottage and surrounding landscape are imbued with a somewhat Biblical symbolism. In Hodgson's mind, the cottage fell under the guardianship of the Almighty as the inhabitants were following the path of the righteous and doing His work. On the other hand, the greater Matlwasse landscape was home to those who did not follow God's commandments, and these individuals were therefore not protected by Him in times of danger. To Hodgson, the cottage was the base from which he could spread the Word during his time at Matlwasse. This being the desire of God, it was believed that He would keep safe those who lived within the residence.

Outside of the cottage, however, the interior was in chaos. An indication of the upheaval at the time can be seen when both the Kora and the Seleka-Rolong appealed to the missionaries to settle with them. One of the things offered to the missionary family was a place to settle where they could keep livestock and grow crops (Cope 1977). In light of the upheaval, this offer suggests that a fixed residence was appealing to those in the interior at the time. The motives in offering a stationary residence to the missionaries were driven by self-preservation on behalf of the chiefs, rather than by concern for the missionaries. As previously discussed, missionary presence was greatly sought after at the time, not because of the teachings they offered but because of the security their firearms provided. The desire on behalf of the Tswana for arms could have been prompted by one of two reasons; either they saw the acquisition of firearms as a preventative measure to secure themselves against any enemies, or other groups in the interior were already armed and the Tswana wanted an equal chance of defending themselves. It is known that the Griqua were mounted and armed at the battle of Dithakong (Lye 1967), which explains their victory. It is, therefore, possible that other groups were also carrying firearms, making firearms the difference between life and death. This unequal access to firearms and powder could also perhaps account for some of the turmoil in the interior at the time. Hodgson recounts an instance wherein a man refused to trade a cow for six bunches of beads "because we would not give powder and lead also" (Cope 1977:178). In another case, while the missionaries were still in search of the Seleka-Rolong, Hodgson offered a man a reward of beads in exchange for the delivery of a message to Tshabadira, Sehunelo's brother. The individual declined the offer unless the missionaries could supply him with a firearm for protection (Cope 1977:103). Based on Hodgson's accounts, it seems that a very limited number of people were in possession of firearms at the time. To cite an instance, before reaching the Seleka-Rolong, the missionaries were approached in the early hours of the morning by a group of 10 men from a neighbouring settlement, only "one of whom had a gun" (Cope 1977:97). A further example is presented shortly after the missionaries first met Tshabadira. Hodgson records that he (Hodgson) was "obliged to refuse his [Tshabadira's] repeated application for lead and powder", a request which was "instigated by two Corannas of the party, each of whom had a gun" (Cope 1977:110). When Hodgson and his family left for Campbell to obtain supplies in July of 1823, they came upon "several men from Griqua on horseback with guns" (Cope 1977: 179). These men may very well have formed part of the Griqua group that fought in the battle of Dithakong not long before. From these instances, it can be seen that firearms in the interior were in short supply.

Aside from firearms, one of the most valuable resources to the missionaries for securing cooperation was tobacco. In his journals, Hodgson frequently recounts being "assailed" by Africans with a "craving for tobacco" (Cope 1977:72). He remarked that:

> "It is astonishing with what rapture they receive a portion of this nauseous herb, though but about the size of a thimble, and with what perseverance they assail us for it… Tobacco appears the one thing needful to them, though evidently hungering in many cases, it is seldom they solicit for food." (Cope 1977:71).

According to Hodgson, the indigenous people would do almost anything to acquire tobacco. For instance, Hodgson was unsure of the path through the interior in December of 1822, and he wrote that "A Bushman kindly offered to accompany us the next two days' journey to show us the path, and that for a piece of tobacco" (Cope 1977:95) which was, without question, "much sought after" (Cope 1977:136). People would also refuse Hodgson simple favours, such as give him a light from their fire, "unless a piece of tobacco was given them" (Cope 1977:150). In another example, Ann asked a woman of their group to pass her an item from the ground into the wagon, an act for which the woman "demanded the reward of some tobacco" (Cope 1977:157). Sehunelo, who also had a particular affinity for the substance, would harry Hodgson "twice and sometimes three times in a day for snuff" (Cope 1977:146) until he had "exhausted my [Hodgson's] stock of snuff" (Cope 1977:150). Whenever Sehunelo went to visit the missionaries, "His first and most urgent request was for tobacco" (Cope 1977:170). Tobacco also proved useful in fostering peace and friendship, as Hodgson discovered after crossing paths with a group of Bushmen in December of 1822: "and a little tobacco made the whole party our friends" (Cope 1977:94). Hodgson would usually give a gift of tobacco, amongst other items, to chiefs and captains as a sign of friendship, which immediately warmed the men to the missionaries (Cope 1977:101, 106, 110). It was hoped that the giving of these gifts would secure the cooperation of the chief with the mission (Beck 1989, Comaroff & Comaroff 1991).

Moreover, tobacco was an important item for trade, a fact which was certainly recognised by Hodgson. The missionaries were able to purchase food, such as thick milk, for tobacco while on the road (Cope 1977:94, 161). After such an instance, Tshabadira "had the meanness to take from the poor boy [with whom they had traded] more than half of what he had received" (Cope 1977:161). Remarkably, Sehunelo would refuse to trade with the missionaries unless they supplied him with

snuff (Cope 1977:162, 174). To cope with the endless demand for the substance, which the people would "gladly worship" (Cope 1977:160), Hodgson "Planted 37 tobacco plants" (Cope 1977:214) in his Matlwasse garden. Landau (2010) explores the importance and symbolism of tobacco in African societies. The inhalation of the herb was linked to powerfulness and sharpness, and the resulting head rush and sneeze to the breath or life-force. Tobacco had further associations with fertility and rain-making. The word for "to smoke tobacco" and to "pull" down rain was the same: *goga.* Rain and the inhalation of tobacco were therefore linked as they involved correlated activities. Landau (2010) goes on to explain that in the 1950s, pouches of tobacco were carried between the Tswapong Hills and Blauwberg "to bring rain and better crops, marking chiefs' alliances that might prove critical during droughts" (Landau 2010:82). There is no evidence of Hodgson having smoked tobacco himself as no pipe fragments were excavated by Mason from Hodgson's Cottage, so it appears that all the tobacco Hodgson had in his possession was given as gifts or used for trade.

In addition to tobacco, another important item for survival in the interior at the time was beads; used most often by Hodgson for trade. Although many missionaries were uneasy in accepting a commercial role because of the conflict it presented between secular endeavours and their work of the Lord, they were left with little choice (Beck 1989). Missionaries stationed in the "wilderness" of the interior, "where no European had before been" (Cope 1977:135), "soon learned they would have to depend upon trade with the indigenous peoples if they were to survive" (Beck 1989:213). Although Hodgson did not mention an aversion to engaging in trade, he refused to engage in such secular matters on the sabbath (Sunday) (Cope 1977:174). William Shaw believed that missionaries venturing into the interior should receive items of trade from the WMS instead of money, as the latter would prove useless to them (Beck 1989). Beads certainly played a critical role in the subsistence of the missionaries and most instances of trade mentioned by Hodgson involved beads (Cope 1977:101, 151, 158, 159, 160, Beck 1989). Additionally, beads, like tobacco, were given as gifts to chiefs and captains as a means of fostering friendship, ensuring cooperation and hopefully, encouraging conversion (Cope 1977: 101, 106, 110, 135, 161, 162, Beck 1989). Sehunelo himself "intimated the value of beads, and expressed a wish to have more" (Cope 1977:136). Missionaries would request shipments of beads from Europe, as they were an expensive purchase in the Cape. Detailed descriptions of the required beads would be provided as Africans would only accept certain types and even those were not all rated equally. To illustrate, upon trading 10 bunches of beads for an ox, Hodgson remarked that "though he [the man with whom they traded] agreed to the 10

bunches we offered as to number, he despised their size" (Cope 1977:158). Further, the bead market was not static, and the desired beads would change between missions, amongst societies and over years (Beck 1989).

During the time of the *Difaqane,* beads appeared to be more valuable than human life. Hodgson recounts instances wherein children were brought to him for sale in exchange for beads. In one such case, Sehunelo himself "brought with him a boy of about 6 years of age for sale for beads" (Cope 1977:173). He claimed that "the child had no parents, and it was better to sell him to somebody, than leave him to perish" (Broadbent 1865:107). The missionaries, appalled by this indifference to human life, rebuked the chief and Broadbent told Sehunelo that his position as chief required him "to be a father to his people, and especially to children bereft of their parents" (Broadbent 1865:107). Sehunelo, outraged, countered with "Are not these people mine?" (Broadbent 1865:107) to which Broadbent responded, "They are your subjects, not your property. You may sell and buy cattle, but not God's creatures." (Broadbent 1865:107). Interestingly, Hodgson and Broadbent established an "orphan institution for outcast children" (Broadbent 1865:98) and, between the two of them, cared for such unwanted children. In one of her letters, Ann recounts an instance wherein one of the women of their party offered to sell her six-month-old baby for beads. Ann asked the woman if she had no love for her offspring, and the latter responded that "she had love for her child, but more for beads" (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1825). This attitude is certainly different from the traditional view of children, who are considered delicate and in need of protection and extra attention (Ndofirepi & Shumba 2014). Amongst African communities, the welfare of a child is considered the responsibility of the community as a whole, and children are placed in close contact with the larger group to learn the values of the community, including sharing resources, social harmony and responsibility, interdependence, caring for others, mutual aid and reciprocal obligation (Ndofirepi & Shumba 2014:235). African people have a deep desire to have children, and should a woman not fall pregnant, not wish to have children, or give birth to a stillborn, her family does anything to find a cure. Newborns are welcomed and invested in by the community, who protect them from physical, social and intellectual harm (Ndofirepi & Shumba 2014). Additionally, children are believed to be the reincarnations of ancestors, and as a result, they are respected, protected and properly socialised into the group (Ndofirepi & Shumba 2014).

Despite the aforementioned values characteristic of African groups, such as social harmony and interdependence, African communities were certainly not immune to internal conflict, particularly

concerning the chiefly hierarchy, which was not fixed and could be challenged at any time by members of the community (Esterhuysen 2012). The inherent flexibility of the rules of succession resulted in duplicitous behaviour and manipulation of the rules to suit personal agendas, resulting in internal division. To circumvent the threat of being supplanted, chiefs had to maintain connections both within and outside of the chiefdom. One way of reaffirming existing alliances and creating new political connections was through the exchange of women, particularly royal women. Additionally, the power and influence of the chief were bolstered by raids on weaker chiefdoms, from which cattle, women and children were captured (Esterhuysen 2012, 2015). Captives seized were usually distributed amongst pre-existing households in the community. The increase of populations through the incorporation of captives led to a rise in productivity and military capacity, contributing to the group's survival and success (Delius 2010). Children captured by Zulu or Swazi warriors were often ransomed and if not rescued, were incorporated into households within the community. Boys were used as mat bearers and later, as soldiers. Zulu girls whose fathers had been killed by order of the king were either claimed as servants by men in the community or alternatively, were attached to the royal kraals and belonged exclusively to the chief. These girls could not be married off, and instead represented an accumulation of wealth in the hands of the chief, strengthening his power (Delius 2010).

The distribution of women and children reinforces the view of individuals as commodities (Delius 2010), a view further supported by the trading of children for beads, as discussed by Hodgson. Although the accumulation of children generally signified wealth and power, in the cases mentioned by Hodgson, individuals - even Sehunelo himself - were attempting to get rid of them. This may reflect a possible breakdown of traditional culture systems as a result of the *Difaqane*. It is possible that during this turbulent time in history, children not old enough to be used as soldiers or contribute to the greater good of the community were seen as a burden to the community and their parents, and the adults would rather have beads to trade than another mouth to feed. Another possibility is that traditional buffer systems, such as social responsibility and mutual aid, had fractured and women were unable to feed themselves as well as their children. Out of desperation, women may have resorted to giving their children to the missionaries, as the women knew that the missionaries would take care of their children. Interestingly, it seems that the value of beads may have decreased for a time in the interior. Hodgson wrote of an instance wherein he traded beads for an ox but once the transaction was complete, the man returned the beads and demanded the return of his ox (Cope 1977:210). This could perhaps be owed to the fact that food in the interior was becoming scarce,

and beads were worthless unless there was something for which to trade them. According to Mason (1986), only two beads were excavated from the cottage. Hodgson would have had many bunches of beads with him at the time, and the fact that only two beads were found possibly suggest that the beads were treated with care because of their importance to the survival of the missionaries, and Hodgson was careful not to lose any.

Desperation, starvation and death are certainly recurring themes throughout Hodgson's journals, never seeming to be too far from his front door. Hodgson writes of a number of instances in which he came upon those who were starving: "a mere skeleton… unable to stand from weakness" (Cope 1977:123), "so reduced by hunger as to be unable to walk" (Cope 1977:148), "appeared to be had hungered" (Cope 1977:151), "worn down by hunger" (Cope 1977:173), "a poor hunger-bitten man… [who] exchanged…a brass ear-ring…for a bone which… [had already been] sucked clean" (Cope 1977:173-174), "Another poor fellow joined us at work and begged to bring stones for a little flesh" (Cope 1977:174) or had already succumbed to hunger: "discovered the skull and other bones of a child" (Cope 1977:123), "observed the entire skeleton of another child" (Cope 1977:124), "She appears to have died in the night, no doubt from hunger" (Cope 1977:190), "Grieved to hear this afternoon that a girl… has died of hunger" (Cope 1977:190), "We grieved this morning to find an aged man lain dead… his death having no doubt been occasioned by want of food" (Cope 1977:202), "the woman had died of hunger" (Cope 1977:209). An interesting juxtaposition exists, however, between those who were dying of starvation and those who possessed an "abundance of cattle and many sheep" (Cope 1977:105). Hodgson was usually able to obtain thick and sweet milk through trade (Cope 1977:92, 100) and the missionaries were "liberally supplied with thick milk" (Cope 1977:146) by Sehunelo. Although Hodgson did sometimes mention that their "food was getting less every day" (Cope 1977:141) and he and Broadbent once had to refuse Sehunelo a meal as their stock was low (Cope 1977:153), the missionaries never seemed to reach the point of starvation. The refusal on behalf of the missionaries to give a meal to Sehunelo had repercussions, however: four days later, the chief told Hodgson that he would no longer be able to supply him with milk as he needed it all for his children. Hodgson was much surprised by this as the previous day he had noticed one of Sehunelo's servants "bring as much milk in a bowl as he had sent us in three days and give [it] to his dogs" (Cope 1977:155). Sehunelo's reaction may have been prompted by his belief that when the missionaries denied his request for food, they violated the principle of reciprocity, which defines many African communities. This principle includes the values of sharing resources, social responsibility and obligation, interdependence and mutual aid

(Ndofirepi & Shumba 2014), and when Hodgson failed to exhibit these values, Sehunelo may have felt that their relationship of reciprocity had been terminated. Nonetheless, the missionaries were regularly able to obtain cattle and sheep through trade and were later able to supplement this with food from their gardens (Cope 1977:214). Similarly, Sehunelo always had an adequate supply of food for himself and his family. Given Sehunelo's apparent abundance of food, those who were starving seems to be those who had neither cattle nor sheep of their own and hence had neither milk nor meat, such as the "lowest of… attendants" who "received but a small portion of what they had to divide amongst them" (Cope 1977:196). Hodgson laments this senseless loss of life "at a time when the people abound in milk" (Cope 1977:209) and is pained by the fact that the people do not seem to care (Cope 1977:209). Out of desperation, some people resorted to theft. On a number of occasions, livestock of Hodgson were stolen (Cope 1977: 176, 204) and once, a woman who came past the Hodgsons' home selling milk, stole meat from the kitchen (Cope 1977:205).

According to Hodgson, others resorted to cannibalism to avoid starving to death. Hodgson himself apparently witnessed an act of cannibalism on his way back to Matlwasse to rescue Broadbent following the battle of Dithakong. According to his journals, Hodgson encountered three individuals who were "cooking the leg of a human being" (Cope 1977:184). At the scene, Hodgson came upon "the skeleton of one full grown person (the bones of which were well cleaned), and part of the body of another, one leg and one arm having been taken off, its head picked, and, the bowels, etc., being taken out, the internal part of its body was exposed to view" (Cope 1977:184). Hodgson further commented that "One woman was actually roasting a leg upon the ashes, and the other was engaged, with the man, [in] eating with greediness that which they had just cooked" (Cope 1977:184). Hodgson was further sickened when he heard the trio "breaking with a stone the bones of the deceased and then sucking them with apparent delight" (Cope 1977:184). Acts of cannibalism in missionary literature should give researchers pause, as it must be remembered that missionary accounts were written with "a British Christian audience in mind, one that wanted to hear of the resounding successes of the Gospel in savage Africa and to catch some of the thrill of what it was like to live beyond the confines of civilization" (Northcott 1969). Delius (2010) explains that missionaries were obsessed with cannibalism, which they believed to be rife in the area at the time, and their fascination with and enthusiasm for the subject would have influenced the content and form of their narratives. This is not to say that the accounts of cannibalism are false or simply the result of an over-active missionary imagination. It is likely, however, that "much of the graphic detail of cannibalism… was powerfully shaped by missionary preconceptions and

appetites" (Delius 2010:17). In their paper, Bowker, Bleek and Beddoe (1869) talk about their visit to the Kome Caves, also referred to as the Cannibal Caves, in Lesotho. According to the authors, the floor of the cave was heaped with human bones, either piled up or scattered, and as far as the eye could see, the bones and skulls of human beings were visible, particularly those of children. While this particular report certainly seems exaggerated, there are stories of cannibals living in caves during the *Difaqane* (Wadley 2001, Reid 2012). Rev. J.J. Freeman reports visiting one such cave with the missionary Mr. Daumas from the Mekoatleng mission station (Theal 1964, Wadley 2001). Rev. Freeman writes that "Immense quantities of fragments of bone lie scattered about, and fragments of the earthen pots used in cooking the horrid food" (Theal 1964:395). Critically, caution must be exercised when engaging with reports such as these and scholars should certainly demur from accepting subjective historical accounts as objective fact, particularly concerning topics as sensitive as cannibalism. Like the Kome Caves, Historic Cave - located in what is now Limpopo - was thought to have housed a contingent of cannibals owing to the large collection of human remains found therein. It was later revealed, however, that the bones from Historic Cave did not belong to unfortunate souls who had perished at the hands of cannibals, but rather to individuals who had succumbed to a more ruthless opponent: dehydration. In September of 1854, the Kekana Ndebele co-ordinated an attack on the Trekkers, Dutch colonists also known as Boers. Following the attack, the Kekana took shelter in a cave (now Historic Cave) which they had prepared with food and water. The Trekkers, unable to draw the Kekana out of the cave, placed them under siege by blocking all entrances with wood and stone. With no way to get in and out of the cave, the water supply soon ran dry and over the period of a month, between 1380 and 1780 Kekana died of dehydration while others were shot trying to escape. Eventually, a group of approximately 360 women and children surrendered, who were taken captive and distributed amongst the Trekkers (Esterhuysen 2012, 2015). This case shows that there are other ways to account for collections of human remains, particularly in caves, and cannibalism should not be the first conclusion drawn. The case of the siege is conspicuously absent from Kekana oral history, and like Historic Cave, the human remains found at the Kome Caves and the unidentified cave mentioned by Rev. Freeman could have originated from a very different cause of death. Another similarity between Historic Cave and the cave discussed by Rev. Freeman is the presence of pottery fragments. While Rev. Freeman assumes that these vessels were used to cook human flesh, the pots used in Historic Cave certainly served other purposes which did not involve the consumption of human beings (Theal 1964, Esterhuysen 2015).

Comment can also be made on the language of cannibalism. It is certainly possible that metaphors and cautionary tales used in African culture came to be taken literally by missionaries, with the original parables having been lost in translation over time. Additionally, when captives were seized by other polities, narratives of cannibalism were used as a tool of intimidation, inducing terror which prevented the captives from fleeing. The term 'cannibals' was also used to describe groups who survived almost entirely through raiding, therefore being seen as living off of others (Delius 2010). This metaphor of 'eating' others was commonly applied to victorious chiefs in 19th century southern Africa, and the concept quite suitably represented the conquering of other polities and the absorption of captives, cattle and wealth (Esterhuysen 2015). However, there is evidence to suggest that the association of immense power with the 'eating up' of others was indeed based on practices of cannibalism. Esterhuysen (2015) explains that the most powerful traditional medicines were made using human flesh. Amongst the Zulu, it was believed that the chief could acquire significant power by eating the flesh of an enemy chief. To do this, "the chief was first strengthened by his doctor, to fortify him against any danger or contamination from polluting forces. He then killed his enemy and cut off various portions of the body, including the hand and penis, which were mixed with other medicine and burnt into charcoal" (Esterhuysen 2015:181). Such beliefs and attitudes are reflected amongst the Tswana and Venda as well (Esterhuysen 2015). While one cannot definitively prove or disprove the occurrence of cannibalism, there is certainly room to argue that some of the accounts of the missionaries were based on truth. According to Hodgson, reports of cannibalism were corroborated by Moroka, Sehunelo's son, who claimed that he had seen "several small parties, chiefly women, feasting upon the bodies of those whom he supposes had died of hunger and fatigue" (Cope 1977:189). Similarly, when Broadbent and his family were left alone at Matlwasse after Hodgson had departed for Campbell and the Seleka-Rolong had fled out of fear of the approaching enemy, Sehunelo kept Broadbent informed about the movements of the enemy. Of their reports, Broadbent said, "they informed me that the main body had passed: but that there were still small parties and stragglers here and there, and that they appeared in a most wretched plight from want of food; so as to be eating dogs, cow-dung, and, in fact, their own dead!" (Broadbent 1865:67). In another entry, Broadbent wrote "Respecting the cannibalism of the people… I think their devouring human flesh arose from starvation; for, during my sojourn in that land, I never heard of an instance of the kind except from distress, and then not killing another in order to eat, but only eating of the dead. Of this I heard of many instances." (Broadbent 1865:73).

Regarding the study of the cottage itself, the stratigraphy of Hodgson's Cottage suggests different groups of occupants. However, since most objects, such as ostrich eggs, glass shards and bone fragments, are not indicative of any particular group, it is difficult to definitively determine who occupied the cottage after Hodgson. Once Hodgson and his family departed from Matlwasse, the station was taken over by another missionary, Rev. Edwards, and his wife until Hodgson's replacement, Rev. James Archbell, arrived and Edwards "could be relieved to extend his operations amongst the Corannas" (Cope 1977:216). The possibility certainly exists that Edwards and/or Archbell took up residence in Hodgson's Cottage, and, therefore, a certain number of artefacts excavated from the site could be attributed to them. Nonetheless, the presence of retouched glass, local earthenware and lithics in the uppermost layers may equally suggest that the residence was occupied by southern African groups subsequent to either Hodgson's, Edward's, or Archbell's departure. As discussed, the local earthenware sherds recovered from the site are undecorated and grit tempered, matching the description of earthenware produced by many of the southern African groups that had settled in the area (Thorp 1996). This could suggest that the missionaries were using vessels acquired from any of the groups with which they interacted during their travels (Mason 1986) or that one of the many displaced peoples occupied the site after the missionaries. Additionally, the local earthenware assemblage (206 fragments) is significantly larger than the imported ceramic one (112 fragments). Traditionally, at sites where missionary activity predominated, local earthenware is always outnumbered by imported ceramics. However, at sites which were not governed by missionaries, or alternatively, were inhabited by indigenous groups subsequent to the missionaries' departure, local earthenware typically equals or outnumbers imported ceramics (Hunt 2020). The fact that the local earthenware assemblage is nearly double the size of the imported ceramic one lends credence to the supposition that Hodgson's Cottage was inhabited by migratory African groups after Hodgson's departure. However, it can also be argued that the reason the local earthenware fragments far outnumber the imported ones is that Hodgson took all of the usable ceramics with him when he vacated the Cottage, as previously discussed. Historical papers, as well as Hodgson's journals, suggest the reason behind a possible later occupation of the site by African groups. As per chapter 2, the *Difaqane* had severe consequences on the lives of the people forced into the interior, including the Hlubi, Ngwane, Tlokwa, Taung, Hlakwana, Phuthing and Seleka-Rolong as well as other Sotho and Tswana groups. Many were displaced from their permanent residences by raiders and were forced to wander, continually in search of new safe places to settle temporarily (Cope 1977). It is possible that Hodgson's Cottage served as one of these temporary homes. The ash lenses found on the floor of both the kitchen and

bedroom indicate that fires were built in the centre of these respective rooms and not in the fireplace built by Hodgson. This is consistent with the indigenous practice of building fires in the centre of huts (Mason 1986), which strengthens the likelihood of African occupants of the site. The fact that the fires were built indoors may also support the conjecture that the individuals seeking shelter in the cottage were indeed hiding from enemies, as they did not want their fires to be seen by other groups in the vicinity. The recovery of bone fragments near the ash lenses by Mason further suggests that these were intentional fires built for cooking purposes (Mason 1986). The ash lenses deposited by post-Hodgson occupants are indicative of an African occupation of the site, which lends itself to the reasonable probability that many of the artefacts discussed in this research were indeed deposited by African groups. The kitchen fireplace itself contained very little ash, probably having been swept out by Hodgson or subsequent missionaries prior to their departure (Mason 1986). Most of the artefacts recovered from the interior of the cottage were found in the bedroom, in layer 2 which extends from the original floor surface to 5cm above the floor surface. The concentration of artefacts in the bedroom as opposed to the kitchen could be owed to the fact that the bedroom area was completely enclosed and as a result, more sheltered. The post-missionary inhabitants may therefore have spent most of their time in the bedroom, as the chance of discovery by enemies would be reduced.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the small artefact assemblage recovered from Hodgson's Cottage may be attributed to the fact that the family moved, rather than fled, from their residence. This is unlike Broadbent, whose home was ransacked by the Taung before he had the opportunity to collect his belongings. Since the Hodgsons were able to pack all of their belongings, the assemblage of artefacts excavated from the cottage is likely comprised of articles which were discarded by the Hodgson family. Additionally, the missionaries would have travelled with few items, only essentials which could be transported in the three ox wagons the missionaries arrived on in 1823 (Mason 1986). This would have resulted in fewer objects being discarded as they would have been reused even if damaged. Another factor contributing to the relatively small assemblage may be the short occupation period of the cottage. Hodgson's Cottage was only occupied by the family for approximately 10 months, from May of 1823 until February of 1824. This is markedly different to mission stations such as Platberg, located in the eastern Free State, which thrived for approximately 30 years between 1833 and the 1860s (Esterhuysen, Klatzow & Hunt 2019). The short occupation of the cottage is perhaps a symbol of the instability in the country at the time, as well as of the

itinerant nature of the Wesleyan missionaries; highlighted by Hodgson's move to another mission after only 10 months.

Despite the fact that Mason pinpointed the exact location of each object excavated from the cottage and provided a clear visual representation depicting this (figure 4.3), the assemblage is stubbornly quiet about the politics of power relations within the residence. There are neither artefacts nor significant artefact clusters which characterize an individual's role or space. This is certainly different to the KWH4 site, an LMS mission station occupied during the 1890s, located in Botswana's Khwebe Hills. Artefact recovered from KHW4, such as the remains of gin and Worcester sauce bottles, fragments of a tea set, a labelled balm container, a chess piece, a piece of chalk and children's toys, indicate a strong European influence and can also be linked to individual occupants and specific activities (Ashley 2011). The archaeology of Hodgson's Cottage, on the other hand, is non-specific to the Hodgson family and it is only through the use of the written evidence that loose ties can be made between the individuals known to have inhabited the space and the artefacts recovered therein. It is Hodgson's and Ann's respective diaries and letters which suggest that they subscribed to traditional Wesleyan Christian gender roles. Based on the written evidence, it appears that Hodgson generally engaged in activities beyond the residence such as engaging in trade, procuring food, sourcing water, tending the gardens, preaching and interacting with African groups and chiefs such as Schudeep and Sehunelo. These interactions ranged from requests for missionary presence to gift-giving and trade (Cope 1977). On the other hand, Ann appears to have engaged in activities within the home itself such as preparing food, sewing, reading, Bible study and child care (Letters of Ann Hodgson 1823, 1825). In one of her letters to England from Matlwasse, Ann wrote that her "engagements here are very different to what they were in England. Instead of visiting the beds of the sick, sewing for the poor, or attending the means of grace, I must attend to the oxen slaughtered for food, and also make butter, candles…" (Shaw 1836:147). However, there is no archaeological evidence to indicate gendered roles and activities, and so these cannot be assumed. The lack of privacy and gendered space within the cottage may also have contributed to the absence of evidence regarding gender roles. All the members of the household, each with their own goals, interests, relationships and struggles, were conducting their activities within the same small space, and this overlap may have erased evidence of gender in the archaeological record. Traditionally, gender is the apex of household organization and the study of gender in archaeology is typically mediated through an analysis of the items produced and used by men and women, as it is through these objects that social identities are created (Nassaney 2004,

King 2006). As per an approach which considers object biographies, people situated in the past are accessible though their material culture and the availability of comprehensive documentary sources usually allows archaeologists to connect specific artefacts with their users, creating detailed narratives and biographies (Lesick 1997, Lucas 2006). The small archaeological assemblage from Hodgson's Cottage meant that only tentative connections could be made between people and objects.

Nonetheless, central to this research was the use of object biographies, which takes into consideration the shifting and recategorization of artefacts through time and space (Lillios 1999). Like people, an object can be seen as having a life history, or biography, which "comprises the emic and etic dimensions of its production, distribution, consumption, and disposal" (Lillios 1999:240). Similarly, Kopytoff (1986:68) writes that the "biography of an object would look at it as a culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories". An object is 'born' when it is produced and it is involved in a number of shifting social relationships over its lifetime which can change its meanings through time and context. The exchange and circulation of objects and the social interactions that they get caught up in are the primary pathways through which items are imbued with meaning and value, and these accumulate over time (Joy 2010). It is worth noting however, that objects do not need to be physically modified in order to become invested with new meanings (Godsen & Marshall 1999). The material culture from Hodgson's Cottage is certainly imbued with an array of negotiated and renegotiated meanings and values, as these objects would almost certainly have served different cultural purposes to the two groups of inhabitants. Additionally, a biographical framework can be applied not only to the artefact assemblage, but to the cottage itself. The residence would certainly have become recontextualized by the African inhabitants and may have meant something different to them than it did to Hodgson. Drawing back to the discussion provided on page 102, to Hodgson the cottage may have symbolised a sanctuary for the righteous which was protected by God. This significance would not have applied to later occupants, however. While the cottage may have been a literal refuge from the *Difaqane,* it is unlikely that it carried spiritual connotations for the later occupants. Additionally, the presence of the ash lenses on the floor of the cottage show that the residence was repurposed and used in ways that were culturally distinct. The importance of a biographical approach is that it highlights the mutability of objects and structures, and reinforces the fact that things cannot be fully understood and appreciated in an archaeological context if they are not looked at as a whole.

Since I worked directly from Mason's excavation notes and interpretation, I had to place my trust in the imagery he provided when drawing conclusions. Some of Mason's terms are outdated, however, and Mason's dismissal of the post-Hodgson occupants as Terminal Iron Age people, without much further discussion (Mason 1986), points to the changing politics in archaeology. Politics certainly have a role to play in the development of archaeology and it is vital for archaeologists to be politically aware of and sensitive to descendant communities (Ndlovu 2012, Pikirayi 2015). The consideration of archaeology as a science alone nullifies the descendants and their understanding of the past and its role in the present when it is these groups of descendants who have protected the archaeology which we now wish to study (Ndlovu 2012, Pikirayi 2015). Archaeologists must commit to an integrative approach which incorporates local communities, promoting a shift to a people-orientated discipline. Failure to do this puts archaeologists in control of the history of others, thereby perpetuating racism in archaeological practice (Ndlovu 2012, Pikirayi 2015). Mason's labelling of the post-Hodgson occupants as Terminal Iron Age people (Mason 1986) fails to consider these individuals and groups as autonomous historical players, capable of influencing historical events. In this research, these individuals and groups are given extensive consideration, and their experiences and roles in history constitute an important part of the narrative.

5.14 Conclusion

The artefact assemblage from Hodgson's Cottage provides a frame of reference for the study of the lived experiences of English missionaries in southern Africa. This research is enriched by the availability of first-hand accounts in the form of Hodgson's journals and Ann's letters which provide context and meaning for the artefacts recovered. The addition of a woman's voice is rare in research of this kind as it was predominantly the men whose voices were, and still are, heard. An exploration of the symbolism of the cottage is also an important consideration, as it was within this space that the characters were carrying out many of their daily activities, the evidence of which we see in artefacts. Although the assemblage recovered from the site is small, the stratigraphy allowed for the identification of different periods of occupation of the site. This aligns with the volatile situation in the interior at the time as a result of the *Difaqane,* as it is likely that migratory groups would have used the abandoned cottage for shelter. Hodgson's journals are also valuable to research pertaining to the *Difaqane* itself, as they provide a first-hand account of the effects of the conflict, although it must be borne in mind that such accounts are subjective. This research serves to give a voice to the often overlooked individuals in history, which is achieved through a close study of the

objects which formed part of these people's daily lives. The possibility of further study exists through a comparative analysis with other missionary sites from this period.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research set out to use the methods of historical and household archaeology in the study of material culture to analyse possible politics, gender relations, individuals, and activities within Hodgson's Cottage. While many papers have been dedicated to the discussion of the effects of missionaries on African groups, this research aimed to provide a more nuanced perspective, humanising the often nameless and faceless entity which is the English missionary. This case study, therefore, presented a unique research opportunity to study the lived experiences of a missionary family in the southern African interior during a turbulent time in history.

The study of the site was enriched by the availability of Hodgson's journals and Ann's letters, as these provided a glimpse into the thoughts, feelings and reactions of the characters. The availability of accounts written by women at the time is very rare, and so Ann's letters are a remarkably valuable source of evidence. Her letters allow a glimpse into women's experiences of the mission, showing that being a missionary wife was often arduous. Nonetheless, Ann harboured no doubts about the importance and necessity of her work and her dedication never wavered. Ann's letters allowed for the production of a narrative in which all the occupants of the cottage - including Mary Ann and Orphena - were accounted for, and provided insight into how women and children were affected by missionary life. Further, it is owing to the written evidence that tentative connections could be made between objects and individuals, and it is the journals and letters which framed the experiences of the Hodgsons in southern Africa. It is, however, acknowledged that archaeologists should proceed with caution when engaging with subjective accounts, as these were influenced by individual perceptions and may not always be an accurate representation of events. It is therefore vital to bear in mind that more than one interpretation can exist for the same data set. The artefact assemblage from Hodgson's Cottage is considerably limited, and so I relied largely on the written documentation to identify individual agents within the home. Additionally, the written evidence was used to identify possible uses for the objects recovered from the site and the roles which they might have played in the daily lives of the Hodgsons. Unfortunately, the lack of physical evidence meant that I could only speculate about possible gender roles, relationships and politics within the cottage, based on what was written by Hodgson and Ann. For this reason, I could not fully achieve two of my aims.

Research into Hodgson's Cottage has proven valuable to discussions about the *Difaqane*. Many arguments exist about the true nature of the *Difaqane* and the extent of the violence and loss of life. Hodgson painted a very bleak picture of life in the interior, where he was confronted by scenes of death barely a stone's throw from his doorstep. Events recorded by Hodgson, such as the occurrence of cannibalism and the savagery, starvation and desperation associated with the *Difaqane*, provided an opportunity to reflect on the nuances of history through a comparison of Hodgson's writings with other academic papers written about the conflict. The recurrent theme of death throughout Hodgson's journals can be juxtaposed with the symbolism of Hodgson's Cottage, which offered physical and spiritual protection to its inhabitants. As the smallest unit of analysis, the cottage itself provides a point of departure for a study of both the missionary household as well as the greater social and political environment, providing a frame of reference for southern African politics at the time.

As previously mentioned, the artefact assemblage excavated by Mason was relatively small, which made an extensive study difficult. The artefacts missing from the collection further hindered the analysis. An additional limitation experienced was as a result of the onset of COVID 19. I was unable to conduct a site visit owing to the restrictions implemented and I was, therefore, unable to record the site in its current state or attempt to locate a midden. The presence of different cultural artefacts such as retouched glass and local earthenware, in addition to imported ceramics and gunflint, suggests the presence of various people at the site, which corresponds with the temporary settlement patterns of many groups at the time as a result of the political upheaval. The goal of the missionaries was to convert local groups to Christianity, but many African groups were often just in search of protection from enemies, which the armed missionaries could provide. This made the Seleka-Rolong receptive to the presence of the missionaries, but formalised education systems for the purpose of conversion were difficult to implement, although the presence of slate suggests that attempts at teaching were made.

The artefacts currently missing from the assemblage may reveal more information about the inhabitants of Hodgson's Cottage, although I acknowledge that this is unlikely. The 106 missing bone fragments are probably most valuable, however. These were likely deposited by the African groups who later inhabited the cottage, as any food residue left behind by the missionaries would have been concentrated in the kitchen fireplace. While Mason did identify well-rubbed ends on several long bones, which suggests hide working, he provided no further discussion on the

collection of bones. An analysis of the bone fragments may reveal other clues which can help with the identification of other activities performed by the African groups while living in the cottage. Although not all the aims of this research were achieved, the potential for further research certainly exists. An analysis of the missing artefacts, if they can be found, may contribute to our understanding of the site of Hodgson's Cottage. A study of the area immediately surrounding the site may reveal a household midden, the excavation of which may also yield more information. Additionally, a comparison amongst Hodgson's Cottage, Broadbent's House and the greater Matlwasse site and surrounding landscape, may allow for a holistic analysis and understanding of Matlwasse and the missionaries who lived there. I do not begin to imagine that I have fully tapped the potential of Hodgson's Cottage and Matlwasse to contribute to our knowledge of the missionary experience in southern Africa and the impact of the *Difaqane,* but I do hope that this research has started a dialogue, and shone a light on those whose personal experiences have been largely overlooked within southern African history.

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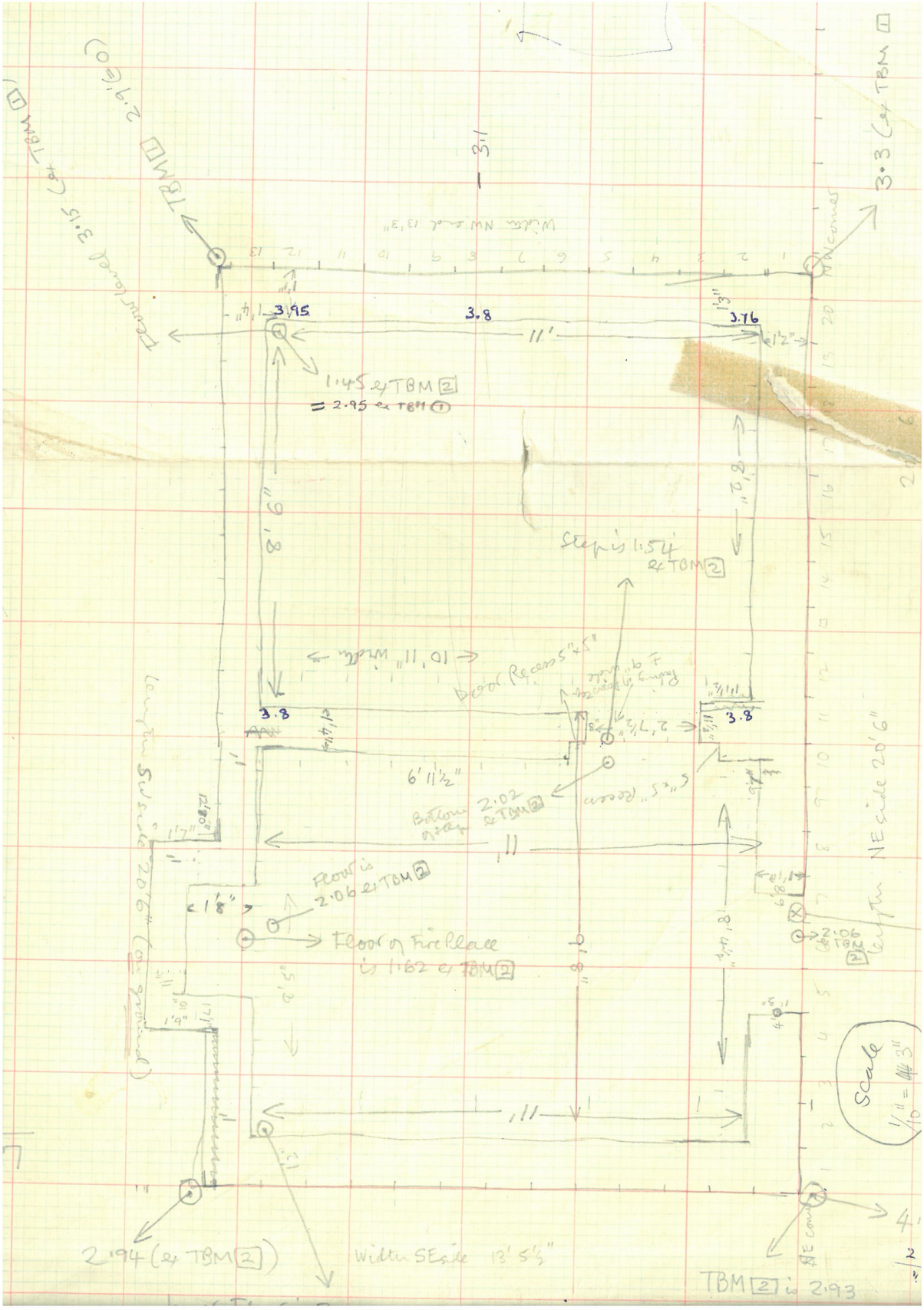
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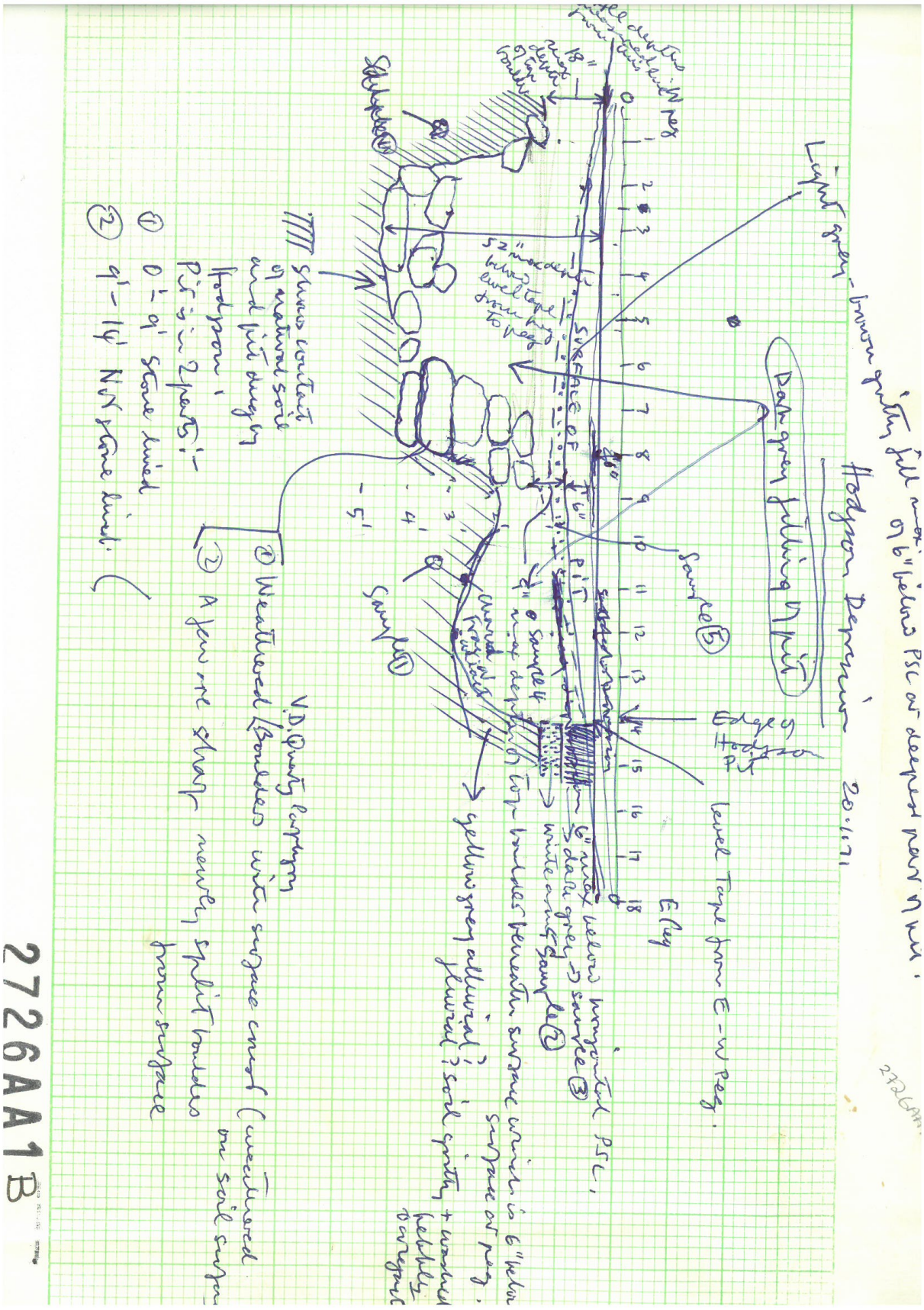
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Appendix A



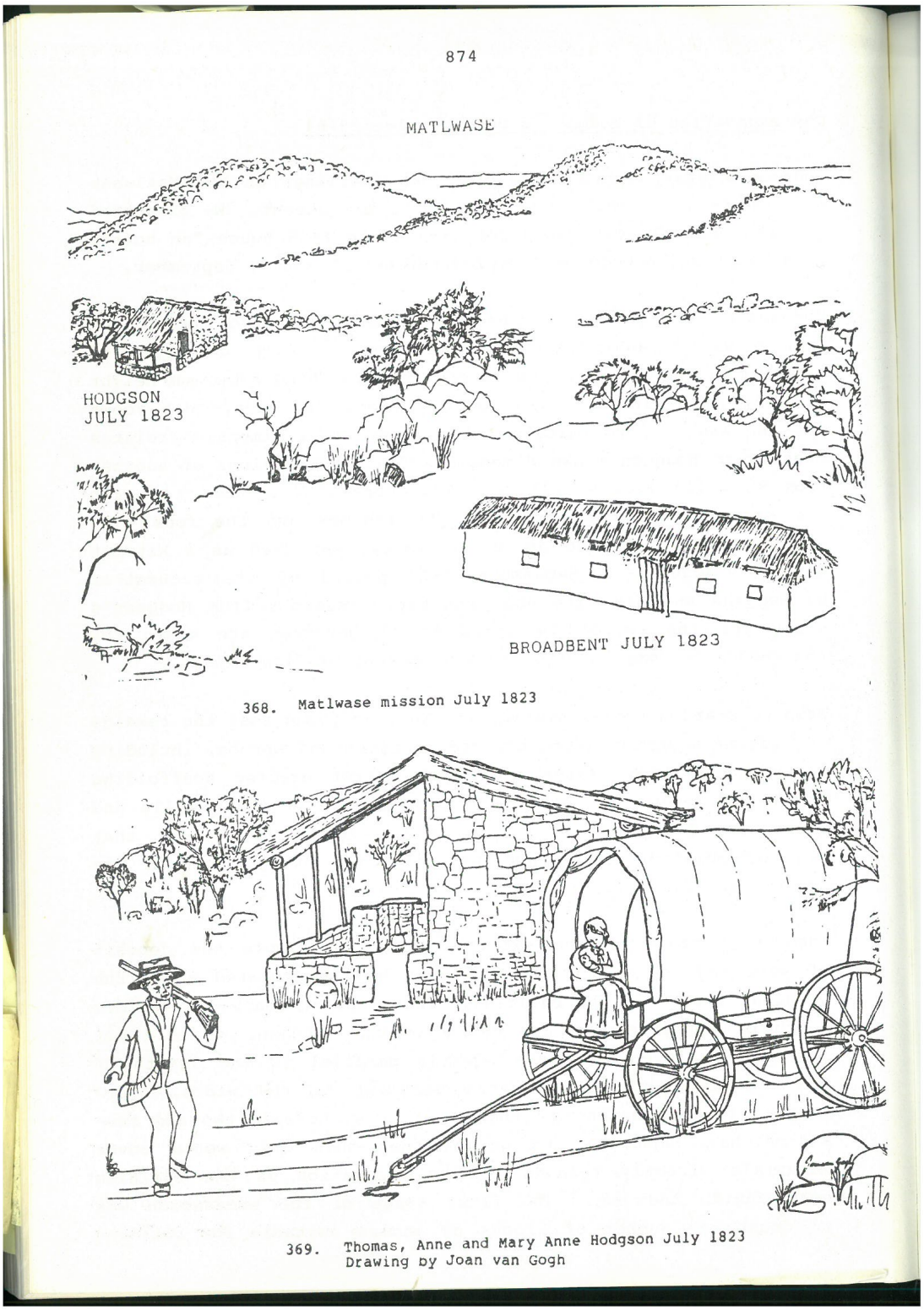
Mason's original sketch of the layout and dimensions of Hodgson's Cottage, likely drawn at the time of excavation

Appendix B



Mason's original sketch of the stratigraphy of Hodgson's Cottage, likely drawn at the time of excavation.

Appendix C



Top image: Drawing of Hodgson's Cottage and Broadbent's House in relation to each other at the Matlwasse mission station (Mason 1986:874).

Bottom image: Drawing by Joan van Gogh depicting Thomas, Ann and Mary Ann Hodgson outside their Matlwasse home (Mason 1986:874).

Appendix D



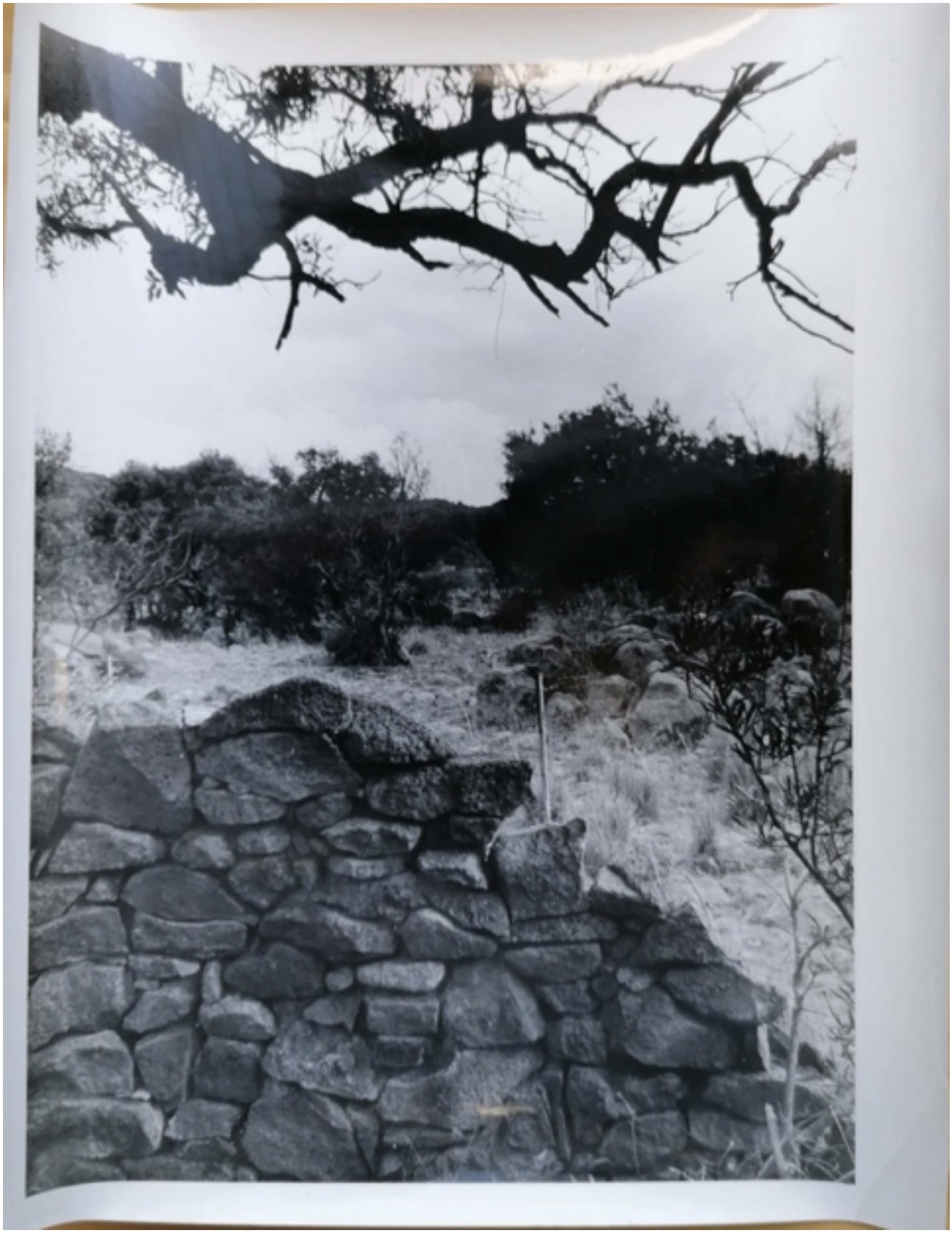
Ruins of Hodgson's Cottage (Mason 1964). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.

Appendix E



Excavation of Hodgson's Cottage (Mason 1964). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.

Appendix F



Remaining stone-walling of Hodgson's Cottage (Mason 1964). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.

Appendix G



Remaining stone-walling of Hodgson's Cottage (Mason 1964). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.

Appendix H



Construction of weatherproof structure (Mason 1975). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.

Appendix I



Completed weatherproof structure (Mason 1975). Accessed from the Wits University Archives.