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The Platberg Wesleyan mission station, 1833-1865: A landscape revealed

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THE PLATBERG WESLEYAN MISSION STATION, 1833-1865: A LANDSCAPE REVEALED

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Johannesburg, 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.



_____

(signature of candidate)

Date: 17/06/2020

ABSTRACT

The remains of the Wesleyan mission station, Platberg, are located in the eastern Free State, close to the Lesotho border. Occupied for approximately 30 years between 1833 and 1865, it was home to successive missionaries and their families, a community of people called Bastaards, and surrounded by large groups of Basotho. The mission station was designed and built with a specific message in mind, a message of westernization and 'civilization'. This landscape was negotiated and manipulated differently by each individual and/or group who lived there. Notions of privacy and intimacy were continuously negotiated on a landscape designed to be visible, public, and impressive, and these interactions differed from personality to personality. Furthermore, a dialectic between permanence and transience played out on a landscape that was constructed to reflect specific Wesleyan ideals. A study of both the archaeological remains and several historical sources are drawn on to measure the success of the Platberg mission station, and this information is then bolstered through a comparison with a study of a second station, Matlwase.

To my family and friends,

To Maureen Coetzee, Richard Hunt and Wouter Jacobs,

Without your support this would not have been possible.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The remains of the mission station Platberg can be found in the eastern Free State, close to Ladybrand and the Lesotho border (Fig. 1.1). Built in 1833, it was occupied until the mid-1860s after which war and politics resulted in the gradual abandonment of the station. A succession of missionaries, with their wives and children, lived at the station; the longest occupations being by James Cameron and then Richard Giddy. In addition, a mixed group who, at the time, self-identified as Bastaards, as well as Basotho, San, and a few Englishmen, also occupied the station.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

Through the use of landscape and practice theory, this study interrogates the attempts made by Wesleyan missionaries to create a built environment that mirrored specific Wesleyan ideals. By exploring notions of public and private space and domesticity, this study aims to give insight into how these spaces were negotiated by the missionaries and their families. In an analysis of the contrasting architectural styles present on this site, further insight into the varying attitudes of the inhabitants of the mission station is given. The study had the following objectives:

- To analyse how the built environment of Platberg was planned and designed to advance the goals of the Wesleyan missionaries, with a focus on the mission precinct.
- To investigate the navigation and negotiation of private and public space and notions of domesticity by individual missionaries and their families by drawing on archival sources, anecdotal evidence and the archaeological record.
- To investigate the significance and impact of the more ephemeral and transient architectural styles in comparison to the permanent, by drawing on the archaeological record of the varying styles present on the station.
- To examine how elements of social and economic stratification were made visible on the landscape and the built environment through a study of the spatial layout of the mission.
- Located on a contested landscape during a turbulent period of history, how this mission station was situated within the broader political and historical landscape was considered, as well as what effect these historical processes had on the life, occupation, and taphonomy of the station.

1.2 The Site

The site is approximately 1600 meters above sea level. It is a summer rainfall region which receives an average of 630mm of rain annually, mostly in the form of thunderstorms between November and March (Mucina and Rutherford, 2006). The soils of the region belong mainly to the Highveld prairie type, and combined with the rainfall levels, these conditions and are well suited to crop agriculture (Mucina and Rutherford, 2006; Chirikure *et al.*, 2008).

Built in 1833, the mission station, Platberg was to function for approximately 30 years. Reports of the land functioning as a mission station decline steadily after the Boers gained control of what became known as the *Vrystaatse Republiek* in 1854. Rev. John Ayliff visited Platberg in 1861 but described the station as falling into disrepair. The mission station was abandoned shortly after this and Moodie (1888, p. 105) showed that Platberg people had been living at Rietspruit for several years before 1865. A battle between the Boers and the Basotho then ensued in 1865, which is when it was reported that the place was destroyed[1].

The property on which the site is situated is now known as Pinekloof farm, currently owned by the Hobson family. This family has owned the property since 1929 according to the title deeds (Appendix A), and before that it was owned by a Mr. Johannes Alewyn Smit, according to a report written by the Surveyor General in 1882 (Appendix B). These documents suggest that the land was only parcelled up as a farm in 1882 as no records could be found before this date.

[1] *The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette, 24 November 1865.*

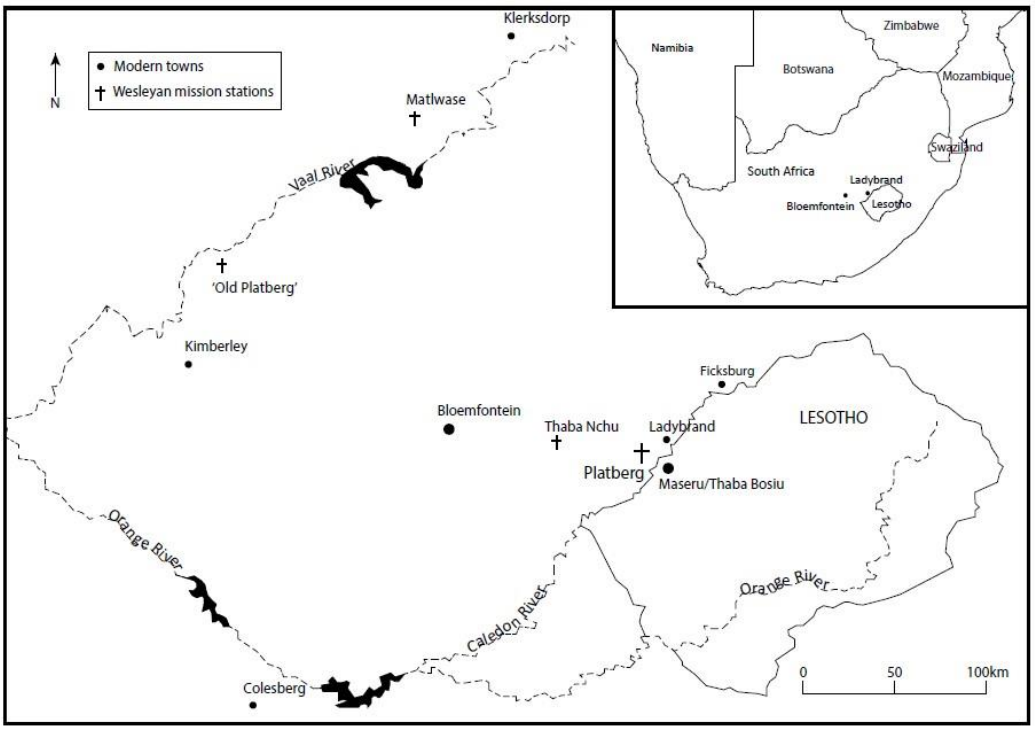

Figure 1.1. Map showing the location of Platberg. Modern borders and features are included, as well as the historic sites mentioned in this thesis.



Figure 1.2. Google Earth image of the remains of the Platberg mission station. The ploughed fields of the modern farm are at the bottom of the image, and the ridge at the top.

1.3 Historical Literature

Combined with the title deeds and surveys, historical sources have been studied for reference to Platberg. Firstly, the diaries of James Cameron, stored in the Cory Library in Grahamstown, give great insight into life on the mission station. From Richard Giddy we have no diaries, but a descendant of the Giddy family provided us with a compilation of anecdotal stories that were passed down through several generations and then recorded by a family member and named 'Agnes' Tales'. In addition, a few of his letters dating from 1846 to 1857, written from Platberg, were sourced from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London archives. Furthermore, Martha Jane Kirk, the wife of a trader, gave a first hand account of their life at Platberg as they lived at the station for a few years in the 1850s, later edited and published by Karel Schoeman (Kirk, 1989).

Several newspapers and periodicals were operational during this time period and give valuable information on the functioning of the mission station. One of these was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Reports (WMMS Reports) that were published annually and gave a summary of all Methodist activity around the world. Similarly, the Wesleyan Missionary Notices were published annually and often contained excerpts of letters written by missionaries overseeing stations. Finally, a semi-weekly newspaper was published in Bloemfontein from 1854 to 1900. This newspaper was called Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette and gave some interesting details on the political turbulence in the region.

In addition, there are accounts from travellers (Backhouse, 1844) and other missionaries (Arbousset and Daumas 1846; WMN 1857, 1858; Ayliff 1861; Shaw 1860, 1972; Holden 1877) that visited and stayed at the mission station. Within these are several descriptions of Platberg, one of which was from Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 8) who passed through the area during their exploratory tour of the 1840s. They describe Platberg as follows:

> On the brow of the ridge stand the chapel and the parsonage; and in front of these stretches the little village in one long street of twenty-five or thirty houses. At the side are numerous kitchen gardens, which are watered by a pretty mountain stream, walled in by an immense bank of rocks, the towering and deeply indented crest of which commands the whole plain.

Figure 1.2 is a Google earth image of the site and surrounding area to show the extent of the station as well as the ridge described above. The “mountain stream” mentioned above is presumably the stream that can be seen north of the station.

And in a letter written on 10 March 1845, James Cameron commented on the laying out of the town:

> I next proceeded to lay out the place in the form of a village. After maturely considering the situation I decided on making it four square the streets crossing each other at right angles and running from east to west and from north to south. This I effected at the expense of much personal labour; for not only had I to measure off the streets, the homestead and gardens, but also to draw the plan and trace the foundations of each man’s house. Still I felt much pleasure in doing to, hoping thereby to secure the double advantage of improving the stations appearance, and in attaching the people to it as their permanent home.

Cameron appears to have achieved this goal, as described by the Wesleyan missionary William Shaw in a letter written in 1848 (Shaw as cited in Broadbent 1865 p. 200):

> This is a settlement of great capabilities of an agricultural kind. The village is greatly improved since I was last here; the people have built themselves very good and substantial houses, after the colonial fashion. A large number of gardens and orchards are well enclosed; and hundreds, if not thousands, of fruit trees give the whole a very interesting rural appearance.

From the historical literature, we can therefore already tell that the station went through a period of expansion in the early 1840s, from a single street with houses and gardens arranged along it, to four ‘blocks’ separated by parallel roads.

1.4 Chapter Outline

The Platberg mission station is a large and complex site. The work done over the last few years has only scratched the very surface and much more needs to be done to truly understand the site and its many components. The following chapters will give an outline of the history of the region, the theoretical perspectives considered, and the details and complexities of the landscape in which this site is situated. This will be followed by a breakdown of the methodology employed at the site, and then the details of what has been uncovered at the four structures that have so far been studied. Each structure was labelled arbitrarily based on a letter system. Finally there will be a comparison with a previous study on a different mission station.

Chapter Two gives a short history of missionary work in southern Africa as well as the broader political processes that characterised this region at the time. This chapter discusses first the start of Methodist missionary work in South Africa and their arrival at the Platberg site. Next, some background is given on the different groups that were present on this landscape, namely the Platberg missionaries, Bastaards, San, Basotho, Boers, and traders and artisans. Following this is a description of quotidian life on a 19th century mission station as described by a variety of contemporary first-hand accounts. Finally, there is a discussion of the decline and then destruction of Platberg.

Chapter Three then details the theoretical framework in which this study is grounded, as well as a summary of some of the previous work undertaken around the world, variously focused on the archaeology of the mission station and the household.

Chapter Four discusses the modern Platberg environment and the different processes acting upon it, such as climate, animal activity and erosion. These processes have had a significant effect on the landscape and must be considered in preparation for understanding the archaeological record, as well as the excavation techniques utilized.

Chapter Five details the methodology employed during this study. Firstly, an extensive surveying and mapping exercise was undertaken across the station during excursions to the site in 2014, 2015 and 2016 using an Electronic Distance Meter (EDM) which gave us the map of the site in Chapter Five (Fig. 5.1). This map has been updated and expanded during further field excursions in 2017 and 2018. This study then focused in on four structures located on this site. The archaeological techniques utilised at each structure included formal excavation, systematic shovel test pit (STP) surveys, and wall-chasing – the process of uncovering the foundational walling of each structure. Methods were employed and adjusted at each structure dependant on the state of disturbance of each site, as described in Chapter Four. Methods were further informed by the time and resources available during each field excursion. Details of these techniques and their limitations are described in Chapter Five.

From the map created of the site, it was found that the three largest and most prominent structures on the site were distinctly grouped together. This area became known as the mission precinct. The first structure investigated in the mission precinct was named PPH as we first thought it to be the printing press house. It was found, instead, to likely have been where the chapel stood. Chapter Six details the material culture recovered from this structure.

Chapter Seven concentrates on the second structure that was excavated in the mission precinct. This was the large structure located approximately 35m north of PPH that we called HGH. It was discovered that the structure was rectangular in shape, with three small steps leading from the western front, facing what was thought to have been the principal street. While comparatively little material culture was collected here, the excavation did yield important information concerning the possible function of the structure as well as the taphonomy of the structure and the wider site in general.

Chapter Eight concerns the study of the immense structure located in between PPH and HGH. This structure is largely believed to have been the missionaries private house due to its location and the large quantity of collapsed mudbrick. The excavation of this structure was limited due to the sheer scale of the site and severe time constraint, but nevertheless, the findings were interesting and detailed in Chapter Eight.

The fourth structure investigated was named BH. It was a much smaller structure than any of the other structures presented here and was excavated as a comparison to the larger structures and the mission precinct. It was found that BH lies in the corner of a series of enclosed fields, and the structure itself is situated in a small enclosure of rough, orchard walling. Chapter Nine gives a breakdown of the excavation results from this site.

The final section of this thesis focuses on a study conducted by Professor Revil Mason in 1964. The site that he excavated is that of another Wesleyan mission station that was located in the Vaal-Orange River Basin, named Matlwase (Fig. 1.1). This mission station was occupied from 1822 to 1830, shortly before Platberg was established in 1833. Chapter Ten gives a comparison of Mason's work and findings at Matlwase, to those at Platberg.

Chapter Eleven then pulls all this information together in a discussion, combining the archaeological findings with historical sources to illustrate how notions of privacy and intimacy were negotiated on this strict and inherently public landscape. Furthermore, the dialectic between permanence and transience of people and their homes gives some insight into how much (or little) structure and stability this mission station really provided on this landscape.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history surrounding the mission station of Platberg is complex and detailed, beginning not, as one might expect, in the eastern Free State, but north of the Vaal River, in what was known as the Transvaal. The mission stations here were plagued by political upheaval and violence, resulting in an exodus of many groups of people moving southwards towards Basotho territory.

On arrival in Basutoland[2], these missionaries and their stations were surrounded by groups such as the Basotho, Boers, Englishmen, Griqua, Koranna, 'Bushmen', and a group that were identified as 'Bastaards', both by themselves and the missionaries. The Platberg mission station was set up primarily for the Bastaard population (Schoeman, 1991, p. 71), but being in Basotho territory they had a substantial Basotho population living there (Theal, 1883a). Added to this were several Englishmen that resided on the station (Cameron, 1842), and several San groups that lived in the area (Wadley, 1992, p. 8). The lifetime of the Platberg mission station spanned a contentious period during which the land belonged to the Basotho, then to the British missionaries, and finally to the Afrikaner government of the Orange Free State.

2.1 Missionary Work in South Africa in the 1820s

Methodism had its roots in the English working class during the industrial revolution, preached by itinerant preachers who came from the same background as their congregants (Thompson, 1966, p. 358). Kent (2004, p. 2) argued that the success of Methodism can be attributed to its appeal to the more immediate and practical needs of the masses and its ability to satisfy them where Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism couldn't. Rather than focusing on the obscure threat of a second coming and the wrath of God, Methodism offered "a reduction in their personal anxieties, resolutions for practical problems, and a greater degree of self-approval", essentially offering a transformation of personal identity as an antidote to trying circumstances (Kent, 2004, p. 2).

Methodists preached that all people are sinners and that a frugal and pious life was the key to obtaining salvation in the afterlife; they preached on the "blessedness of poverty"

[2] Present-day Lesotho and eastern Free State

(Thompson, 1966, p. 358). Thompson (1966) argued that it was in this way that the Methodists effectively curbed natural ambition and rebellion in the face of trying circumstances, convincing people to be content with their class and station in life. This resulted in the redirection of the revolutionary energy of the English working class, and the creation of a docile working force in the new industrial capitalist economy (Thompson, 1966). Here, Thompson has been criticized, largely for the causal nature of his argument (Heathorn, 1998; Anderson, 2012). Anderson (2012, p. 22) argued that Methodism cannot take credit for the 18th century industrialisation and modernization movement as a whole, but was rather one of many contributing factors of that same movement, and was to have an enduring impact on religion worldwide.

The above debate on causation aside, it can be argued that Methodism appealed to both the working class and the bourgeoisie and proletariat. To the working class, Methodism was appealing as it was preached from a position of similar class and status. On the other hand, it also discouraged rebellion and encouraged good behaviour in the workplace (Thompson, 1966, p. 358; Vernal, 2012). This was to have a distinct impact on the civilizing mission in South Africa. Indigenous people were attracted to Methodist mission stations as there was the promise of education, western technology, sanctuary, and trade opportunities (Klatzow, 2018, p. 645), and yet Methodists played a crucial role in creating a mindset of passivity and submission (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 113).

Missionaries were sent to their various stations by the different European-based societies operating in the country, such as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS). The WMMS was established in England in 1811 to oversee their international missionary work (Davenport, 1997, p. 54). Methodism was introduced at the Cape in 1813 with the arrival of Rev. Barnabus Shaw and by 1832 Methodist centres had been founded throughout the Western Cape and were steadily extending north into the interior. Their work was organised into districts such as that of 'Bechuanaland'[3], Natal, the Cape of Good Hope, the Transvaal, Grahamstown and Kaffraria[4] (Davenport, 1997, p. 54).

[3] Roughly present-day Botswana, as well as portions of the Northern Cape and North West, present-day provinces of South Africa.
[4] Present-day Eastern Cape.

The Methodist mission stations located in the Vaal-Orange River Basin, such as the station named Matlwase (Chapter Ten), were established chiefly by Thomas Hodgson and Samuel Broadbent of the WMMS in the years 1822 to 1830. They were sent, fresh off the boat, by Reverend Barnabas Shaw and were amongst the first white people to settle in the Transvaal. Hodgson was to build the first historically recorded rectangular house made of stone in the Transvaal (Mason, 1986, p. 848) (Chapter Ten). The 1820s saw enormous demographic upheaval throughout the entire southern African region, it was a period characterised by mass migrations, raiding, war and sometimes famine (Eldredge, 1995, p. 123; Parsons, 1995a, p. 348). It is this period of flux that is known as the *Difaqane*[5], and it was in this environment that Hodgson and Broadbent established several different mission stations amongst the different groups of people in the Transvaal, trying their best to create stability in a time of severe upheaval. They built a total of six houses dotted around the river basins with the aim of creating settled bases for operations. They also had a reasonably established base at Griquatown. However, this by no means meant safety and stability, as the entire region convulsed with conflict, and Hodgson and his family spent much of their time driving their ox wagons into previously unexplored territory (Mason, 1986, p. 852). It was in this atmosphere that the mission station at Matlwase was built, and later the first Platberg station (Fig. 1.1).

The cause of the *Difaqane* conflict has been attributed to the expansion of Zulu and Ndebele states on the east coast, causing migrations of people into the interior (Eldredge, 1995; Parsons, 1995a). Counter arguments suggest that it was not as simple as that, that there was increasing instability and state-growth before the migrations across the Drakensberg began (Hall, 1995; Parsons, 1995a, 1995b). Parsons (1995a, p. 338) argues that the introduction of maize after 1750 meant that agriculture could support larger populations, and so there was an emergence of large towns and political states. But the trouble with maize crops is that they fail in drought years, leading to famine and social unrest (Parsons, 1995a). Cattle raiding and increased European trading, raiding and settlement then fostered and exacerbated the conflict (Eldredge, 1995, p. 140; Kinsman, 1995, p. 365; Parsons, 1995a, p. 341). No matter the causes, the African response was not passive resignation in the face of complete chaos. Rather, extreme strategies were adopted, in the forms of hill and cave settlement, and the aggregation of communities

[5] The SeSotho word '*Difaqane*' translates as "the scattering of the people" (Frescura, 1985, p. 14).

(Hall, 1995). The location of the Matlwase station was chosen by the missionaries due to the proximity of an extensive hilltop agricultural community.

Matlwase was only occupied between the years 1823 and 1825 and was built to service the Seleka-Rolong, a Tswana group, led by Sehunelo (Mason, 1986). Both a house and church had been built by July 1823:

> My case being urgent, induced me to cut down timber, of which there was a tolerable supply in the neighbourhood, to build a house in the manner of the natives, though of a different form. The width was limited by the length of beams we could get, and the length such as admitted of a division into three parts: one end for a lodging-room, the other end a room of equal size, which was divided into halves, one for a pantry, the other for books, implements, &c.; and the centre, which was the largest, for our sitting and dining apartment (Broadbent, 1865, p. 61).

Like all other mission stations, many different crops were grown here. Hodgson describes how "onions, beet, carrots etc. were found in garden" and later on grew tobacco too (Cope, 1977, pp. 292, 296). It was not long before Hodgson was recalled back to Cape Town by the WMMS, leaving Broadbent alone at Matlwase, and in 1824 Broadbent's health deteriorated which caused him to take a holiday in Griquatown. It was during this time that Matlwase and the surrounding villages were raided by the Taung, and Broadbent's house looted of its contents (Mason, 1986; Kinsman, 1995, p. 367). Broadbent never returned to Matlwase. By July 1824, Matlwase as a mission station was abandoned, and Broadbent was sent back to England in 1825 due to his failing health (Cope, 1977, p. 243).

In August 1825, Hodgson returned to Matlwase with James Archbell and some Barolong households in the hope of rebuilding the station (Cope, 1977, p. 291; Kinsman, 1995, p. 371). Hodgson describes the scene:

> As I rode through the old town I was grieved to see such marks of desolation; most of the houses which I left occupied by inhabitants peacefully living together were burnt down, the cattle kraals, gardens, etc., were destroyed and here a broken pot and there a broken spoon, etc., indicated the haste in which the Barolong had deserted their residence. (Cope, 1977, p. 291)

It was during this later visit that “one or more” stone cottages were built (Orford 1978, p. 5). However, almost immediately after completing the building, they were forced to withdraw to the Vaal River due to another war between the Barolong and Bataung (Kinsman, 1995). The social and economic disintegration of the Barolong at this time was not caused by a single war or raid, but resulted from years of continuous depletion of resources until Sefunela was forced to lead his people towards the Vaal River in the hope of finding refuge where they eventually settled at the ‘Old Platberg’ in 1826 (Fig. 1.1) (Kinsman, 1995). The influx of refugees increased the population from between 3,000 and 4,000 in 1832 to as much as 10,000 in 1833 (Kinsman, 1995, p. 389). Overpopulation and lack of sufficient fertile land soon caused an exodus by groups such as the Seleka Barolong led by Moroka, the Bastaards and the Griqua led by Carolus Baatjes and Barend Barends, into the country of the Basotho (Shaw, 1860; Casalis, 1861; Theal, 1883a; Schoeman, 1991; Kinsman, 1995). These groups were accompanied by several Wesleyan missionaries and their assitants, namely James Archbell, John Edwards, Joseph Allison and Thomas Sephton (Hodgson had returned to England in 1831) (Theal, 1883a; Schoeman, 1991). The Bastaards, under the Captaincy of Carolus Baatjes, settled at the ‘New Platberg’ mission station that was established in 1833 in Basotho territory (Theal, 1883a; Schoeman, 1991). Here, the missionaries laid out a settlement with plots of land for each family of the congregation, and a chapel in the middle (Tylden, 1944, p. 8).

2.2 Moshoeshoe and the Wesleyans

Moshoeshoe, was born in 1786 (Gill, 1997, p. 12) and in 1809 received the praise name of Moshoeshoe for a successful raid on the Ramonaheng (Gill, 1997, p. 12). The *Difaqane* saw the displacement of many groups across the Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg and onto the Highveld in search of refuge from the political upheaval (Eldredge, 1995; Gill, 1997, p. 13; Cain, 2009). This in turn brought conflict and war to the Highveld, forcing further displacement, but also allowing for the rise of one such as Moshoeshoe and the consolidation of the Basotho state (Gill, 1997; Davenport and Saunders, 2000, p. 60; Landau, 2010, p. 127). In 1824 Moshoeshoe forged alliances with other Sotho chiefdoms and then led them to Thaba Bosiu: a large, flat-topped mountain, and relative safety (Lye, 1980b; Gill, 1997; Storey, 2008).

During this time guns became crucial for both war and peace, and many groups, including the Batswana, Amandebele and Basotho, recruited and protected missionaries in the hopes that they could use their trade contacts and knowledge of the technology to their own ends. By the 1840s and 1850s the gun trade had spread north of the Limpopo River and David Livingstone reported guns well into the north of southern Africa (Storey, 2008, p. 100). Despite this, Theal (1883a, pp. 3–4) argues that 1834 to 1844 was a time of relative peace between the 'tribes' of the region, mostly kept by Moshoeshoe who was well known for his diplomacy. It was during this period, a time of great displacement, and the welcoming of missionaries, that the emigration from 'Old Platberg' on the Vaal River occurred, accompanied by Wesleyan missionaries.

On arrival in Basotho territory, negotiations for land had to be conducted. The subject of land ownership proved to be contentious during this time as the Basotho had very different concepts on the ownership of land in comparison to the incoming western settlers (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). European settlers had a general acceptance that land could be owned by individuals and traded among themselves, while the Basotho traditionally treated land as belonging to the community and managed by a chief on behalf of that community (Sanders, 1975, p. 60; Coplan, 2000; King, 2018). In the event of a person or group moving into Basotho territory, that migrant would have to ask the local chief permission to settle, that chief would then consult his community and then allocate the immigrant people a track of appropriate land. The immigrant chief would be expected to present a token, in the form of livestock, in recognition of the local chief's authority over the land. Immigrants would retain their independence but would be expected to obey and respect the local chiefs sovereignty (Germond, 1967; Sanders, 1975; Murray, 1992; Coplan, 2000). Moshoeshoe did not object to people settling in his territory, but rather to those settlers buying and selling that land (Keegan, 1988, p. 27; Bishop, 1989). This is an important departure in attitude to land ownership and became a significant source of conflict between the Basotho and all subsequent settlers. Boundaries were malleable and dependent on features varying from natural land forms, to varying veld types and political alliances. A degree of 'un-settlement' was therefore common as people moved, as environmental conditions changed or political alliances were made or broken (King, 2018, p. 671). Rather than British notions of borders, sovereignty and nation, Basotho politics were regulated by effective occupation, networking and seniority,

alliance and tribute, and this system made colonial settlement easy as settlers took advantage of Basotho concepts of occupation rather than ownership (Coplan, 2000, p. 191).

The Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in May 1833, commenced a series of transactions with the Basotho in which they exchanged relatively small numbers of livestock in return for tracts of land (Coplan, 2009, pp. 514–515, 2012). William Shaw described it as "extensive and fertile land which was at the time vacant" (Shaw, 1860, p. 560). According to an official document (reproduced in Theal, 1883) entitled 'Disposal of ground to the Wesleyan Missionary Society by the chiefs Moshesh and Sikonyela', the land on which the WMMS missionaries settled, including that of Platberg, was assigned to James Archbell and John Edwards for the price of "eight head of horned cattle, thirty four sheep, and five goats" (Theal, 1883a, p. 4; Sanders, 1975). Two years later, a second document was signed by Moshoeshoe, confirming the occupancy of the Platberg land for cattle and sheep to the value of 250 rix-dollars (Sanders, 1975, p. 66). Even the missionaries themselves considered this sum a "mere trifle" (Sanders, 1975, p. 66; Coplan, 2009, p. 515). Later, Moshoeshoe argued that he had no right to make such a sale anyway, as he argued in 1845 that it:

> Would be on my part introducing an unprecedented practice. The people I govern look upon me as being entrusted with the preservation of their country, and I could not forfeit or cede my right to any part of it without being considered as having robbed the community (Moshoeshoe, 1845 as cited in Sanders, 1975, p. 67).

Then, in 1848 Sir Harry Smith, with the apparent consent of Moshoeshoe, Moroko (leader of the Barolong at Thaba 'Nchu) and Boer farmers, proclaimed that the territory between the Vaal and Orange Rivers would be under British sovereignty and in 1849 this territory was then divided up into different independent territories for Moroka (BaRolong), Sikonyela (BaTlokwoa), Moletsane (BaTaung), Taaibosch (Kora) and Baatje (Bastaards) (Theal, 1883a; Venter, 1960; Collins, 1965; Sanders, 1975). By 1849, then, Platberg land had shifted in ownership from Moshoeshoe, to the missionaries, to the Bastaards, but these Bastaards were still seen as subject to British oversight (Theal, 1883a, p. 567).

Being located in what had once been Basotho territory, there was a large population of Basotho living near Platberg. This suited the missionaries as it provided them with plenty

of potential converts. However, the missionaries (particularly Cameron) seemed to have great trouble in convincing them to join their flock. Baker (1928, pp. 48–50) contends that there were several factors standing in the way of the conversion of the Basotho to Christianity, most of them on a social level. One factor was an inherent suspicion of newcomers, and the missionary's rejection of traditional Basotho customs, such as polygamy and rain-making. The missionaries at Platberg felt that it was an uphill struggle to change these traditions by promoting monogamy, introducing 'science' and 'medicine' in place of 'witchcraft' and 'divination', and introducing 'temperance' in the effort of curbing the consumption of traditional beer (Baker, 1928, p. 50; Vernal, 2009).

But despite this, some Basotho people did join the mission, and came to hold quite senior positions on the station. Cameron, for example, speaks of his "native schoolmaster" (June 1841) and speaks of hiring "a Basotho and his wife to come live with us" and "their wages will be three cows a year" (Cameron, March 1841). Although many early chiefs generally accepted missionary work in their territory, and even encouraged it, most resisted conversion themselves. The following generation, however, are said to have converted to Christianity more readily (Taylor, 1972, p. 18; Lye, 1980c, p. 67; Davenport and Saunders, 2000, p. 61). The dynamics of conversion were complex and political. Landau (2010, p. 142) attributed the growth in church attendance in the second half of the 19th century to a decline in political leadership and a sense of ancestral belonging, as well as the increasing threat of proletarianization, the rise of wage labour. The Methodist congregation at Thaba 'Nchu grew from only 200 people in 1869 to over 600 by 1873, in only four years (Landau, 2010, p. 142).

2.3 Missionary Work at Platberg

The Wesleyan missionaries that oversaw Platberg were highly itinerant in the early years of the station (Table 2.1), as was the norm in the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS). WMMS Reports from that time record Platberg being run by Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Edwards in 1833, Mr. Giddy in 1837, and then Mr. Garner in 1838. When James Backhouse visited in 1839 on his travels around South Africa, Thomas Sephton was residing at Platberg and was listed as the Catechist (Backhouse, 1844, p. 384). James Cameron (Fig. 2.1) moved to the station in 1840 (Van Heerden, 1993) and it was then taken over again by Richard Giddy (Fig. 2.1) in 1845 who, this time, brought with him the

printing press (Whiteside, 1906; Schoeman, 1991). The Wesleyan Missionary Notices contains letters from the missionaries from this region. Rev. John Thomas Daniel, recorded as an 'assistant missionary', wrote in 1857 that he had moved to Platberg and that the surrounding stations of Lishuani, Umpukani and Imparani were left with no regular minister since Giddy had left for Colesburg a few weeks earlier (Daniel, as cited in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN), 1857). The Wesleyan minister, Mr. Cresswell is then recorded to have been stationed at Platberg from 1861 (Collins, 1965, p. 183). The year 1865 found the station largely abandoned. It is recorded that in August 1865 the only occupant was a Wesleyan teacher by the name of Mr. Baker[6]. By November of the same year it was reported to be entirely deserted, after which the property was strategically subdivided into farms, occupied by Boer settlers, and formed part of a buffer region between the Free State and the Basotho (Bosch, 1967, p. 35; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 3).

Whiteside (1906, pp. 338, 374) described Giddy as a trained printer and editor who printed school books, scripture, catechisms and hymn books in English, Dutch and Sesotho, while James Cameron was described as:

> deeply read in theology, and had a powerful and logical mind. He was a marvelous sermonizer… In conversation his Scotch humour and powers of description made him a delightful companion. He had a good knowledge of the Dutch and Seralong languages.

[6] *The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette, 24 November 1865*

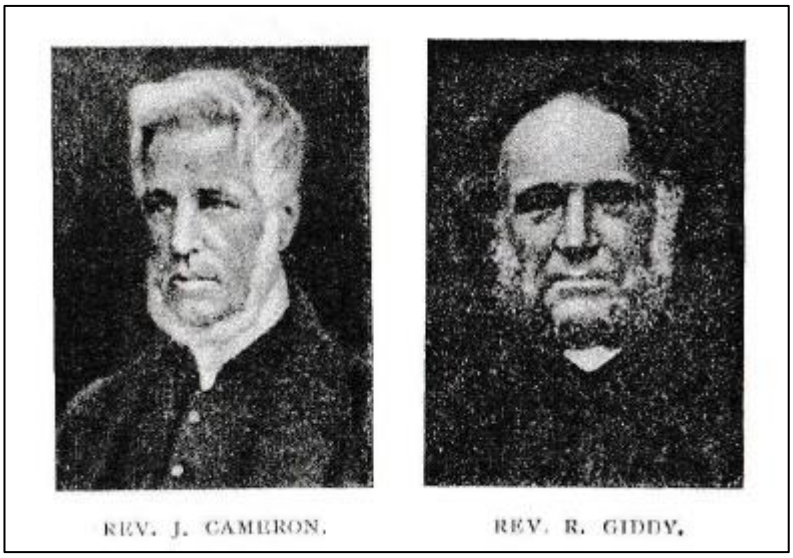

Figure 2.1. James Cameron and Richard Giddy (Whiteside, 1906, pp. 338–373).

Table 2.1. Timeline of Methodist missionaries that oversaw the Platberg mission station from 1833 to 1865.

Year	Missionary	Provenance
1833-1834	Edward Edwards and Thomas Jenkins	(WMMS Report, 1834, p. 41)
1835-1836	Thomas Jenkins	(WMMS Report, 1836, p. 39)
1837	Richard Giddy	(WMMS Report, 1838, p. 70)
1838-1839	William Hind Garner/Thomas Hezekiah Sephton (Catechist)	(WMMS Report, 1839, p. 62; Backhouse, 1844, p. 384)
1840-1844	James Cameron	(WMMS Report, 1841, p. 65; Van Heerden, 1993, p. 15)
1845-1855	Richard Giddy	(Whiteside, 1906; Schoeman, 1991)
1856	Mr. C. White[7] (assistant)	(WMMS Report, 1857, p. 40)
1857-1860	John Thomas Daniel	(Daniel, 1857, as cited in WMN 1857)
1861-1864	Timothy Cresswell	(Collins, 1965, p. 183)
1865	Mr. Baker	(*The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette, 24 November 1865)*

[7] The WMMS Reports do not list first names of the missionaries. First initials are listed where I could not find the full name. The first initials originate from Whiteside (1906).

Richard Giddy was in charge of the printing press and the printing of bible passages and hymns for people at different mission stations to learn how to read, and to read God's word. Mears (1970, p. 32) states that in the early days of Platberg, Archbell also printed teaching sheets and the beginnings of a document on "Sechuana Grammar". The printing press material and letters found during excavation at Platberg have been identified as coming from the Albion press which was invented by R.W. Cope in 1820 and manufactured until 1939 (Moran, 1971, p. 286). The material found at Platberg however, has a much longer history. The letters found here fall into the category of 'movable type', invented by Gutenberg in the 15th century (Clark, 1979, p. 303), and consisted of the 26 letters of the alphabet on individual pieces that could be moved around to create different words (Hummel, 1944, p. 18). This became the common method of printing (Clark, 1979, p. 303). The printing press letters found at Platberg are detailed in Chapters Six and Seven. The very act of mass printing, recording an indigenous language, reducing African languages and culture to a written orthography, is argued to have been one of the missionary's primary weapons of civilization (De Kock, 1996, p. 48; Landau, 2010, p. 81). An African language may have multiple words to describe a single thing, and each of those words carries its own meaning or connotation, as described by Landau (2010, pp. 80–81) using the examples of 'rain' and 'God'. In contrast, the missionaries attitude to language was such that each word had one true meaning. As the first translators of African languages, it became the remit of the missionaries to choose which single word was 'correct', rendering all other variations 'incorrect' (Landau, 2010, p. 80). Thus, the missionary translator and printer moved from translating with the intention to understand, to translating with the intention to communicate new meaning. Not all control was in the hands of the missionaries, as each had to start with the aid of a translator themselves. Landau (2010, p. 87) argues that 'métis interpreters' played their own part in the translation of languages by adding connotations and evincing impressions on certain words and phrases.

The majority of Protestant missionaries originated from a lower middle class or skilled working class economic background and were highly influenced by evangelical Protestantism (De Kock, 1996, p. 42). They saw indigenous people largely as lazy and 'heathenish' but were nevertheless committed to saving and civilizing them all (De Kock, 1996, p. 40). The Wesleyans in particular believed that a person should be content with

their lot in life, and that they should lead a pious life to be rewarded in heaven rather than on earth (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 113). The missionaries often compared the perceived levels of civilization of one group of people against another. For example, Bantu-speaking groups were praised for their sedentary farming lifestyle while their Griqua counterparts were critisized for their perpetual trading and raiding. However, this was balanced by the fact that the Griqua had accepted Christianity to a larger degree, and made more use of western goods (Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, p. 12; Coplan, 2012, p. 74). We see a level of linguistic and racial segregation at Platberg in the way that different sermons were held for Basotho and Bastaard groups, and then a different sermon altogether was held privately for the missionary and his family, known as "family worship" (Cameron, 15 March 1841). However, these divisions may have been made for practical purposes of communication, rather than the missionaries being discriminatory based on race.

It cannot be assumed, however, that all Europeans had the same civilizing ambitions for indigenous populations; colonial administrators were largely concerned with the quotidian running of the government, while the settlers saw African groups simply as a source of cheap labour (De Kock, 1996, p. 40). The essential aim of colonial settlers was the accumulation of production, commerce and speculation, to the benefit first of themselves and their families, and second to that of the empire (Keegan, 1988, p. 29). This was done by expanding colonial authority over 'unoccupied' land, making said land available for private ownership and production, subjecting indigenous peoples to colonial will, and thereby freeing up their land and labour for "more efficient purposes" (Keegan, 1988, p. 29); and in this, the missionary movement was largely complicit. As De Kock (1996, p. 47) argues, all missionaries saw Indigenous people as embarking on a journey from darkness into light, but with that journey came fundamental change. Those changes incuded a move away from agropastoralism and a cattle economy towards peasantry and subservience in a mercantile economy, a move from oral tradition to a literary culture, and an overall largescale loss of land and independence (De Kock, 1996, p. 47). While these broad, overarching changes did indeed occur over time, it was not as systematic or unidirectional as De Kock (1996) seems to argue here. This type of argument glosses over the complexity of perspectives and encounters experienced along the way.

Wesleyan missionaries often acted as diplomatic intermediaries on behalf of communities, and were frequently well connected with the Orange Free State (OFS) government officials. James Cameron was notoriously political and is alledged to have influenced the alliances of some groups against others, namely the Barolong against Moshoeshoe and the Basotho (Murray, 1992, p. 19; Van Heerden, 1993, p. 20). Schoeman (1991, p. 8) goes so far as to argue that Cameron's political interference was responsible for the withdrawal of all WMMS missionaries from the Transorangia region in 1852, and Cameron's tranfer to Port Elizabeth in 1853. Furthermore, Joseph Allison worked as Warden's clerk and later as the OFS Government Secretary, and James Cameron's son, John, became the resident magistrate in Thaba Nchu (Murray, 1992, p. 19).

This is not to say that the African populations being targeted did not have their own agenda, and it must be remembered that colonialism cannot be viewed as unidirectional, but rather studied as a dialectic between the groups involved, each being changed in different ways (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Russell, 2001). As Landau (1995, p. 45) argued, even after the missionaries had successfully discouraged polygamy amongst the Batswana, marriage (although monogamous) continued to be used as a tool for strategic alliances. Many groups had their own motives for joining mission stations or allowing missionaries to accompany them. For example, the Batswana sought protection under the prominent powers on the landscape, such as the missionaries and Moshoeshoe (Landau, 1999). Many WMMS stations attracted landless and disparate peoples who aimed at residing at or nearby a mission station to benefit from their access to land and missionary protection, without necessarily having to convert to Christianity (King, 2018, p. 664). The missionaries were known for bringing with them modern agricultural technology such as the plough, irrigation and wagons, as well as teaching valuable domestic skills such as knitting, sewing, midwifery and nursing to indigenous groups (Lye, 1980c; Beck, 1997, p. 117; Klatzow, 2018). Living and/or communicating with missionaries obviously had its appeal and it was inevitable that a kind of negotiation would develop over which traditions and material culture would be kept and which would go. An example of such an adaptation is illustrated by Backhouse (1844, pp. 384–385) who described:

> The dwellings of the people at Plaatberg, were chiefly hartebeest houses, of tall reeds, plastered with mud: a few had better cottages; and two or three of their houses were built of brick, in European style. But even in one of these, which had a fireplace and a chimney, the fire, according to the common custom of the

> coloured natives, was made in the midst of the floor. In consequence of this practice, both the houses and people are far from cleanly.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1991, 1997) show many examples of such manipulations in their study of the southern Batswana, particularly in the use of the blanket that came to replace the kaross (1997, pp. 268–270). Given this situation, it was difficult for the missionaries to persuade people to renounce their traditions, and they were forced to allow people to reside at or near the stations without converting, or otherwise making only a cursory effort, in the hope that conversion would eventually follow (Whiteside, 1906; Vernal, 2009; King, 2018, p. 664). It is clearly understood today that the way you dress or build a house does not reflect your religious beliefs, that religious commitment cannot be measured in such a way, even as the missionaries attempted to do so.

2.4 The Bastaards of Platberg

Who were these people taking part in this cultural exchange at Platberg? A large proportion of them were a group called Bastaards. The Bastaards are widely accepted as being of mixed racial decent (Backhouse, 1844; Arbousset and Daumas, 1846; Casalis, 1861; Davies and Shepherd, 1954; Lye, 1980a; Schoeman, 1991; Van Heerden, 1993; Davenport and Saunders, 2000; Wadley, 2001; Dreyer, 2001; Storey, 2008; Coplan, 2009; Landau, 2010) and were the product of relations between settler farmers and Khoikhoi women in the Cape Colony (Halford, 1949; Legassick, 1989; Schoeman, 1991; Van Heerden, 1993). Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 10) state that they were called ‘Bastaards’ because most of them were born out of wedlock - a law was passed in 1804 prohibiting marriage between settlers and indigenous people. Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 10) indicate that one of the reasons the Bastaards left the Cape colony was because the settlers felt threatened by their expanding population numbers and so drove them over the border of the colony towards the interior, and Lye (1980a, p. 40) suggests that they left due to trouble with the law. Legassick (1989, p. 377) goes on to argue that the Bastaards then invited the missionaries to join them at the Orange River. They had their own agendas for this, for in the colonial view, church membership closely correlated with citizenship (Legassick, 1989, p. 377). It also gave them easier access to the Cape Town market as well as legal means of acquiring guns and powder (Denoon, 1972; Legassick, 1989; Storey, 2008). The Bastaards then had both economic and political reasons for attaching themselves to the missions.

Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 9) point out that the term 'Bastaard' was problematic for the settlers as it served as a reminder that Europeans were not as morally pure as they were eager to make out. Legassick (1989, p. 382) shared an interesting anecdote in which John Campbell, a director of the LMS, while visiting the South African mission stations in 1813, suggested that the Bastaards change their name to 'Griqua'. Presumably the reasoning behind the name change was to create the impression that all Bastaards were descended from a Khoikhoi group called Gurigriqua (Davies and Shepherd, 1954; Legassick, 1989; Landau, 2010). Such an attempt to change the emphasis of the Bastaard identity from their settler origins to their Khoi ancestry didn't work as well as intended because the name was constantly reinforced by new groups calling themselves Bastaards moving into the Transorangia from the Cape colony (Legassick, 1989, p. 382). This causes some confusion in the literature because the terms Griqua, Bastaard, Bergenaar and Newlander often seem to be used interchangeably (Mears, 1970; Sanders, 1975; Murray, 1992; Eldredge, 1995; Klatzow, 2010, 2018; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019). Rev. W. Clifford Holden described Platberg as "the Station of Newlanders, Bastards or half-castes, and Basutoes" during his visit to the station in 1841 (Holden, 1877, p. 388). Rev. William Shaw described the people of Platberg as Newlanders (Shaw, 1860, p. 560), and Walker (1928, p. 209) speaks of "Baatje's half-breeds at Platberg". The term 'Coloured', used in South Africa to describe those of mixed racial descent, only came into use around the mid-19th century (Sales, 1975, p. 1), when Platberg was already well established.

The situation is further confused by the fact that the Koranna were characterized as raiders that had travelled north from the Cape, understood Dutch, rode horses and carried arms, and were of both Khoikhoi and white descent (Wadley, 2001, p. 159). The Kora and the Griqua have both been described as "people of marginal cultural identity, they were blacks who appeared to possess some of the powers of whites" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991, p. 266).

The original Bastaard populations that left the Cape were led by Adam Kok and his family, who held the position of 'Captain'; but the 1820s and 1830s saw dissent and conflict and resulted in the branching off of different groups (Schoeman, 1996, p. xiii). Those following the Kok family officially became known as the Griquas; the 'Basters' (as Schoeman (1996)

refers to them) attached themselves to different missions, predominantly the LMS but also the WMMS; and lastly a group called Bergenaars – named for their hideouts in rocky hillside locations (Coplan, 2009, p. 514) – represented by Hendrik Hendrikse, broke away from the original Captaincy. It becomes evident that the label of 'Bastaard', while created by Europeans, was perpetuated by the people themselves over a long period of time, and the continuation of the Dutch language points to an emphasis placed on their Dutch heritage over their African (Halford, 1949, p. 16). There are several spellings of the label, ranging from Baster, to Bastaard, to simply Bastard but all refer to the same group of people. It would be misleading to refer to all of these groups as one. So I use the label 'Bastaards' to refer to the group of people living at Platberg, as has been described by several historical sources such as the Cameron diaries (1840-1845), Backhouse (1844), Arbousset and Daumas (1846) and Kirk (1989).

We know that even with the great efforts of the missionaries to create a sedentary, agricultural community (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 123) they often failed, particularly with the Bastaards. We can see this reflected in the different population estimates given in various sources: Schoeman (1991, p. 25) shows a table that was published by the Wesleyan mission journal around 1834 (although this date is not explicit), which states that 'New Plaat-berg' had a population of 2,500, one chapel, 100 converts, and 400 regular church goers. Given the other estimates of population to follow, these numbers seem extremely high. Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 9) on their exploratory tour of 1836, visited Platberg and estimated the population residing there to be about 200. James Backhouse (1844, p. 385) on his visit in 1839 estimated that there were around 600 people living at the station, 140 of which were members of the church. Schoeman (1991, p. 71) draws on information in a letter written in 1840 to suggest that the population was between 500 and 600. James Cameron took a census in August 1842 (Volume 3, p. 85) as requested by the Civil Commissioner at Colesberg, that came to show that the entire population numbered 380, although "some families are absent who will return eventually, so the number should be over 400", and there were 200 houses. By 1845 this number had changed to 450 as estimated by Richard Giddy (Schoeman, 1991, p. 90). The population at Platberg seems to have fluctuated from year to year and could indicate the transitory nature of the Bastaard male community. Backhouse (1844, p. 384) shares an anecdote about a measles outbreak at Platberg where many of the men left to

go hunting, leaving their families to deal with the outbreak. Schoeman (1991, p. 111) shows that in the early 1850s, with war on the horizon, most of the Bastaard population at Platberg simply left and never returned, reducing the mission station to around 100 occupants. This illustrates to some extent the transient and fluid nature of the populations in the region, and the basic failure of this mission in convincing the Bastaards to invest in the land.

2.5 'Bushmen' and their Role on a Mission Station

Many contemporary sources mention the presence of 'Bushmen' in the region throughout the 19th century (Backhouse, 1844; Arbousset and Daumas, 1846; Casalis, 1861, 1889; Ellenberger, 1912), describing groups of people who are, at present, known as either San or hunter-gatherers.[8] The San are generally accepted as being the first occupants of the region (Wadley, 2001, p. 156). Studies have found evidence of San occupation in several cave shelters in close vicinity to Platberg, such as Rose Cottage Cave (Wadley, 1991, 1992), Roosfontein Shelter (Klatzow, 1994), Leliehoek Shelter (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 1994), Mauermanshoek Shelter (Wadley, 2001) and De Hoop Cave (Klatzow, 2010). Some of these shelters were found to have been occupied for thousands of years; for example, the base of an excavation at Rose Cottage Cave dated to 9250 BP (Wadley, 1991, p. 128), and the excavated material culture from Mauermanshoek Shelter dated to between 3500 bp and 200 bp (Wadley, 2001, p. 162). Furthermore, some of these shelters were utilized all the way up until the 19th century as shown by Wadley (1992) at Rose Cottage Cave, and Klatzow (2010) at De Hoop Cave.

In a consideration of the material culture excavated from De Hoop, Klatzow (2010, p. 244) argues that San were working skins in the cave to trade with people at Platberg for fruit, livestock and iron. Wadley (1992, p. 8) also gave evidence for the presence of San in the Platberg area (contemporary with the mission station). Casalis (1889, p. 66), while surveying the land for suitable settlement, indicated that the land was occupied by Basotho and Bushman communities. And while he had a highly prejudiced view of them,

[8] Here, I use the term 'Bushmen' for similar reasons as given above for the term Bastaard, it was a historical and blended ethnic category, contemporary with this time frame. However, I recognise that this term is problematic as there is no evidence of the Bushmen self-identifying as such as the Bastaards did, and today and the term carries negative connotations. This term has been used only when appropriate to the historical colonial context. When referencing a current historical or archaeological study, I have reverted to the terms 'San' or 'hunter-gatherer'.

and thought of them as debased, he shared an anecdote where a group of Bushmen assist a French missionary in fording a river in return for some glass beads (Casalis, 1861, p. 66).

Wadley (1992, p. 8), drawing on historical literature, demonstrated that 'Bushmen' were present in the area in 1833 but that their population was under great threat by the mid-1800s until 1858 when they were pushed out of the region by the Boers. Theal (1908, p. 317) and Thorp (1997, p. 237) however, argued that Bushmen groups survived in the area until the last of the Basotho wars when the land was divided into farms for Europeans in 1869, and once displaced, settled with Moletsane and his people in southern Lesotho (Thorp, 1997, p. 238). In comparing the natures of Batswana and Bastaard women, Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 12) makes mention of Bushmen servants:

> The bechuana female undertakes, it may be said, the whole work of the house, the charge of the children, the cares of housekeeping, and the cultivation of the ground. The Bastaard female devolves the whole of these upon her bushmen servants, who occupy a middle station betwixt that of slaves and that of domestics; she never leaves the house, and rarely quits the chair in which she lolls the live-long day; the utter inanity in which she passes her days does not prevent her from professing a sovereign contempt for her bechuana sister.

It is ironic that Bastaard women were criticized by Europeans for holding a sense of superiority and entitlement that was only a mirror of the actions and biases of the colonial woman. James Cameron too almost never mentions the presence of Bushmen, only narrating one incident in September 1840, where he:

> … visited a poor Bushwoman servant to a Bastard family on the place. She appears to be in a deep decline, having been afflicted nine years, and now worn to a skeleton. The state of her mind is deplorably dark, though her mistress wished me to believe that she and her husband had not failed to teach her the way of salvation. (Volume 2, p. 360)

It thus becomes evident that Bushmen not only lived in the area, but actively interacted with the nearby mission stations, taking part in a trade of fruit, domesticated crops, livestock, iron, and labour (Klatzow, 2010, p. 244). It is also evident that there was a perceived stratification of class on the mission station, with each group holding a sense of superiority over the other. The missionaries seem to have accepted these differences as well as the use of Bushmen for cheap labour and encouraged a paternal approach where the employer was responsible for the employees' religious conversion. Even so, Bushmen

seem to be largely ignored by the missionaries working in the area, only expressing disapproval when their employers fail to teach them religious ways.

2.6 Carpenters, Traders and Gunsmiths at Platberg

The historical literature pertaining to Platberg shows that there were several secular industries that operated at Platberg; those necessary for the successful running of a 19th century village – Mr. Leslie seems to have the job as the local mason and carpenter as Cameron (29 April 1842) notes that he:

> Settled with Mr J.R. Leslie for building the Mission House, and find that his bare work as mason and carpenter has cost me one hundred and twenty-one pounds, thirteen shillings, and added thereto is the expense of doors, windows, wood for the roof, thatching, making together not less than £170, just seventy pounds more than the District meeting has yet allowed me.

It is unclear where Cameron would have acquired the extra £70 for his mission house. It is possible that he would have taken part in the local economy by trading his corn or cattle in order to pay for his lifestyle but there is no mention of this in his diaries and he speaks of money very rarely. There was also mention of a gunsmith residing at Platberg (Cameron, 15 May 1841), and while ethnicity is not mentioned it is a fair assumption that the gunsmith would have been European due to the laws against indigenous people having access to guns (Storey, 2008). Furthermore, the remains of what may well have been a blacksmiths workshop has been excavated along the western flank of the main road (Klatzow, *pers. comm.* 2018).

Agnes' Tales is a collection of anecdotal stories that have been passed down through the Giddy family. The main protagonist is Agnes, daughter of Sarah Jane and Richard Giddy. She speaks of a Mr. Paxton who breaks his arm and calls on Giddy for help. Gangrene had set in and they had no choice but to amputate. Paxton survived the ordeal and worked as a cobbler for many years on the station. Another anecdote tells us of a couple of traders found selling brandy on the station. Giddy (a devout teetotaller) ordered the brandy barrels to be destroyed but then offered the traders a site for a shop on the station from where they could sell goods and groceries to the 'natives'. The first-hand accounts of Martha Jane Kirk (1989) indicate that traders resided permanently at the station, as the Kirk family were, themselves, traders, and they were joined by another trading family of

the name Clarey (Kirk, 1989, p. 64). This indicates that Platberg was becoming an economic centre, with people setting up successful businesses and providing important services.

2.7 Boer Settlers in the Region

Lastly, Boers were settling increasingly in this area. From the 1820s *Trekboers* had been settling, for various periods of time before moving on, in Basotho territory (Walker, 1928, pp. 203–204; Muller, 1969, p. 150; Thompson, 1969, p. 406; Lye, 1980c; Keegan, 1988, p. 27). The years between 1834 and 1854 then saw the mass movement of *Voortrekkers* that became known as the 'Great Trek' (Walker, 1928, p. 205; Muller, 1969, p. 146; Denoon, 1972, pp. 47–52; Keegan, 1988, p. 27). Disagreements over representation in government, insufficient security on the frontier, and the abolition of slavery, caused the *Voortrekkers* to steadily leave the Cape Colony in a peaceful revolt of sorts (Keegan, 1988, p. 28; Giliomee, 2003, p. xiv). Many *Voortrekkers* from the Eastern Cape and the Midland district in Natal joined the trek too, due to the penetration of British settlers in those regions, that were effectively undermining Boer commercial networks and interfering with their British capital and humanitarianism (Keegan, 1988, p. 28). By 1837 approximately 5,000 *Voortrekkers* had crossed the Orange River, and by 1845 perhaps as many as 14,000 had left the Cape Colony (Thompson, 1969, p. 406). There were significant differences between the *Trekboers* and the *Voortrekkers*. The former were predominantly loyalist to the British government, and had made no formal break from British authority or the colonial economy at the Cape. The latter, however, had participated in a planned rebellion against colonial authority and aimed at establishing their own, independent, political systems (Keegan, 1988, p. 27). However, despite these differences, almost all contemporary sources group *Trekboers* and *Voortrekkers* together under the moniker of 'Boer' (Backhouse, 1844; Arbousset and Daumas, 1846; Shaw, 1860, 1972; Casalis, 1861, 1889; Kirk, 1989).

There were similar differences between the English settlers and the *Voortrekkers* that were moving into the region. English farmers had an inherent loyalty to the British Imperial State and would appeal to the British colonial government to support land claims, build infrastructure and create markets (Giliomee, 2003, p. 173). Conversely, many *Voortrekkers* looked to Moshoeshoe to ratify land claims, and oppose firm borders

between white and black territory as it would cut them off from valuable trade and their access to cheap labour (Giliomee, 2003, p. 173). However, ideologically, the Boers believed that white and black people could not ever live together, except when the black man is subordinate to the white (Giliomee, 2003, p. 181). Relations between Boers and independent black communities, then, were characterized both by interaction and interdependence as well as hostility and conflict (Keegan, 1988, p. 28). In fact, many Boer traders refused to stop trading with the Basotho during the Basotho wars and effectively took the side of the Basotho in the conflict (Keegan, 1988, pp. 35–36).

Numerous Boer settlers came to resent the missionaries and their stations as they represented what the Boers feared the most: African progress towards civilization, sometimes to a higher level than the Boers. Such civilization was made visible through the use of European goods and technology and education in literacy and practical skills (Coplan, 2009, pp. 506, 512; Ross and Viljoen, 2009, p. 393). Mission stations presented a danger to the Boer ideology that the white man is inherently superior to the black.

2.8 Agricultural Activity and Quotidian Life on a 19th Century Mission Station

Given that the property functioned as a mission station for such a short time, the historical literature and the material culture excavated from the site gives us a window into what life was like in that period. There are several historical sources that give insight into quotidian life on the mission station, and certain adaptations that had to be made under difficult circumstances.

Agriculture

This landscape has been farmed for many years and when the site was occupied by a mission station it was no different. There are many references as to what was farmed, for both agriculture and livestock in the Cameron diaries and Agnes' Tales. Cameron described that:

> I walked out this afternoon as far as the corn land and was much pleased to see such an abundant crop waving its yellow ears in the breeze, while one party of the people was busy cutting it down, and another party equally busy at the threshing floor where the tread of some dozen horses was separating the grain from the chaff. All had the appearance of activity and hilarity [*sic*]. Industry connected with religion contributes largely to the happiness of man (15 December 1840).

The station was thus developing steadily by this date and agriculture taking root. In terms of what plants were grown, Cameron refers to 'kafir corn' and 'Indian corn' which is today known as sorghum and maize respectively, and both Agnes' Tales and Backhouse (1844, p. 385) mention the growing of wheat at Platberg. An excerpt from the diaries of John Ayliff describes his first impressions of Platberg when he visited in 1861:

> My first impression of the station was for situation most favourable … in a country of manifest fertility. Extensive plains. Covered with most luxuriant pastures, the abundance of grass seemed to suit the stock of cattle … and about 2 miles from the residence of the missionary fine and extensive corn lands began to appear, and as we approached the station the crops of Indian and Kafir corn were finer and finer.[9]

As for fruit, in a July 1843 entry in his diaries, Cameron speaks of:

> Superintended the cutting of my peach trees this afternoon. I have reduced them to about half their former size. This with the application of manure to the root will help to improve the quality of the fruit, which has been diminishing in bulk and in richness of flavour for the last 3 or 4 years. (Volume 3, p. 175)

In addition to these peach trees, the Giddy family expanded the fruit variety significantly as Agnes' Tales describes:

> The old gentleman (Hezekiah Sephton) brought up a lot of almonds and some of these he planted and four of these are, at the time of writing, still bearing. Some distance from the house he also made a large orchard, for pomegranates, figs, cherries and other fruits were soon flourishing and were a boon to the family. Even roses were put in.[10]

While most of these trees have since disappeared there is one almond tree, one pomegranate tree, and several rosehip bushes scattered across the site.

Most of the information gleaned about the animals kept on the station is from the bones that have been excavated. The domestic species that were discovered included dog, horse, cattle, sheep, goat and chicken. On 19 April 1841 Cameron tells the story of the

[9] There is no reference to page numbers for this quote as it was taken from the unpublished, handwritten diaries of John Ayliff, which in themselves, do not contain page numbers.
[10] As above, this quote was taken from anecdotal family stories received directly from the Giddy family. They are unpublished, and the document does not contain page numbers.

family pet (a small dog named Snap) being killed by “one of the bigger dogs on the place”. There are also several mentions of pigs being kept on the station and Cameron complains that they “mostly run about loose and are a great nuisance”.

Quotidian life

Living on a mission station was often trying for Europeans, especially when one was meant to provide an example of ‘civilised’ life (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997) and thus required the material expression that went with those western ideals such as square houses, furniture, cutlery and crockery. Such material expression and adaptation in the face of trying circumstances was evident in the diaries and letters written by Adolph and Adele Mabille, and published by Smith (1939). Adele Mabille was the daughter of Eugene Casalis, the French missionary that lived at Thaba Bosiu and so grew up at the station. She then married Adolph Mabille and returned later to the same station (Smith, 1939). She gives some wonderful insights into the effort and insecurity involved in maintaining appearances at Thaba Bosiu, especially as the nearest trading town was Colesberg to which oxen were sent once a year to fetch supplies. Other than that, they depended on their garden, their livestock, and food bought from the Basotho (Smith, 1939, p. 51). Adele Mabille, cited in Smith (1939, p. 62) writes:

> It was not easy in those times to get what we needed. The Basuto cultivated only millet, maize, pumpkins and black beans; there was little wheat and potatoes were rare. It did not mean everything to have sacks of grain in the house. The grain had to be ground in a small hand-mill or by the hands of the women. There was no kitchen stove. We had an oven but it did not work very well, or perhaps it was that I did not know how to heat it properly. A flat iron pot had to serve when we wanted to make bread, but to succeed in turning out baked loaves in that way was not easy. And then the mending of linen and of socks, above all! There was no running to a shop for a piece of stuff, thread and needles. One had to exercise ingenuity and put the proverb into practice: ‘Necessity is the mother of all invention’. We had no sewing machine.

However, she assured the recipient of her letters that even during tough times they “always have something to put in the pot” (Adele Mabille cited in Smith, 1939, p. 105). On the topic of laundry and ironing, she had this to say:

> I do the washing once a month only. All I need to do is to prepare a solution of soda and watch over the women I employ on this work. I fold the linen myself. I put aside Adolphe’s shirts and collars for ironing ... After folding and damping my

> linen I lay it upon a sheet spread on the ground; I then cover it with something, and my nurse and Ernest dance on it for a time. You would hardly doubt that the linen had been ironed. The only thing lacking is the gloss which the iron gives. But one is not too fastidious in Africa.

James Cameron was a prolific writer, focusing mainly on his religious duties but straying occasionally into matters of domestic life and organisation. They too hired local people to work for them and help with domestic chores. And on the subject of supplies, rather than Colesberg, the Cameron's received their supplies from Grahamstown (June 1842), and disapproved of people buying supplies from passing traders:

> A trader is on the place, who has just arrived from Grahams Town. He was here at harvest time, and got much corn from the people. I suppose he has returned from town with a fresh supply of goods, which he will dispose of to the people at an enormous profit, probably 150 or 200 per cent. How can buyers on such a scale be otherwise than poor, or sellers be otherwise than rich. (Volume 3, p. 48)

There is a tone to the above quote that suggests that Cameron was disappointed that he could not control the trade on the station or the use of peoples' money. He evidently felt that the people were wasting their money by not going to a centralized market.

We know from his diaries that his morning routine consisted of sleeping in "rather late", conducting family prayer, and then taking breakfast "consisting not of tea and toast but of coffee and toast" (30 August 1842). It seems that the missionaries in general were fond of their coffee and when they ran out would use all manner of substitutions. Cameron (28 March 1843) simply sent a note to Giddy (then residing at Thaba 'Nchu) "asking to borrow some tea, coffee and sugar until our supplies arrive from Grahamstown". Adele Mabille however laments:

> Woe to him if he arrived at a moment when transport was suspended and strict necessaries could not be bought for love or money! When that was the case one had to be content in Basutoland to roast wheat or maize and make it serve for coffee (cited in Smith, 1939, p. 55).

Sarah Jane Giddy on the other hand is said to have dug up the roots of dandelions, roasted and ground them, and used that as coffee when needed (Agnes' Tales).

We know little of the domestic lives of the indigenous people living on these stations, as the historical sources written at the time were biased towards missionary's own experiences and needs. Backhouse (1844, pp. 384–385), as a European traveller was biased too, but provided insight into more quotidian aspects of the station, as well as a sketch of the station as he perceived it when he visited in 1839 (Fig. 2.2). Figure 2.2 appears to be an inverted depiction of the existing landscape, but nevertheless captured the distinctive environmental features of the site (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 112). However, there is no depiction of either the extensive network of enclosures used for gardens and farming, nor of town planning, with the structures situated along a street grid; both of which are evident in other historical sources as well as the archaeological footprint (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 112) (see Chapter Five). There are three possible reasons for these glaring inconsistencies. One is that Backhouse was more concerned with depicting the impressive natural scenery than the structural aspects of the station. A second possibility is that he had neglected to note the layout of the station and added the structures in from memory after arriving home in England. However, the most likely reason is that that Backhouse visited the station in 1839 and Cameron only arrived in the following year. As Cameron was the missionary largely responsible for imposing structure and planning on the town's development, it is possible that Figure 2.2 is a more accurate depiction of the station as it was in 1839 than it appears.

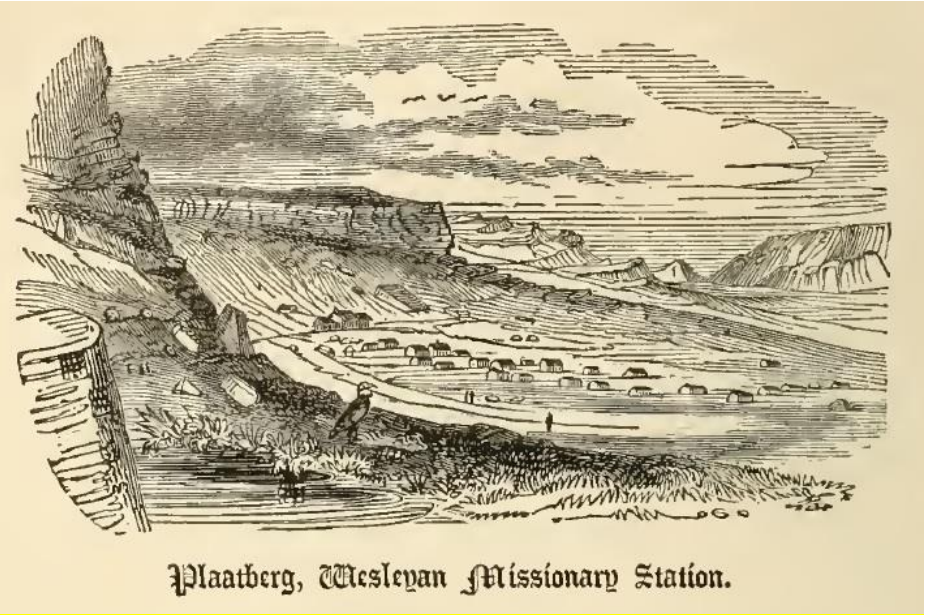

Figure 2.2. Backhouse's (1844, p. 384) woodcut print depicting the Platberg mission station.

Backhouse (1844, pp. 384–385) also provided detailed written descriptions of the structures on the station, material culture, and general quotidian life:

> The dwellings of the people of Plaatberg, were chiefly hartebeest houses, of tall reeds, plastered with mud…their furniture consisted of a bedstead, a few boxes, some stools generally with seats made of strips of prepared skins, a few iron pots, a kettle, with a few basins, bottles, &c. Their bedding, and much of their clothing, were of tanned skins, with the wool on, but the wool was removed from the skins, made into trousers and shoes. The men wore hats, manufactured in the Colony, and the women had cotton bonnets and gowns. Meat and Indian corn were to be seen in almost every house, and pumpkins in many. These people grow a considerable quantity of wheat, which they generally sell to the Boors, who have emigrated into the adjacent country. Some of them spend much of the money which they thus obtain, in strong drink, which is a great snare to them.

This indicates that an extensive trade network existed in this area, with cotton being traded from the Cape, Grahamstown or Natal, Indian corn and wheat would have been traded between surrounding communities, and brandy would have originated from the colony. While there is no indication in the above quote of trade with nearby Barolong or Basotho groups, Cameron occasionally complained about the consumption of traditional beer on the station (2 April 1841), and this would have originated from surrounding Basotho groups.

2.9 The Decline of Platberg

This time of relative peace did not last very long before conflict over border and territory delineation and stock-theft became a constant problem. There was an increased number of Boers moving into the area, having left the Cape Colony and Natal due to discontent with the British government (Muller, 1969; Keegan, 1988; Schoeman, 1996; Beck, 1997; Giliomee, 2003). Boers had begun settling in Basotho territory from 1820, but this increased significantly after 1835 (Storey, 2008, p. 113) and a letter reproduced in Theal (1883a, pp. 44–46) from Rev. Dr. Philip[11] to His Honour Colonel Hare, Lieutenant Governor, written in 1842, described how the Boers had designs on Moshoeshoe's land:

> The Boers are lying all along the Caledon and may be said to be masters of the country between the Caledon and the Vaal River. The part of the country actually under the control of Moshesh is small in comparison of that to the north and

[11] John Philip, philanthropist and leader of the missionary lobby in the colony, worked closely with Governor Napier on treaty and land negotiation with Moshoeshoe in the 1840s (Keegan, 1988, p. 29).

> north-west of him, over which the Boers have spread themselves, but it is of vast importance in their eyes, as it is a fine country from its elevation for breeding horses and the only district of that country in which the horse sickness is unknown.

He issued a warning of the escalation of Boer aggression:

> Finding now that they have nothing to hope from the good will of Moshesh, they are meditating an attack upon him, and should they succeed in destroying him and the tribes around him who live under his protection, Your Honour must be aware that the consequences to the Country will be serious indeed.

Finally, Philip makes an appeal for British intervention. It must be acknowledged that Philip actively encouraged the British to speculate for land in this region, and so had clear Imperialist interests in maintaining British authority here (Keegan, 1988, pp. 29, 46). Storey (2008, p. 113) shows that the British offered protection to the Basotho against the Boers in 1843 and 1845 and provided the residents with arms. In 1848 the Basotho and the nearby Boers were incorporated into a new colony called the Orange River Sovereignty (ORS) but by the early 1850s British policy was increasingly favouring European settlers while antagonising Moshoeshoe over land and livestock disputes (Gill, 1992, pp. 9–11; Storey, 2008, p. 113). The years between 1848 and 1854 saw Moshoeshoe continue to lose territory in a series of wars with the British (Beck, 1997), with the British forces staying for a time at Platberg (Moodie, 1888, p. 77; Sanders, 1975). A political strategy employed by the WMMS was to support smaller leaders and fragmented communities in conflict against powerful chiefdoms as the former were less likely to resist missionary settlement (Keegan, 1996, p. 134; King, 2018).

The first major battle between Moshoeshoe and Major Warden, the British Resident, took place at a mountain called Viervoet in July 1851 (Theal, 1883a; Halford, 1949; Klatzow, 2018). This battle occurred after a spate of cattle-raiding and an attempt by Warden to enforce a border between the ORS and Basotho territory that effectively cut the Basotho off from a large swathe of arable land (Giliomee, 2003, p. 174). Major Warden set up camp around the Platberg mission station with 2000 troops, and from there launched their attack on Moletsane's mountain village (leader of the BaTaung) at Viervoet (Kirk, 1989, p. 64; Klatzow, 2018, p. 656). According to Martha Jane Kirk (1989, pp. 64–65), Captain Baatje and his people joined Major Warden in his attack. She describes as follows:

> Major Warden with his mixed troops of white men, Bastards and Baralongs, came to a mountain called Viervoet, and here the wily Natives laid a neat trap for them. On the top of the mountain was a large herd of cattle and not a Native to be seen anywhere, so our troops were allowed to swarm up the mountain on the narrow and only pathway there was. One of our cannons had stuck at the foot of the mountain, so it was out of action. When all our troops were well up the mountain, the Basutos rushed from all directions, closed the only pathway, and simply Butchered our Native troops, throwing them over the krantzes. Our troops made the best retreat they could, and at dawn Major Warden with his attacking force was well on the way back to Bloemfontein. The chief Moshesh told me afterwards in these very words, "Major Warden got into his little cart, and he run away."

Kirk also recorded how, rather than returning to Platberg, the Bastaards had settled at "Mud River" (Modder River) for three months following the battle of Viervoet, from whence they formed a commando and attacked the Basotho surrounding Platberg, effectively robbing them of their livestock. The Basotho retaliated as "they swarmed by in hundreds, and we could hear the firing until ten o'clock the next day" (Kirk, 1989, p. 66). According to Kirk, it was due to Rev. Giddy's skilful persuasion that the mission station and the resident Europeans were not harmed in the months following the battle of Viervoet.

The events of Viervoet were repeated in 1852 when Sir George Cathcart again set up camp at Platberg, this time with 3,000 troops, with the view of intimidating Moshoeshoe into paying reparations for cattle stolen by his people (Collins, 1965, p. 31; Kirk, 1989). Cathcart, too, was defeated by the Basotho and was forced to retreat and the Bastards, in fear of a revenge attack, deserted Platberg (Schoeman, 1991; Klatzow, 2018). Schoeman (1991, p. 115) published a letter sent by Richard Giddy from Platberg in 1852 that suggests that many people fled the mission station during the conflict and that he was the only missionary still functioning in the area:

> We had here a Society of nearly 200 members, a day school, a Sabbath school and a sewing school; we had some twelve Native class leaders, and a number of efficient Native Sabbath school teachers; everything was going on well, and we were looking forward to still brighter days and planning out more efficient and extensive operations on the surrounding villages, when the war burst out, and in one day the whole of our people, with the exception of one that is sick, fled from before their more powerful neighbours.

Another excerpt from Giddy disclosed that by the mid-1850s about a third to half the people had returned and that there were about 100 members living in or close to the station (Schoeman, 1991, p. 119).

The debacle at Viervoet spelt the end of the ORS as the British authorities withdrew from the district and recognised Boer independence in 1852 at the Sand River Convention (Keegan, 1988, p. 37). The district then gained independence in 1854 as a Boer Republic by the Bloemfontein Convention and became the Orange Free State (OFS) (Schoeman, 1996, p. xviii) and through the 1850s and much of the 1860s tensions between the Basotho and the Boers rose and the Basotho lost much arable land (Van Schoor, 1969; Sanders, 1975; Keegan, 1988; Beck, 1997; Gill, 1997; Storey, 2008). The Bloemfontein Convention also stated that all land in the Griqua territory that had been purchased by persons of European descent would belong to the OFS, thus effectively removing any rights to the land that the Griqua had (Schoeman, 1996, p. xviii).

The Wesleyan Missionary Notices of 1858 show that the Bastaards abandoned Platberg again in 1858 when war broke out between the Basotho and the Republic. Even though the Bastaards had planned to remain neutral, they eventually sided with the Basotho. Giddy, after finding Platberg deserted, found the Bastaards at Thaba Bosiu "in a most pitiable condition" (WMN, 25 March 1859, p. 64). By the time of Ayliff's visit in 1861 "the state of the station was very low – buildings out of repair – the fences broken – the trees broken down" which indicates that by the early 1860s the mission station was on the verge of collapse.

In 1861 all remaining Griqua (and presumably Bastaard) land was sold and incorporated into the Boer Republic and from 1863-1864 most of the Griqua's from this area left on a 'Great Trek' of their own across the Drakensburg and started new lives in Griqualand East, now part of KwaZulu-Natal Province (Schoeman, 1996, p. xix). Some of the Bastaards at Platberg were not so lucky. Moodie (1888, p. 105) recounts the following story:

> Most of the half-breeds who had formerly lived at Platberg, and who had acknowledged Carolus Baatje as their head, had been residing for some years by permission of the Free State Government at Rietspruit, about twenty-five or thirty miles from Bloemfontein. On the morning of the 27th of June [1865] a large party of Basothos carrying a white flag appeared at the village, and saluted the half-

> breeds with friendly greetings … When the meal was over, Masupha gave a signal, on which his followers fell without warning upon the wretched half-breeds and murdered fifty-four men and boys, not sparing even male infants at the breast.

Finally, there is mention of a battle taking place at Platberg on 6 December 1865 between 450 Boers and 300 Basothos (Moodie, 1888, p. 540). In 1865, the Boers burned all mission stations and expelled all French missionaries from Basotho country who may have been advocating for the Basotho cause (Van Schoor, 1969; Beck, 1997), and Mears (1970, p. 33) shows that after 1866 all work by Wesleyan missionaries in this region was restricted to Thaba Nchu. This was made official in 1866 by the signing of the Treaty of Thaba Bosiu that allowed the OFS to annex the 'Conquered Territory' and carve it up into farmland, and the three towns of Ficksburg, Wepener and Ladybrand were built as military towns to protect the Caledon River border (Van Schoor, 1969, p. 243; Lye, 1980c; Coplan, 2000, p. 192). Only the Dutch Reformed Church was, from then on, allowed to preach in the area (Van Schoor, 1969, p. 243). Schoeman (1991, p. 121) argues that Thaba 'Nchu was the only Wesleyan mission station to survive the decades of conflict and Boer invasion.

After many appeals to intervene, Basutoland was declared a British protectorate under the High Commissioner in 1868 and Moshoeshoe passed away in 1870 (Wallis, 1954, p. xvi; Sanders, 1975; Storey, 2008, p. 117). With the drawing of new maps, the land between the Caledon and the Orange River, which used to be Basotho territory, became part of what is now called the Free State Province of South Africa, while the Caledon River formed the western border of Basutoland, that later became modern day Lesotho. These modern borders were established by the peace treaty of Aliwal North, signed in 1869 (Murray, 1992, p. 16). A report by Frederick Selous during his visit in 1871 described the region as poverty stricken with "many deserted gardens and ruined cottages about the place" (Selous, 1907, pp. 4–5).

Platberg therefore suffered at least two abandonments, and perhaps destruction events, one in 1851/2 and the other, final one in 1865. It seems that the Bastaards of Platberg split into at least three groups after they left the mission station. One group was caught up in a battle and the men were massacred at Rietvlei (Moodie, 1888, p. 105; Murray, 1992, p. 260). The surviving women and children were then dispersed throughout Moroka's territory and the Free State (Murray, 1992, p. 260). A second group is said to

have relocated closer to the small town of Ladybrand where it joined a larger Basotho population that was to become "the black 'location' serving the town" (Coplan, 2009, p. 507). A third group of Bastaards appear to have migrated into modern-day Lesotho (Coplan, 2009, p. 516). This is evidenced by the naming of a small village located halfway between Maseru and Thaba Bosiu, Makhulukameng. Makhulukameng is a Sesotho word that translates to 'Place of the Coloureds' and was also used as the name for Ladybrand and Platberg (Ellenberger, 1912, p. 156; Coplan, 2009; Ambrose, *pers. comm. 2017*). That these were indeed the Platberg Bastaards that settled here is further evidenced by an electors list from 1970 that lists several people with the surname 'Baatjies' (Appendix C).

The life of Platberg as a mission station was thus a very short one, started in 1833 only to be abandoned during war and conflict during the 1850s and 1860s. The next reference to the land is from a survey by the Surveyor General dating to 1882, showing that the land had been parcelled up as a farm named Grootkloof, later changed to Pinekloof, and was owned by Alewyn Jonannes Smit (Appendix B). After that, the deeds for the property show that the Hobson family took over in 1929 and still own the property today.

In the interpretation of such a complex site and historical period, theoretical grounding is a necessity. The following chapter discusses the theoretical approaches utilised in the interpretation of the data collected in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The theoretical approach adopted here is practice and landscape theory, both of which fall under the broad theoretical approach of phenomenology. This approach has provided a valuable perspective in the investigation of the people who lived at Platberg during a complex historical period. A discussion of the broader theories is then followed by a description of some of the different aspects that would have affected the quotidian experiences of the people living at this mission station. These include the archaeology of frontiers and the civilizing mission, gender, identity, and how all of these aspects play out within private and public spaces.

3.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology has been described as "the study of the structures of human experience and consciousness" (Johnson, 2012, p. 272) and is concerned with investigating the nature of human experience of the world, on the assertion that such experience has never been simple (Bruck, 2005; Johnson, 2012, p. 273). The nature of human interaction with the material world is clearly important to any archaeological study and so an understanding of human perception and understanding of the material world is therefore crucial (Bruck, 2005, p. 46). Two main philosophers stand out in the development of this theory, namely Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Johnson, 2012). A Husserlian argument states that researchers must focus more on the meaning of an object and what that object meant in the lives of the people who used it rather than on the object itself, as well as the relationships that the object either enables or prevents (Kockelmans, 1995, p. 665). For Husserl, the body is not a mere object, but a kind of 'quasi-object' that is owned by its individual transcendental ego and is used as the locus of the subjective sensations of everyday life (Carman, 1999, p. 223). Merleau-Ponty on the other hand distinguishes between the objective body (your physical body) and the phenomenal body (your body as you experience it, the 'lived experience') (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Madison, 1995). Phenomenology has thus led to several offshoot theories, such as body theory (Bruck, 2005; Croucher and Wynne-Jones, 2006), embodiment (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), landscape (Ingold, 1993; Tilley, 1994, 2004; Bruck, 2005; King, 2018) and practice theory (Silliman, 2001a, 2001b; Mitchell, 2007). I will focus on practice and landscape theory for the purposes of this study.

Practice Theory

Practice theory focuses on the conduct of everyday life, tradition and routine as they relate to lived experience and power. Social agents are regarded as individuals with goals and intentions of their own, and as "historical moments" in the negotiation of social structure, strategies and relations (Silliman, 2001a, pp. 191–192). Silliman (2001a, p. 192) argues that there are two types of agency, one is when the social agents are assumed to act strategically and intentionally to advance their own interests, they are rational and they have the common motive of improving on their economic, political or symbolic capital. This is problematic as it fits in with the acculturation/resistance models, that purport that all agents on the landscape are purposely manipulating (or not manipulating) material culture for their own, specific, agendas (Silliman, 2001a, p. 192). The preferred definition of agency argues that individuals act meaningfully in historical and social circumstances that are only partly of their own making. Individual actions are contextualised within a range of different rules and resources that were there before them but nevertheless give them opportunity for action (Silliman, 2001a, p. 192). This definition calls for a dialectic between structure and agency, as social agents are both constrained and enabled by the structures in which they live (Giddens, 1984; Silliman, 2001a). In situations where social relations are inherently unequal, such as the colonial context, daily politics and practice can be manipulated in several ways. One of those ways is when the individuals seeking domination will single out the mundane, everyday activities and routines, and seek to change them and control them (Silliman, 2001a, pp. 193–195). Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) show continuously how European missionaries in southern Africa sought to change the daily practice of the southern Batswana, focusing on agriculture, architecture, gender roles and fashion. Silliman (2001b) shows how missionaries attempted to convert indigenous people and alter their behaviour by restricting certain activities, controlling sexual practices, enforcing labour, and requiring that Christian practices be observed.

This controlling and monitoring of behaviour results in quotidian practices taking on explicit political importance. Social agency is expressed in a multitude of ways, ranging from actions of resistance, to actions of compliance, to simply making do within a rigid power structure (Silliman, 2001a, p. 195). Mitchell (2007, p. 48) argued that "the colonial was created in the quotidian; power was embedded in the intimate" and archaeology

records the debris of everyday activity; thereby capturing the importance of how colonialism took hold and was entangled in intimate and everyday objects. However, it becomes important to consider that an everyday object in a colonial context such as this, may not have been used for its originally intended purpose.

In an effort to find indigenous traces in colonial spaces, particularly native American, Silliman (2010) shows how archaeology has the ability to study space and objects which allows for the examination of written sources, and the filling of gaps within those sources. Silences within the written record are created the moment a decision is made on whether to record an event or not, and is further perpetuated when those documents are archived and analysed, or not (Kriel, 2004; Silliman, 2010). Documents from the colonial period focusing on indigenous people are rare, written by the colonisers, and document only a fraction of their lived experience (Funari *et al.*, 1999; Silliman, 2010). Missionaries had the ability to build their own reality regarding the people they were living amongst and they had the power to influence what became part of the public record and knowledge (Lester, 2001; Kriel, 2004, p. 151). Missionary writings and European travelogues ranged from depicting the African as a "depraved barbarian", to desperate appeals for justification or forgiveness for various sins, to outbursts of gratitude, all due to the need to encourage Christian sympathy and donation back home (De Kock, 1996, pp. 82–95; Bonner *et al.*, 2008, p. 2). These texts continually emphasise and embed the ideas and dichotomies of us vs. them, hero vs. villain, black vs. white and civilized vs. heathen. They tend to overemphasise the humanitarianism of British colonial policy which was in fact, directed primarily at maintaining the economic and strategic interests of the empire (Keegan, 1988, p. 46). They are often extremely biased and over-generalising, depicting whole groups in derogatory or homogenising terms. Nevertheless, the records, letters and diaries of missionaries provide some invaluable information on indigenous life, language and beliefs, as well as the thoughts and experiences of the missionaries themselves and their families (Deetz, 1977; Ireland, 2010, p. 146). For this reason, these texts must never be taken at face value, and must be interrogated for their biases and prejudices.

The silences of indigenous people therefore run deep and there is a need to treat all artefacts and texts critically and in conjunction with one another (Silliman, 2010, p. 29). It is also important to look for contradictions between the texts and objects, in how

quotidian objects and landscape were being used on a daily basis compared with how they were ideally depicted in a colonial text. To do this Silliman (2001a, 2010) discusses the usefulness of practice theory which involves a shift of focus away from the product and the producer, but towards the consumer (De Certeau, 1984; Silliman, 2010). In the past, there was an effort to find artefacts that could unequivocally be attributed to a specific ethnicity, with a fixation on the origins and makers of an object rather than how they were being used and what they meant to their users (Stahl, 1991; Silliman, 2010). This perspective cannot be used in this study as artefacts do not inherently indicate the people who may have used them. The Bastaards were of such a hybrid ethnic identity before even arriving at the site, we know that they dressed in European fashions and utilized European objects. We also know that Cameron hired two Basotho people to help the family with domestic chores, gardening, repairs etc. (Cameron diaries, March 1841, volume 2, p. 383). It would then stand to reason that we may find indigenous material culture in or around the mission house, not to mention European material culture being used by indigenous people.

Landscape Theory

Landscape has traditionally been viewed as a neutral space onto which human activities are mapped, the background scenery to human activity (Ingold, 1993; Tilley, 1994; Bruck, 2005). Tilley (1994) argues that human experience and understanding is mediated through the body, and because the body is constantly in contact with the world and does not exist separately from the world, the world itself is thus an embodied experience. The physical engagement of the human body with the material world is therefore central to bodily experience, and bodily movement through a particular place will reinforce a person's worldview (Tilley, 1994; Thomas, 2001; Bruck, 2005) as different paths and tracks "impose a habitual pattern on the movement of people" (Jackson, 1989, p. 146; Ingold, 1993; King, 2018). This then relates back to power relations, in that by controlling the way in which people move through a built environment, it is possible to restrict the perceptions, interpretations, and movements of people through the landscape, and thereby produce and reinforce dominant and widely held perspectives of the world (Tilley, 1994; Bruck, 2005). This is very basically what the missionaries were attempting to achieve by constantly manipulating the environment for their 'civilizing' purposes. By convincing people to build square houses rather than round ones, plough fields in straight lines rather

than curved ones, and build walled orchards and gardens (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Johnson, 2007) they were actively manipulating the ways in which people moved through their environment and how they interacted with it. Landscape theory, then, focuses on cultural and social relations, power and politics, and identity and experience (Thomas, 2001, p. 166).

Spencer-Wood (2002) gives a review of historical-archaeological studies that have focused on American cultural landscapes, and shows how such landscape studies can be used to illustrate power relations in historical contexts. Townscapes and city planning in colonial context can be read as artefacts of domination, designed to impose order on the disorder of a newly colonized region (Hall, 1991; Garman, 1994; Brink, 1997, p. 106). It is, however, important to remember that studies on white, elite, male expressions of power often fail to address the agency of slaves or servants in the construction and maintenance of a household or garden (Spencer-Wood, 2002, p. 173). Landscape theory and the mapping of settlement patterns can be useful in illustrating socio-political and economic stratification but one must remember that while the most powerful voice often speaks the loudest, there are other voices that must be considered (Spencer-Wood, 2002, p. 178). A useful tool in such a study is an analysis of line-of-sight, the most prominent places on the landscape being used as a measure of control and surveillance of people and their activities (Spencer-Wood, 2002, p. 175). In the case of Platberg, for example, the mission complex was certainly the largest, most visible and wealthiest set of structures on the landscape, situated centrally and higher on the landscape to the rest of the village. However, within these missionary structures, family and gender dynamics took place, as well as the economic issue of working servants. It was also evident that there was a measure of town-planning at Platberg. The very act of town-planning and cartography results in the visualization of social dimensions, and serve as concretisations of control and surveillance over that territory (Brink, 1997). The grid layout that is so common in town centres serve as symbols of control and order, presenting a ‘clean’ and ‘virtuous ’ image to the rest of the world (Brink, 1997, p. 107), which is precisely the message that the Wesleyan missionaries wished to convey. A message of control and civilization in a turbulent and violent time and place.

Any given landscape is a living process that is constantly under construction and is both qualitative and heterogenous, and this process becomes a part of us just as much as we are a part of it (Hicks, 2016, p. 3). Therefore, cultural landscapes can be viewed as an enduring record of the lives and activities of the people who lived within it (Spencer-Wood and Baugher, 2010; Hicks, 2016, p. 4). The study of landscape provides the opportunity for exploring how the past and present are intertwined in place, while illustrating the multiple experiences that are constructed through specific political and historical conditions (Ingold, 1993; Appadurai, 1996; Thomas, 1996; Ireland, 2010). As Deetz (1977, p. 92) argues, any changes in attitudes, values or worldview would likely be reflected in changes in building practices and architectural forms. Spencer-Wood and Baugher (2010, p. 464) take this one step further with their definition of 'powered cultural landscapes' which describe the power relations that are expressed through human alterations to land over time. History, and individual human lives, are not made up of single moments of time that are separated from the next by some kind of chronological barrier, it is experienced rather than measured (Ingold, 1993; Hicks, 2016, p. 4). It is also not possible to view any material object or landscape as pure, objective or dehistorisized, as they only become recognizable within the structure of our understanding of the world (Thomas, 1996, pp. 78–92). In other words, the ways in which people understand and engage with their environment is dependent both on the specific historical conditions of the time as well identity aspects such as gender, ethnicity and class (Bender, 1992, p. 735). People view the world from a range of different positions at any one time, dependent on whether they are rich or poor, female or male, African or European (Garman, 1994, p. 75). Our understanding of our material world in the present, too, is dependent on our prior experience and knowledge at both an individual and social level (Thomas, 1996; Bruck, 2005; Fleming, 2006). It is for this reason that an understanding of the record of events for both the eastern Free State and Lesotho is imperative to the understanding of Platberg (Chapter Two).

A Critical Evaluation

Tilley (1994, 2004, p. 201) argues that the modern person can actually experience a landscape and interpret it in the same way as a person in the past. He has been widely criticised for this hyper-interpretive style as it is highly unlikely that modern encounters with a given landscape could ever approximate those of the past (Bruck, 2005, p. 54;

Fleming, 2006; Barrett and Ko, 2009, p. 277). At the very least, it is unlikely that a natural landscape would remain constant over time; vegetation and natural processes will have a significant effect on how a landscape is experienced and/or navigated (Bruck, 2005, p. 56). It has been argued that landscape theory should not be used as a methodology in the manner of Tilley, but only as a philosophy (Bruck, 2005; Fleming, 2006; Barrett and Ko, 2009).

It is evident that the major concern with phenomenology is the matter of interpretation. Thomas (2004, p. 217) argues that our physical surroundings do not consist of meaningless matter, they are not *just* trees, or streams, or mountains. Rather, these objects are understood and interpreted by individuals in a certain way, and that understanding is informed by one's past, present and future experiences (Thomas, 2004, p. 217). Modern researchers cannot hope to experience a landscape or object in the same way as people in the past, as we, ourselves, are socially embedded, with our own set of experiences and biases (Thomas, 2004; Bruck, 2005).

It is obvious that I do not have the same thoughts, beliefs, preconceptions, politics, biases or prejudices as any of the missionaries, Bastaards or Basotho and I cannot pretend that I do. Social relations and cultural values vary even within a single community, as we see at Platberg, and those relations and values differ from my own beliefs and prejudices in the present day. The past can only ever be recreated in the present and so a critical understanding of contemporary experience and politics is all that can be done (Shanks, 1992; Bruck, 2005; Barrett and Ko, 2009). In other words, our understanding of the past will always be coloured by our own social, cultural and political values and experiences. A critical examination of the biases and beliefs held both in the past and the present is all we can do in the attempt to gain an accurate understanding of the past. What follows now is a discussion of some of the factors that influenced and impacted the complex make-up of this contested landscape.

3.2 Frontier Archaeology and the Civilizing Mission

The Frontier Space

Platberg was one of several mission stations active in the area that encouraged cross-cultural encounters which in turn encouraged the production of new frontiers and new

boundaries on almost a daily basis. These frontier spaces are both physical and intellectual, they are never neutral, are sometimes negotiated, and sometimes violent (Russell, 2001, p. 1). With so many different groups living on this potentially turbulent landscape, cross-cultural encounters happened daily and it is important to consider how to treat such encounters, as well as how these encounters manifested in the archaeological record. The South African landscape was already inhabited by African agriculturalists and pastoralists, living in small villages and towns by the time that European expansionism began (Hall, 1993, p. 178). It was the colonial vanguard that created frontiers of interaction between colonial societies and indigenous communities (Hall, 1993).

The study of frontier zones has focused on different aspects of the frontier, with each approach typifying the frontier in different ways. One being the study of 'resistance' and 'acculturation' that puts an emphasis on indigenous agency and action, or the lack of it (Snow, 1967; Russell, 2001, p. 4). Many researchers have come to realise that we need to move away from such a static paradigm, towards an acknowledgement that it is not as simple as a resistance/acculturation binary (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Russell, 2001, 2005; Jordan, 2009). Binaries such as black/white, men/women, native/newcomer are problematic as it creates a static image of the landscape (Russell, 2005, p. 33), while downplaying unequal power relations.

To move away from such binaries is important, especially for a study such as this, where there are so many different groups of people with various political or personal interests, many of whom are of mixed racial descent, and almost all of whom are relative newcomers on the landscape, having been forced to migrate due to conflict and war in other areas (Chapter Two). In her study on Aboriginals and settlers in Australia, Russell (2005) shows that while Aboriginals had previously been depicted as disempowered and victims of the Colonial system, there are other accounts of contact that need to be considered. The nature of cross-cultural contact is neither one-sided, nor is it controlled by the coloniser, it can be ambiguous and negotiated, violent or subversive (Russell, 2005). We can see this in the way that religion is negotiated and manipulated by all groups on the South African frontier. It is used as a civilising tool by the missionaries (Comaroff

and Comaroff, 1997), but as a means to trade and obtain protection by the different indigenous groups (Storey, 2008).

Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) call for a multi-vocal dialectic telling of history, particularly colonial history, that speaks of hybridization and fluidity. Colonialism is a complex concept that is as much a cultural encounter as it is economic and political (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 16). It involves political domination, economic exploitation, spatial dominance and racial difference but is not limited to these. It is both monothetic and polythetic, the same everywhere but also different (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, pp. 18–19). Comaroff and Comaroff (1997, p. 19) define colonialism as being "at once a constantly unfolding, mutating, unruly process and an infinitely intricate order of evanescence, often enigmatic, relations". It is important to remember that colonialism was as much involved in defining the metropole as it was in the peripheries and colonial subjects (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997). Colonial pursuit shaped many a European country and economy in the 18th, 19th and 20th century. It is worth noting that while we today recognise colonial societies to be changeable, negotiated and complex, they were often perceived and defined in binary terms by those within (both colonized and colonizer) as people categorized each other as white/black, modern/traditional, European/non-European, law/custom. This, together with social and economic forces, was used to justify the construction of a binary, racialized world that was to become South Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 25). In other words, the colonial past and the identities on a colonial landscape are certainly not dichotomous, nor fixed. However, one must consider that those past peoples may have viewed the situation in an entirely different light. The perspective from within the colonial context was entirely different to our current perspective of the colonial past, 150 years on. Therefore, while we cannot make assumptions about individuals, the colonial mindset can be extrapolated from the way in which people formed definitions and categorizations of others that were in line with scientific and religious thinking of the time.

Most frontier studies focus on the changing identities of indigenous groups through contact with European settler communities. Klatzow (2018), for example, shows how the Platberg Bastaards showed great skill in adapting to the volatile frontier world in which they found themselves, as they moved from being workers, servants and slaves in the

Colony, to successful traders, raiders and farmers in the Transorangia. As the political situation of the interior of southern Africa became unstable for indigenous peoples due to the effects of the *Difaqane* in the early 1820s, many groups banded together as a matter of survival. It was predominantly raiding and trading that brought these disparate groups together (Klatzow, 2018, p. 644). Bastaard communities came to include people from a wide range of social strata and cultural backgrounds, such as Batswana, Basotho, and !Kora (Klatzow, 2018, p. 644).

It is important to remember that indigenous groups were not the only ones having to negotiate new identities in the face of such dramatic change. Lester (2001, p. 45) shows how a new cultural identity was created among British colonials after they settled at the Cape in the early 19th century. These British settlers had originated from a society with strict social hierarchy and on arrival at the Cape there was an attempt to maintain these social strata. But with the shortage of skilled labour, the domination of a Khoesan workforce, and the possibility of profitable trade, the societal and wealth advances of lower class settlers was inevitable (Lester, 2001, p. 46). The different classes within British colonial society were united in their mutual interests of solidarity for the purposes of wealth accumulation and protection against African rebellion, and so societal stratification changed from an economic one to a racial one. As time went on, many prospective settlers were informed and prepared, through settler and missionary literature, for these new cultural attitudes before they had even left the homeland (Lester, 2001, p. 54).

The Civilizing Mission

Protestant missionaries were concerned with two pursuits. One was to bring the word of God to the 'heathen', and the second was a 'civilizing mission', brought about by the conviction that conversion to Christianity required not just the acceptance of the gospel but required the person in question to denounce all acts of primitivism and to acknowledge their 'base sinfulness' (Sales, 1975; De Kock, 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, pp. 63–64; Meyer, 1997; Davenport and Saunders, 2000). De Kock (1996, p. 10) describes the Victorian white male as having a unique confidence in the belief that it was their God-given mission to Christianise and subdue Africa and they took this belief around the world. During the first few decades of the mission effort, converts were few and far

between, and yet the mission station performed an important function in the colonial effort to suppress, manipulate and categorize (De Kock, 1996, p. 32). Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) show continuously through their study of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and their work with the Sotho-Tswana, that as missionaries became disillusioned with their hopes of mass conversion, they became more and more obsessed with their civilizing mission. This was done by targeting certain visible and tangible aspects of daily life, particularly the way people dressed, the manner in which they tilled the land and how they built their houses (Deetz, 1977; De Kock, 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Meyer, 1997; Lester, 2001; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019).

> Let missionaries and schoolmaster, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish, the avenues of legitimate commerce will be opened…whilst civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause of the happy change (Moffat, 1842 as cited in Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997, p. 122).

Similarly, Backhouse (1844, pp. 384–385) shows how the dwellings at Platberg were in a state of change, where houses at Platberg, although built in the European fashion, with a chimney and a formal fireplace, still have a fire built in the centre of the room, blending in with traditional custom rather than colonial wishes.

The focus by Cameron on town-planning (as shown by the quote in Chapter One) was in an effort to create a permanent society, to discourage nomadism, and had the added advantage that he would have some influence over the design and position of the households built. Esterhuysen *et al.* (2019) show how the act of enclosure and the creation of a built environment took precedence during Cameron's administration of the station.

Another point made by Comaroff and Comaroff (1997, p. 220) is that the body was used as a symbolic canvass in this civilizing quest. The colonial saw the 'native' body as being greasy and unwashed, and so cleaning it, housing it, curing it of ills and clothing it in European clothing became the battle ground of the civilizing mission (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, pp. 220–225). Landau (1995) contends that the sacrament of marriage played a key role in achieving missionary goals as it underpinned what missionaries wanted most: "monogamous, individuated, mutually competitive family units headed by public productive men and private reproductive women" (Landau, 1995, p. 45).

A Critical Analysis

The work done by Comaroff and Comaroff (1991, 1997) has been widely aclaimed as one of the most influential studies in the field of historical anthropology. However, there has been some critical analysis of their work. The central criticism put forward by Donham (2001) is the lack of historical method and narrative in their work. It has been argued that the Comaroffs have placed too much emphasis on anthropological theory and culture, while neglecting historical narrative and individual agency, particularly on the part of the Batswana (Peel, 1995, p. 586; Donham, 2001, p. 143). Donham (2001, p. 143) argues that individual actions and events do not occur within a vacuum. Each individual involved will have been motivated and informed by their own social narratives, material contexts and power relations. Events are rarely the unmediated production of culturally prescribed actions, and therefore require some narrative as explanation (Donham, 2001, p. 143). Peel (1995) argues that the Comaroffs neglect the southern Batswana's view of their own history while ascribing strong narrative and agency to the missionaries and largely over-estimating their role in this context.

Merry (2003) provides a reply to this critism, ultimately arguing that these researchers are posing different questions to those posed by the Comaroffs. The lack of historical narrative is justified on two counts. One: "the Comaroffs are interested in how the meanings and practices brought by the mission prefigured those subsequent economic and political changes" (Merry, 2003, p. 464). And two: the Comaroffs were exploring the cultural domain of power, notions of hegemony rather than political economy (Merry, 2003, p. 464). In response to the critism of not giving agency to the Batswana, Merry (2003, p. 464) argues that the under-emphasis on individuals was reasonable due to the Comaroffs focus on uncovering the formation of hegemony.

A final criticism ascribed to the work of the Comaroffs is from an archaeological perspective. Swanepoel (2018, p. 682) argues that while their work is certainly inspiring, the broad scale of their observations is not easily validated against the archaeological record. By it's very nature, archaeology provides insight into a very limited context; a specific space, occupied during a specific historical timeframe. On the other hand, the Comaroffs draw on illustrative examples scattered in space and time to provide a broad panorama of cultural change (Swanepoel, 2018, p. 682). Similarly, Lane (2001) suggests

that the archaeological record is largely ambivalent of the material changes described by the Comaroffs. While such change evidently occurred, there is also evidence of steadfast continuity in 19th and 20th century Batswana architectural and consumption patterns (Lane, 2001, p. 158).

In relation to this study, the Comaroffs work on the broad hegemonic activities of the South African mission has provided important theoretical grounding. However, it must be recognised that as a historical archaeological study it is undeniably fixed in a very specifc space and time. All interpretations made here are relevant only to this context. Furthermore, an understanding of the broader political and historical landscape of Platberg (as described in Chapter Two) has been crucial to understanding the site and the different processes enacted upon it. Historical narrative and individual agency has by no means been neglected in this study.

3.3 A Missionary's Household and Notions of Domesticity

Within this colonial context, European missionaries had a very specific purpose, and that was to civilize those that were perceived as not. These early missionaries sought to domesticate the exotic South African landscape, to make the unfamiliar familiar (Ashley, 2018, p. 703). Their main tool in this endeavour was simply mimetic and didactic (Lydon, 2009; Ashley, 2018).

Missionaries were encouraged to marry before moving to their allotted station with the intention of presenting an example of proper gender relations to the group that they wished to 'civilise' (Lester, 2001). The lessons being taught here by the missionaries were lessons on monogamy, nuclear families and 'proper' gendered behaviour and occupations (Erlank, 1995; Lester, 2001; Ashley, 2018). Missionary houses became the example of civilised life and the physical act of building them and furnishing them became spiritual in its own right, involving a properly gendered division of labour (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 292). This also reflected the paternal servant/master relationship between Christians and God, and a parallel was drawn between a Christian house and the house of the Lord (the church). Missionaries used their own bodies, families, and homes as examples for a community to follow,

> … for example, the proffering of a chair or a teacup to drink – not only might these objects be gestured toward, indicating the proper place to sit or to sup, but the affordances of the objects themselves acted as indexical signs of the appropriate way to sit or to grasp a cup and drink (Crossland, 2013, p. 92).

And in this way, the home, and the act of inviting people in became an opportunity for education. The missionary home was both socioeconomic: it represented a social group, joined by marriage, owners of property and structured by a gendered and generational division of labour; and architectural: it implied a fixed physical residence set apart from the world outside (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 275). The demarcation of space within the home was crucial to the missionaries, even the smallest houses were divided into spaces with specific functions (Ashley, 2018, p. 713). These spaces and functions spoke to specific gender roles and social behaviour that was played out within each space and which was meant to be replicated by anybody that was invited into those spaces (Ashley, 2018). It was in these subdivided spaces that the idealized wife, and the idealized home was created and perpetuated, in a privacy created by doors, walls, locks and bolts (Ashley, 2018, p. 714).

Dagut (2000) looks at gender relations in the colonial context, arguing that histories are distorted because women are either absent, sentimentalised, or misrepresented in general. Women are often considered to be the only "people of gender" enclosed in a domestic domain of their own, created by patriarchy (Dagut, 2000, p. 556). One often finds that women are spoken of only in terms of the family unit or of the household as their exclusive domain, and while household archaeology is an important concept studied by many (Allison, 1999; Lawrence, 1999; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Kruczek-Aaron, 2015), we must remember that women were often active outside the home and that men's interactions in the domestic space are equally important (Dagut, 2000, p. 556). In a study on settler families, Dagut (2000) shows how women's labour was crucial to the survival of settler families, in labour relations and the expanding economy. Settler women would also have been in charge of creating the perception of civilization within the household. As we have seen above, settler families had to give the impression to the outside world of a proper westernised and civilized household while still keeping a social gap between themselves and the perceived inferior 'native' (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997). Settler men were able to interact daily with indigenous people in a structured environment

where a strict social gap could be maintained, such as military, farms, or even church proceedings on a mission station (Dagut, 2000, p. 560). On the other hand, the site of women's daily social interaction was predominantly within the domestic space which was less structured and more private in nature (Dagut, 2000). Through excerpts of letters from settler's wives, Dagut (2000) shows how settler women used strategies of both violence and friendship to get what they wanted from their servants, that affection and real concern for their servants was very rare among British female settlers and when the women did show concern for their servants it was not for their character but rather for the excellent service that they gave.

While I have not managed to locate any documents written by Margaret Cameron, her husband James noted in March 1843 (Volume 3, p. 118) that:

> One of our servants left today, after trying our patience for months by the daily neglect of her duties. She spoke insolently to Mrs C. at leaving. The nursing of our little child devolved on me most of the day.

The relationship between Mrs. Cameron and her servant had evidently been fraught and she had failed to exert sufficient control, and to 'civilize' or convert her domestic servant. This also hints at possible tension between European and African notions of the domestic space. The above quote also indicates that on this mission station at least, the realm of domestic duties did not lie solely with the woman, it shows that in a moment of need Cameron was willing and able to help his wife in looking after their children. Kriel (2008) illustrates this in her study of how missionary correspondence differed according to whom it was addressed. Private correspondence covered topics of a more domestic nature such as "washday blues" and their reliance on medication and luxuries (Kriel, 2008, p. 191), while public correspondence such as that sent to the WMMS in London told more of a missionary's adventures and masculinity (Kriel, 2008, p. 174). The domestic sphere was therefore not limited to the female and many domestic objects would have been used by both men and women.

Voss and Schmidt (2000) illustrate how notions of sexuality are played out and negotiated on a missionary landscape. They argue that sexual identity is more than just sex and gender; that it refers to one's choice of sexual partner, but also includes any situation where sexual practice or meanings contribute to the construction of the individual or

group identity (Voss and Schmidt, 2000, p. 2). Voss (2000) then looks at how sexuality was expressed in missionary communities in colonial California and shows how strongly the missionaries and indigenous groups disagreed on the expression of sexuality. The missionaries were strong advocates for sexual morality, believing that there were only two options for sexual expression: marriage or celibacy (Voss, 2000, p. 38). The native Californians however were shown to have a far more open attitude to sex and Voss (2000, p. 45) shows how the missionaries actively tried to control this using *monjerios*, buildings that housed girls and women before marriage with the purpose of preventing premarital sex. Voss (2000, p. 41) also uses historical sources to show that Native American settlement patterns were deliberately changed due to the use of rape as a military weapon for the colonization and control of the area.

This view of sexuality is interesting in regard to the missionaries at Platberg. The Camerons and the Giddys evidently had a particular attitude to sex and sexuality as can be seen by the number of children they had, their stand against polygamy, and their promotion of a western ideal of monogamy, marriage and family; much like any other European missionary of the time (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997). Comaroff and Comaroff (1997) argue that ideas of the nuclear family and associated appropriate sexuality was simply used as another tool, along with architecture, agriculture and fashion, to mould the 'native heathen' into a civilised Christian. Marriage and monogamy were important to the missionaries as it promoted the European, Christian, ideals of gender relations, with the woman taking on the domestic role, confining them to house and hearth, to look after the children, while the man was to take on the public role and provide for the family (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, pp. 129–136).

The missionaries had obvious intentions and effectively painted them onto the landscape. The residents of Platberg, however, had their own agency, and continuously negotiated for their own needs and desires. Identity and the negotiation thereof was therefore central to this landscape and was highly contested.

3.4 Mission Station Archaeology

There are several researchers that have carried out studies on mission stations around the world. I have already spoken at some length of the study done by Comaroff and

Comaroff (1997) on the southern Batswana of South Africa, the research done on Californian mission stations by Voss (2000), and the research into missionary correspondence between southern Africa and England by Kriel (2004, 2008). Here is a summary of several other studies on mission stations around the world.

North America

Graham (1998) looks at several different case studies of mission archaeology stretching across America. She looks at the mission layout and material culture from La Florida and the south-eastern USA where the missionary communities were destroyed due to disease and British and Native American attacks. It appears that while architecture and layout of the station was predominantly European-based, the material culture showed that indigenous pottery was used consistently through the occupation. In the American south-west, Graham (1998, pp. 36–38) uses an acculturation model to argue that Christianization was the main colonizing force in this area by showing how much European culture was taken up by the different indigenous groups. As argued above, there are many problems with any acculturation model as it assumes that indigenous people are using the material culture in the same way as the Europeans, that it has the same meaning. In a study of California, she then looks at a resistance model to show how indigenes used abortion and infanticide as a response to high levels of rape, and to keep their children from being born into a world not belonging to the Native Americans. This is also problematic as it assumes there are no other reasons for such practices (Graham, 1998, p. 46). Arkush (2011) argues that while Native Americans were initially attracted to mission stations by European technology and a desire for objects of wealth such as glass beads, it developed into a desire to learn Catholic religious ceremonies in order to enhance their own spiritual power and ritual knowledge. Their motives therefore stemmed from elevating their social status within their traditional communities, and they continued to practice many of their traditions, ultimately with no intention of fully converting to (in their case) Catholicism (Arkush, 2011, p. 64).

Silliman (2010) looks at the material culture found at mission stations across America and argues how, if possible, it can be attributed to which ethnicity. In eastern parts of the United States (USA) a lot of creamware ceramics have been found. These ceramics were manufactured in England and appear exclusively at colonial sites and are therefore

associated with the daily life and activities of settlers and colonists. When found as part of Native American households this presumably indicated participation in European market economies and even culture exchange (Silliman, 2010, p. 40). This argument is problematic due to the large population of Native Americans or Africans living and working as slaves or employees in colonial households and workspaces. These spaces were therefore not exclusively British or Euro-American and the creamware represents Native American and African perceptions and experiences just as much as they do colonial ones (Silliman, 2010, pp. 41–42). It is in this way that Silliman (2010) uses practice theory to shift the focus on material culture away from the producer onto the consumer.

Panich and Schneider (2015), also focusing on North America, examined the opportunities for indigenous autonomy under colonial expansion by employing landscape theory. They argue that landscape can provide multiple perspectives on the lived experience in colonial settings by illuminating how people construct, organise and inhabit space (Panich and Schneider, 2015, p. 49). In one case study on Santa Clara de Asis (near San Jose, California), they show how "neophytes" created native space within the mission station while simultaneously keeping ties with other communities and missions. And in another case study they focused on the San Joaquin Valley and illustrated how many people tied to the mission station would often leave the station to visit indigenous villages as there is evidence of material culture linked to villages far removed from the mission station, indicating that a strong trade or contact network had existed (Panich and Schneider, 2015, p. 53).

Allen (2010) argues for a move away from focusing on the excavation of structures and the areas immediately adjacent to those structures, to try to find the more ephemeral living and usage areas by looking beyond the church and associated mission complex. While focusing on the California mission stations, she uses documentary sources to locate buildings that no longer exist (Allen, 2010, p. 77). These mission stations are often located in very urban areas, which has both a good and bad effect on the archaeology. While on one hand the continual construction, renovation and city planning will compromise the archaeological context, there is the benefit of an enormous collection of artefacts as well as continuous mapping of structures found underground (Allen, 2010, pp. 77–82). This is different from the Platberg context where, firstly, there are no contemporary maps drawn

of the mission station, and secondly, such large scale excavation has not been possible. There is no doubt that there are ephemeral and liminal spaces at Platberg, but one needs to know the layout of the village, the structures, the material culture, before delving into the ephemeral spaces. However, this would certainly prove to be an important and valuable future study.

New Zealand and Australia

Lydon (2009) focused on the Moravian mission station, Ebenezer, in Australia. This was a study that explored how missionaries attempted to create an idealized didactic landscape, but contrasted against the real complexity of Aboriginal-European cultural exchange (Lydon, 2009, p. 5). It was found that the Moravians brought preconceptions of the built environment with them to Australia; settlements were intended to embody an orderly spatial layout, dividing public and private spaces, isolating family units from the wider community (Lydon, 2009, p. 8). Buildings symbolizing missionary core values were built along a shallow ridge, with the church at the highest point, thus creating lines of observation (Lydon, 2009, p. 8). Lydon (2009, p. 8) argues that the visibility of people and landscape was a key element of the missionary operation. The importance of cleanliness and industriousness provided a simple index against which to measure the residents progress (Lydon, 2009, p. 8). While it was confirmed that the Moravians were successful in creating the critical elements of a European landscape in this unfamiliar environment, it was found that the Aboriginal groups at this station engaged in strategies of mobility and evasion to pursue their own objectives (Lydon, 2009, pp. 14–15).

Middleton (2003, 2005, 2007) carried out extensive research on a mission station situated in the Bay of Islands in New Zealand. She has used various theoretical approaches in her studies such as a landscape (2003) and a gendered approach (2007). The landscape was seen as a material force that acted upon people and was acted upon by people, that it is both constantly created and creating (Middleton, 2003, p. 112). Middleton (2003, p. 112) shows that Te Puna as a landscape was desirable to both Europeans and Maori due to its coastal resources in the Bay of Islands, its defensibility, and for Europeans, access to a large indigenous population for food, supplies and religious purposes. In 2007, however, she shows how excavations of a cellar at Te Puna revealed material culture relating to domesticity and femininity. Middleton (2007) shows how missionary work preceded

colonialism as with elsewhere in the world and because of this, women held an idealised position in society where the domestic role was emphasized. Archaeology revealed artefacts associated with these domestic roles, essential in the process of building and maintaining the social relations of England within New Zealand such as blue and white transfer-printed tea ware with pastoral scenes depicting a "nostalgic rural Britain", and starched and ironed linen and lace (Middleton, 2007, pp. 4–5). Middleton (2007) used a combination of excavation and historical record to show how gender and domesticity played out on the Te Puna landscape even though everyday domesticity is almost never mentioned by men in their journals or reports. She shows that among the daily duties of sewing, knitting, washing, cooking and cleaning, the wives of missionaries had the job of teaching 'one or two girls' in such domestic arts (Middleton, 2007, p. 6). There are clear parallels with the duties carried out by missionary wives on the South African frontier.

Middleton (2010) goes on to demonstrate how the treatment of indigenous people by missionaries was far from uniform. Through a comparison of the missionization of New Zealand to that of Australia, she argues that while the Maori were considered to be a "superior civilised heathen", the Aboriginals were seen to be "the most degraded of the human race" and their respective mission stations reflected those attitudes (Middleton, 2010, p. 179). Some mission stations in Australia were used to enforce government policy of racial segregation and indigenous populations were moved to isolated locations away from white settlers under the guise of 'missionization' (Birmingham and Wilson, 2010, p. 18). The Maori stations were based on the household mission where the focus was put on the household and domestic activity as a shining example to potential converts (Middleton, 2010, pp. 177–178). The system put in place in Australia is what Middleton (2010) calls the institutional mission, which started with the removal of Aboriginal children by force and taken to European establishments with the theory that they would learn domestic tasks from childhood and could work as servants from then on. Ireland (2010, p. 149) shows that one of the motives for the kidnapping of these children was founded on the prevalence of venereal disease and the belief that education and Christian conversion would benefit them. This led to a situation where mission stations were run almost as prisons, with segregation of sexes and families by wire fences and locked doors (Middleton, 2010, p. 181).

There was a similar system put in place on the northern highveld of South Africa between 1840 and 1870 (Delius and Trapido, 1982, p. 214), known as *Inboekselings*. These were African children and young women who were acquired to Boer households by several means, either kidnapping by Boer commandos, 'donated' by African societies for political and diplomatic reasons, or sold by settlers or African societies (Delius and Trapido, 1982; Boeyens, 1994; Davenport and Saunders, 2000). British influence, which by this time was anti-slavery, prevented the Boers from setting up a formal system of slavery and so these children and young women were classified as apprentices or *Inboekselings* (Delius and Trapido, 1982, p. 214) but in other circles were known as 'black ivory' (Boeyens, 1994, p. 187). By the 1860s *Inboekselings* were considered to be the main source of labour in the eastern Transvaal (Giliomee, 2003, p. 184). The nature of such labour depended on the settlers with which they lived, some became household servants, others were hunters providing for the household (Delius and Trapido, 1982, p. 214). Mission stations in South Africa, however, tended to follow the 'household mission' style described by Middleton (2010, p. 177) and this is the type of missionary activity that occurred at Platberg.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Several mission sites that have so far been investigated in South Africa. These include the stations Genadendal (Gwasira, 2012), Farmerfield (Jeppson, 1997; Palk, 2018), Gerlachshoop (Boshoff, 2004) and Botshabelo (Booth, 2017; Swanepoel, 2018).

The first mission station set up in South Africa was the Moravian station Genadendal, dating to 1737 (Gwasira, 2012, p. 143). Early missionaries to this station relied on the nostalgia and memory of their native German architecture in the design and building of the town, and the remodelling of the African landscape (Gwasira, 2012, p. 145). However, over time, the distance and alienation from their homeland, combined with experience with new designs, resulted in the emergence of the style now synonymous with the Western Cape – Cape Dutch architecture (Gwasira, 2012, p. 146). Thus, Gwasira (2012) argues that a new identity was formed here, based on the uniformity of building styles and the rules and values of the mission station.

Farmerfield was a Wesleyan mission station, established in 1839. Looking at material culture from Farmerfield, Jeppson (1997) used a cross-cultural approach to investigate

social identity formation on the South African frontier. It was argued that industrial age, mass-produced British goods were involved in the "construction, reproduction and transformation of cultural beliefs and values during a time of contact, conflict and cultural exchange" (Jeppson, 1997, p. 70). Palk (2018) used both material culture and archival evidence in an analysis of the glass and metal assemblages from Farmerfield. It was found that the structured layout of the mission station made it tempting to view the community as "passive cultural pawns" (Palk, 2018, p. 238). However, the material culture reflected a community able to adapt to the new environment and effectively incorporate into the economy of the town, thus maintaining their own agency (Palk, 2018, p. 238).

The first mission station set up by the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS), Gerlachshoop, was located north of the Vaal River (Boshoff, 2004, p. 445). Boshoff (2004, p. 467) shows that Gerlachshoop was occupied for a very short period (1860-1864) due to war and political tensions; and yet he argues that this does not mean the missionaries were unsuccessful in achieving their basic aims. The ultimate goal of baptising new people into Christendom was shown to have been reached on multiple occasions, and this small, new congregation proved able to maintain itself in the absence of the missionaries themselves (Boshoff, 2004, p. 467).

The Botshabelo mission station was then set up by the BMS in 1865 (Boshoff, 2004; Swanepoel, 2018). Swanepoel (2018) showed how Botshabelo has changed and developed over time. Occupied for a substantial length of time – approximately 150 years – Swanepoel (2018, p. 687) viewed the landscape as a palimpsest of use and re-use over time. Using both the extensive archival record as well as the archaeological record, Swanepoel (2018) illustrated the sequence of growth and development over the decades. Booth (2017) excavated two structures located in the village associated with the Botshabelo mission in a study of the domestic history of the *Motse* (the village). It was identified that architectural styles were in a state of change. From traditional, round structures to European, square styles (Booth, 2017, p. 177). Booth (2017, p. 177) argues that rather than attributing these changes to the straightforward conversion and 'civilisation' of the inhabitants, such changes were reflective instead of more complex and varied socio-political, cultural and economic factors.

A similar argument has been used further afield in Botswana (Reid *et al.*, 1997). It has been argued that just as European powers adopted varied strategies of control across different regions, so too did African communities adopt a wide range of responses to European presence (Reid *et al.*, 1997, p. 371). Ultimately there was no straightforward, unidirectional movement and adoption of material culture and tradition. Reid *et al.* (1997, p. 382) compares two LMS mission settlements, Phalatswe and Ntweng, to illustrate the complex exchange of material culture, architecture and tradition, and how such exchange varied across space according to different communities. These sites were home to the Bangwato and the Bakwena respectively. Reid *et al.* (1997) and Booth (2017) both show that the adoption of European material culture was far more complex than a simple capitulation to colonial pressures. Lane (2015) goes on to describe how the Phalatswe mission (only occupied from 1889 to 1902) was affected by continual disputes with the Bangwato leader, Khama III, predominantly over land ownership. It is argued that like many other African chiefs, Khama III had deep concerns about the danger of conceding authority over territory to European missionaries.

Ashley (2009, 2018) looks into the LMS mission station situated in the Khwebe hills, Botswana. The mission station was set up in 1892 but was only occupied until 1899 when malaria and leopard attacks forced them to leave (Ashley, 2009, p. 36). Ashley (2009, p. 37) shows that the site organisation was highly reminiscent of a "typical Tswana settlement layout" with space strictly organised with a focus around central cattle kraals. There was also a higher level of wild animal remains suggesting that hunting was more common than pastoralism (Mitchell, 1992, pp. 5–6; Ashley, 2009, p. 38). There was, however, still a strong European presence as can be seen by the rectangular stone foundations showing European architecture and lots of European building materials such as nails, screws, glass, as well as tea sets, chess pieces and children's toys (Ashley, 2009). Ashley (2018) shows that the mission houses here were designed much like those at Platberg, white-washed and west-facing along a main street, with a backdrop of a steep hill. The visibility of these structures were significant in that they created a symbol of civilization and domesticity that was meant to be replicated by the masses. Ashley (2009, 2018) therefore shows that every attempt was being made on this site, as with elsewhere in the world, to recreate a European model of society.

Yet another example of this can be found in a study located in Peki, Ghana where the arrival of missionaries saw the immediate construction of western-shaped structures, fields and gardens (Meyer, 1997, p. 314). German Protestant missionaries associated with the *Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft* (NMG) arrived in this area in 1847 (Meyer, 1997, p. 313). These missionaries did their best to recreate a classical south-German farming community in the 'wilderness' of Africa by growing plants native to Germany, planting trees along pathways, and raising domestic animals (Meyer, 1997, p. 314). The indigenous groups in this area were drawn to the mission station by their desire for education, European technology and trade. In this last aspect they were unsuccessful as the German missionaries forbade trade and members were expected to grow their own food (Meyer, 1997, p. 322).

3.5 Theoretical Standpoint

Drawing on the work of others, I have used practice and landscape theory because it offers the most suitable lens through which to see the lived experience of the people at Platberg. Landscape theory has allowed for the investigation of how the political landscape and built environment affected the daily lives of the people living at the station, and how these spaces were manipulated and experienced by the different groups. Practice theory allowed objects to be viewed, not simply how the producer intended, or how the buyer intended, but how they were used and reused everyday by the people on the ground. In the context of a Wesleyan mission station on a colonial frontier, it is evident that landscape and material culture became the site of manipulation and contestation by the various people in and around the station. The above case studies have given valuable insight into the ways in which other researchers have approached mission station archaeology, particularly from a landscape and phenomenological perspective.

Platberg was a mission station situated in a time of great political upheaval, on a colonial and frontier landscape. Landscape and Practice theory has enabled me to interrogate the impact of the civilizing mission and the effects of missionization as it was experienced at this site. It has also enabled the more subtle interrogation of the different personalities and identities on this landscape, and their differing approaches to politics, religion and missionization. Chapter Four now focuses on the landscape as it exists today and the different processes acting upon it, such as climate and various animal and farming activity.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENVIRONMENT AND LANDSCAPE

The landscape at Platberg has been altered repeatedly over time. These changes have been wrought by people setting out and building a settlement, the landscaping of which would have been influenced by physical factors like climate, availability of resources, and the social and ideological factors or preconceived ideas of how a town should be set out. It was further altered through on-going conflict and war, and after the settlement was abandoned and destroyed in the early to mid 1860s it continued to be altered by both animals and humans. It is necessary to tease these elements apart to understand why the mission station was constructed in the manner that it was, and then how the material substrate may have been altered subsequent to its being deposited.

This chapter provides an analysis of the climate, animal activity and their effect on the soil and stratigraphy, and other natural activities on the site such as erosion. The climate study provided an important visual representation of how extreme the winter weather could be on this site.

4.1 Climate

A Davis portable weather station (Fig. 4.1) was set up in an open area on the site. This machine was used to measure the temperature, wind speed and direction and rainfall for a total of 18 days from the 1st to 18th August 2016. The data recorded over these 18 days was then compared to the corresponding climate data received from the South African Weather Service (SAWS) who have a weather station at Ficksburg, approximately 60km north of Platberg. The data were compared to establish if there is any correlation between climate trends and if historical climate data from Ficksburg can be used in relation to Platberg, or if Platberg has a distinct microclimate. It was observed that in terms of temperature there is little difference between Ficksburg and Platberg and in fact it appears that the maximum and minimum temperatures at Ficksburg are slightly more extreme than Platberg, being slightly hotter during the day and slightly colder at night (Fig. 4.2).

The Pearson correlation coefficient is a statistical measurement of the correlation between two variables. If there is a strong correlation between two variables, the

coefficient draws closer to 1 and if it is weak, the coefficient is closer to 0. In the comparison of the Ficksburg temperature data to that of Platberg, the Pearson coefficient is 0.94, which shows a very strong correlation between to the two locations. This means that it is possible to look at Ficksburg historical data and extrapolate that for Platberg.

The same cannot be said for other climate factors. The Davis machine at Platberg also recorded wind speed and direction and rainfall. Unfortunately, as this study was undertaken in winter and this is a summer rainfall region, the rainfall data are minimal, making any comparison with Ficksburg tenuous. There was, however, plenty of wind data. Figure 4.3 is a graph depicting the wind speed data collected from the SAWS weather station and from Platberg. The difference in patterns may well be due to one wind monitor being more sensitive than the other, or that the Ficksburg weather station is located in a wind sheltered area. Figure 4.3 does illustrate, however, that there were quite a few time intervals when Ficksburg was at a minimum and Platberg was at a peak. With a Pearsons correlation coefficient of 0.43, it is evident that the two records are too different for the Ficksburg records to be used as a proxy for wind conditions at Platberg. The wind directions too, were seldom the same.



Figure 4.1. Davis machine at Platberg.

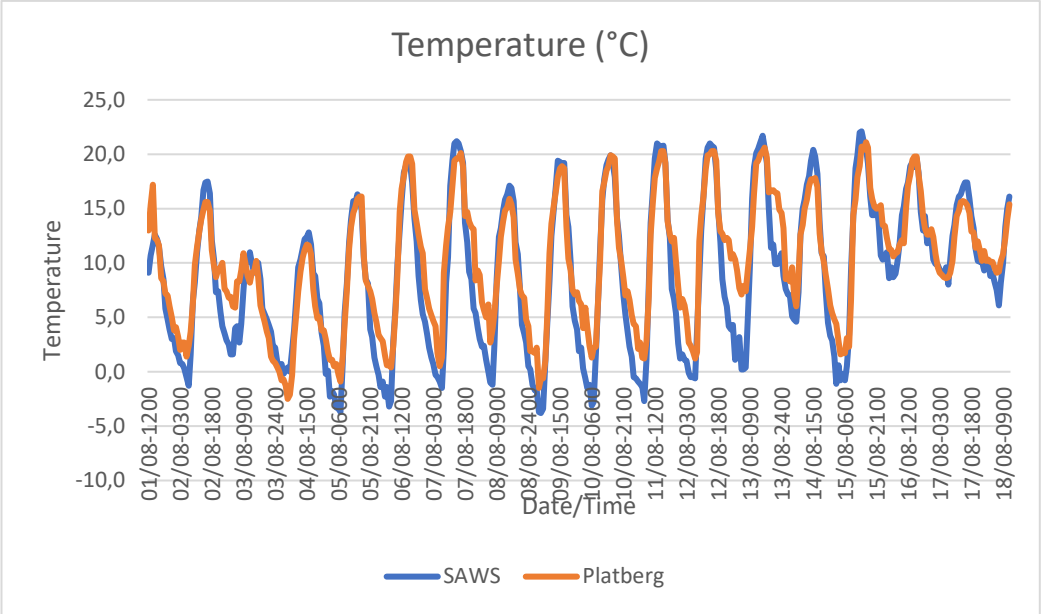

Figure 4.2. Graph showing the temperature data from SAWS (blue) and Platberg (orange).

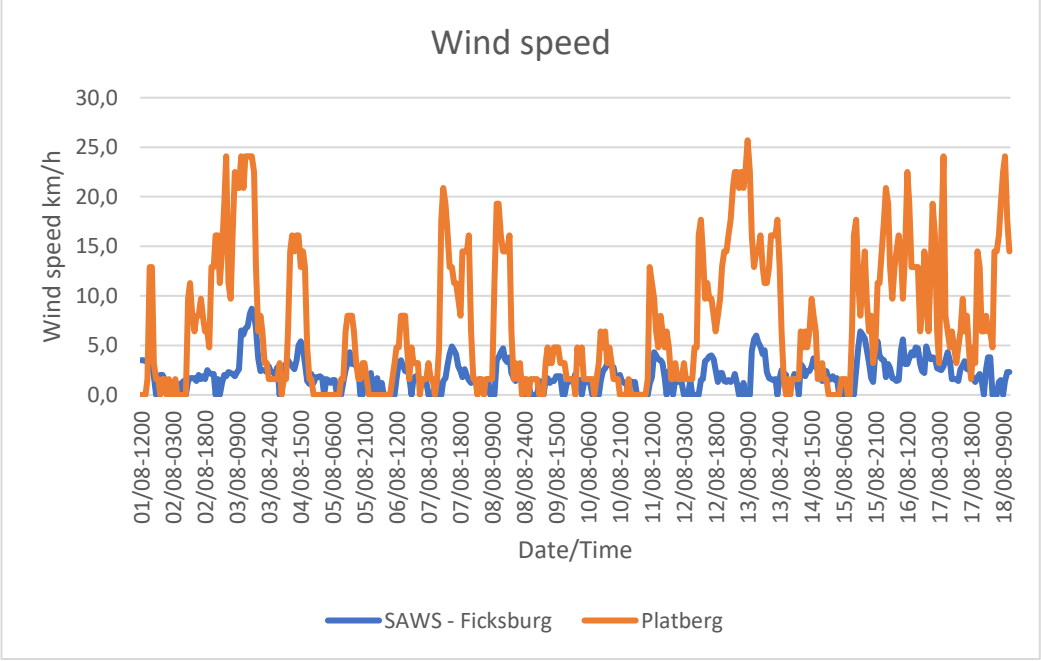

Figure 4.3. Graph showing the wind speed data from SAWS - Ficksburg and Platberg.

The historical data received from the SAWS station at Ficksburg go back to 1993. In looking at the temperature data (the only data that are comparable to Platberg), we can see how the temperature of the region has varied over the period 1993-present (Fig. 4.4). T_{min} and t_{max} indicate that these are the average minimum and maximum temperatures for a given year and the linear dotted lines indicate the average progression of temperature over the years. It is evident that there has been very little change over recent years, only the maximum temperatures have become a degree or two warmer over the last couple of decades.

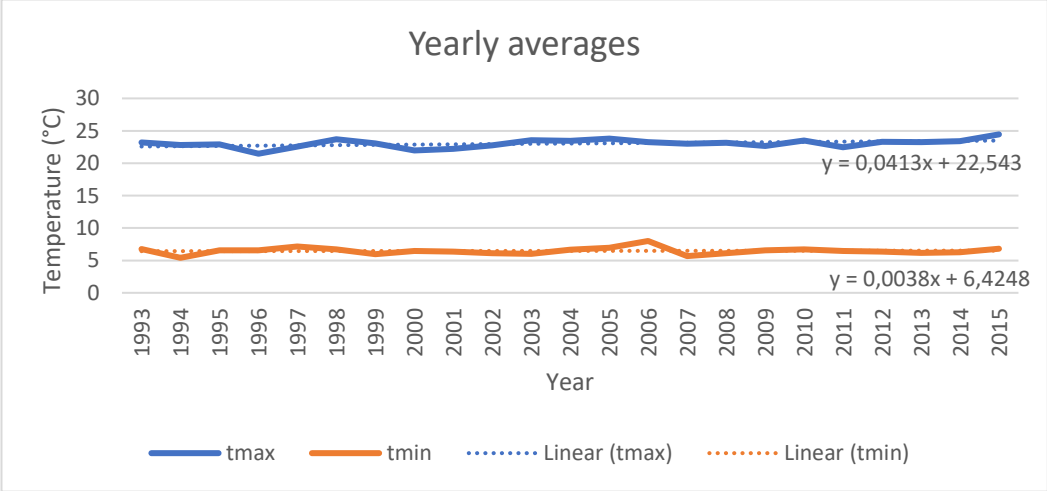

Figure 4.4. Graph showing the average minimum and maximum yearly temperatures from SAWS – Ficksburg.

4.2 Animal Activity

The ground has been greatly disturbed across the whole station by various animal activities (bioturbation) over the years, the most damaging being *Xerus inaurus* (South African Ground Squirrel) that were present on site and have burrowed extensively across the landscape for the purposes of breeding, refuge and hibernating (Fig. 4.5) (Holtmeier, 2002, p. 128). Ground squirrels are known to dig lengthy burrows but the dimensions for these are variable and not well understood (Van Vuren and Ordenana, 2012). Factors such as soil characteristics, age of burrow, body size and temperature will have an effect on the length and depth of a burrow (Van Vuren and Ordenana, 2012). While the true extent of the squirrel burrows underneath Platberg is unknown, it can be assumed that there is an extensive network as burrows have been encountered during every excavation (Fig. 4.5). A burrow running through PPH/F1.1 is what caused a whole section to collapse

between 40 and 63cm below the surface, which will henceforth be known as the '40-63 collapse'.

Another rodent at Platberg has been identified as possible *Mus minutoides*, the African pygmy mouse (P. Dawson, *pers. comm.* 2018*)*. African pygmy mice are found all across sub-Saharan Africa (Britton-Davidian *et al.*, 2012, p. 44; Chevret *et al.*, 2014). They feed on vegetable matter, seeds and insects (Smithers, 1986, p. 79; Stuart and Stuart, 1988). These mice are nocturnal and often take shelter in other animals vacant burrows or rocks and debris left by human occupation (Vesey-Fitzgerald, 1963; Smithers, 1986, p. 79; Stuart and Stuart, 1988, p. 112). This suggests that while these rodents were visible on the landscape, it is possible that they had a minimal impact on the bioturbation of the site.

Next, there is a presence of *Orycteropus afer* (Aardvarks) on the site, though not in such abundance as the squirrels. Aardvarks are not found in large numbers and a study showed that they varied around eight animals per 1,000 hectares, and only appear aboveground at night (Taylor and Skinner, 2003, p. 291). The Aardvarks feed on termites and dig much larger burrows (Fig. 4.6) that are thus distinguishable from those of the ground squirrels. Aardvarks also dig into termite nests to obtain their prey (Dean and Siegfried, 1991). In the process of digging these burrows, in the case of both the squirrels and the Aardvarks, there is a large displacement of soil (hereafter known as the 'overburden') which is more clearly seen in Figure 4.6. While an Aardvark burrow is larger, it has been found that smaller species, such as squirrels, remove more deposit in a unit of time and at a larger spatial scale than larger species, which will dig a large hole but only a few of them (Haussman, 2017, pp. 29–30). One reason for this is that Aardvarks seldom dig new holes but prefer to move into one of the old ones that exist within their territory (Taylor and Skinner, 2003, p. 295). The study by Taylor and Skinner (2003, p. 296) demonstrates that Aardvark burrow dimensions' range between 28 and 45cm in diameter, go down to a depth between two and three metres, and attain lengths of between five and six metres. The displacement of soil and effect on an archaeological site would therefore be immense but localised.

Burrowing not only disturbs all the artefacts in the ground and the stratigraphy, when combined with the naturally grey soil creates a false impression of an ashy midden on the

site, and buries other features (Johnston, 2002, p. 3). A midden cannot be identified simply by a large frequency of surface finds, or by particularly ashy soil, because these factors could have come from anywhere along the burrow networks running under the ground. Figure 4.5 shows how one squirrel burrowed directly over the foundations of one the structures and the excavation of HGH showed precisely how the animal activity on the site can affect investigations (Chapter Seven). The ground around the structure labelled as BH is riddled with squirrel burrows as is depicted in Figure 4.7. The midden at this structure was never found due to the intense disturbance of the ground and a deceptively high frequency of surface finds.

Every now and then, excavation processes disturbed a colony of beetle larvae, that have broadly been identified as Dermestidae. These very spiny larvae are known to dig tunnels that are circular or oval and are 2-5mm wide (Hopner and Bertling, 2017, p. 272). Figure 4.8 shows a section of burrow in the wall of the excavation at BH. They are also known to bore into many different hard materials such as wood, bone (Pirrone *et al.*, 2014; Hopner and Bertling, 2017, p. 262) and even fossilized bone. Several studies have been done on dinosaur bones showing dermestid boring (Britt *et al.*, 2008; Pirrone *et al.*, 2014). According to Hopner and Bertling (2017, p. 272) dermestid larvae rely on decaying meat and other organic material. This would explain their attraction to this area, as the owner of the farm has been disposing of his dead cattle on this land for several years. Therefore, these larvae would have had an effect, not just on the stratigraphy of the site but the actual material culture as well.

Lastly, there are the Hodotermitidae (Harvester Termites), a breed of termites that forage for food and building materials for their nests that are carefully temperature controlled underground (Dean and Siegfried, 1991, p. 823). Some species of termites can burrow to a depth of 50m below the surface and displace up to one tonne of soil per hectare per year (Cahen and Moeyersons, 1977; Hewitt and Allen, 2010). The effect of termite activity on stratigraphy can sometimes be difficult to identify as there is no visual sign, but studies have been done that show that artefacts are moved around within the deposit by termites which sometimes results in unusual artefact density highs and lows or the sorting of artefacts according to size at different depths (Allen and O'Connell, 2003; Hewitt and Allen, 2010). Termites also change soil processes in terrestrial ecosystems due to their

building of mounds, or in this case their subterranean nests (Dostal *et al.*, 2005, p. 128). The increased amount of organic matter from food storage and accumulation of faeces and termite remains, combined with increased porosity, drainage and aeration that is needed for nest survival, all contribute to the changing of the physical and chemical properties of the soil (Dostal *et al.*, 2005, p. 128). The effect of these changes on archaeological objects in the ground is unclear but could be the cause of the degradation of beads found at PPH (Chapter Six).

It is interesting that at Platberg there are no termites present on the north side of the ravine, in the area where the graves are, but there are many where the mission station foundations are situated. This is evident visually as the termites appear aboveground during the afternoon warmth of the day and have grazed much of the grass for nest-building. The land north of the ravine is lush with vegetation and no termites were seen in the afternoon. This may suggest that they are drawn to this area due to the underground walling because it provided a cooler and protected environment, or they were attracted by the initial presence of thatch grass which was used as roofing for the mission station.

It is therefore evident that there has been significant disturbance of the ground over time which renders stratigraphy either difficult to analyse or even impossible. This also accounts for the high frequency of surface finds that can be found across the area, and the difficulty of earmarking middens.



Figure 4.5. Squirrel burrows at Platberg.



Figure 4.6. Aardvark burrows displacing soil around the burrow.



Figure 4.7. The squirrel burrows at BH.



Figure 4.8. Section of a dermestid larva burrow

4.3 Erosion and Modern Farming Activity

Another factor impacting on the site is erosion. The site is located at the foot of a hill but is still on slightly sloping ground with fairly loose topsoil, which means that the water run-off from the hill has pushed much of the deposit further downhill over the years. The farmer that now owns the land has provided a useful indicator of this erosion by using the site as a dumping ground for his dead cattle. Cattle bones can thus be seen across the site and the movement of the bones show us how objects can so easily move across this landscape (Fig. 4.9), as well as within the deposit (Fig. 4.10). This is an important consideration for this study as it again influences how collections of artefacts aggregate, become separated or are destroyed, and how the natural stratigraphy can be affected. The presence of rodent holes on the landscape also means that bones of cattle can be redeposited and become buried below the surface. Figure 4.10 clearly shows a recent cattle bone stuck in the wall of an excavation of the foundations at one of the structures. Figure 4.11 illustrates how such artefacts move so quickly across the landscape. It is therefore evident that artefacts are not only brought to the surface by the animal activity but they can be transported and buried in burrows and or erosion channels by water.



Figure 4.9. Cattle bones that have been washed downhill.



Figure 4.10. A recent cattle bone buried beneath the surface.



Figure 4.11. A cattle bone at PPH. This site was cleared and excavated in 2015, with all the surface finds collected. This photograph, taken in 2016, shows a recent cattle bone that has likely been washed downhill and is now placed in an area that was clear only one year before.

These cattle bones are therefore a very useful indicator of the taphonomy of this site, providing a visual of how the site was created, and is continuously changed by the different processes acting on it to this day. It is not a clean and untouched site and it is important to consider these processes when examining the artefacts and stratigraphy recorded during the excavations.

4.4 Discussion

This region is evidently very fertile and the climate suitable for so many different varieties of crops. The climate, however, would have made life a bit difficult at times. James Cameron describes in his journals:

> The weather has been very cold today. A piercing wind is now blowing, which sifts through the thatch, and every crevice of our house rendering it very uncomfortable (17 May 1842).

This indicates that the infrastructure on the station was not always geared towards protection against the elements as the wind sifted through “every crevice” of the house. The graph on wind speed above (Fig. 4.3) shows exactly how strong the winter winds are in that particular region. Good infrastructure was often lacking on these mission stations, possibly because they were often built with great haste. Rev. George Champion, an American missionary to Zululand in the 1830s, describes living in a ‘native hut’ when he

first arrived and being quite comfortable. However, work was quickly undertaken on a new house, built with local methods of clay and dung floors. But due to little understanding of these methods, the Champion family moved in before the floors were sufficiently dry. This, combined with cold temperatures and winds, resulted in fevers and rheumatic afflictions (Booth, 1967, p. x).

The weather often played havoc at Platberg. Cameron describes a severe storm of wind, rain and lightning, that destroyed the bricks that had just been made for building the new chapel (11-12 September 1840), and bad rains that ruined the roof of the temporary chapel (5 January 1841). Heavy rain was common on the mission station and on 18/19 January 1841 the Cameron's feared for the survival of their own house, while someone else's house collapsed and the garden walls were badly damaged. On 25 March 1841, he describes the mission house as "so insecure that a very little elemental violence would throw it on the ground". This meant that construction and repairs were constant chores on the station and the weather a constant concern.

The high frequency of animal activity is an important factor in the consideration of the site today. Whether it be from termites rearranging artefacts in the ground, to squirrel and Aardvark burrows displacing objects as they burrow, or when a burrow collapses, it is clear that any stratigraphy cannot be assumed to reflect only human agency but animal as well. The presence of modern cattle bones across the site further contaminate the site with modern artefacts and so any cattle bones found within the deposit need to be interrogated as to which time-frame they originate. The movement of these bones across the landscape due to erosion illustrates how easy it is for objects to move from their original position. This makes the identification and digging of middens a difficult task as the animals create false middens by kicking up artefacts in one area when they may have originated from several areas, and then these may move down the landscape during a heavy storm or the like.

This discussion of the bioturbation on this site is crucial to understanding the methods of excavation utilised. It was often found that methods required adaptation and adjustment depending on the structure under investigation. Chapter Five gives a detailed account of the excavation methods employed at each structure covered here.

CHAPTER FIVE – METHODOLOGY

The methods employed at this site included an extensive mapping exercise, a small climate study (Chapter Four), and the excavation of four different structures. A range of excavation techniques were utilised in the investigation of the different structures due to varying levels of disturbance at each. Chapter Four has, for example, illustrated the severe level of disturbance encountered at the BH structure. Excavation was further limited due to constraints in time and resources. This was especially relevant to the excavation of the MMH structure, as extensive time and resources will be required to lift the mudbrick layer (see Section 5.4 below). This chapter details the excavation techniques used at each site.

5.1 Mapping the Site

Four seasons were spent mapping all visible walling and structures. In the first instance the site was walked and key features, walling and vegetation (particularly alien plants) were recorded with a Garmin Oregon 550 GPS. These points were uploaded into Google Earth Pro and printed to create a base map (Fig. 5.1). Over the next three years the walls and features were systematically mapped with a Nikon Total Station (DTM-330). The points were uploaded into AutoCAD and QGIS (Quantum Geographic Information System) in the field and printed out for immediate verification and checking. Google Earth Pro and 1:50 000 digital maps were used to cross-check and verify the constructed maps and establish elevation across the site.

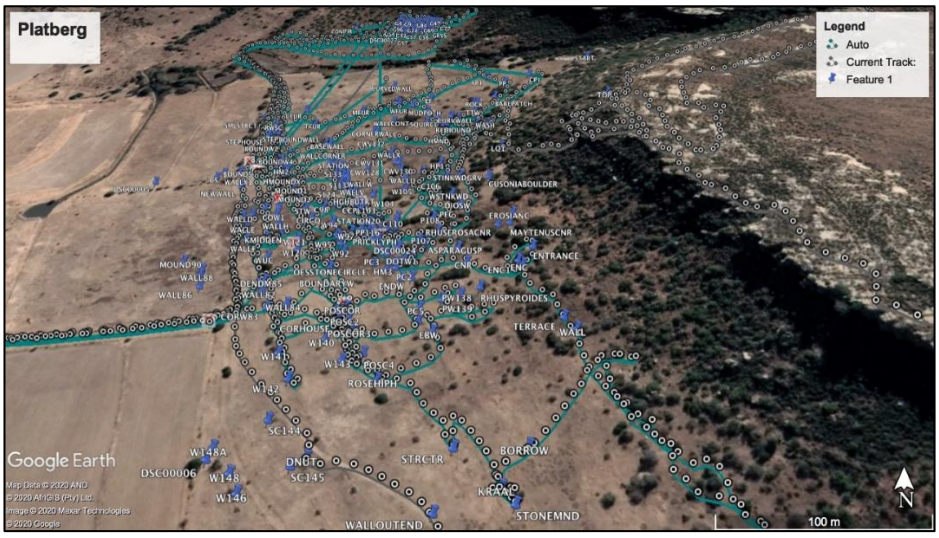

Figure 5.1. Google Earth image of the initial mapping exercise.

From this exercise it was established that the mission station consists of one main street running north-south, with houses also aligning along this axis (Fig. 5.2). Behind these are walled in fields and/or gardens which stretch out away from the main street. The station appeared to have stretched further to the west, creating a secondary north/south street, but the area has since been converted into ploughed fields. The ephemeral walling in this ploughed field is therefore depicted as dotted lines (Fig. 5.2). There are at least three circular pits that have been labelled as 'borrow pits' (Fig. 5.2) and it is thought that this is where the material for the mudbrick walls originated.

The structures labelled Vm, Vkh, Vhb, VH and BS on Figure 5.2 are still under investigation by our collaborative partners at UCT, although preliminary results have been published by Klatzow (2018). Vhb was a structure consisting of square, stone foundations, but the lack of mudbrick remains suggests that this was a hartebeest house (made of tall reeds plastered with mud). Vkh is a very small square stone foundation, which after excavation was found to be an outdoor cook-house. VH is, by comparison, a more substantial structure whose foundations consist of formally dressed stone. Unfortunately, many of these stones have been removed, probably used in the foundation of the current farmhouse on the property. BS is a structure possibly associated with VH due to its very close proximity. KM is structure located to the south of VH, and Km is its associated excavation. These two contexts are currently under investigation by colleagues at UNISA.

There is a small graveyard located to the north, across a small ravine created by a mountain spring (Fig. 5.2). This graveyard consists of roughly 105 graves that are identified by the large stones placed on top or Cyprus trees that had been planted in the grave surround. The graveyard is fairly overgrown and so each grave was numbered before it was recorded in Garmin GPS to mitigate against double counting. To the east of the station more ephemeral remains of housing were plotted. Beyond that an area on the slope of the hill was recorded as the 'wash'. The wash is located at the foot of the hill and was created by rain and erosion washing a portion of the hill away. A fair amount of cultural material washed down with the soil and may have been associated with a platform with circular stone-walling that had been built on the side of the hill, completely hidden from view.

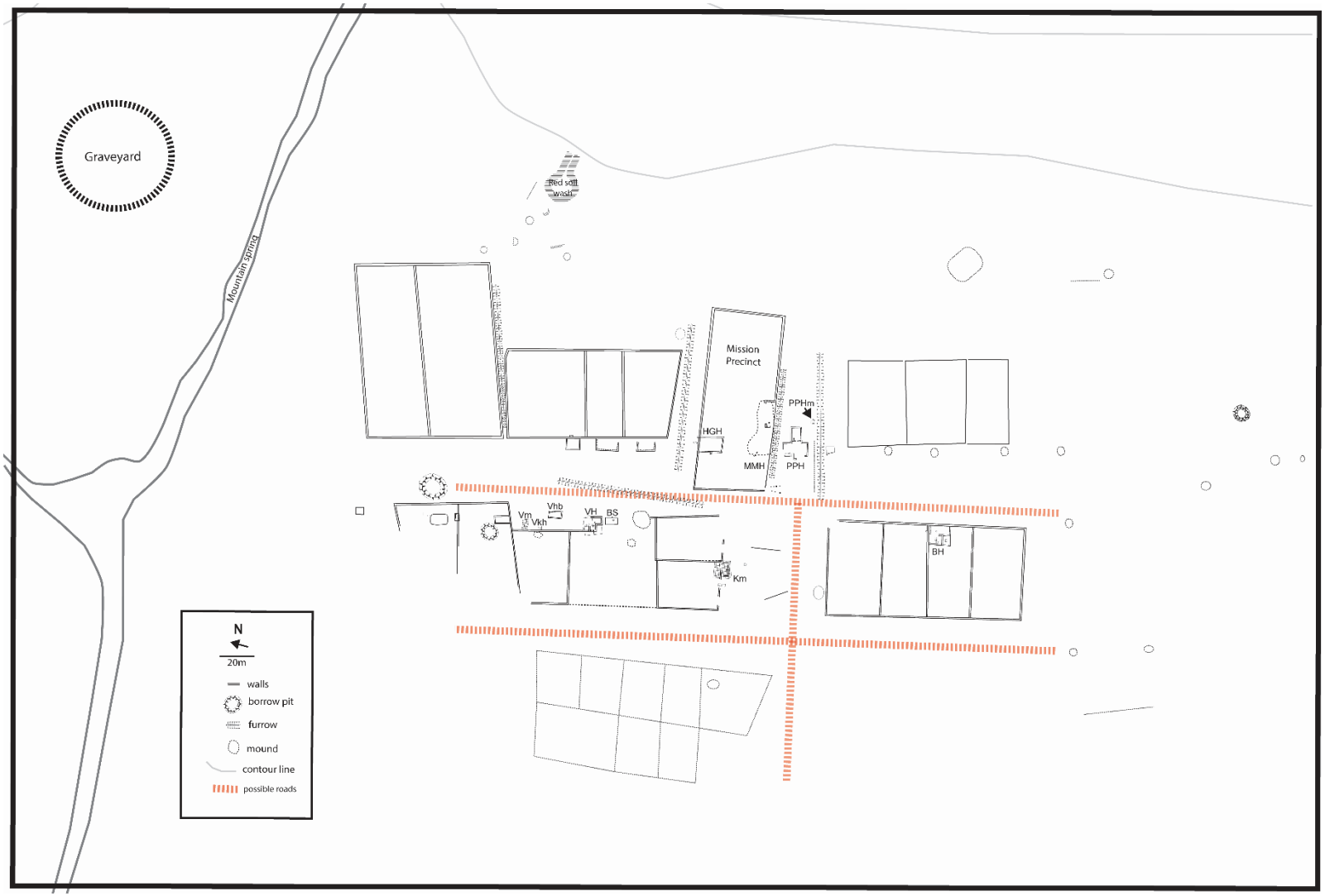

Figure 5.2. Electronic Distance Meter (EDM) map of Platberg.

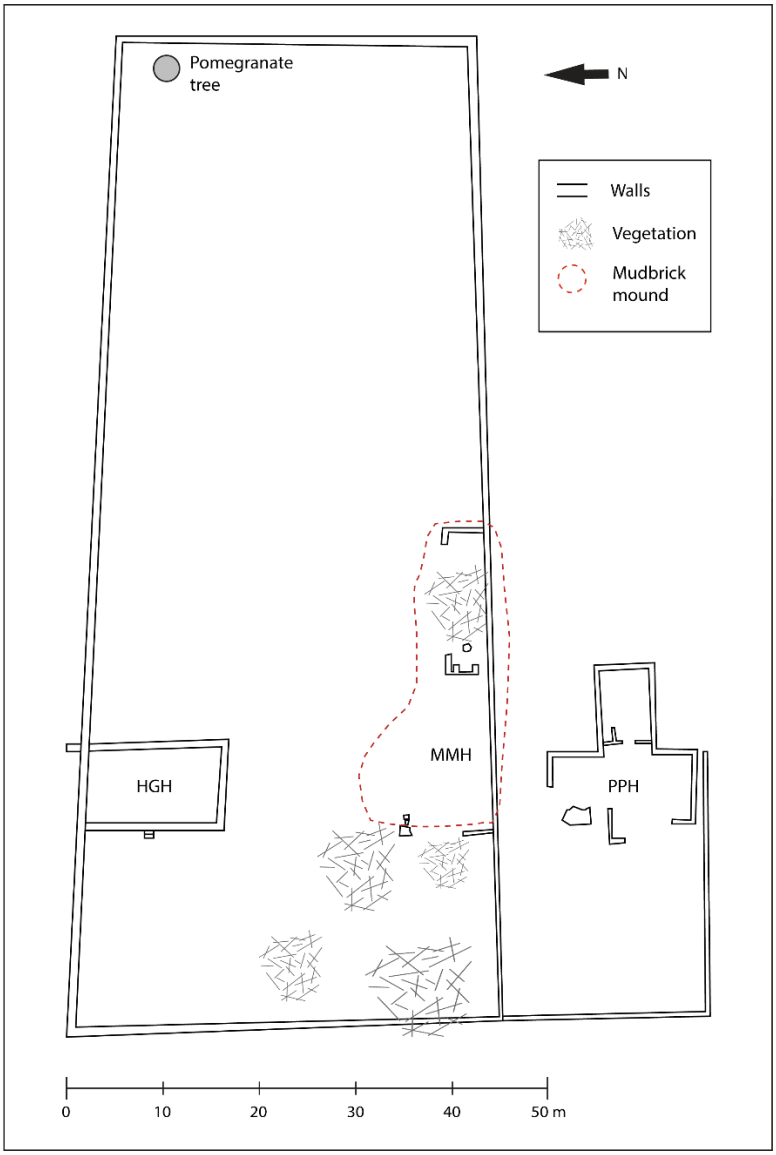

Figure 5.3. Map of the mission precinct showing the positions of the structures PPH, MMH and HGH.

A total of four structures were investigated during the course of this study. These were designated PPH, HGH, MMH and BH. It was established through the mapping of the site, that three of these structures (PPH, MMH and HGH) seemed to be distinctly grouped together in what has been labelled the mission precinct (Fig. 5.3). The excavation of each structure took place as follows.

5.2 Excavation of PPH

The excavation of PPH took place in several stages, the first involving 'wall-chasing' – the systematic uncovering of the foundations (Fig. 5.4). The choice to uncover the walls as the

first step was informed by the fact that so much of the structure had been covered by processes of erosion over the years (Chapter Four). It was important to be able to see the footprint of the structure so that informed decisions could be made regarding further excavation.

At PPH, the foundations were mostly located close to the surface, on average between 10-20cm of deposit was removed before finding the stone foundations. All finds from these contexts were labelled as wall-chasing and the square from which they were collected. The original contexts of these artefacts are questionable as they may have originated from anywhere further uphill. Wall-chasing served as an excavation in itself and is therefore different to a surface collection, which was undertaken as well.

Next, a systematic shovel test pit (STP) survey was undertaken to locate any middens (Fig. 5.4). STP's were dug in the corner of each square located outside of the structure. A midden was located to the east of the structure, and in 2015 three 1x1 metre squares were put down in the F1 quadrant (labelled F1.1, F1.2 and F1.7). The excavation of these squares was continued in 2016 when a further two half-squares were excavated (F1.3A and F1.8A) (Fig. 5.4). In all, this excavation is known as the 'F1 midden'. In addition to the F1 midden, two trenches were dug in the J3 square to investigate the relationship between the two parallel walls that were located in that square (Fig. 5.4). It was expected that an entrance or doorway would be found leading into the structure. Instead, there were no connecting stones but rather a cache of material was found between the two walls lying on what appeared to be the old walking surface. These became known as the J3/T1 and J3/T2 (Fig. 5.4) and was examined separately to the F1 midden.

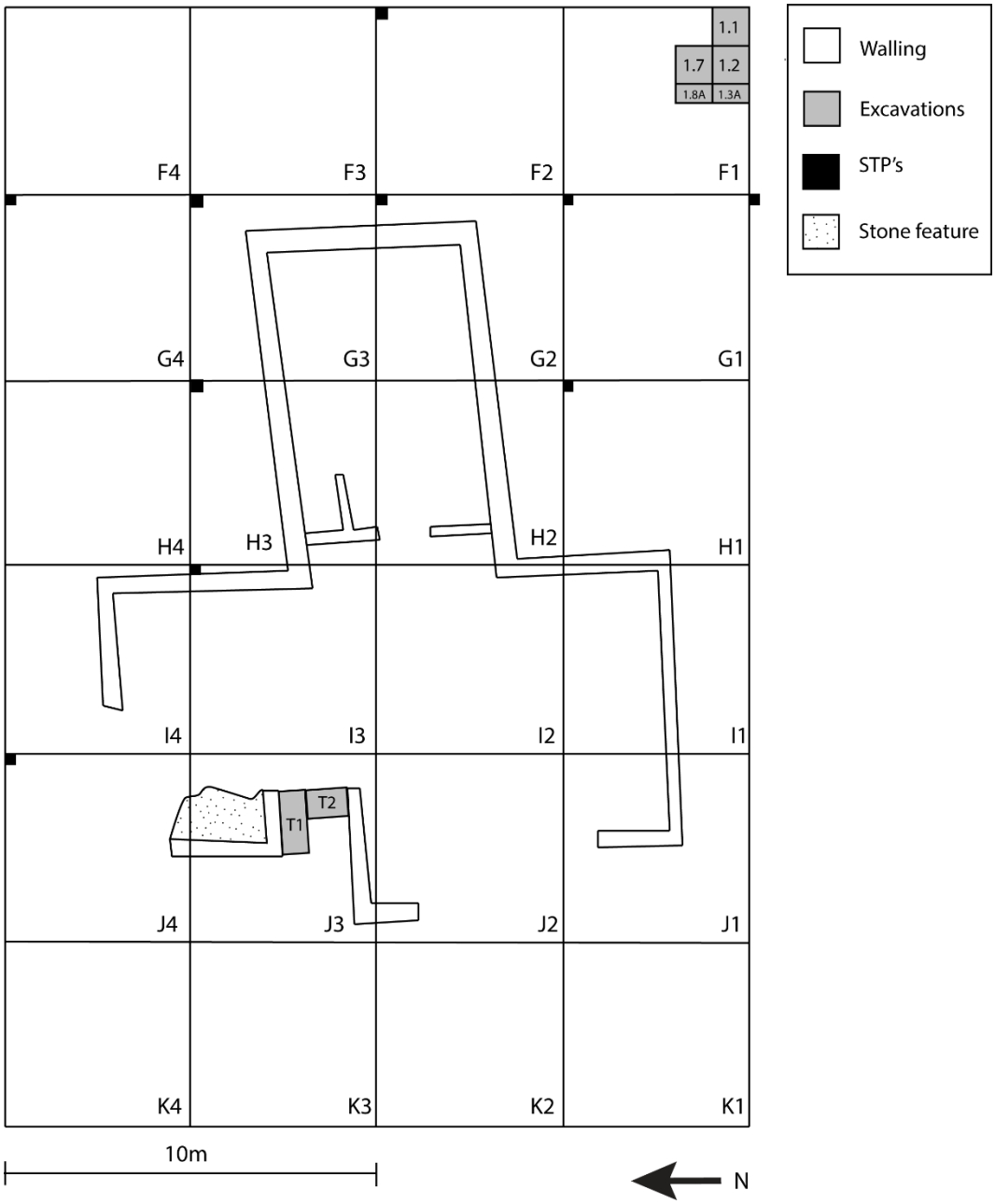

Figure 5.4. EDM map of PPH.

To investigate the foundation walls themselves, a 1x1 metre square was put down in the southwest corner of the PPH structure in the G2 square (Fig. 5.5). While no material culture was recovered here, it provided information about the structure and fabric of the building. A sill was exposed in the foundation wall 10cm below the top of the wall (Fig. 5.5). It would seem likely that the sill supported joists for a wooden floor.



Figure 5.5. Photograph of the test excavation of the foundations of the southeast corner of PPH.

5.2.1 F1 Midden Excavation

The excavation of the F1 midden took place over two field trips in 2015 and 2016 and even though four square metres were excavated this is by no means the full extent of the midden. From the STP survey it is suggested that the midden stretches across F1 and F2 and possibly into F3 (Fig. 5.4). It is also thought that since the excavation was placed on the eastern edge of F1, the midden stretches further east as well. The results presented in Chapter Six should therefore be seen as a small sample of what could still be excavated. The excavation of the three full squares (F1.1, F1.2 and F1.7) and two half-squares (F1.3A and F1.8A) was done in 5cm spits to a depth of approximately 80cm below the datum.

The stratigraphy is made up of several different types of soils, interlaced with ash (Fig. 5.6). There has been some animal disturbance in these squares, as can be seen by the squirrel burrow in Figure 5.6. There was also a squirrel burrow running directly through the F1.1 square at the depth of 40-63cm, the deposit from this layer was collected and labelled separately. F1.7 was taken down to a depth of about 60cm, where a hard surface was encountered, thought to be hardened mudbrick from the walls of the structure. This mudbrick is what is labelled as 'red' in Figure 5.6 and runs through F1.2 as well. F1.2 was taken down to 80cm to ascertain if there were any artefacts underneath the mudbrick but at that depth a hard, stony surface was reached which is believed to be the original surface.

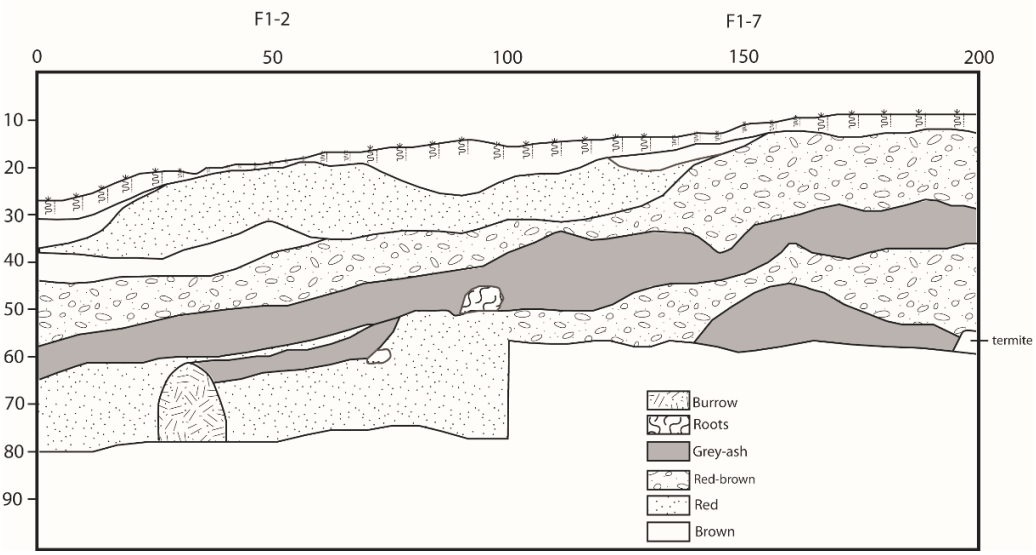

Figure 5.6. Stratigraphy drawing of the F1.2 and F1.7 west wall. This stratigraphy was drawn at the end of the first excavation (2015). The half-squares F1.3A and F1.8A were excavated the following year (2016).

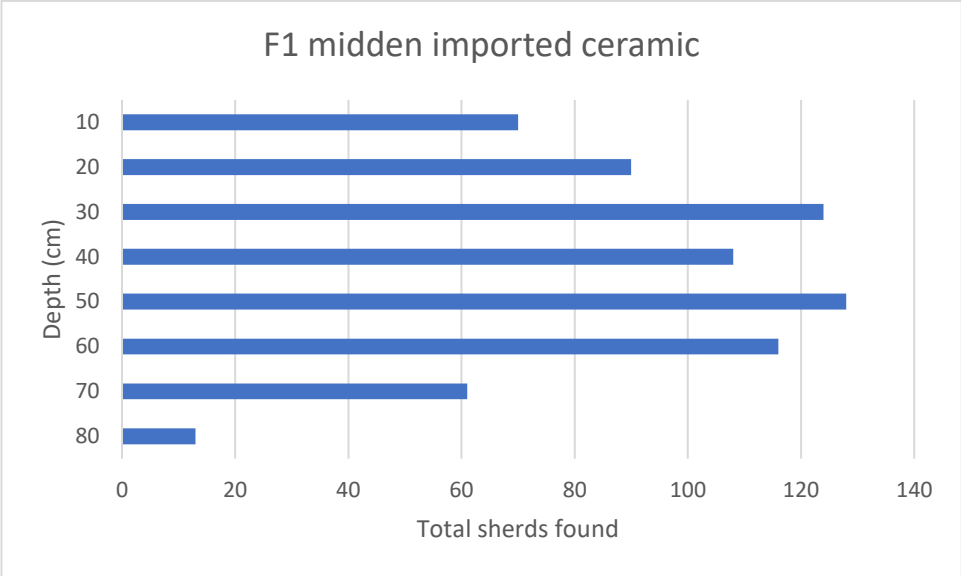

Figure 5.7. Total number of imported ceramic sherds found at different depths in the F1 midden.

Figure 5.7 depicts how the imported ceramics (as an example) were grouped throughout the stratigraphy. The 0-10 cm layer depicted in Figure 5.7 does not correspond with the 0-10 cm layer depicted in Figure 5.6, which shows that this layer is above the ground. This is because this site is situated on a hill running downhill from east to west, meaning that the west wall of the excavation (Fig. 5.6) is slightly downhill from the east end. Figure 5.7 depicts the ceramic assemblage from the whole F1 excavation, not only F1.2 and F1.7.

At the base of the midden (80cm) there were very few ceramics, and they increased steadily through the ground until the 30cm mark when they started to decrease again. The bulk of this assemblage was thus concentrated between the 30 and 60cm depths.

The material culture recovered from the F1 midden was varied, including glass, beads, locally made ceramic, imported ceramic, bone, metal, seeds, and a few miscellaneous items, all of which will be detailed in Chapter Six.

5.2.2 J3 Trenches

The excavation of the J3 Trenches was done in an effort to establish whether there was a formal entrance way between the two parallel walls that are located in the same square. It was expected that some connecting stones would be found at the base of the foundation walls. These trenches therefore reached the base of the foundation walls that

run on either side, but no connecting stones were found. Instead, a fair amount of material remains had collected between the walls. Figure 5.8 is a drawing of the stratigraphy of T1 that shows that the original walking surface was found at approximately 60cm below the datum. The trenches were dug a further 20cm below this but very little was found below the 60cm level. The 40-60cm level yielded the most in terms of finds and the base at 50-60cm was characterised by a deposit of charcoal, ash, local ceramic and a grindstone indicating that some kind of informal fireplace was located between these two walls on top of the original walking surface. A small sample of the charcoal was analysed under a dark field microscope and it comprised of *Leucosidea sericea* and *Searsia lancia* which are both indigenous to this area (Esterhuysen, 2006; Esterhuysen, *pers. comm.* 2020). The 10-30cm level consisted mostly of mudbrick which suggests that the mudbrick walls collapsed into this space after the mission station was abandoned or destroyed. The material culture recovered from here consisted predominantly of charcoal, local ceramics, peach or almond seeds and window glass. This assemblage differs in several ways from that of the F1 midden as will be described further in Chapter Six.

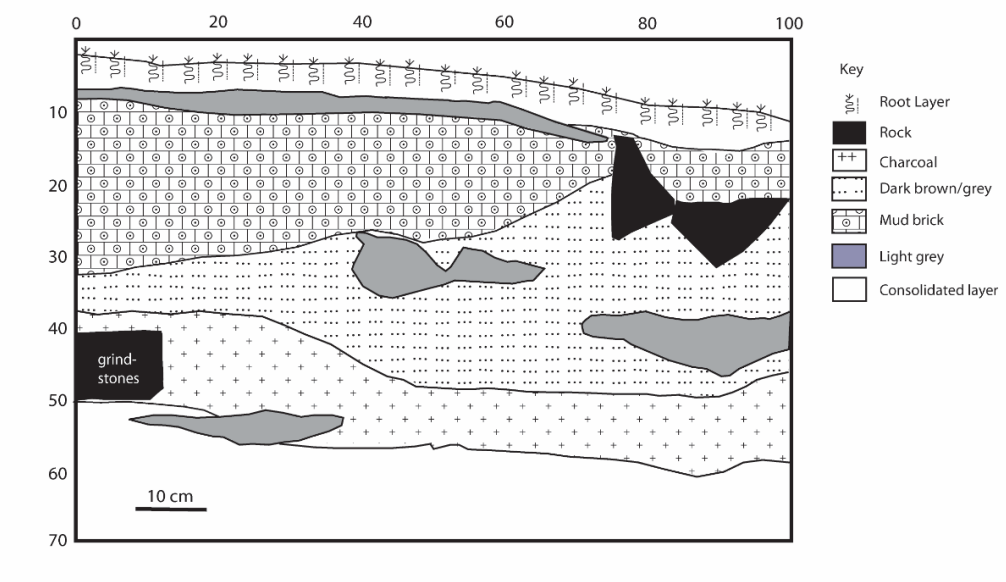

Figure 5.8. Drawing of the stratigraphy of the south wall of J3/T1.

5.2.3 Archaeobotanical Study

An archaeobotanical study was undertaken at PPH only, by colleagues at the University of the Witwatersrand. As some of their results have been presented in this thesis (Chapter Six), a short description of their methodology is described here. Standard recovery methods were employed in the collection of the botanical macroremains (Pearsall, 2014). Seeds were collected through both dry-sieving and flotation. In terms of the dry-sieving method, a 1 mm sieve was used across the PPH site and any seeds found were removed directly. Flotation samples the size of a standard 10 litre bucket were collected from each spit and context investigated, this included the excavation areas, STP's and wall-chasing contexts. The flotation technique used here enabled the collection of a greater number of seeds as well as smaller artefacts often lost in the dry-sieving process, and gave invaluable information on the flora remains at PPH.

5.3 Excavation of HGH

The structure known as HGH lies 35m north of PPH (Fig. 5.3) and was one of three largest structures on the station. The excavation of HGH took place in two stages. The first involved wall-chasing to establish the shape of the structure (Fig. 5.9). It was found that the surviving foundational stones were buried deep underground (approximately 40 to 50cm). This may have been due to erosion, to soil being washed downhill and covering the stones over time (Chapter Four), but also perhaps due to the first course or two of dressed sand stone being reused around the present-day farm.

Through the process of wall-chasing two stone stairs were found on the western wall of the structure (Fig. 5.10) as well as a large metal door latch (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.2.1). This would have been the entrance into the structure, indicating that HGH was also orientated westward. There was a buttress on the north-eastern corner of the structure (Fig. 5.9), a structural feature not found anywhere else on the station and this may have supported a feature in the structure such as a chimney.

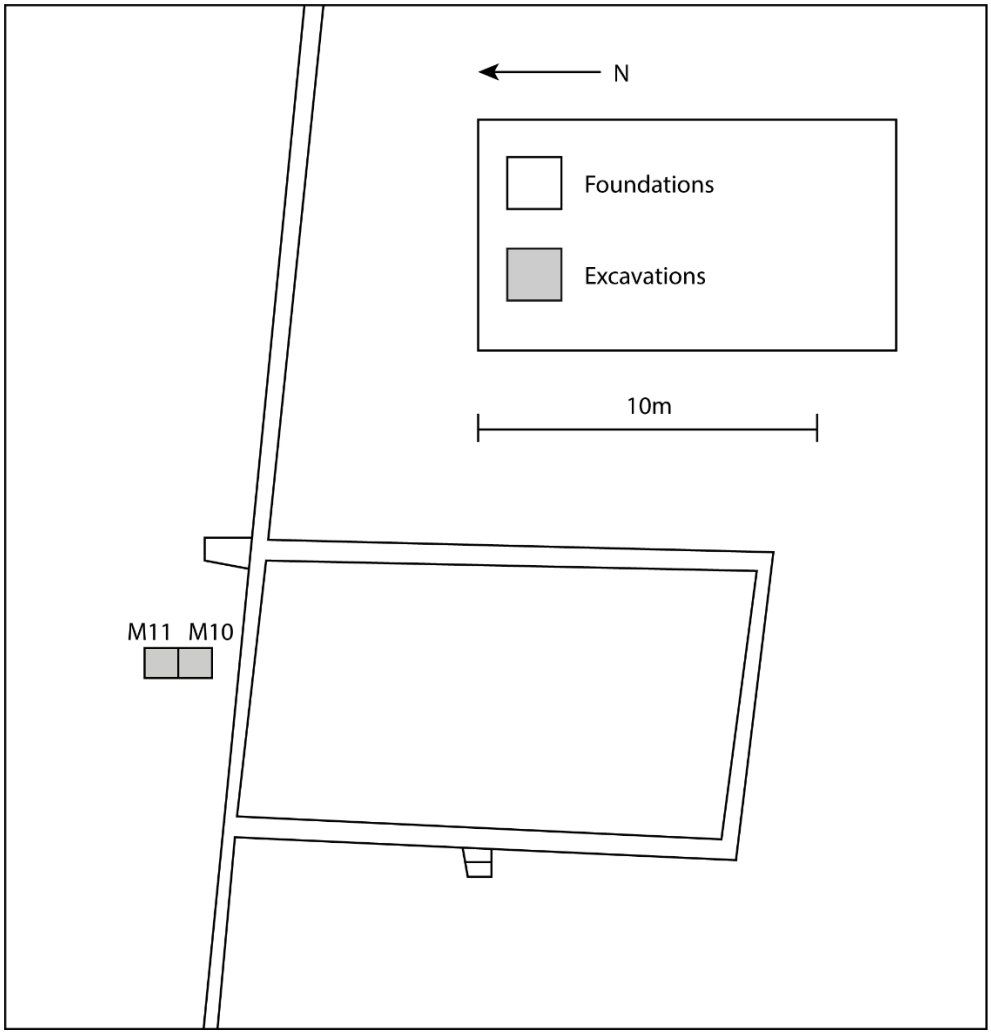

Figure 5.9. Map of HGH including the stairs, buttress and excavation of M10 and M11.



Figure 5.10. Steps on the western wall leading into the HGH structure.

The second stage involved the excavation of two 1x1m squares outside the northern wall of the structure (Fig 5.9). These squares were labelled M10 and M11. It was decided to dig here due to the presence of many surface finds brought to the surface by squirrel activity, which suggested that there were more finds beneath the surface. We augured twice in this vicinity and found a few artefacts as well as an ash lens located at 80cm below the surface. These two squares were then excavated down to 120cm, through the layer of mudbrick to the ash lens.

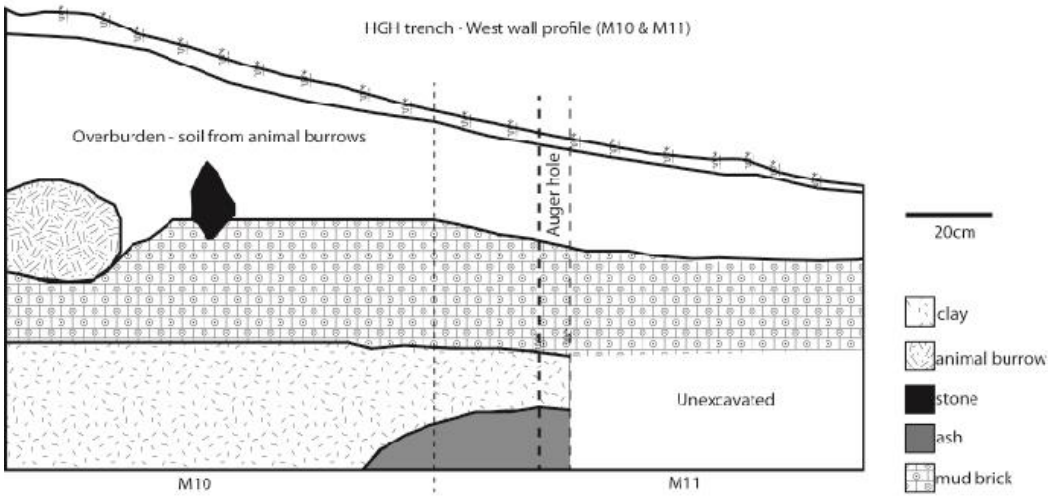

Figure 5.11. Section drawing of the western wall of M10 and M11.

Although we set out to dig down in 10cm spits, this soon became impractical due to different features in the ground. We adjusted our excavation approach and excavated according to layers and features. The squirrel activity in M10 had created a large overburden because of the displaced deposit as the squirrel burrowed down. The removal of the overburden formed the first layer of this excavation and went down to 53cm below the datum. Layer 1 was then 53cm to 60cm below the datum, at which point an extremely hard layer of mudbrick was found. Layer 2 was the mudbrick layer and went to a depth of 80cm. This was done predominantly in M10 as the mudbrick in M11 stretched across the whole square and was extremely hard to dig through (Fig. 5.11). It was therefore decided to dig down in M10, to see if there was indeed a midden below the brick. Layer 3 was when the ash layer was reached in M10 and was between 80 and 100cm. Layer 4 continued down to 120cm to the bottom of the ash layer. Unfortunately, very few finds

were found in these two squares, most of which came from the surface collection and burrow overburden. This ash layer extended into M11 but due to the lack of finds in M10 it was deemed unnecessary to dig through the hard mudbrick in M11. Chapter Seven gives an outline of the material culture collected from HGH.

5.4 Excavation of MMH

MMH is characterised by a large mound of collapsed mudbrick, much larger than any other across the whole mission station, suggesting that the walling of this structure must have been extensive and complex. The eastern end of the mound was investigated: MMH-a where there were visible foundational stones forming an L-shape, and MMH-b where a few foundational stones were visible above the brick (Fig. 5.12). Much of the excavation at MMH involved wall-chasing in the hopes of finding some of the walls, an STP survey to find if there was a midden present at the back of the structure, and an excavation of a square within an interesting stone feature.

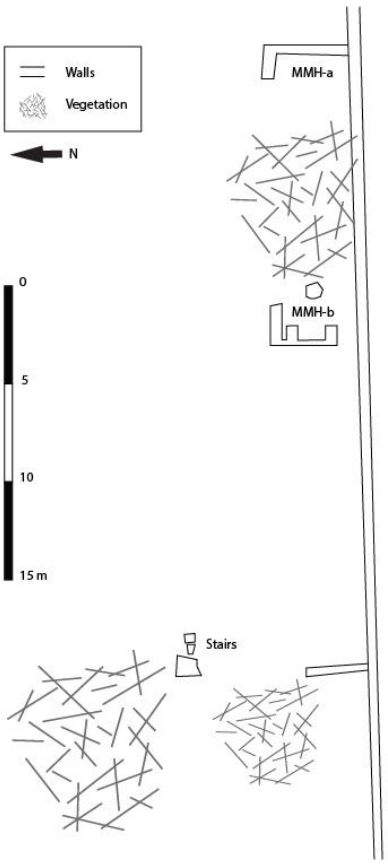

Figure 5.12. Map of MMH including excavation areas MMH-a, MMH-b, and the stairs.

The motivation for investigating MMH-a was that the walling here was much rougher in style than that found elsewhere in the mission complex and so gave the impression of a different space (Fig 5.13). It was thought that there may be a midden located here, close to or under the large bush that may have grown there because of the ashy soil (Fig. 5.12). Three squares were put down, two within the structural area, and two along the walling to establish whether the walling continued west to meet up with the main MMH structure. It was found that the walling does not continue and seems to end in the L11 square, while connecting with the garden wall on the other side. An STP was put down in the M11 square to determine for sure that the walling did not continue, as there is always the possibility of the top courses of stone having been repurposed or stolen. It was found that there was no walling. However, the STP showed distinct layers of very hard mud brick and then very soft ashy deposit (Fig. 5.14). This deposit was almost completely sterile in terms of material culture but gave much the same information about the destruction of the structure as at HGH. The excavations within the structure did not yield much material, but what was found is detailed below.



Figure 5.13. Plan drawing of the foundational walling of MMH-a

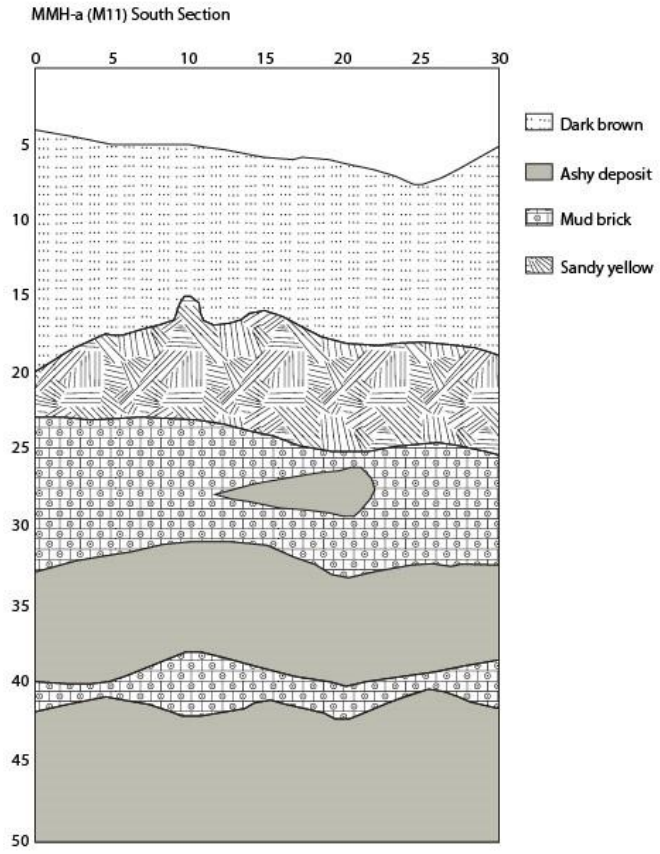

Figure 5.14. Section drawing of the southern wall of M11 (MMH-a).

The MMH-b area was discovered during an attempt at finding the wall footings across the mound. MMH-b consisted of some quite intricate foundational walling in a unique shape (Fig. 5.15). On the northern end was one long wall that ended abruptly, and very close to it was a shorter 'U' shaped structure. To the east was a small circle of raised stones that may have functioned as a plastered platform of some kind. Once this area had been cleared and the extent of the walling exposed, two squares were put down in half of the 'U' shape to establish whether this was a kitchen/cooking area (Fig. 5.15). These two squares have been labelled K-S and K-N.

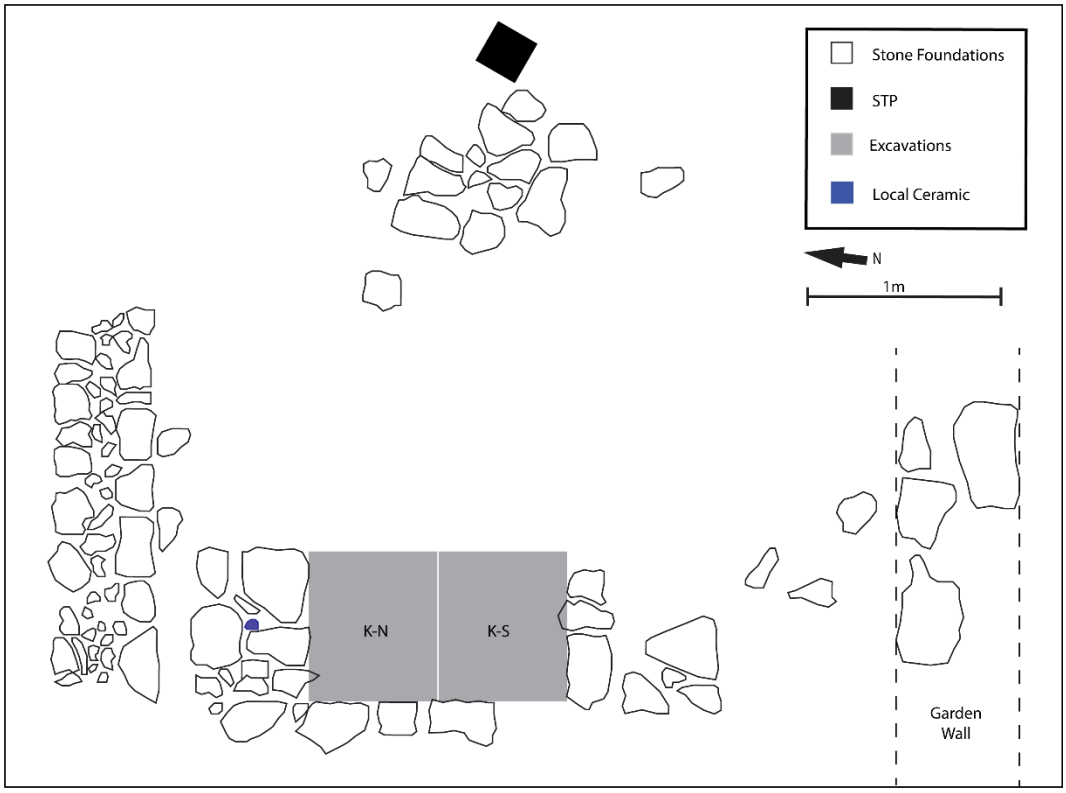

Figure 5.15. Plan drawing of the MMH-b foundational walling.

The intention of the excavation of K-S was to dig down to the base of the stone walling to establish how deep it went, and what, if any, remains would be found in this 'U' shape. The stone walling went roughly 40cm below the surface and has a base of compacted mud brick (Fig. 5.16). From 40cm and lower, one large upright stone was found in the near centre of the square, and between 45 and 60cm below that, individual mud bricks were found and removed whole (Fig. 5.17). While it appeared from the surface that the north-south wall did not fully continue between the two short walls of K-N and K-S (Fig. 5.15), the excavation showed that it continued southwards underground, and the top course of stone had simply gone (Fig. 5.18). A series of STP's were then dug between MMH-a and MMH-b in the hopes that there was a midden, and while some artefacts were found, the quantity and deposit removed did not suggest the location of a midden. The cluster of rocks on the eastern side of MMH-b were excavated down to the base of the stones to establish if the feature continued in any direction. A STP was dug on the eastern corner of the feature to establish whether more foundation stones were located deeper underground (Fig. 5.15). It was found that this was a solitary, circular stone feature.

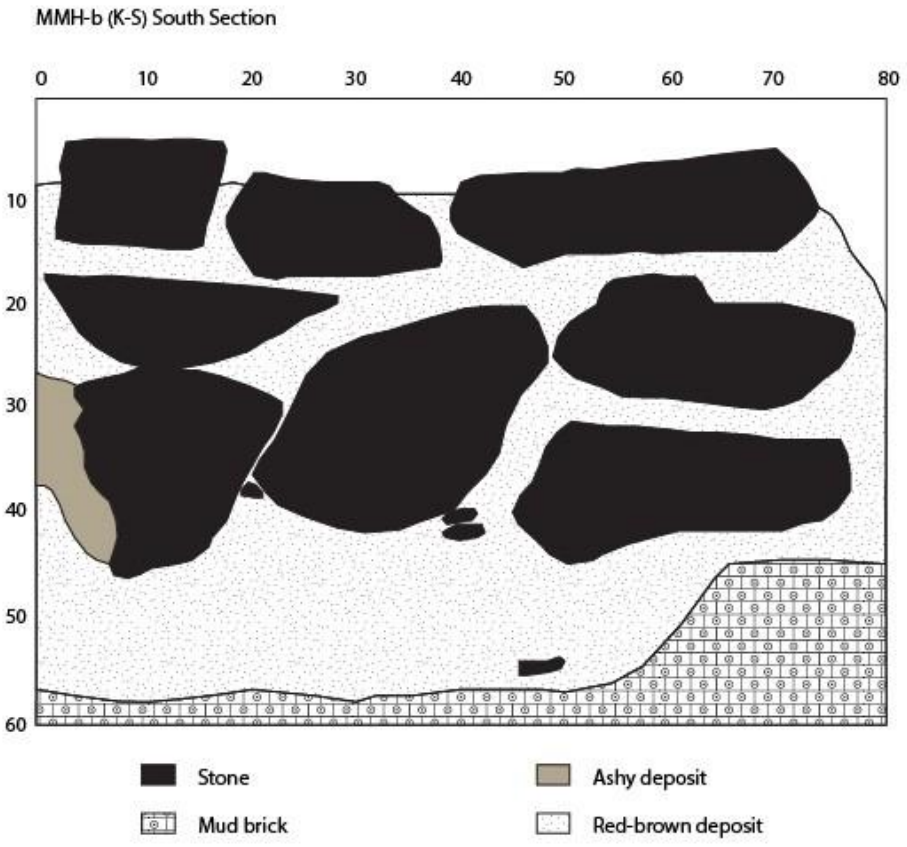

Figure 5.16. Section drawing of the southern wall of K-S (MMH-b).



Figure 5.17. Photograph of MMH-b/K-S/spit 9 showing mudbrick and stone found during excavation.

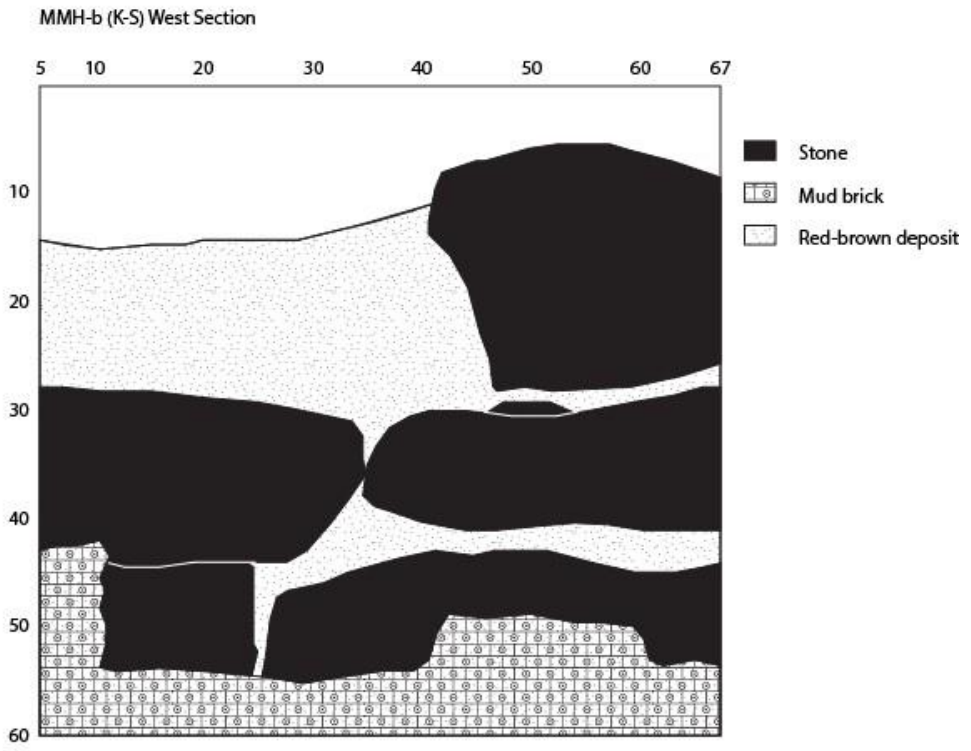

Figure 5.18. Section drawing of the western wall of MMH-b/K-S.

Further wall-chasing was undertaken across the middle of the mound, which was largely unsuccessful. The sun-baked brick cap made it very difficult to dig, and the deposit was almost sterile of artefacts. The wall-chasing along the southern side of the mound established that the garden wall continued westward, separating the MMH and PPH structures (Fig. 5.3).

Finally, there were two, beautifully dressed, flagstones situated on the western end of MMH (Fig. 5.19). These stones, and those below them were cleared in the hopes of finding stairs similar to those found at HGH. The stones here seemed to have collapsed, or been removed and adjusted, and only the two flagstones at the top, and perhaps the large stone at the bottom, appeared to be *in situ* (Fig. 5.19). Much window glass was found on and around these stones, as well as a few nails, which supports the idea that this may have been the front entrance to the Manse. We know from Agnes' Tales that the

missionaries had glass panes in their door that were broken during a visit by the Giddy family to the station. The story is recounted as follows:

> When they got to Platberg the natives flocked to see him. He put the little girls upon a large table that was pushed into a corner of the large dining room of the Mission House. The natives crowded in so strongly that they smashed the glass door through which they entered. They fell down and kissed Mr Giddy's boots and begged of him, with tears streaming down their faces, to return and once again be their Missionary and helper.



Figure 5.19. Photograph of the possible stairs at western end of MMH.

Once again, no midden was found at this structure. A further effort was made to find a midden by placing six STPs at the T-junction where the garden wall separating MMH and PPH met the wall running in front of all three structure (Fig. 5.3). The reasoning behind this was that rubbish may have been discarded by the occupants of MMH into a furrow that ran between the two buildings and left to wash down the hill, then being caught at the base of this boundary wall. The results of these STPs did not yield much material at all.

The sheer scale of the mound and location on the mission station, suggests that this structure held pride of place and was one of, if not the, largest and most complex structures on the station. The current excavations have revealed that the foundation walling of the structure varies dramatically in quality from one end to the other. There are

distinct differences between the beautifully dressed stones at the front, the well-constructed walling of MMH-b, and the very rough walling of MMH-a at the back located deep within the orchard.

5.5 Excavation of BH

The fourth and final structure excavated for this project was chosen because it lies outside of the mission precinct and would potentially offer insight into life on the mission's periphery.

The structure was excavated in 2015 and during that time many of the walls in the area were indistinct and ephemeral. On our return in 2016 however, several of the enclosure walls had been exposed by heavy rainfall, which enabled us to map the surrounding walls. It became clear that apart from lying within a series of enclosures, the dwelling at BH was enclosed by walling to the north and east. Its placement in the landscape gives the impression that BH was a very isolated structure compared with the other structures on the station and in the main street (Fig 5.20).

BH was chosen for excavation due to the foundation walls being distinct, and the ground in the enclosure being riddled with squirrel burrows (Chapter Four). This meant that the surface was covered with artefacts, mostly ceramics, and the surface deposit was of a fine ashy consistency. We were thus enticed into excavating as we thought we had located a midden that would be extensive and rich. We artificially divided the area into four different sections, Section 1 being the area just north of the enclosure wall, Section 2 being inside the enclosure, Section 3 was bounded by the structural foundations , and Section 4 was the area just south of the structure (Fig. 5.21). A surface collection was undertaken across the site, and it was found that most of the finds came from Section 2, with a few from Section 1. We began with a short wall-chasing survey to clear the walls and then we laid a 1x1m grid across Sections 2 and 3.

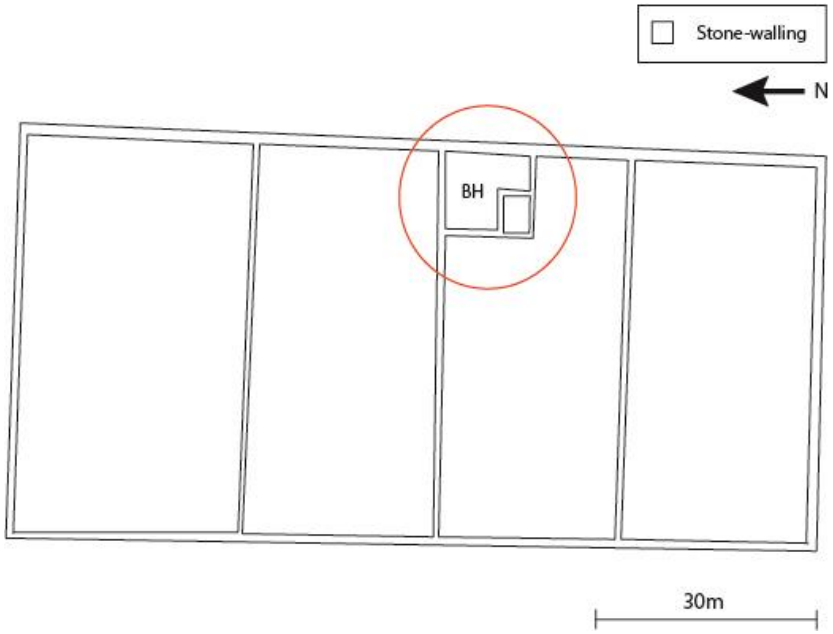

Figure 5.20. 2016 EDM map of BH situated in its private enclosure surrounded by larger enclosed fields.

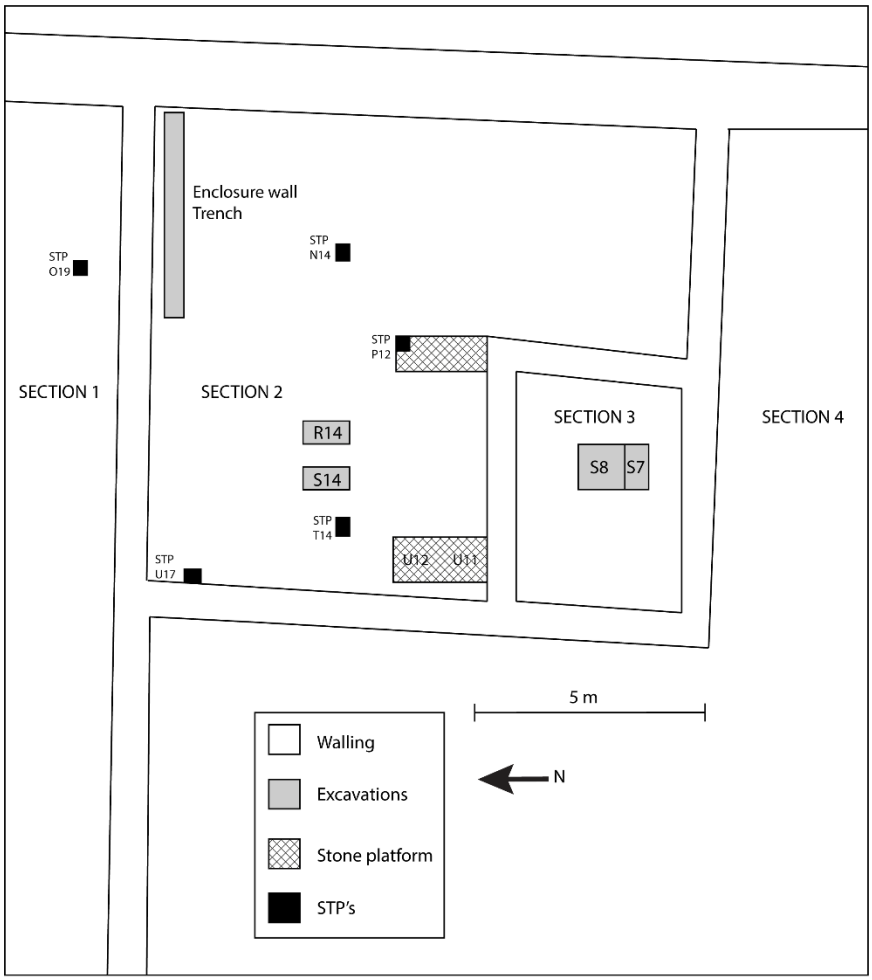

Figure 5.21. EDM map of BH including the 2015 excavations.

An aardvark (judging by the size of the burrow) had burrowed down roughly in the centre of the structure, and in the walls of the burrow, several large stones were visible. This made us wonder if the stones indicated a fireplace in the middle of the structure, as Backhouse (1844, p. 384) stated that:

> …two or three of their houses were built of brick, in the European style. But even in one of these, which had a fireplace and a chimney, the fire, according to the common custom of the coloured natives, was made in the midst of the floor.

We therefore opened half of S7 and the whole of S8 in Section 3 to the surface of the stones (13cm down). It became apparent that these stones, rather than forming a coherent stone circle, were simply a few of the many that formed a compact floor littered with similar stones that may have been the base of a plastered dung floor (Fig. 5.22).



Figure 5.22. The excavation of S7 and S8 in Section 3 of the BH structure.

A random STP survey was then undertaken across Sections 1 and 2 in an effort to find the midden (Fig. 5.21), and a long trench running east-west was put down parallel to the northerly enclosure wall in section 2 to find if the midden was up against the wall (Fig. 5.21). Most of the STP's yielded very little and the trench along the enclosure wall produced nothing. Those that yielded the most were located in the squares R14 and S14 which produced a few ceramics (both local and imported), beads, large pieces of bone and a lot of charcoal. These were then opened into two half-squares and excavated in three spits. The first and second spits were 20cm each and the third was 10cm, taking the

excavation to 50cm which was the depth of the bone lens. Only half squares were dug due to time constraints. A further STP was put down in T14 to find if this small midden extended to the west, and it did. One STP located in P12, very close to the structural foundations, yielded not artefacts but a stone platform instead (Fig. 5.23). A trench was opened to find the extent of the stone feature and it was found that it extended approximately 1.5m from the structure. Due to time constraints we were unable to uncover the whole feature, so a matching trench was opened on the other side of the same wall, in the squares U11 and U12, and it was found that the stone feature did indeed continue, therefore forming a stone platform or step outside the structure, leading into the enclosure. It is possible that the feature was plastered with clay and dung to create a smooth outside step.



Figure 5.23. Trench revealing the stone feature attached to the north wall of the BH structure.

Very little was found in the way of artefacts across the BH site, almost nothing from the excavations of S7 and S8, and the stone feature. Almost all the finds came from the excavation of R14, S14 and the STP T14.

The following four chapters detail the material culture collected from each structure. Chapter Six gives a breakdown of all material collected from PPH, this covers the majority of artefacts collected in this study. Chapters Seven and Eight detail the material collected from HGH and MMH respectively, and finally Chapter Nine presents the small number of artefacts collected from BH.

CHAPTER SIX: PPH – THE CHAPEL

PPH is the large structure located about halfway down the eastern flank of the surveyed area (Fig. 5.2). Through the process of uncovering the foundations it was found that it had a rough cross-shape, although much of the western part of the structure no longer exists. It is thought that this is due to the large blocks of dressed sandstone being taken and reused elsewhere on the farm. PPH is one of the largest structures at Platberg, measuring 18m long and 15m wide (Fig. 5.4). Of the four structures excavated for this study, PPH has been the most productive in terms of material culture, due to the midden located just outside the structure.

6.1 Beads

The analysis of the beads was done using the method set out by Marilee Wood (2005). This method involves denoting a number of characteristics such as the manufacturing process, shape, end treatment, size and length, and diaphaneity of the bead. A description of these factors can be found in Wood (2005, pp. 27-38).

There was a total of 973 beads found at PPH (Appendix D), including the F1 midden, the J3 Trenches, wall-chasing and the STP's (Table 6.1). The F1 midden yielded the most beads (796), followed by the midden in J3 (143).

Table 6.1. Total beads found at PPH.

Location	Total beads
Wall-chasing	9
STP's	25
F1 midden	796 (22 broken)
J3 Trenches	143
TOTAL	**973**

6.1.1 F1 Midden

All of the beads recovered from the F1 midden were drawn beads. The shape of the beads varied between barrel, cylinder, oblate and sphere. There is only one barrel shaped bead and four sphere shaped beads, while the rest were almost evenly split between cylinder (41.3%) and oblate (55.3%) beads. Table 6.2 shows the sizes of the beads from the F1 midden using the size intervals set out by Wood (2005). Twenty-two beads were broken

to the point that they could not be measured accurately and so are not included in tables 6.2 and 6.3. The majority of the sample were classified as small beads (65.6%). The minute beads (those smaller than 2.5mm) made up 24.8% of the sample and the medium beads 9%. There were only 5 large beads in this assemblage.

Table 6.2. The sizes of the beads found in the F1 midden.

Size	Size Range	Total
Minute	<2.5mm	192
Small	2.5-3.5mm	508
Medium	3.5-4.5mm	70
Large	>4.5mm	4
Total		**774**

The length ratio is the ratio between the length and diameter of the bead (Wood, 2005, p. 34). This tells us how many beads in the assemblage are disc-shaped, short, standard or long (Wood, 2005, p. 34). Only one disc – extremely short – bead, and three long beads were found (Table 6.3). The rest were either short (69.5%), or standard in length (30%).

Table 6.3. Length ratios of the beads found in the F1 midden.

Length Ratio	Formula	Total
disc	Length = <1/5 diameter	1
short	Length = >1/5 and <4/5 diameter	538
standard	Length = >4/5 and <1 1/5 diameter	232
long	Length = >2 diameter	3
Total		**774**

There was much variation in the colour of the beads, with the colours ranging from white to black, pink, green, blue and red. The most common bead found in this midden is commonly known as a 'white-heart' (Fig. 6.1), that is, a translucent red bead with a white centre. These made up 42.3% of the assemblage (Fig. 6.1). White-hearts were first made in Venice in the mid-1830s and arrived in South Africa roughly a year or two after their introduction (Wood, 2008, p. 185). The other common colour found was white, making up 37.4% of the assemblage (Fig. 6.1). Forty-nine black beads were found in this midden, making up 6% of the assemblage, and the rest of the beads were divided between the

other colours (Fig. 6.1). In terms of diaphaneity, 54.6% of the whole assemblage was found to be opaque. This is because all the white and black beads are opaque, and these make up almost half of the sample. Similarly, 45% of the beads were found to be translucent, and these were mostly made up of the white-hearts. Out of the 336 white-hearts collected, 72.6% of them were heavily patinated (a removable film on the surface of the glass, developed through weathering) and had turned a light pink colour. Their original colour could be determined by wetting the bead, and the bright red of the white-heart shone through. This patination has made some of the beads extremely fragile and 14 of them were broken. Only one bead was completely transparent, and this was a clear, cylinder-shaped bead with a diamond pattern on the surface.

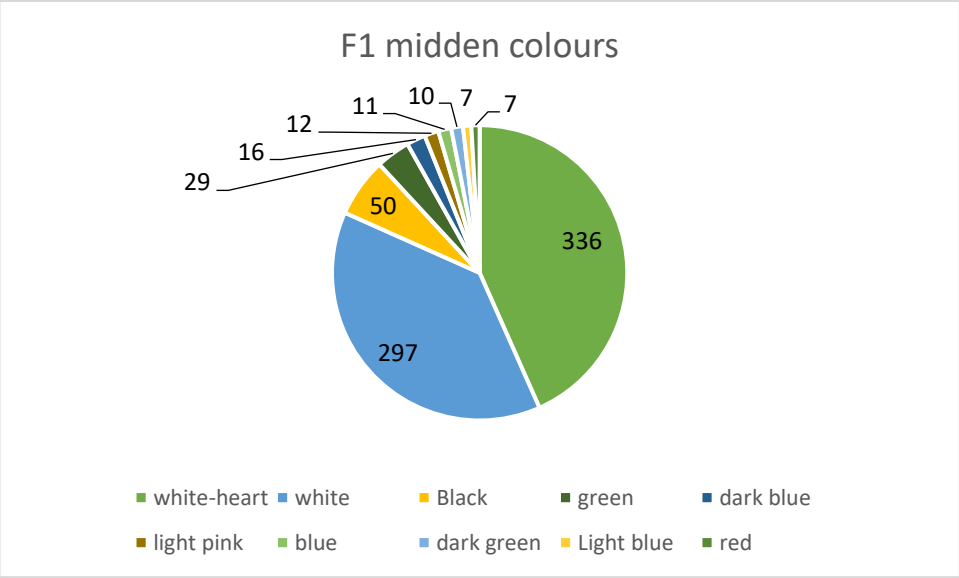

Figure 6.1. Pie chart of the bead colours found in the F1 midden.

6.1.2 J3 Trenches

The beads collected from the trenches in J3 differed slightly from those in the F1 midden. There was one wound bead, while all the rest were drawn. There were slightly more cylindrical-shaped beads than oblate, with the cylinders making up 56.6% and oblate making up 39.2% of the assemblage. There was also one spherical bead and one ellipsoid. Only three of the beads in this assemblage were broken, and this corresponded with the relatively low level of patination. Table 6.4 shows the different levels of patination and it is evident that there is far less patination than in the F1 midden.

Table 6.4. Patination levels of the beads in the J3 Trenches.

Patination	Total	%
None	27	18.9
Light	68	47.5
Medium	22	15.4
Heavy	24	16.8
Very Heavy	2	1.4
Total	**143**	

Much like the F1 midden, the size of the beads varied mostly between minute and small. Table 6.5 shows the how the assemblage is distributed between the different intervals. As with the F1 midden, there were very few medium and large beads, and the rest were all either minute or small. Similarly, with the length ratio, all the beads found in these trenches were either of a short or standard length, with 70.7% of the beads being short, and 28.6% as standard.

Table 6.5. Bead sizes from the J3 trenches.

Size	Size Range	Total	%
Minute	<2.5mm	48	33.6
Small	2.5-3.5mm	75	52.4
Medium	3.5-4.5mm	14	9.8
Large	>4.5mm	3	2.1
Broken	Unknown	3	2.1
Total		**143**	

The colours of the beads were similar to those of the F1 midden, with a large proportion of them being either white or white-hearts. Figure 6.2 illustrates the proportional difference of colours in this assemblage. Compared to the F1 midden, there were few white-hearts in relation to white beads, but nevertheless, these two colours still made up the majority of the assemblage. As with the F1 midden, the diaphaneity of the beads was directly related to the colour, as 66.9% of the beads were classified as opaque, and 33.1% as translucent.

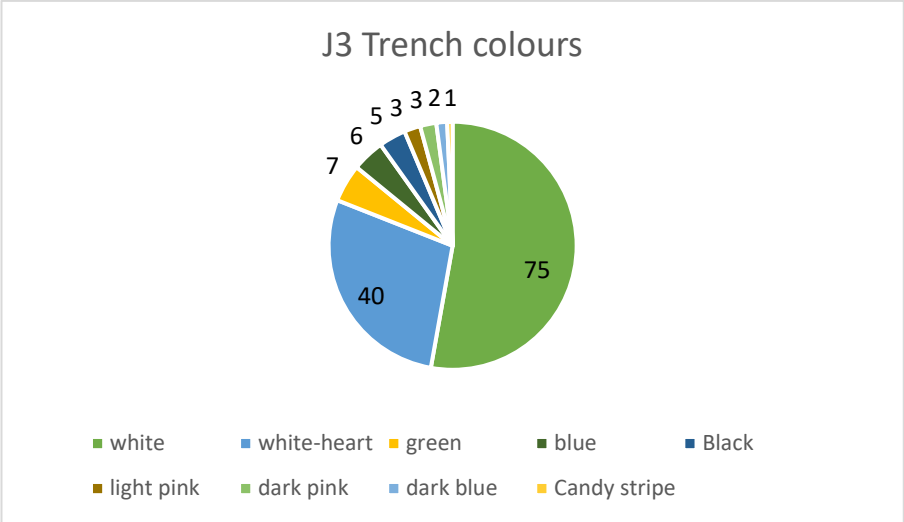

Figure 6.2. Pie chart of the bead colours from the J3 Trenches.

6.1.3 Wall-chasing and STP's

There was only a total of 34 beads found during the wall-chasing and STP processes. All were drawn beads. There were three broken beads, but only one for which it was impossible to do any measurements. The sizes of these beads varied only between minute and small, with 45.5% and 54.5% respectively. In terms of shape they were either cylindrical or oblate (36.4% and 60.6% respectively). Only one spherical bead was found. Almost all the beads were short in length, with only three being of standard length. Very few were heavily patinated (21%), most of them varied between no patination (33%) to medium (30%), and the rest were classified as being lightly patinated. The colours of the beads were, again, divided mainly between white and white-hearts, numbering 13 and 11 respectively. The rest were divided between blue (3), dark blue (1), black (3) and red (2). 63.6% of this small assemblage were classified as opaque, and the rest as translucent. Those classified as translucent were made up predominantly of white-hearts.

6.2 Glass

Most of the glass found at PPH was flat glass (Appendix E). This flat glass mostly will have been window glass, but it was classified as flat due to flat glass having several other possible functions, such as mirrors, cabinet glass, or flat-panelled bottles (Weiland, 2009, p. 39). Since much of the flat glass is homogenous and was found concentrated in areas such as J1, J2, J3, H2, H3 and F1, suggests that it was in fact window glass. The rest of the glass recovered came in a wide variety of colours and shapes. Unfortunately, this glass is

often broken into very small shards which makes it difficult to determine the original shape or function.

6.2.1 Flat Glass

Figure 6.3 visualises the distribution of flat glass on the map of PPH, each circle designating where at least ten shards of flat glass were found, therefore indicating that there were windows situated in these regions of the structure. There may have been windows located elsewhere in the structure but at present the numbers are too low to be certain. The numbers in blue on figure 6.3 represent the number of flat glass shards found in each square. Figure 6.3 shows that the bulk of the window glass was found around the west-facing side of the structure, with small amounts located to the north and south. Many flat glass shards were found in the F1 square (745), but as this was an area for disposal, the flat glass would have been broken elsewhere and discarded here. Nevertheless, it is evident that this structure had many windows, most of which were in the west-facing section of the building, facing the main street of houses.

The J3 square yielded most of the flat glass from PPH (1496 sherds). Of these, 1412 shards were collected from the two trenches, and the remaining 84 were collected while wall-chasing. Within the flat glass assemblage from the J3 Trenches there was obvious variation in thickness and colour, indicating that some of this may have been glass used for different purposes such as flat-panelled bottles or cabinet glass. Table 6.6 gives a description of the different types of flat glass along with the number of sherds found in each trench. The majority of the glass was clear but with fairly heavy patination. This is the type that was found throughout PPH. The glass classified as ‘dull’ may be the same as the above but only went through different processes in the ground such as the effect of the termite activity as described in Chapter Four, or different chemical levels may have affected the opacity and patination of a given sherd. The other three categories were distinctly different and may indicate different functions of the glass.

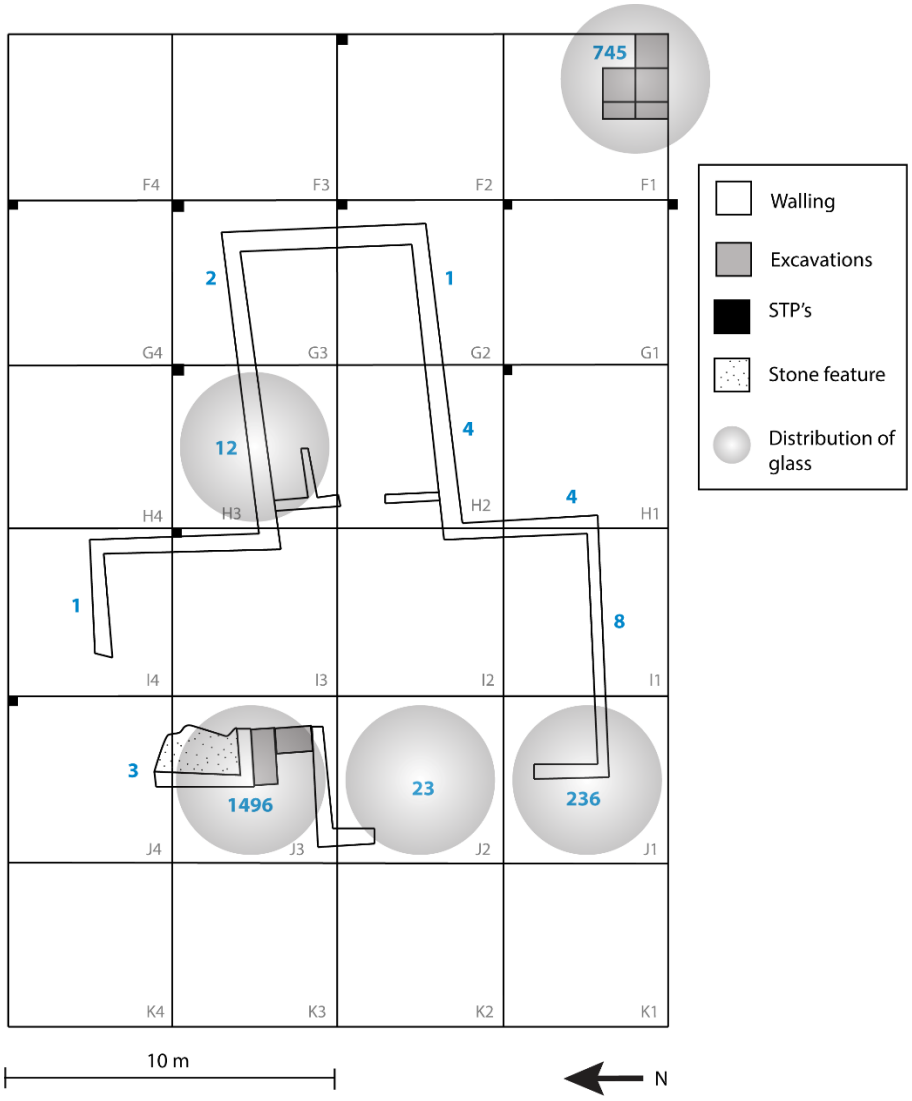

Figure 6.3. Distribution of flat glass around PPH. Numbers in blue show the exact number of shards found in each context.

Table 6.6. Different types of flat glass found in the J3 Trenches.

Colour	**T1**	**T2**
clear with patination	568	323
dull	49	0
slightly opaque	23	0
clear with a green tinge	114	47
completely transparent	285	3
TOTAL	**1039**	**373**

All the flat glass is extremely thin by today's standard. Weiland (2009, p. 29) argues that window glass can be dated by its thickness. His study was based in America and so the data do not necessarily apply, but his argument that as the 19th century progressed, people wanted bigger windows, which necessitated thicker glass, may still stand (Weiland, 2009, p. 29). This continued until the early 20th century when machine-manufactured window glass standardised the thickness to between 3 and 3.3mm (Weiland, 2009, p. 30). Therefore, looking at Table 6.7, the glass found here is extremely thin in comparison which suggests very small panes. This would have made transport easier, which would have to have been done by wagon from a larger settlement such as Grahamstown or Colesberg. Those of average or thicker width would probably have been used as sturdier window panes, while the thinnest glass may have been used for cabinet glass or ornamental purposes.

Table 6.7. Summary of the width of the flat glass from the J3 trenches.

	min	**max**	**average**
Clear with patination	0.23	7.69	1.40
Dull	0.43	1.76	1.17
Slightly opaque	0.74	1.87	1.17
Clear with a green tinge	0.34	1.68	0.85
Completely transparent	0.29	2.33	0.92

6.2.2 Retouched Window Glass

In amongst the flat glass recovered from the J3 Trenches were seven sherds of glass that had been reworked by pressure flaking the edge of the sherd. Figure 6.4 shows three such sherds, with the knapped side clearly seen along the top edges. The glass falls under the category of 'clear with patination', as set out in Table 6.6, and is therefore weathered in the same way as the majority of flat glass. This indicates that the glass was likely broken window glass that was then repurposed. Given that these sherds were found solely in the J3 Trenches and nowhere else at PPH it is possible that they were being used for a very specific purpose. The function of such knapped glass may have ranged from scraping to cutting, or alternatively these sherds may have been trimmed on the edges in an effort to get the pane to fit a window frame.



Figure 6.4. Three shards of worked flat glass from J3/T1.

6.2.3 Other Glass

The rest of the glass found at PPH were all very small and broken sherds in a range of different colours. The most common colour was green or clear glass, most likely to have been bottle glass. A total of 83 sherds were classified as 'bottle' due to their colour, curvature or shape. Five bottle-necks were recovered, one of which, from the F1 midden, had a clear screw-top rim (Fig. 6.5). A perfume bottle stopper was recovered from H1 while wall-chasing (Fig. 6.6). This bottle stopper was the most elaborate item found at this site. It was pink/purple in colour with a starburst design, and hollow in the centre.



Figure 6.5. Neck of a bottle with a screw-top for a lid from F1.2/spit 6.



Figure 6.6. Perfume bottle stopper from PPH/H1.

6.3 Metal

The metal recovered from PPH consisted mostly of miscellaneous flakes that had either rusted beyond recognition or had fallen off the original artefact. The degradation of the metal at Platberg is severe, with many of the artefacts being unrecognisable due to the high levels of rust or half the object having flaked away. A total of 882 pieces of metal were collected from PPH, and 611 of which were classified as flakes (Appendix F). This refers to metal that has flaked off another object due to rusting. A further 78 pieces of metal were classified as miscellaneous. These pieces varied from the flakes as they could have been objects but were too degraded, rusted, or broken, to determine their original use. Since most of the metal in this assemblage was unidentifiable, I will focus on the remaining metal that could be identified.

6.3.1 Nails

A total of 120 nails were found at PPH. The F1 midden yielded by far the most with 95 nails, followed by the J3 Trenches yielding eight. A further two nails were found in the J3 square, and one nail found in each of the J1 and J2 squares. In association with the window glass data above, it makes sense that these building materials should be in similar areas.

These nails came in a range of different lengths and shapes. All the nails found at this site were made of iron. Iron can be identified by its “wood-like” grain (Wells, 1998; Middleton, 2005), while steel has a smooth, uniform surface. When degraded, and cleaned of rust,

iron can be identified by its longitudinal striations, which contrasts to steel, which can be identified by a surface covered in small, circular pits (Wells, 1998, p. 80). This wood-like grain running lengthwise down the nail tends to flake off in lengths when rusted (Middleton, 2005, p. 56), which accounts for why there is such a high frequency of flakes in the assemblage. The nails ranged in length and shape. Table 6.8 shows the different classifications of those nails that were complete enough to be identified.

The different categories used here come from Nelson (1968, pp. 6-7) who set out this chronology in a technical leaflet from the American National Park Service. The lengths of the nails varied from the shortest of 13mm, to the longest of 127mm. A single bolt was found at PPH, and in terms of other building materials, three square nuts or washers were recovered from PPH, one from J1/wall-chasing, one from F1.7/spit 4 and the other from F1.7/spit 6.

Table 6.8. Different types of nails from PPH.

Types of nails	**Total**
Unknown	16
Tack	27
Sprig/brad	15
Screw	1
Bolt	1
Machine-cut flooring nail	2
Early machine headed	1
Total	**63**

6.3.2 Other Metal

The remaining metal found at PPH ranged from bird-shot and buck-shot, to clothing hooks and buttons, to the remains of a harmonica (Fig. 6.7). The J3 Trenches yielded one button, one pin, a piece of a harmonica and two loops of a chain that had rusted together. In contrast, the F1 midden yielded a lot more in the way of metal everyday objects. The clothing materials included one buckle from F1.1/spit 4 (Fig. 6.8), two clothing hooks from F1.2/surface and F1.7/spit 4 (Fig. 6.8) respectively, and a metal button from F1.1/spit 9. There were four pins/needles found in total in the F1 midden, only one of which still had a head and can be definitively identified as a pin (Fig. 6.8).

Apart from clothing and building materials, the remains of some vessels were found in the F1 midden. This included a fairly well-preserved tin, much the size of a modern sardine tin. The tin had rusted significantly over time and the whole tin was filled with a hard rust. Several peach/almond pips could be seen embedded in, and on top of the rust that has filled the tin (Fig. 6.9). Several strips of metal, some of which were embossed with letters, were found in F1.2. They were all extremely fragile and were folded in on themselves. The strip from F1.2/spit 5 was embossed with the letters 'BET SS PA' and the strip from F1.2/spit 7 was embossed with 'SQUARE', 'L', 'ATE' and some other letters that were unidentifiable. These strips of metal would have been used as packaging of some sort. Fifteen pieces of lead shot were also found in the F1 midden of varying sizes (from 2mm to 10mm).



Figure 6.7. Fragment of a harmonica found in J3/T2/40-60cm.

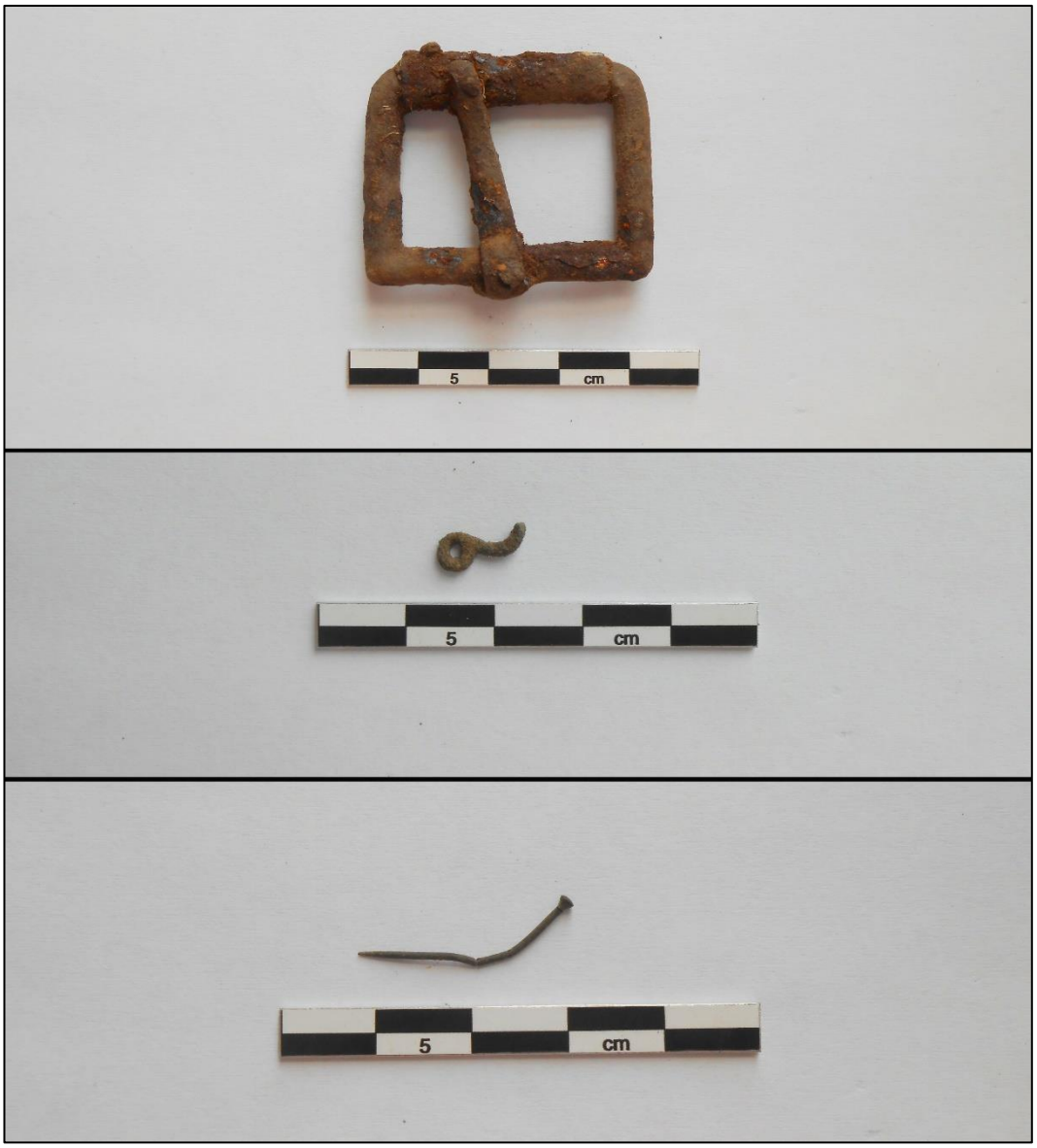

Figure 6.8. (From top to bottom) Buckle from F1.1/spit 4. Clothing hook from F1.7/spit 4. Pin from F1.2/spit 6.

One ring (Fig. 6.10) was found in the F1.1/40-63 collapse. The materials of this ring were analysed by the Geology department at Wits University, using an electron microprobe and it was found that it was made of a metal alloy and the two green 'stones' were in fact conventional glass. Table 6.9 shows the elemental breakdown of the ring. It is evident that this ring is not made up of anything special such as gold or silver, but rather consists of iron, lead, aluminium, and two pieces of green glass.



Figure 6.9. Tin with peach pips from F1.7/spit 9.



Figure 6.10. The ring from F1.1/40-63 collapse.

Table 6.9. The elemental make-up of the ring from F1.1/40-63 collapse.

The Ring	
Conventional glass	
Al	Aluminium
Pb	Lead
Fe	Iron
Si	Silicon
O	Oxygen
Ca	Calcium
K	Potassium
Mg	Magnesium
Cl	Chlorine
P	Phosphorous

6.3.3 Printing Press Pieces

A total of 14 pieces of metal were found in the F1 midden that were part of the printing press (Appendix G), that we know was kept at the mission station while Richard Giddy was in charge. All of these pieces were the same lead alloy, that had survived very well over time, not rusted at all and was a fairly weighty material (Fig. 6.11). Only five of the 14 pieces had a letter on the end, consisting of two with a capital 'I', one with a 'B', and a lowercase 'e' and 'g'.

Only the strips that had a small notch on the end had a letter attached, as can be seen in Figure 6.11. The other nine pieces of metal were of similar shape and had the same indented notches along the long edges. These were presumably either used as spacing tools to break up words or have since been broken and the letters not found. The printing press material is described in further detail in Chapter Seven.



Figure 6.11. Printing press letters from the F1 midden.

6.4 Bone

A large part of the assemblage collected from PPH consisted of bone. The bone found on any site is important as it gives an indication of what animals were kept on the site, and what people were eating. The analysis of the bones was done using a combination of the methods set out in Plug (2014) and others (Brain, 1974; Nicholson, 1993; Fisher, 1995; Lyman, 2005), in collaboration with Dr. Annie Antonides from UNISA. All species identifications were confirmed using the comparative skeletal collection at Ditsong National Museum of Natural History in Pretoria.

6.4.1 Species

Table 6.10 is a summary of the total fauna found at the site (Appendices H and I). It is evident that the majority of the bone at this site originated from domestic mammals such as cattle, sheep and goats. Most of the bone was found in the F1 midden compared to any other area of the site numbering over 2000 bones in total, while the J3 Trenches had only 302 bones, only 27 of which were diagnostic of species (Table 6.10). The STP's yielded 227 bones in total but these consisted almost entirely (91.1%) of undiagnostic fragments, with only 8 bones being identifiable. Wall-chasing gave the least in terms of bone, numbering 38, only 6 of which were identifiable (Table 6.10). The mass of the bones echoes this trend, with the bone from the F1 midden weighing over five kilograms, followed by the J3 Trenches with less than half a kilogram (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10. Summary of the fauna found at PPH, expressed as Number of Identified Specimens (NISP).

	Mammal Remains	Bird Remains	Amphibian Remains	Fish Remains	**TOTAL IDENTIFIED**	Skull Fragments	Enamel Fragments	Vertebra Fragments	Rib Fragments	Bone Flakes	Miscellaneous Fragments	**TOTAL UNIDENTIFIED**	**TOTAL SAMPLE**	Mass ID (g)	Mass non-ID (g)	**Total mass (g)**
Wall-chasing	6	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	8	23	32	38	5.7	6.15	11.85
STP's	8	0	0	0	8	0	14	9	10	45	141	219	227	32.3	109	141.3
J3 Trenches	25	0	2	0	27	1	4	14	67	63	126	275	302	118.1	260	378.1
F1 Midden	194	13	0	1	208	36	61	47	130	679	1208	2164	2375	3024	2214	5238

Table 6.11 lists the different species found at PPH. There were a few species present that one must assume were recent additions to the archaeological record. These included the squirrel, rodent, hare, frog and reptile (Appendix H). Given the disturbed nature of the ground and the squirrel burrow going directly through the F1 midden, one cannot assume that these animals were contemporary with the mission station (Chapter Four). Table 6.11 shows that most of the bones recovered were not only mostly domesticated but were predominantly bovid as well, varying between cattle, sheep and goat. Due to the high similarity between sheep and goat skeletal structures it was often difficult to differentiate between the two which accounted for the 48 bones classified as sheep/goat (Zeder and Lapham, 2010; Zeder and Pilaar, 2010). Only seven bones could be classified as definitively sheep, and only three as definitively goat. Many of the bones could not be classified beyond their bovid classification, 86 of them being classified as medium bovid (Bov 2) and 28 of them as large bovid (Bov 3). Medium bovids would have been about the size of a sheep or goat while a large bovid the size of a cow (Brain, 1974). Several bird bones were recovered ranging between chicken, possible Guinea fowl and a duck or goose bone.

One bone was classified as a medium-sized canid. We know that there were dogs on the mission station from an anecdote told by James Cameron describing their family dog being killed by “one of the large dogs on the place” (Cameron diaries, April 1841). One fish bone was found in the F1 midden (Table 6.11) which would probably have been sourced from a local river such as the Caledon or the Orange Rivers. Very few wild animals were found at PPH beyond the small animals that still live on the site today. The only wild remains that were found was that of a wildebeest (F1.3A/spit 6) and a possible blesbok (F1.7/spit 4) that indicate that their diet was occasionally supplemented with wild animals.

Table 6.11. List of animal species found at PPH. NISP = Number of Identified Specimens.

Species	**Total (NISP)**
Canidae (canid)	1
Bos taurus (cattle)	26
cf. *Bos taurus* (probably cattle)	6
Ovis aries (sheep)	7
cf. *Ovis aries* (probably sheep)	1
Capra hircus (goat)	3
cf. *Capra hircus* (probably goat)	2
Ovis/*Capra* (sheep/goat)	46
cf. *Ovis/Capra* (probably sheep/goat)	2
cf. *Damaliscus pygargus phillipsi* (probably blesbok)	1
Connochaetes sp. (wildebeest)	1
Bovidae I (small bovid)	1
Bovidae I/II (small/medium bovid)	2
Bovidae II (medium bovid)	86
Bovidae II (medium bovid - wild)	1
Bovidae II/III (medium/large bovid)	2
Bovidae III (large bovid)	28
Bovidae III/IV (large/very large bovid)	1
Xerus inauris(South African ground squirrel)	1
Rodentia (rodent)	9
cf. Leporidae (hare)	1
Mammalia (small mammal)	6
Gallus/Numididae (chicken/guinefowl)	4
Gallus gallus domesticus (chicken)	2
cf. *Gallus gallus domesticus* (probably chicken)	3
Anatidae (duck/goose)	1
Aves (bird)	2
Anura (frog)	1
Anura/Reptilia (frog/reptile)	1
Fish	1
Total	**249**

6.4.2 Butchery, Burning and Weathering

The full database of undiagnostic bone can be found in Appendix I. Very few of the bones in this assemblage showed evidence of butchery, with 87.3% of the diagnostic bones showing no cut, chop or saw marks at all (Fig 6.12). A total of 27 of the diagnostic bones showed evidence of cutmarks, 16 of which showed multiple cutmarks while the rest were only single. Three of the bones showed signs of having been sawn through, two of which also had cutmarks present. One other bone had been chopped through the articular end. Of the undiagnostic bones, only 58 of the fragments showed evidence of butchery, compared to the 2628 fragments that showed none.

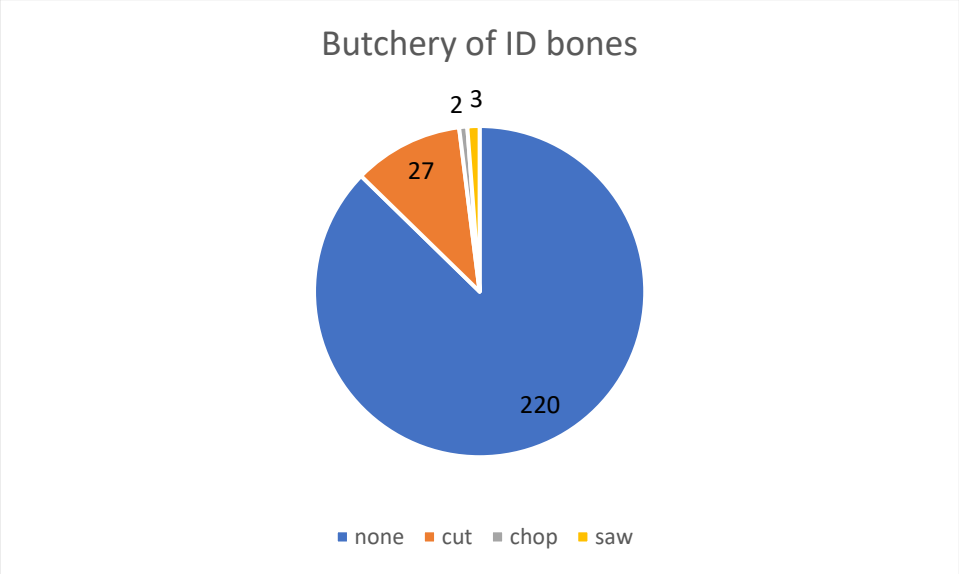

Figure 6.12. The Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) that showed signs of butchery at PPH.

Table 6.12 sets out how many of the diagnostic bones in the assemblage showed evidence of having been burnt, and to what extent. The bones showing no evidence of burning made up 52.6% of the assemblage, and those burnt brown made up 42.6%. Very few of the bones had been burnt beyond the brown stage, with only 12 of them being coloured black, grey or white. The white or grey bones indicate bones that had been left to burn in a fire, while those that were brown indicated a less intensive or indirect exposure to fire, probably post-depositional due to veld fires or the like.

Table 6.12. Total diagnostic bones with evidence of being burnt. NISP = Number of Identified Specimens.

Burnt colour	NISP
none	131
brown	106
brown/black	1
black	9
grey	1
white/grey	1

Table 6.13 shows the percentages of the bones from each stage of excavation that had signs of weathering. These signs ranged from fine line fractures, flaking, erosion, large cracks to root etching. Roughly half of the assemblage showed signs of one or more types of weathering (Table 6.13). Figure 6.13 illustrates that the level of weathering was not equal across the site of PPH. The bones from the F1 midden were generally in a better condition than those from either the J3 Trenches or the wall-chasing and STP's indicating that these bones were not exposed to the elements for long and that the midden was used on a regular basis. The J3 Trenches produced bone that was generally more weathered and more fragmented, yielding less diagnostic bones than the F1 midden and was therefore exposed to the elements for a longer period.

Table 6.13. Percentages of bone showing signs of weathering.

	F1 midden	J3 Trenches	STP's and WC
none	66%	44.8%	25%
weathering	34%	55.2%	75%

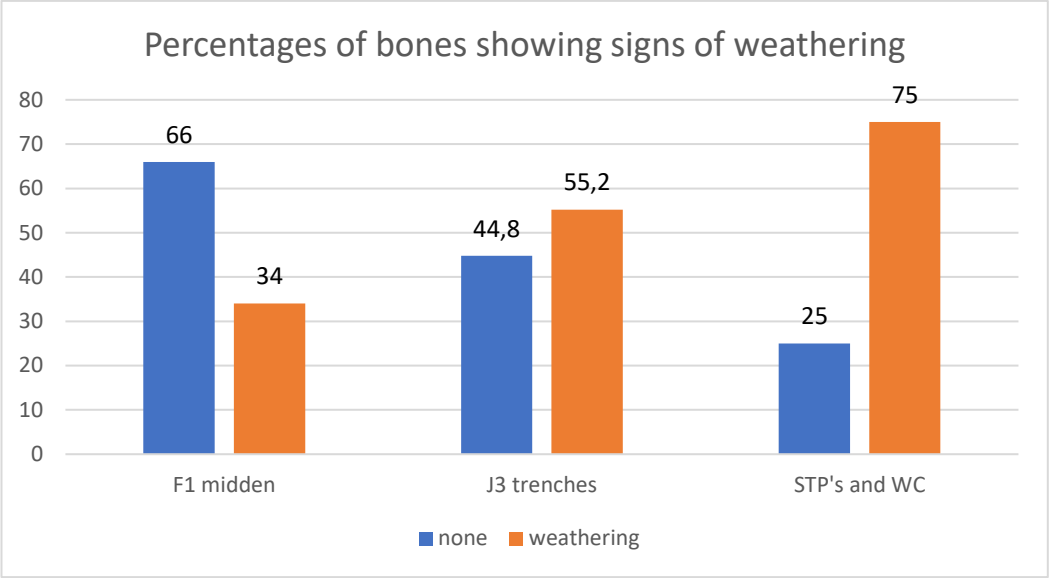

Figure 6.13. Graph comparing the weathering of bones across PPH.

6.5 Seeds

The analysis of the seeds was undertaken by PhD student, S. Hardwick, from Wits University. A short summary of her finds is given here to give an idea of the types of plant remains that were found at PPH.

6.5.1 F1 Midden

Table 6.14 shows the total identified seeds from the F1 midden. Most of the plant material consisted of common burs and corms, from naturally occurring plants, that numbered 198 and 165 respectively. The species listed below are those that are likely to have been cultivated contemporary to the mission stations occupation.

Table 6.14. Total identified plant species found in the F1 midden.

Scientific name	Common name	Total	Burnt	Fractured	Broken	Whole
Celtis africana	**White stinkwood**	32	0	12	7	5
Prunus persica/dulcis	**Peach/Almond**	24	19	0	24	0
Sorghum bicolor	**Sorghum**	8	0	3	5	0
Melia azedarach	**Pride of India**	1	0	1	0	0

Celtis africana (White Stinkwood) is indigenous to tropical Africa, down into southern Africa, but not in South Africa (Burm, 2012, p. 188). It is a fast growing tree, growing at one to two metres per year (Burm, 2012, p. 189), and its wood is used for a variety of purposes including construction, flooring, joinery, furniture, ladders, agricultural implements, tool handles and firewood (Burm, 2012, p. 188). The leaves are also good as fodder for animals (Burm, 2012, p. 188). It is obvious that such versatile trees would have been useful in a situation such as a mission station where money was not in abundance and the nearest trading centre was a long way away.

It is known from the various historical records that the missionaries planted both peach and almond trees on the station, and an almond tree still stands there today. It is therefore no surprise that remains of *Prunus persica* and *P. dulcis* were found in the F1 midden (Table 6.14). The two have almost identical outer shells and so they have been classified as being either/or in this study. However, it is interesting that all the seeds found here were broken, and 79.2% of them were burnt. There is more reason to break open an almond shell to get to the edible nut, than to break open a peach pip once finished with the fruit. On this basis alone, it is more likely that the seeds found here were almond rather than peach.

A single seed of *Melia azedarach* (Pride of India) was found in the F1 midden, specifically in F1.2/spit 8 (Table 6.14). The depth of 40cm makes it possible that the seed was contemporary with the mission stations occupation. Pride of India is not indigenous to South Africa, it originates from southwest Asia (Wijnands, 1983, p. 145) so must have been imported into the area. The flowers are pretty, so this plant may have been used for aesthetic purposes as the missionaries were very fond of their gardens. Alternatively, the roots, leaves, seeds and flowers all have many medicinal purposes for afflictions such as leprosy, or it could have been used as an emetic or laxative (Warrier and Nambiar, 1993, p. 10) to name a few.

The presence of sorghum remains confirmed that sorghum was one of the grains grown on the station, as was described in the Cameron diaries (Chapter Two, section 2.8)

6.5.2 J3 Trenches

The seeds from the J3 Trenches differed distinctly from those of the F1 midden (Table 6.15). Firstly, far more peach/almond seeds were recovered (508 compared to the 24 of the F1 midden). Once again, the majority (89.6%) of the peach/almond seeds were broken, and 96.7% of them were burnt (Table 6.15) implying that for the most part we were looking at almond seeds. There was a total of 71 whole seeds; which may represent the peach pips in the assemblage, but as peach and almond shells are so hard to tell apart, this is just conjecture.

There were similar numbers of *Celtis africana* in the J3 Trenches compared to the F1 midden (24 to 32), and again one *Melia* seed. This unfortunately was not identified down to species level and so it may not be *Melia azedarach*. The presence of *Zea mays* in this assemblage was also different from the F1 midden. These were all in the form of cobs, rather than seeds, all of them were burnt, and all were broken.

Table 6.15. Identified species of plant found in the J3 trenches.

Scientific name	Common name	Total	Burnt	Fractured	Broken	Whole
Celtis africana	**White stinkwood**	24	1	12	7	4
Prunus persica/dulcis	**Peach/Almond**	508	491	23	455	71
Melia	**Mahogany family**	1	0	0	1	0
Zea mays	**Maize**	77	77	0	77	0

6.5.3 Wall-chasing and STP's

The seed assemblage from the wall-chasing and STP phases of the study yielded mostly burs and corms from plants on the site, numbering 429 and 168, respectively. Aside from these, there was a lot of white stinkwood found across the site (Table 6.16). The F2 STP yielded the most with a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 32, followed by wall-chasing in H1 with 22, and then wall-chasing in J3 with 9 (Table 6.16). There were many peach/almond seeds found, and while most of them were still broken (84.8%), very few were burnt (15.2%). Most of these pips were scattered pretty evenly across the site, but wall-chasing in J1 and J3 yielded the most with 36 and 20 pips respectively. The single *Melia azedarach* seed was found while wall-chasing in J3.

Table 6.16. Identified species of plants from the wall-chasing and STP's.

Scientific name	Common name	Total	Burnt	Fractured	Broken	Whole
Celtis africana	**White stinkwood**	130	0	96	14	20
Prunus persica/dulcis	**Peach/Almond**	105	16	16	89	0
Melia azedarach	**Pride of India**	1	0	0	0	1

6.6 Local Ceramic

The ceramic found at Platberg has been divided into two rough categories, these being 'local ceramic' and 'imported ceramic'. The local ceramic was characterised by traditional course earthenware, and the imported ceramic was made up predominantly of refined industrial ware and stoneware. The local ceramic found at Platberg was largely undecorated and fitted the description of pottery made by the Bantu-speaking populations in the region, as opposed to 'hunter-gatherer' pottery that was usually grass-tempered and highly decorated (Thorp, 1996, p. 60) (Appendix J). Figure 6.14 shows the distribution of local ceramics across PPH. As would be expected, the least sherds were found during the wall-chasing and STP surveys (64), but other than that the ceramics were almost equally divided between the F1 midden (259) and the J3 Trenches (219). These numbers are the actual numbers of individual sherds. I was unable to work out a minimum number of vessels (MNV) due to there being so much variation of thickness and colour within a single vessel. Two sherds may look completely different to one another but could have originated from a single vessel. These numbers are therefore inflated compared to how many vessels were in fact found. A total of 24 rim sherds were found across PPH, 12 from the F1 midden, 11 from the J3 Trenches, and one from the K3 STP. Of the 11 from the J3 Trenches, four of the sherds were refitted (Fig. 6.14).

The state of the ceramics found in each location was slightly different. Sherds found in the STP's, wall-chasing and the F1 midden were very small and very few could be refitted. Those found in the J3 Trenches, however, suggested the presence of a large, broken pot. Figure 6.15 shows nine fragments of the pot that could be refitted, and a drawing of the profile that shows the shape of the top of the pot. It was evident that this would have been a large pot, and the ridge running perpendicular to the rim (Fig. 6.15) was one of the only examples of decoration that we found in the local ceramic assemblage.

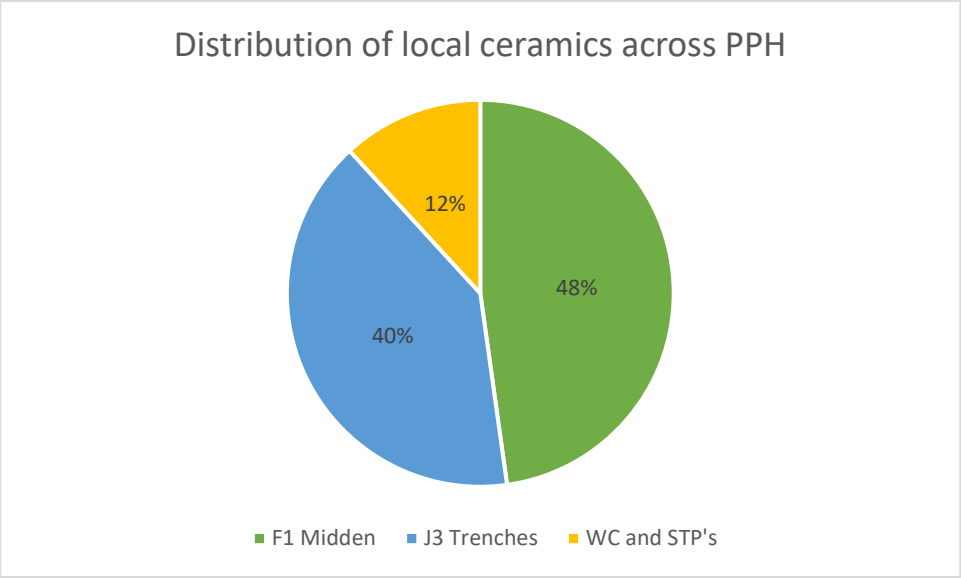

Figure 6.14. Distribution of local ceramics found across PPH.



Figure 6.15. Remains of a pot found in J3/T2/40-60cm (left). Profile drawing of the same pot (right).

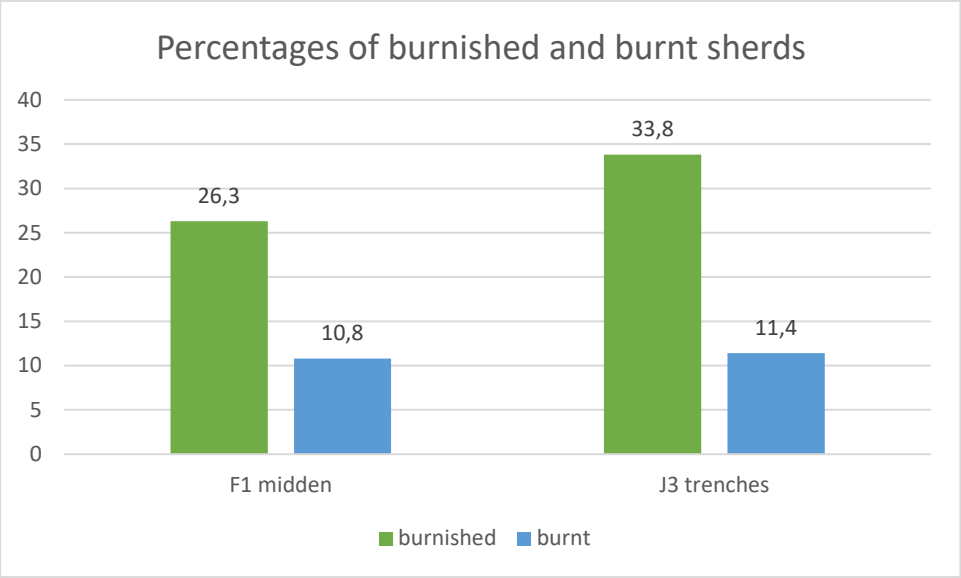

Figure 6.16. Proportion of burnished and burnt pot sherds in the F1 midden and J3 trenches.

Figure 6.16 shows the percentages of burnished and burnt sherds of each assemblage from the F1 midden and J3 Trenches. This indicated that a higher proportion of the J3 Trenches sherds were burnished when compared to those of the F1 midden. There was not much difference in the proportion of burnt sherds between the two sites. Data from the wall-chasing and STP's were excluded due to the assemblage being so small.

Only a total of five decorated sherds were found across PPH, two in the F1 midden, two in the J3 Trenches, and one in the F2/STP. The two found in the F1 midden were both decorated with a single incision. One of the sherds in the J3/T1 was decorated with multiple incision lines, and the other with a ridge (Fig. 6.15). The decorated sherd from the F2/STP was decorated with comb-stamping.

6.7 Imported Ceramic

There was a wide range of decorated imported ceramic recovered from PPH, most of which would have originated from England, but some pieces of Asian porcelain were also found (Appendix K). The analysis of these ceramics followed the methods set out by Klose (2007), with the help of J. Behrens from UNISA. The ceramics were first divided into the three broad groups of earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, and then notes on the glaze, decoration, form and function were taken for each sherd (Klose, 2007, p. 6).

6.7.1 F1 Midden

A total of 709 sherds were found, a few of which had suffered fresh damage in the field, which accounted for the slightly different working count of 707. The minimum number of vessels (MNV) calculated for the F1 midden came to 104. Most of the decorated sherds were transfer printed (TP) in a variety of colours, and of those, most were transfer printed in blue, with either the willow pattern or another. For the most part, the sherds at PPH were all extremely small, which made determining the form and functions of the vessel very difficult. Figure 6.17 shows three sherds that were refitted to make a carinated bowl decorated with industrial slipware. It was evident though, that all the ceramics in the PPH assemblage were utilitarian in use, rather than ornamental, i.e. vessels for general household use, such as storage or food preparation, plates, bowls, cups, etc. (Klose, 2007, p. 6). That the ceramics found here were so broken and incomplete may suggest that whole or mendable vessels were not being discarded, even when chipped or slightly broken. It may give insight into the economic attitudes of the missionaries and the people living at this station in that there was a reluctance to throw things away if there was any possibility of the object being reused. However, the excavation of this midden was limited in scope; perhaps the missing remains of these vessels have yet to be excavated, and the extensive damage should be attributed instead to post-depositional damage.

In comparison with the local ceramic found in the F1 midden, the imported ceramic far outweighed the local in terms of raw count (707 sherds to 259). The raw count had to be used due to the inability to calculate the MNV for the local ceramics.



Figure 6.17. Carinated bowl decorated with industrial slipware from F1.1/spit 10 and F1.7/spit 13.

6.7.2 J3 Trenches

The imported ceramics found in the J3 Trenches numbered only 185 in the raw count, 174 as the working count due to fresh damage. The types of decoration were of the same variety as found across the rest of the site, with TP blue being in the majority (46.6% of the assemblage). There were only three sherds of porcelain found in the trenches, all of them European. There were 31 undecorated sherds which were excluded from the MNV, as it is always possible that plain white sherds come from an undecorated area of a decorated vessel. Including them would therefore inflate the MNV.

When compared to the local ceramic assemblage from the J3 Trenches, one can see that proportionally, the local and imported ceramic numbers are much closer than those of the F1 midden. In fact, in the J3 Trenches, the local ceramic outnumbered the imported by 34 sherds. This was an interesting deviation in pattern between the two areas, and suggested that something different was occurring in J3, as opposed to F1. A further difference was that three worked sherds were collected from the J3 Trenches. Figure 6.18 shows these three sherds, coloured red, blue and green. The sizes of the sherds, combined with the different colours suggests that these were playing pieces for a game, or perhaps counting pieces for educational purposes.



Figure 6.18. The three reworked ceramic sherds. The top two are from J3/T1, and the third from J3/T2/0-20cm.

6.7.3 Wall-chasing and STP's

A total of 130 imported ceramic sherds were found during the wall-chasing and STP surveys. This was reduced to a working count of 119 due to fresh breakage. There were only five pieces of stoneware found and six pieces of porcelain, two Asian and three European. The rest of the assemblage was white-bodied ware, decorated with transfer

print in a variety of colours (72 sherds). Again, the most common was the TP blue (28 sherds), followed by willow ware (12 sherds). There were ten pieces of industrial slipware, and seven that had been hand painted in harsh colours. The undecorated sherds numbered 23 of the total of the 115 white-bodied ware.

Of a working count of 119, the MNV was calculated at 35. One doesn't like using an individual count of the sherds as it gives an inflated impression of the number of vessels at a given site. However, the sherds found across PPH were so small and could have come from anywhere. They may have been associated with the F1 midden, the J3 Trenches, both of them, or neither of them. The MNV therefore is highly subjective and different researchers may come to different conclusions.

6.8 Miscellaneous

There were a number of artefacts found at PPH that did not fit into the above categories. These included buttons, eggshell, slate, worked items and a pipe stem.

6.8.1 Buttons

A total of six buttons were found at PPH, all in the J3 Trenches (Appendix L). Three were found in T1, and the other three in T2/40-60cm. Three of the buttons appeared to be made of mother-of-pearl, one of metal, and one of either ceramic or glass. Figure 6.19 shows the three buttons from J3/T2. The one on the left is very small, flaky, and made out of some kind of metal. The middle button is the glass or ceramic button and is very well preserved with four even holes in the centre. Marcel (1994, p. 3) shows that milk glass buttons were in use from 1840 and are simple and utilitarian, with two to four holes in the centre to sew through, while ceramic buttons have been used since the 18th century. The third button (Fig. 6.19) is extremely fragile and appears to have a star design on the surface. This button also had four holes in the centre, but the centre piece has fallen away. This is likely made of mother-of-pearl or shell. The single metal button that was found in J3/T1 was a large (18mm diameter), flat button, with a shank on the back that has since fallen away. Pewter buttons were popular between 1700 and 1820 and were then revived in America in the 1850s. Iron shanks were attached after 1800. Given how badly iron has survived at this site, it is possible that this button is made of pewter which does not rust, and had an iron shank, which has since rusted away.



Figure 6.19. Three buttons found in J3/T2/40-60cm.

6.8.2 Eggshell

Most of the shell found at PPH was found in the F1 midden (Appendix M). There were only two pieces of miscellaneous shell found in the F2 STP which is close to the F1 midden anyway. The majority of the shell was made up of miscellaneous shell (Table 6.17). This was shell that was too thin to be classified as Ostrich eggshell (OES). It had a consistency more similar to a chicken egg, but most had a slightly pitted exterior surface. Ten percent of this shell showed signs of having being burnt. Two pieces of bivalve mollusc shell were found, one in F1.7/spit 1 which could have been brought in recently given its proximity to the surface, but the other was found in F1.2/spit 14 which is a bit more convincing. The presence of a fish bone combined with this piece of shell shows that fish and molluscs were being brought in from elsewhere, probably a river such as the Caledon or the Orange. Only two pieces of OES were found, one in F1.2/spit 4 and the other in F1.2/spit 6. The four gastropod mollusc (snail) shells were found in F1.2 and F1.7.

Table 6.17. Total numbers of shell found at PPH.

Type	Total	Burnt
Misc shell	411	41
Bivalve mollusc	2	0
OES	2	1
Gastropod mollusc	4	0

6.8.3 Slate

A total of 84 pieces of slate were recovered from across PPH (Appendix N). Most of these were from the F1 midden (71), only three were found in J3/T1, and ten during the wall-chasing and STP surveys. Of the 84 pieces of slate, 76 of them were flat and the remaining eight were pieces of slate pencils. Figure 6.20 is a piece of flat slate from F1.7/spit 8 with two parallel lines etched into one surface. This, and sherds like it would have been used as teaching and writing aids at the mission station. Many of the flat pieces of slate had many non-parallel scratches etched into the surfaces. Figure 6.21 shows the end of a slate pencil that would have been used in conjunction with the flat slate.



Figure 6.20. Flat slate from F1.7/spit 8.



Figure 6.21. End of a slate pencil from F1.1/40-63 collapse.

Cameron writes, in a letter on 10 March 1845 (Bloemfontein Museum archives), that the newly built church:

> … is used not only as a chapel, but also as a school-room, and its vestry – a neat little room – is devoted to a recently established library, which it is hoped will prosper and be a great blessing particularly to the rising generation.

It is becoming evident that the chapel, and thus PPH, was used for several different purposes.

6.8.4 Worked Items

Amongst the PPH assemblage were several items that had been reshaped and reused for purposes other than what they were originally intended for (Appendix O). Section 6.2.2 has shown how some of the window glass has probably been retouched to serve another purpose, as scrapers or cutting implements. Section 6.7.2 showed how some ceramics were chipped and shaped down to playing or counting pieces. The same has been done with a few pieces of bone and stone.

There were two pieces of bone, both from F1.2/spit 3 that have been reshaped. Figure 6.22 is a bone handle for some kind of implement. It has been smoothed significantly on three of its four edges, and it has a metal joint sticking out of one end that would have

connected it to its missing part. Figure 6.23 is the second piece of worked bone. It is just a strip of smoothed bone. What purpose it may have had is unknown.



Figure 6.22. Possible bone knife handle from F1.2/spit 3.



Figure 6.23. Smoothed bone strip from F1.2/spit 3.

Turning now to the stone, a total of twelve pieces of stone were recovered that showed signs of retouch. Three of these were made of a kind of sandstone and have been rounded into small, rough balls (Fig. 6.24). All three were about the same diameter, ranging between 16 and 18mm. They were all found in the F1 midden, ranging between F1.3A/spit 2, F1.7/spit 5, and F1.7/spit 14. It is likely that these would have been used as markers for a game. The rest of the retouched stone was made up of seven chert flakes, and one small quartz core. A total of three small scrapers were found in F1.7/spit 2 and 4, one in the K3 STP, and Figure 6.25 shows the three chert flakes from the J3 Trenches. The piece on the left has a notch visible that indicates retouch, the middle piece may have scraper retouch present, and the piece on the right looks like a flake with the tip broken off (Sadr, *pers. comm*. 2020). All the retouched stone looks to be typical of Later Stone Age Lithics. On one hand, these lithics may have predated the mission station occupation; however, if stones were being flaked here, one would expect to have found many more chips and flakes. Therefore, it is possible that they may have been collected from elsewhere by an occupant of this site, and brought in (Sadr, *pers. comm.* 2020).



Figure 6.24. Rounded sandstone balls from F1.3A/spit 2 (left), F1.7/spit 5 (middle) and F1.7/spit 14 (right).



Figure 6.25. Three retouched flakes from J3/T2/40-60cm.

6.8.5 Pipe Stem

Lastly, a single pipe stem was found at PPH. It was found in the F1 midden in F1.7/spit 6, was plain white in colour and had an oval shaped diameter (Fig. 6.26). It was only 14mm long but clearly a pipe stem.

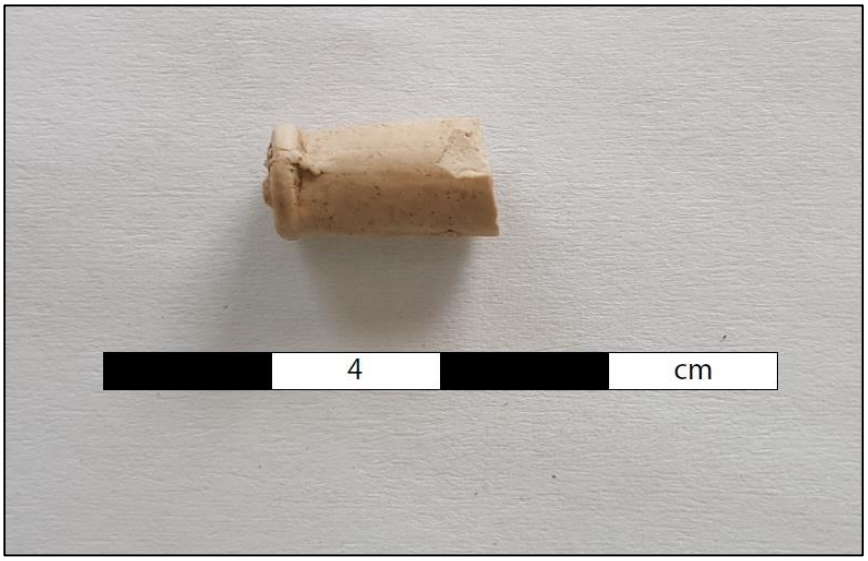

Figure 6.26. Pipe stem fragment from F1.7/spit 6.

6.9 Discussion

John Ayliff included a drawing of a chapel's foundations in his diaries from the early 1860s (Appendix P). The drawing of the chapel came directly after his description of a journey to Colesberg and so this may be a sketch of the chapel at Colesberg rather than Platberg. The dimensions of Ayliff's church were not identical to PPH. Ayliff shows a church that was roughly 30m by 25m, while PPH was 18m by 15m. While the dimensions for his chapel were almost double that of PPH, the shapes of the two chapels were much the same, and the dimensions are proportionally the same. It is then plausible that this was the chapel, only smaller than the one described by Ayliff. The structure was built with sturdy foundation stones, whitewashed mudbrick walls and a thatch roof. In an investigation into the foundation stones it was found that a distinct edge was carved into them about ten centimetres below the surface indicating that a wooden floor would have originally rested here. This creates an image of a comparatively opulent structure, located in a prominent and visible location on the station. The bulk of window glass was found in specific areas around PPH which indicates that the western side of PPH, facing the street and the valley, had several windows within its walls. There was at least one window on the north and south side respectively. The orientation of the building is west facing.

The most prolific midden found so far was located just behind PPH (F1) which suggests that this area was occupied continuously over a substantial period of time, creating a rich collection of debris. This midden differed in nature to the material culture recovered from between the parallel walls in J3. The difference in bone weathering suggests that discard patterns were different for each. While the bones were covered up through purposeful midden creation in F1, it appears that they were discarded in the open in J3. A comparison of imported ceramic and local ceramic proportions showed that F1 contained much more imported than local ceramic, while J3 presented more of a 50:50 ratio. The material culture recovered from J3 consisted almost entirely of ceramic, bone, peach/almond seeds, charcoal and ash, while the material culture from F1 was more varied, including more metal items, beads, and items relating to missionary activity such as slate and slate pencils. These specialized items such as slate were found consistently throughout the midden, with no concentration of a specific item at any given level. This does not necessarily mean that the mission station functioned consistently over the 30 years, but

rather that any stratigraphic changes have probably been skewed or obliterated by termite and squirrel activity (Chapter Four).

PPH is not, however, a structure by itself. It is in very close proximity to a large structure represented by a mound created by the collapse of its mudbrick walls to the north (MMH), and another large structure (HGH) further north of that. These three structures are known as the mission precinct due to their prominent location on the landscape and large size compared to the rest of Platberg. They are also enclosed together, indicating that the functions of these three structures were linked. The excavation results of HGH is detailed in Chapter Seven and MMH in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HGH – THE PRINTING OFFICE

The three structures of HGH, PPH and MMH, are enclosed in a large rectangular orchard wall, and have become known as the missionary precinct due the size and complexity of the structures situated here (Fig. 5.3). This precinct is where the bulk of missionary activity would have occurred. HGH is believed to have been the printing office, a structure that was reported as "nearly completed at Platberg" by the WMMS Report for the year 1849.

7.1 Glass

A total of 793 shards of glass were recovered from HGH. Of these shards, a total of 770 of them were classified as flat glass, were all clear and most presented signs of patination (only three shards did not) (Appendix Q). All of this flat glass was therefore likely to be window glass. Table 7.1 indicates how much flat glass was found at HGH and where it was found. It is evident that most of the flat glass came from M10 and M11 which numbered 739 in total, 96% of the flat glass assemblage. Table 7.2 then shows where the flat glass was found throughout the excavation of M10, the square that yielded the most. Most of the glass came from spit three, 80-100cm below the datum. This was also the ashy level below the mudbrick. This supports the above argument that this excavation showed not a midden but a destruction event. It showed that the windows broke sometime around the burning of the thatch, which happened before the walls collapsed. The overburden yielded the second largest quantity of flat glass, which would have been dug up by the squirrels in the area, as there were two squirrel burrows running though just M10, one of which can be seen in Figure 5.11. These high numbers of flat glass also suggest that there were windows located on the northern wall of the HGH structure.

Table 7.1. Distribution of flat glass across HGH.

Location	Total flat glass
wall-chasing	23
auger 1 and 2	8
M10	543
M11	196
Total	**770**

Table 7.2. Flat glass found in M10.

Flat glass from M10	Total
overburden	154
spit 1	19
spit 2	68
spit 3	291
spit 4	11
Total	**543**

Beyond the flat glass found at HGH, a total of 23 shards of miscellaneous glass was found. All of these were curved shards and so would have been tableware or bottles. Seven of these shards were green, curved and had ripples and bubbles embedded in the glass which denotes bottle glass (Weiland, 2009, p. 36). One shard was blue and curved. The rest (13 shards) were all clear and either curved (11) or were too small (2) to determine curvature or flatness.

7.2 Metal

There were roughly two different types of metal found at HGH, the first has been classified as general metal, which included construction metal such as nails, washers, door latches and iron sheeting, as well as other metal such the eye of a clothing hook (Appendix R). The other category consisted only of printing press material, all of which were made of a lead alloy (Clark, 1979, p. 307) and so were easily identifiable due to their heavier mass and lack of rust.

7.2.1 General Metal

A total of 123 pieces of metal were found at HGH, 76.4% of which were found in M10 and M11. Of all the metal found, most of it was unidentifiable fragments of iron that had rusted severely. These fragments numbered 96 in total. A further 9 pieces of metal were classified as miscellaneous. These included seven pieces of thin iron sheeting which presumably would have been used either for construction purposes or in the use of the printing press. A further one miscellaneous sheet was made of a copper alloy as could be seen by its slight green colour.

A total of 15 nails were found here, only one while wall-chasing, one during the auguring process, and the rest were found in M10 and M11. Nine of these nails were highly

degraded and often only the shank of the nail remained. One screw was found with the thread of the screw visible around the shank. Screws have been in use for centuries, and they were shaped by hand until the late 1700s (Anonymous, 2003, p. 102). Screws that were machine-cut were introduced between 1812 and 1850 in America, and before 1850 only screws with a blunt end were in use (Anonymous, 2003, p. 102). While these dates are American and so do not really apply here, the technology did exist, and it is evident that such screws were either imported or made in South Africa in the mid-19th century.

Besides the nails, the other identifiable metal included one washer that would have been used in the construction of the structure, one eye of a clothing hook, one door latch that was found at the top of the stairs on the western wall (Fig. 7.1) and a small padlock that has lost its arm (Fig. 7.2). Figure 7.2 shows the front and back of the padlock. The front of the padlock clearly shows an arm that would have covered the keyhole. The back cover has fallen away to show how the lock mechanism has rusted inside.



Figure 7.1. Door latch from HGH wall-chasing.



Figure 7.2. Front (left) and back (right) of the padlock from HGH/surface.

7.2.2 Printing Press Metal

A total of 58 pieces of printing press metal was found across HGH, which was a far higher number compared to the 14 that were found at PPH (Appendix S). Of these 58, 16 of them were definite letter pieces with the letters still visible on the end. A further 23 pieces were found that looked exactly like the letters but did not have the letter present. These may either have been worn away through frequent use, broken and the letter lost or may have been purposely left blank in order to produce spaces between words in the press. These 39 pieces looked exactly the same as those shown in Figure 6.11 in Chapter Six. The remaining 19 pieces were made of the same metal as the letters but were not the same shape or size (Fig. 7.3). These came in the form of either small metal blocks with notches along the edges, similar to those on the letters, or as metal sheeting. The function of these is unknown but would certainly have been used in the printing press.



Figure 7.3. Printing press pieces from HGH wall-chasing and surface.

Table 7.3 gives a breakdown of all the movable type found at HGH. Three of the letter pieces definitely had a letter present but they were too degraded to determine which letter it was. The font used for these letters was Garamond (see the 'm' in Figure 7.4) and so some of the letters appeared quite elaborate such as the italics 'k' (Fig. 7.4). While whole numbers would have been used in the printing of bible passages (as chapter and verse numbers), the presence of the '½' and the mathematical 'ſ' letters (Fig. 7.4) was interesting as they would not have been used much during the printing of religious texts. This implied that these letters were either used for other educational purposes, or that they simply came in a set which would have included some letters and numbers not as useful to the missionary printers.

Table 7.3. Movable type found at HGH.

Lowercase	Uppercase	Mathematical	Italics
m	F	½	*e*
o	U	*ſ*	*k*
e	I		
g			
a			
o			



Figure 7.4. Letters 'k' from HGH M10/overburden, 'm' from HGH M10/layer 3 and 'f' from M10/layer 3.

Letters sent to England by Giddy are almost a continuous plea for more printing materials and lists of documents printed at Platberg. This gives some insight into the machinations of the printing office. Giddy lamented at how difficult it was to source printing paper and supplies from the Colony, that all materials had to be bought in England, and that it took roughly four months for letters of request to reach England from Platberg (Giddy letter, 23 October 1847). The movable type was usually ordered in consignments of 150 pounds

(68 kg), in the size "small Pica" – roughly font size 11 (Giddy letter, 23 October 1847) but it is evident that larger font sizes were used. Giddy was occasionally specific about which letters he required, requesting "an additional half pound of each of the following lower case letters a e g k y j r" (Giddy, 23 October 1847). Furthermore, Giddy was specific about where his type should be purchased, stating that "the type you will perceive must be obtained from R. Besley and co. late Thorowgood and co. Fann-street letter foundry" (Giddy letter, January 1853). Besley and Thorowgood ran a firm that created movable type in the mid-19th century, located in London (Bigmore and Wyman, 1886, p. 11). The nonstop purchase of printing type suggests that letters wore out quickly or were easily lost or broken, requiring continual replacement. Giddy describes in a letter written on 16 April 1849 that:

> When we print in Dutch, we find the g, z and k run out or become (?)[12] before the other letters, and when we print in Siralong or Sisuto, we find the vowels are used up long before the other letters. It is therefore necessary to have a larger number of those letters in order to render the fount an efficient one. The small fount of "English" which I have (?) in the memorandum is for spelling books and small school lessons. We find it much to our advantage in our schools to have our Elementary book printed in a large and clear type.

It becomes evident that extremely large quantities of type were being used in this printing office, and being so small and easily lost, it is not surprising that small numbers of these letters are being found across the site. However, the higher frequency of type at HGH suggests that this is where printing activity took place.

Together with orders of type, Giddy made many requests for 30 to 40 "reams of demy printing paper" (Giddy letter, c. 1846). A ream is a quantity, describing a total of 500 sheets of paper, and demy is a size of paper, measuring at 44 by 57 cm. With these many sheets of paper, Giddy would supervise the printing of thousands of educational and religious texts in several different languages (Giddy letters, November 1846 and April 1849).

The fact that so many printing press pieces were found at HGH, and that some were found at PPH, indicated that both of these structures were occupied during the Giddy era. The

[12] Giddy's handwriting, combined with bad quality microfiche means that some words are indistinct. These words are replaced with a question mark.

physical grouping of the three structures HGH, PPH and the mound (Fig. 5.3), which are also the three largest structures on the station, and the presence of printing press pieces at two of them; combined with the verbal grouping of "the house, printing press and church" by the author of Agnes' Tales, supports the above argument that this formed the missionary precinct. The much higher number of printing press pieces at HGH then suggests that this was indeed the printing press office.

7.3 Bone

Very little bone was found at HGH. Of a total of 116 pieces of bone, only 12 were identifiable to species (Appendix T), and all of these were mammalian (Table 7.4) and domesticate. Seven of these diagnostic bones were identified as *Bos taurus* (cattle), three were *Ovis/Capra* (sheep or goat) and the remaining two were classified broadly as Bovidae II which could be any wild or domesticated medium bovid.

Table 7.4. Breakdown of the bone assemblage from HGH. NISP = Number of Identified Specimens.

	NISP
Mammal Remains	12
TOTAL IDENTIFIED	12
Skull Fragments	3
Enamel Fragments	2
Vertebra Fragments	6
Rib Fragments	4
Bone Flakes	38
Miscellaneous Fragments	51
TOTAL UNIDENTIFIED	104
TOTAL SAMPLE	116
Mass ID (g)	312.85
Mass non-ID (g)	247.1
Total mass (g)	559.95

Appendix U is the database of unidentifiable bone from HGH showing burning, butchery and carnivore evidence. Only 33 of the total bones showed signs of having been burnt, and all of these were burnt brown which means that this may have happened post-depositional from veld-fires or the like. Only two of the bones showed signs of butchery with the presence of a cut mark, and only six in total showed visible signs of carnivore damage. Eight out of the 12 diagnostic bones had been weathered severely, with large cracks, fine line fractures, flaking and erosion present on the bones. All of the diagnostic

bones were recovered from M10 and M11, one bone was from spit one, nine were from spit 2 (60-80cm) and the other two were from spit three.

It is obvious that this area was not used for the butchery of animals or the preparation of food due to the low number of bones here and the informal disposal methods undertaken for these bones compared to those found in the PPH/F1 midden. Given the high rate of movement of objects across the landscape (Chapter Four), these bones could really have come from anywhere.

7.4 Beads

Only nine beads were found at HGH (Appendix V). Four of these beads were white, and only one was a white-heart. The others were each pink, blue and dark blue, and one was an opaque grey colour and may not have been glass. The pink bead was broken and so could not be measured for size or length. Two of the beads, the blue and one white, were found to be minute in size. A further four were small, and the other two were medium. This fitted with the trend seen before where most of the beads fell into the small or minute categories. All of the beads were short in length. Five of the beads were opaque, the three that were translucent were the white-heart, the blue bead and one white bead. In terms of shape, five of them were cylinder-shaped, and the other three were oblate.

7.5 Local Ceramic

A total of 27 sherds of local ceramic were found at HGH (Appendix W). These sherds were all very small, the largest of which measured at 68mm at its longest length. On average the ceramic assemblage was only about 33mm big. Only one was a rim sherd and none were decorated. Most of these ceramics (70.4%) were found in M10 and M11. Two sherds were found during the auguring process very close to the squares, and the remaining six sherds were found during the wall-chasing stage of the excavation. Only six of these sherds were burnished, four of them red and the other two black. Nine of the sherds showed evidence of having been burnt, and six of these had traces of burnt deposit attached to them. A further two sherds showed traces of ash.

7.6 Imported Ceramic

A total of 43 imported ceramic sherds were found across HGH (Appendix X), 32.6% of which were found while chasing walls, and the rest found in M10 and M11. The MNV number for HGH is estimated at 19 vessels for the whole structure. Ten individual rim sherds were found, and three foot rings. 60.5% of the sherds were white-bodied wares, and of these 53.8% of them were decorated in transfer-print in various colours. Seven sherds were undecorated, one was decorated in a sponge pattern, and the remaining four were decorated with industrial slipware. Only one sherd of European porcelain was found in M10/spit 3.

A total of 14 individual sherds of stoneware were found, nine of which were found in M10 and M11 and the remaining five found while wall-chasing. Figure 7.5 shows the base of a stoneware jar that was found at HGH during the surface collection. The MNV for the stoneware was estimated at 8, making up 42.1% of the MNV assemblage. This is a significantly higher proportion of stoneware when compared to that of PPH (13.3%) and BH (12.5%). It is possible that these stone vessels may have been used as ink jars and stored in HGH. This is made more likely when considering the high number of printing press pieces (Section 7.2.2) and the location of HGH in the missionary complex.

Two sherds were found in M10/spit 3 and M11/spit 2 respectively that can be classified as a red-bodied earthen-ware or terracotta (Klose, 2007, p. 131). The two sherds do not necessarily fit together but Figure 7.6 shows that while they do not perfectly refit, they are very similar and may have come from the same vessel. Figure 7.6 shows what the shape of the rim and neck of the vessel may have looked like.



Figure 7.5. Base of a stoneware jar found at HGH/surface collection.



Figure 7.6. Terracotta ceramics from M10/layer 3 and M11/layer 2.

7.7 Stone

A few pieces of interesting stone were found at HGH. A total of ten pieces of slate were found, one while wall-chasing, one during the auguring process, four in the M10 overburden, and two each in M10/spit 3 and M11/spit 2. These pieces of slate were all flat slate. No slate pencils were found here and there were no parallel lines etched into these pieces like the ones from PPH (Chapter Six, Section 6.8.3). The only other stone of

interest was a small quartz core that had evidence of flaking on its outer surface. This was found during the wall-chasing stage of excavation, but this may have been part of the mudbrick walls, caught up in the bricks during the brickmaking process. A second piece of quartz was found while chasing walls which appeared to have had its surface smoothed. However, it is unclear if this was due to natural processes of weathering or done deliberately.

7.8 Discussion

While it is unfortunate that no midden was found here, the excavation of the M10 and M11 squares has provided valuable information as to the taphonomy of the site and the way in which the structure was destroyed. The presence of ash without artefacts showed that while there was definitely a burning event, it was not the continuous burning of a rubbish pit. There were several mentions of the use of thatch as the roof material of choice by the missionaries in both James Cameron's diaries (May 1842 and November 1843) and Agnes' Tales (p. 15), which states that "the house, printing press and church were all thatched". The ash layer could therefore indicate the burning of the thatch as the station was gradually abandoned and then destroyed. The upper part of the wall became fire hardened as the roof burned, forming the hard, almost impenetrable layer of mudbrick in M11. That the ash layer was located below the significant layer of mudbrick showed that the burning event happened prior to the walls collapsing. The comparative lack of mudbrick in the square M10 and the presence of many shards of very thin window glass in layer three suggests that there may have been a window present in this part of the wall, and the gap in the wall for the window is what has caused the gap in the mudbrick in the ground, allowing for further excavation in M10. The finds collected from the surface may have been displaced from inside the structure or have been displaced from elsewhere by squirrel activity.

The discovery of the stairs (Fig.5.10) and the door handle (Fig. 7.1) on the western edge of the structure indicated that, like PPH, HGH was oriented towards the west, towards the street that ran in front. The large enclosure surrounding both HGH and MMH would then have functioned as a private garden or orchard for the missionaries and their families. This garden walling stretches in front of the three structures, including PPH, forming a kind of front garden or courtyard.

The important artefacts found here were those related to the printing press. Considering that a total of 58 pieces were found here, compared to the 14 found at PPH, and zero at BH, it is plausible that this was where the printing press was kept. Agnes' Tales tell us that the press was definitely kept in its own, thatched, building (p. 15) and a WMMS Report (1849, p. 59) notes the building of a new printing office at Platberg. The presence of printing press letters at PPH can be explained by the close proximity of PPH to HGH, and the size of the pieces meant that they were highly movable across the landscape. It is therefore the frequency of such finds that is important. The theory that this structure housed the printing press is also supported by there being a high proportion of stoneware in comparison with PPH and BH, which both had assemblages comprising of 13.3% and 12.5% of stoneware compared to the 42.1% found at HGH. It is possible that such stoneware would have been used as vessels for ink or lubrication oils for the printing press.

Situated in between the chapel and the printing press office are the remains of an enormous mudbrick structure. This structure is the third and final structure located in the mission precinct and the results of the investigation of this final structure are detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MMH – A MISSIONARY'S HOME

The third and final structure included in the mission complex, MMH, was situated in between the PPH and HGH. This is the structure that is believed to have been the missionary's private home, fitting snugly between the printing press building and the chapel.

Cameron, in a letter written on 10 March 1845, describes the mission house as follows:

> The Mission House at Platberg is a very good one of the kind, affording ample and comfortable accommodation for a missionary and his family. It consists of five rooms, a kitchen and a pantry, stands near the Chapel and is otherwise very pleasantly situated.

And in a letter written on 13 March 1845, Cameron gives advice to a Charles Robinson on the best layout for a mission house to be built at the mission station Merumetsu. He describes a house made up of:

> … three rooms, a kitchen and pantry. Allowing 20 feet (6.1m) for the parlour, and fifteen for each of the bedrooms, with 26 feet (7.9m) for kitchen, pantry and walls, you will have 76 feet (23.2m) in all for the length; the width must be 18 feet (5.4m) in which 1 of course include the walls, which will leave you 14 (4.2m) within. You must get the wood for the roof from the Caledon River, as a comparison of the Platberg and Thaba Nchu houses abundantly shows; the roofs of the Mission House and Chapel at the former being still good, where as that of the house built by Mr Allison at the latter is already giving way, and may be expected shortly to fall in. The height of the walls may be about 8 feet (2.4m) from the top of the foundation, which will give 10 feet (3m) for the entire attitude.

Cameron then gives a small sketch of his layout description (Fig. 8.1). The mudbrick mound on MMH is roughly 15-20m in length (N-S) and about 30m in width (E-W). The exact dimensions are hard to tell as the foundations are entirely covered in collapsed walling. It is near impossible to accurately depict what the precise house layout would have looked like. As Cameron stated above, the Platberg house had five rooms, rather than the three he depicted in his sketch, and furthermore, it is likely that Giddy would have expanded the mission house at a later date in order to accommodate their many children. Without further extensive excavation it is impossible to know where these additional rooms would have been situated. The material culture that has so far been collected is detailed below.

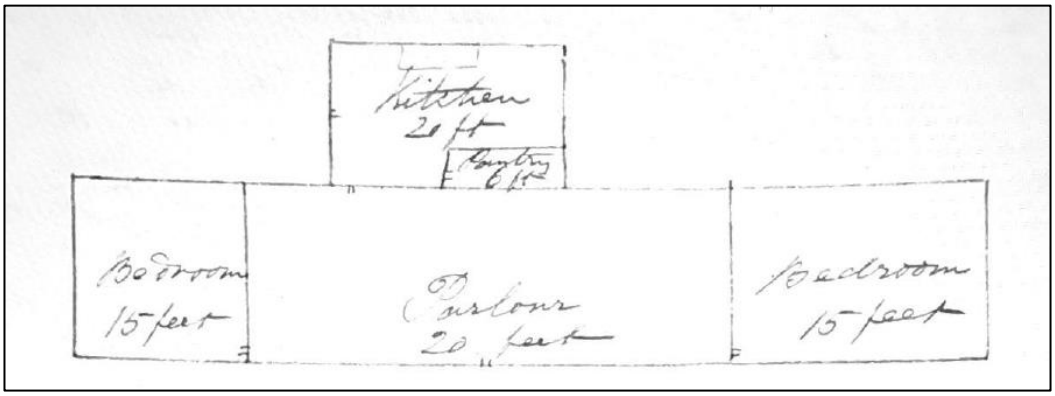

Figure 8.1. Cameron's sketch of a house design in a letter written on 13 March 1845, stored in the Bloemfontein Museum archives.

8.1 Glass

A total of 562 shards of glass were found across MMH, of which 449 shards were classified as flat glass (Appendix Y). Of the total excavation of this structure, more than half of the flat glass (285 shards) were found on and around the West Steps (Table 8.1). The next highest concentration of flat glass was then found at MMH-b with a total of 100 shards. Only 30 shards of flat glass were found at MMH-a. A further 14 shards of flat glass were found either during the attempt at wall chasing across MMH or simply lying on the surface. This suggests a distribution of windows around the structure, with the large concentration of windows situated at the 'front' of the structure, embedded either in the door or walls or both, looking out with a view of the valley and the mission station. Much like PPH, MMH would have had windows running along the sides of the structure, but the evidence will probably have been buried underneath the collapsed mud brick walls. The concentration of flat glass at MMH-b therefore shows that there were windows here, but that at the very back where the walling was much rougher (MMH-a), it is unlikely that there were many, if any, windows.

Table 8.1. Distribution of flat glass across MMH.

Location	Total flat glass
MMH-a	30
MMH-b	100
Wall-chasing	14
West Steps	285
Furrow STPs	20
Total	**449**

Much of the remaining glass has been classified as miscellaneous (112 pieces) due to the sherds being too broken and small to tell their original form and function. A few are possibly from a glass vessel of some kind, due to the curvature and colour of the sherds. Of the 112 pieces, 63 were green in colour, ranging from very dark to very pale. These will likely have originated from bottles (Weiland, 2009, p. 36). A further 31 sherds were clear in colour and have been classified as miscellaneous as they were all too small to establish what form they had before breakage. A small number (12) of bright, royal blue coloured sherds were found (Fig. 8.2) at MMH-b suggesting that a bright blue vessel was broken here. The remaining five sherds were dark brown and curved, probably also from a bottle.

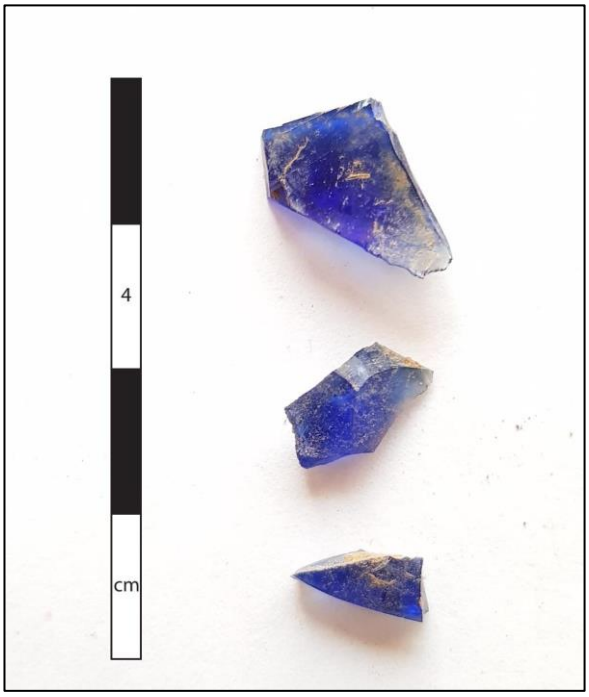

Figure 8.2. Three shards of royal blue glass found at MMH-b.

8.2 Metal

Compared with the other two structures located in the mission complex, MMH had relatively little metal remains. Only 78 pieces of metal were found here, the majority of which (50 pieces) were found at MMH-b (Appendix Z). A further 21 were found at MMH-a, five were found around the west steps, and the remaining two (both nails) were found during the excavation of the garden wall and Furrow STP 6 respectively.

Of the total metal found here, 55 were miscellaneous iron flakes or pieces of iron sheeting, most likely used for construction purposes. Nineteen nails were collected, 12 at MMH-b, three at MMH-a, and two on the west steps. Figure 8.3 shows four of the handmade, iron nails found at MMH-b, and interestingly, two of these appear to have been deliberately bent along the shank. This may have been necessary for construction purposes but alternatively they may have been wedged into the walling of the structure and utilized as hooks. A further interesting nail found at MMH-b during the wall clearing process was a large handmade screw with the thread still visible along the shank (Fig. 8.4). Screws have been quite rare here at Platberg, with only three being found at the mission complex, one at each structure (Chapters Six and Seven).

In addition to the construction material, two clothing items were found, one being the eye of a hook (Fig. 8.5) and the second being a figure-eight shaped clothing loop (Fig. 8.6). These two items were found at MMH-b and MMH-a respectively. One piece of lead shot was found during the wall clearing process at MMH-b.

A large metal object was found on the north-south wall that makes the U-shaped walling of MMH-b. This artefact was 395mm in length, had a rounded shank curving round and ending in what looks like a handle that originally would have had a wooden or leather cover. The other end appeared to have been broken off (Fig. 8.7). This is likely to have been a crank handle for some kind of device. Possible types of device are the early hand drill or a basic butter churn. The technology of the crank handle works on the basis of creating leverage, that the drill or churn will rotate at a faster rate than the crank handle (Light, 2007, p. 122).



Figure 8.3. Four of the nails (MMH-b).



Figure 8.4. Handmade screw with thread still visible (MMH-b/wall-chasing).

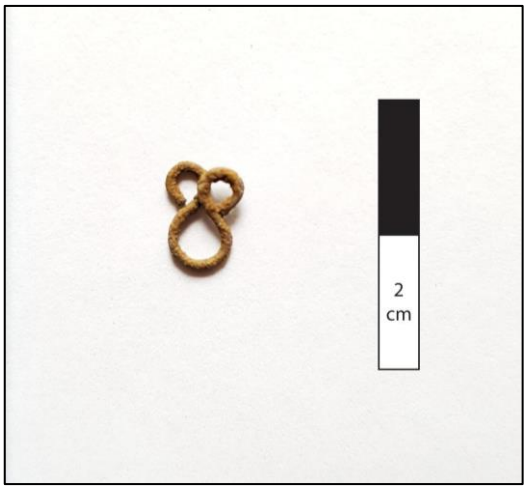

Figure 8.5. Eye of hook (MMH-b).

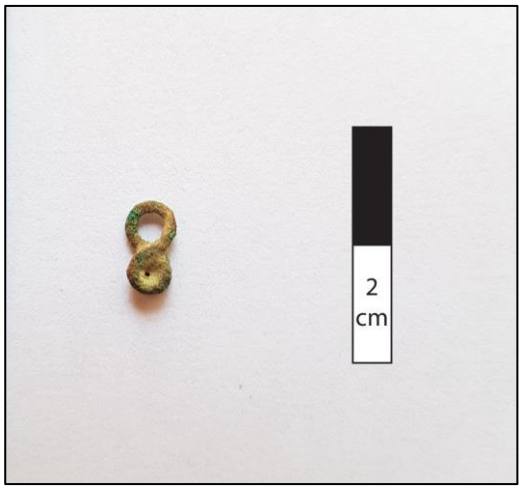

Figure 8.6. Figure-eight clothing loop (MMH-a).



Figure 8.7. Metal crank handle found at MMH-b/wall-chasing.

Lastly, three printing press pieces were found, all at MMH-b. Two could be classified as letter pieces but the letter was only visible on one. This printing press letter is the most intricate that has been found at Platberg so far, depicting a capital ‘E’ with an elaborate design around the edges (Fig. 8.8). The third press item was a miscellaneous piece. Like those found at HGH, it was made of the same material as the letters and would surely have been used for the press, but their exact function has yet to be undetermined.



Figure 8.8. Printing press letter 'E' with intricate patterning. Found at MMH-b.

8.3 Beads

A total of 28 beads were found at MMH, 21 of which were found at MMH-a and the remaining seven at MMH-b (Appendix AA). These numbers seem contrary to the other artefacts where the majority of the material was collected at MMH-b and comparatively little found at MMH-a. The reason for this may simply be that during the excavation of MMH-a, a very fine, 2mm mesh sieve was used, while at MMH-b the mesh was slightly bigger and so some beads may have been lost in the sieving process. Of the total, 13 beads were classified as minute, 12 as small and only three as medium size, indicating that the size of the sieve mesh may have been an important factor in the collection of the beads.

Most of the beads found here were white (11), closely followed by white-hearts (7), and a few black (3), blue (3), light pink (2) and light blue (2) beads. The diaphaneity of the beads was found to depend predominantly on their colour. All of the white-hearts were translucent, as was one of the pale blue beads. The black, blue, pink and white were all opaque. Almost all the beads were either short (16) or standard (11) in terms of their length ratios, and only one of the pale pink beads fell into the 'long' category. All the beads in this assemblage fell into one of two categories with 15 being cylindrical and 13 oblate.

8.4 Local Ceramic

Overall, 160 sherds of local ceramic were found at MMH (Appendix BB). Table 8.2 shows how they were distributed across the structure. It is immediately evident that the majority of the local ceramic assemblage was found towards the eastern (back) end of the structure. At MMH-b, most (69) of the 95 sherds were found either on the surface or just 10cm below the surface during the clearing and wall chasing stages of the excavation. MMH-a yielded a total of 61 sherds, only four of which were burnished. Most of these sherds were close to the surface and collected during the wall-chasing endeavour. Across the rest of the structure, the local ceramic assemblage was negligible, with only four sherds found in total.

Table 8.2. Distribution of local ceramic sherds across MMH.

Location	Total Local Ceramic Sherds	Burnished
MMH-a	61	4
MMH-b	95	51
West Steps	1	0
North Edge	3	0
Total	**160**	**55**

Fifteen of the sherds found were rim sherds, but none of these were decorated. However, 55 sherds were found to have been burnished either black (6) or a deep red (49). Most of these burnished pieces were found at MMH-b (51) and the remaining four at MMH-a (Table 8.2). Figure 8.9 shows one of the seven rim sherds that was burnished red. It is evident that while most of the local ceramic assemblage was found on the eastern end of MMH, there seems to be distinct variation between the ceramics in as small an area as that between MMH-a and MMH-b. There were only nine sherds in the assemblage that had evidence of having been burnt, with a small amount of charcoal sediment attached

to them. Of these nine, six were found at MMH-a, two from MMH-b and the last one from the North Edge overburden.



Figure 8.9. Photograph of a rim sherd that was burnished red.

8.5 Imported Ceramic

The majority of the 135 pieces of imported ceramic found at MMH was collected at MMH-b (65.9%) (Table 8.3). Very little imported ceramic was found at MMH-a (6.6%) in comparison with the local ceramic found at the same location (38.1%) (Tables 8.2 and 8.3). Across the rest of the mound the frequency of imported ceramic was also higher than the local sherds, totalling 27.4% of the collected assemblage, while the local ceramic was only 2.5% (Appendix CC).

Table 8.3. Distribution of imported ceramic across MMH.

Location	Total Imported Ceramics
MMH-a	9
MMH-b	89
West Steps	6
North Edge	17
Garden Wall	1
Furrow STP's	13
Total	**135**

The MNV number for MMH as a whole is estimated at 34 vessels. This includes a total of 18 rim sherds and four foot rings. Of this assemblage, 77% of the sherds were white-bodied, refined industrial ware. Of these, 21.1% were undecorated and the rest had a motif of some kind (Table 8.4). 47.1% of the refined industrial ware was decorated with a transfer print of some description, the most common colour being blue. Only on one sherd could the willow pattern be definitively identified (Fig. 8.10). The next common decoration method found was hand-painted ceramics in harsh colours. Of the nine industrial slipware sherds, one large rim sherd was found in spit 1 of the excavation of K-S. This sherd appears to either have been burnt or otherwise stained with charcoal, as no amount of cleaning could remove the brown discolouration (Fig. 8.11). The remaining six sherds were found to be decorated using the sponge method (4), moulded (1) or embossed (1) (Table 8.4). In terms of the original form that these sherds would have made up, it is difficult to say due to the small sizes of the fragments. However, a few sherds were diagnostic of their original forms, such as the transfer printed blue sherds that fitted together to show the side of a small bowl (Fig. 8.12). A few of the transfer printed black sherds combined to show the edge of a lid of a vessel, decorated on the top surface. And of course, the industrial slipware rim would have been a bowl (Fig. 8.11).

Table 8.4. Make and decoration of imported ceramic sherds found at MMH.

WARE	TOTAL SHeRDS
STONEWARE	
British/European	14
PORCELAIN	
Asian	1
European	15
RIW (white bodied white wares)	
Handpainted harsh	16
Transfer printed: blue willow	1
Transfer printed: blue other	21
Transfer printed: flow blue	14
Transfer printed: brown	1
Transfer printed: green	1
Transfer printed: purple	2
Transfer printed: black	9
Sponge	4
Moulded	1
Embossed	1
Industrial slipware	9
Undecorated	22
UNIDENTIFIED	3
TOTAL	**135**



Figure 8.10. Willow pattern imported ceramic (MMH-b).



Figure 8.11. Stained ISW imported ceramic (MMH-b).



Figure 8.12. TP Blue decorated bowl.



Figure 8.13. Unidentified stoneware.

A total of 16 pieces of porcelain were found, only one of which was Asian porcelain, the rest originating from Europe. Three sherds of the European porcelain and the only Asian porcelain sherd were found at MMH-b. The rest were found on the northern edge of the MMH mound in the overburden of an animal burrow. These sherds were closely grouped together but had already been broken and damaged by farm activity, whether by animal hooves or tractor tyres. In this small assemblage of European porcelain, there were two rim sherds, two foot rings and a few of the sherds fitted together. It is estimated that these sherds all came from the same vessel, possibly a plate with a scalloped rim.

Fourteen sherds of stoneware were found, one at MMH-a, eight at MMH-b, and the remaining five in Furrow STP 6. Three of the five sherds found in Furrow STP are curious and it is unclear as to what their earlier function may have been. The texture and material of the sherds appear to be stoneware, hence their inclusion in this category, but they are not curved as a vessel is, but rather completely flat and finished on the edge like a tile. Figure 8.13 shows the three sherds refitted together. The other stoneware is of the same variety as that found across the rest of Platberg and would have been stoneware jars used as storage for various items.

8.6 Bone

The faunal assemblage collected at MMH was very similar to that of HGH (Chapter Seven). The total number of bones found here numbered at 118 while HGH numbered 116 and all bones were found to be mammalian (Table 8.5). The size of assemblage can be

attributed to the fact that no midden was found at either structure. Only seven bones could be identified to species (Appendix DD). Two of these were shown to be *Bos taurus* (cattle) and one as *Ovis/Capra* (sheep/goat). Two bones were found to be wild animal bones, one belonging to *Connochaetes* sp. (wildebeest) and the second to *Herpestidae* (mongoose/meerkat). Mongooses have been viewed on the site during excavation so the deposition of mongoose remains is possibly not contemporary with the mission station. The remaining two bones could only be placed in the broad categories of Bovidae I/II and Bovidae III respectively (Appendix DD).

Table 8.5. Summary of the bone assemblage collected from MMH. NISP = Number of Identified Specimens.

	NISP
Mammal Remains	7
TOTAL IDENTIFIED	7
Rib Fragments	30
Bone Flakes	23
Miscellaneous Fragments	58
TOTAL UNIDENTIFIED	111
TOTAL SAMPLE	118
Mass ID (g)	88
Mass non-ID (g)	69
Total mass (g)	157

The majority of the assemblage (63.6%) originated from MMH-b, the proposed kitchen site of the mission house, and 34.7% of the bone was found at MMH-a. The remaining few bones were located in the STP along the garden wall (6 bones), the west steps (1) and furrow STP 4 and 5 (1 in each). All bones identified to species were found across MMH-b.

Appendix EE gives the database of unidentified bones found at MMH. Interestingly, all of the bones found at MMH-a were found to have been burnt black, grey or white. Indicating that these bones had been exposed to severe burning, unlikely to be due to natural grass fires. In comparison, only 54.1% of the bones from MMH-b were found to have been burnt, and furthermore, they were burnt to lesser extent. Almost half of the burnt bones found at MMH-b were only burnt to a brown discolouration. The rest, like MMH-a, were burnt to a black, grey or white colour. These bones that were burnt black, grey or white mostly originated from the K-S excavation. Only the five bones from MMH showed signs of butchery, four of these originating from MMH-b and the fifth from the garden wall STP.

Like HGH, it is evident that this area was not used for the butchery of animals, nor for the disposal of remains. Many of the bones in this assemblage showed signs of severe weathering in the form of fine-line fractures, large cracks and flaking. It is therefore always a possibility that these bones have moved from elsewhere over time due to the processes detailed in Chapter Four.

8.7 Stone

A total of 34 pieces of slate were found, 91.1% of which were collected at MMH-b (Appendix FF). All of these were flat pieces of slate, barring one slate pencil that was found in Furrow STP 6. None of the flat slate had either etched lines or scratched etchings visible.

8.8 Discussion

The sheer size of the MMH mound, situated in between what is now known to be the chapel and the printing press building, indicates that this is one of the most important structures on the mission station. Its size and location in what has been labelled the 'Mission precinct', suggests that this was the missionaries private home. The large size of the mound is indicative of the quantity of mudbrick that has collapsed on the site, on the one hand rendering it extremely difficult to excavate, but on the other, showing that the mudbrick walling must have been extensive, with a high likelihood of the internal walling off of separate rooms. Comparing the size of the MMH mound to that of HGH and PPH, it is evident that MMH is significantly bigger. A reason for this is perhaps that a chapel and printing press house do not have the same need for internal division as that of a private residence. A chapel requires an open hall to accommodate the congregation that the missionary hoped would be large and diligent, and so internal rooms reducing this space would have been limited. Similarly, the printing press structure was used for all printing activities and would presumably have required a reasonable space for the reams of paper, supplies and the printing process itself. The design of the missionary's home, however, would have been governed by several factors. Chapter Three, Section 3.3, illustrates how a missionary's house was dominated by western ideals of 'civilised life' and gendered division of labour. Their home would have reflected the messages and teachings that they were trying to impose on the world (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). The domestic domain would have been the site for many different activities and interactions, such as child rearing, house-keeping, cooking, mending and socializing or hosting guests. Interactions

would have taken place on several different levels, as appropriate to a Victorian English household, between husband and wife, parent and child, employer and employee as we know that the missionaries employed servants. It is thus not surprising that the missionary's physical house would have reflected this complex arrangement with many internal spaces and divisions.

Further division of activities can be seen through the distribution of ceramic across the structure. The local ceramic is located almost exclusively on the eastern end of the structure, and at the furthest point (MMH-a), the local ceramic far out-numbers the imported ceramic. The assemblage found at MMH-b as well as the shape and design of the foundational walling suggest that this may have been the location of a kitchen area. The U-shaped walling is reminiscent (albeit much larger) of a small *kookhuis* found during an excavation of a site on the northern end of the station (Klatzow 2016, *pers. Comm.*). This too was U-shaped and the interior was filled with charcoal, local ceramic and a few bent nails, likely used as hooks. Here at MMH-b, the excavation of K-S (Fig. 5.15) did not yield the same abundance of cooking remains, but this may be explained by the increased value that the missionaries placed on cleanliness which would have had a significant impact on the archaeological record here. Presumably the place would have been swept clean on a regular basis. Considering the abundance of ceramic (in comparison with the rest of the site), burnt bone, the crank handle, bent nails, and a stratigraphy that paints a picture of ashy and charcoal deposits in amongst the mudbrick, suggests that a hypothesis of this being the site of kitchen activity, is not unreasonable. Opposite the U-shaped walling is what appears to be the foundation of a platform of sorts. This may have been used to support heavy vessels filled with water or grain, or something similar.

The walling at MMH-a is of a much rougher nature in comparison with that of MMH-b, only a stones-throw away. The function of MMH-a is still unclear but the abundance of local ceramic, the presence of a small number of bone fragments all severely burnt, and the absence of almost anything else, suggests that an activity was certainly taking place here. Perhaps this was a later addition to the structure, an informal storage area for the use of the kitchen or gardening activities, or perhaps it was a much later addition, built and/or occupied after the missionaries had left.

The archaeological footprint so far uncovered, combined with Cameron's sketch of a missionary house, suggests that the layout and orientation of MMH was as follows. The impressive flagstones, possible steps, and abundance of glass suggests that the entrance to MMH was situated on the western end of the structure. In line with Cameron's sketch and the anecdote from Giddy, this would have led directly into a parlour or general living area. Leading off from this room would have been multiple bedrooms – four during Cameron's era and possibly more added during Giddy's. MMH-b, the possible kitchen area, then also led directly off of the parlour, directly opposite the entrance. However, the entire mudbrick cap would need to be removed in order to truly establish the house layout, so this is strictly a preliminary proposal.

The lack of a midden behind MMH is striking, as this household would surely have produced a lot of waste. At this stage it is postulated that the midden behind PPH was the midden utilised by every structure in the mission precinct. The size and wealth of the PPH midden suggests more than just the remains of church-related activities (Chapter Six). Figure 5.3 illustrates how close and direct a journey it would have been to travel from MMH-b to the midden behind PPH. The "garden wall" running between MMH and PPH has been drawn as a solid line but it is entirely plausible that there may have been an entrance way to make movement between the two structures convenient. The hypothesis that waste may have been discarded into the furrow running between MMH and PPH with the notion that it would have washed downhill was not confirmed, as shown by the minimal results of the six STP's placed at the base of the wall running north-south in front of all three structures that would have caught any such flow.

The fact that none of the missionaries who resided at Platberg had to make a hasty retreat for any reason, that all would have left Platberg of their own accord and in their own time, is an explanation for why there has been so little material culture found at the mission precinct. The missionaries would have packed up their belongings carefully and entirely, leaving very little behind. Agnes' Tales mentions that Mrs Giddy possessed a dressing table and couches created out of packing cases which were then covered in linen, mattresses and cushions. This meant that packing up the household would be quick and efficient, and nothing needed to be left behind. This will be discussed further in Chapter

Ten that compares the findings of this study to those of Revil Mason and his excavation of a mission station in the Transvaal.

The mission precinct, made up of PPH, MMH and HGH, was distinct from the rest of the mission station. A large boundary wall enclosed HGH, MMH and a large garden or orchard at the back, as well as stretching along the front to include PPH. The foundation stones for all three structures are large, well-dressed, and carefully placed, and it is likely that all these structures were whitewashed, had wooden flooring and mudbrick walls. This gives an impression of labour intensive and expensive building practices. An expense that would have been justified by the good example the missionaries were setting for the community, and the civilizing activities such as religious services, schooling and printing religious tracts that would have been held within their walls. The mission precinct contrasted dramatically from the smaller structures on the site. These structures provide an interesting base for comparison with other structures erected along the main street and further afield. The results of the investigation into one such structure is detailed in Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER NINE: BH – A HOUSEHOLD IN THE VILLAGE

The structure BH was much smaller than PPH, located on the western flank of the mission station approximately 90m southwest of PPH (Fig. 5.2). The structure was central to a series of demarcated fields, that might have been gardens, orchards or animal kraals (Fig. 5.20). Chapter 5 described the excavation method undertaken at this structure, and although little was found in the way of artefacts, the results have shed some light on the short occupation of this structure.

9.1 Bone

Bone made up a great proportion of the assemblage recovered from BH. A total of 538 bones were found, 52 of which were diagnostic to genus or species level (Table 9.1) (Appendix GG). The preservation of the bones found at BH were in far poorer condition than those from PPH with many of the bones displaying signs of surface flaking and erosion. This suggested that the bones were left exposed to the elements after being discarded and were not immediately covered up. This was further supported by the fact that there was carnivore damage on at least 20 of the bones which meant that the area and the bones were accessible to carnivores. Only 25 of the bones showed signs of having been burnt, but those that were burnt were burnt to the point of being black, grey or white. However, at least 15 of these burnt bones were found very close to the surface, if not on the surface, and so the burning could have occurred from natural causes over time rather than the purposeful burning of bones after a meal (Appendices GG and HH).

Almost all the bones came from Section 2, and more specifically from R14, S14 and T14. Furthermore, all of the diagnostic bones were mammalian, which showed that there was far less variety in fauna compared with that of PPH. Table 9.1 is a summary of the different species found across BH with the total bones diagnostic of that species. Almost all of the bones identified to species level were domestic, with 11 bones being identified as probably being cattle, 11 as sheep or goat, and two as probable sheep. One Equid bone was found in S14/spit 2, and the only bone denoting a wild animal (red hartebeest) was found in S14/spit 3. The springhare bone was found on the surface of section 1, and the hare bone was found in U12 during the excavation of the stone feature. As both of these

bones were so close to the surface and such animals are common in the area today, I have not counted them as important to this assemblage.

One bone, found in the T14 STP appears to have been worked. It was a thin, flat bone, and had been smoothed around its edges to form a small, circular disc. It had a diameter of only 22mm. What purpose this may have had is unknown.

Table 9.1. Total species of fauna found at BH. NISP = Number of Identified Specimens.

Species	**NISP**
Equidae (equid)	1
Bos taurus (cattle)	9
cf. *Bos taurus* (probably cattle)	2
Ovis aries (sheep)	1
cf. *Ovis aries* (probably sheep)	1
Ovis/*Capra* (sheep/goat)	11
cf. *Alcelaphus buselaphus* (probably red hartebeest)	1
Bovidae II (medium bovid)	9
Bovidae III (large bovid)	14
Bovidae III (large bovid - wild)	1
Pedetes capensis (springhare)	1
Leporidae (hare)	1
TOTAL	**52**

9.2 Seeds

A total of 79 seeds were found at BH. Of these, 45 have been identified so far. Thirteen of the seeds were identified as corms, which we were found consistently throughout our excavations. *Celtis africana* made up the majority of the assemblage, numbering 29. Twenty-five of these were found during the surface collection of Section 3 and the other four while wall-chasing in the same area. All of these were very close to the surface and are probably recent intrusions. One example of *Prunus persica/dulcis* was found in the M-STP, and it was both broken and burnt. This continued the trend of peach/almond pips found at PPH. Two possible *Zea mays* (maize) seeds were found in R14/spit 2 and both were broken.

9.3 Local Ceramic

A total of 93 sherds of local ceramic were found across BH, 50 of which were found in the squares R14, S14 and T14 (Appendix II). Of these 93 sherds, only three were rims, one of which was the only decorated potsherd found at this site (Fig. 9.1). It was decorated with

comb stamping impressions on the rim as well as the body directly below the rim, and was burnished red. Another of the rim sherds was also burnished bright red but not decorated (Fig. 9.2). Twenty per cent (20%) of the local ceramics found here were burnished, 10 of them red and the remaining nine burnished black. Almost half of the ceramics had been burnt, making up 41.9% of the assemblage, but of the 39 sherds showing signs of having been burnt, 25 of them were collected either from the surface collections or from R14/spit 1. The ceramic sherds are too small to identify whether they are pot bases or not. This meant that there was no clear evidence of the pots being purposefully burnt in the process of cooking and such burning may have happened at any time from the abandonment of the station to present. Of the 39 potsherds that had been burnt, only nine of them had traces of charred matter attached to them. All of these, however, were located in R14 (6) and S14 (3) and seven of them came from spit 3, the layer that held most of the bone and charcoal remains.



Figure 9.1. Decorated potsherd excavated from R14/spit 2.



Figure 9.2. Potsherd rim from R14/spit 3, burnished red.

9.4 Imported Ceramic

A raw count of 97 imported ceramics were found at BH, totalling 87 after accounting for fresh breakage (Appendix JJ). The trends in type and decoration followed those found at PPH. Most of the ceramics found here were refined industrial, white-bodied, ware (73), mostly decorated with transfer print (35). Of these 35, 17 were decorated in transfer-printed (TP) blue. Second to the transfer printed sherds were sherds decorated in industrial slipware (23). Four pieces of porcelain were found, three of which were Asian and one was European. Only five sherds of stoneware were recovered. Those sherds that were diagnostic of form or function (only 15), showed that these were utilitarian wares, made up largely of flatwares, plates, bowls, dishes and a possible saucer. Found in the S14 STP was a rim of a pipe-bowl. It was white in colour and 9mm in size.

9.5 Beads

A few beads were found at BH (54 in total), 72.7% of which were found in the squares R14 and S14. A further two were located in the T14 STP. Beyond that they were spread between Section 3 (6), the trench along the garden wall (3) and the Q12 (2) and U11 (1) stone feature (Appendix KK).

Figure 9.3 shows the proportions of the different colours of the beads at BH. There was a difference in the BH assemblage from that of PPH in that white-hearts and white beads did not make up the majority of the sample. Instead, a significant number (23) of bright

green beads were found in S14 (21) and the T14 STP (2). Of the 21 found in S14, 61.9% of them were found in spit 3. Given the very specific location of these bright green beads, and that they were found nowhere else, it is a reasonable argument that it was a string of beads that broke on this spot.

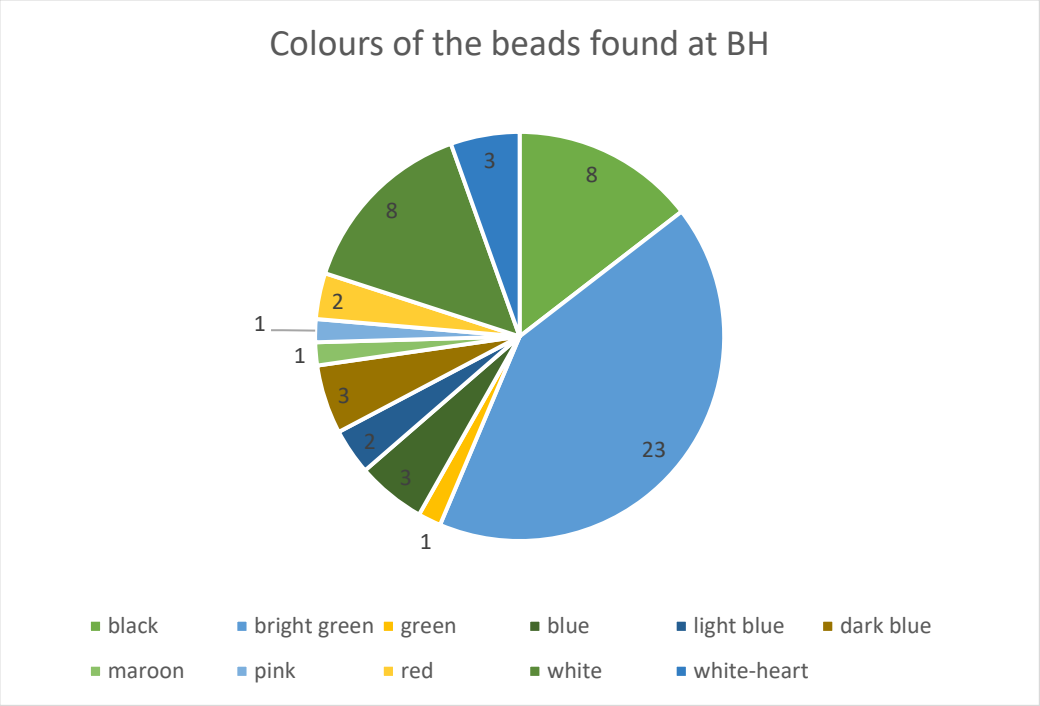

Figure 9.3. Colours of the beads found at BH.

Besides these translucent green beads, the next majority colours were black (8) and white (8), and only three white-hearts were found. Using the measurements set out in Wood (2005, p. 33) it was found that these beads were in general very small. Eighty per cent (80%) of the beads were classified in the 'small' range (2.5mm-3.5mm) and the rest as minute (less than 2.5mm), one bead, a light blue one from R14/spit 2 was not counted in this because it was broken into fragments and could not be measured. The shapes of the beads in this assemblage varied only between cylinder and oblate with 38 beads being oblate and 15 cylindrical.

9.6 Glass

Only 18 shards of glass were found at BH which is extremely low when compared with the numbers at PPH. Of the 18 shards, eight were flat glass, all found in R14 (1), S14 (4) and the T14 STP (3) (Appendix LL). All shards were clear apart from one which was translucent

but had a light green tinge. They were all very thin, ranging from 0.65mm to 1.96mm, with an average of 1.14mm. This meant that whatever this flat glass was used for, it would have been in very small panes to make it sturdier and less likely to break (Weiland, 2009, p. 29).

The rest of the glass in this assemblage comprised such small fragments that the form and function were too difficult to determine. This glass ranged between clear (6) and green (3), and one was translucent with a light green tinge. Two of these were tiny chips that could have been a part of anything. The rest were slightly curved and would have been parts of bottles or vessels.

9.7 Metal

Only 50 pieces of metal were found at BH (Appendix MM). Six of these were nails of varying lengths and sizes, with the smallest nail measuring 19mm and the longest at 78mm. One of the nails was a large bolt, similar to that found in PPH, which was found in R14/spit 2 (Fig 9.4). One piece of metal is a possible nail but was too rusted to be certain. Another was a possible pin, but it was too small a fragment to be sure. A total of 39 miscellaneous flakes of metal were found that were too broken or small to determine their original form. Two pieces of metal sheeting were found in the trench along the garden wall that appeared to be rim pieces of a vessel, with one edge carefully folded over to form the rim (Fig. 9.5). Lastly, a clothing hook was found in S14/spit 2 (Fig. 9.6).



Figure 9.4. Bolt from R14/spit 2.



Figure 9.5. Sheet of metal from the trench along the garden wall.



Figure 9.6. Clothing hook from S14/spit 2.

9.8 Discussion

BH was the smallest of the structures covered in this study and seems to have the smallest archaeological footprint as well. The discovery of the stone foundations that would have formed a plastered step outside of the house, faced to the north of the structure, indicating that this was probably the orientation of the building. This deviates from the pattern seen at the mission complex where the buildings faced the street. Here, the building faces out onto fields and the mission station beyond that. There was no evidence of mudbrick walling found here, which suggests that even though this structure has square stone foundations, the walls may have been either pole and daga, or hartebeest thatch-like walling. The floor was not made of wood like PPH, but was rather an earthenware floor (Fig. 5.22).

It is evident that a true midden at BH was not found. What was thought to be a midden turned out to be far more transient and ephemeral than hoped. The most common items found here were bone and charcoal at 50cm below the surface in Section 2. Most of the ceramic was found on the surface as a by-product of squirrel activity. The bone lens was found in R14 and S14 very close to the structure. It is therefore possible that this may have been an outdoor kitchen or butchery area, and the weathering and carnivore patterns on the bones suggests that the bone was discarded in the open. Very little was found in the way of structural or building materials such as metal and glass which suggests the building would have had very few, very small, or no windows.

Comparing the local and imported ceramic found at BH, there was a roughly 50:50 ratio in local to imported ceramic. This is a pattern similar to that found in the J3 Trenches of PPH which was also close to a 50:50 ratio. These two locations are then different in terms of material culture to the F1 midden at PPH which had a far higher frequency of imported ceramic when compared to the local.

In comparison to PPH, BH had none of the assorted pieces that were found at PPH such as printing press pieces, slate, eggshell, playing pieces, rings, bottle stoppers or buttons. This suggests that people with a different focus inhabited this structure and different activities occurred in the different locations. The very low number of finds suggests that this structure was not inhabited for as long or as consistently as PPH, and there was

insufficient time for a permanent structure to be built, or that the occupants resisted building in brick. It is likely that the structure was destroyed during the political conflict and was never rebuilt or occupied.

Chapters Six to Nine have given a close look at the material culture found at each location investigated in this study. While the middens have proved elusive, the excavation of each site has yielded important information about the nature and fabric of each structure and its position within the overall landscape of Platberg. Each context has also provided some information about the duration of occupation and their overall demise. The material culture has provided a glimpse of the everyday activities that occurred in and around each of the separate spaces. Chapter Ten then compares these results to that of Professor Revil Mason of the University of the Witwatersrand who excavated a mission station in the Transvaal.

CHAPTER TEN: A COMPARISON

As described previously (Chapter Two), Platberg was, in fact, the second mission station of that name. These two mission stations have been distinguished in most of the literature as “Old Platberg” in the Transvaal and “New Platberg” in the Free State (Schoeman 1991: 17) (Fig. 1.1). The first Platberg, and several nearby mission stations were occupied in the 1820s and abandoned in the late 1820s and early 1830s due to the conflict and war known as the *Difaqane* (Chapter Two, section 2.1). Professor Revil Mason excavated a mission station in this region, called Matlwase (shown in Fig. 1.1), in the 1960s. This chapter examines his findings and compares them to mine at Platberg.

Matlwase is known to be the earliest historical settlement in the Transvaal and Mason visited the site in 1964 with several objectives: to confirm the identification of the site as Matlwase, and to identify the specific structures and settlements spoken about in the diaries of each missionary. Hodgson built a stone-walled cottage, Broadbent built a wooden-walled cottage with earthen flooring, and the remains of an Iron Age-style stone-walled settlement was located approximately one kilometre to the north (Mason, 1986, p. 868). Furthermore, a conservation project was launched to protect the stone remains of what was confirmed to be Hodgson's private residence. For my purposes I will focus on the excavation and study of the Hodgson and Broadbent houses only and compare the findings to that found at “New Platberg”, also the site of the private operations of Wesleyan missionaries. All of the following excavation information was taken from Mason’s (1986) unpublished compendium of excavation data housed in the University of the Witwatersrand Archaeology department. The artefacts examined by me are housed in the Wits Archaeology Archive.

10.1 The Structures

The stone-walling of Hodgson’s Cottage had survived the test of time well, and much of the walling was still standing at the date of excavation (1964). It was apparent that the structure was divided into two rooms, one where the walls reached a height of 2.2m and the second where the walls reached to only 1.2m (Fig. 10.1). Figure 10.1 is a sketch done by Mason that depicts what the Cottage may have originally looked like at the time of occupation. Figure 10.2 is a photograph taken by Mason in 1964 of the state of the walling

at the time of excavation. It was found that the room enclosed by the higher walls would have been used as a bedroom and the room with the lower walls would have functioned as a kitchen with an open chimney built on the side (Fig. 10.1).

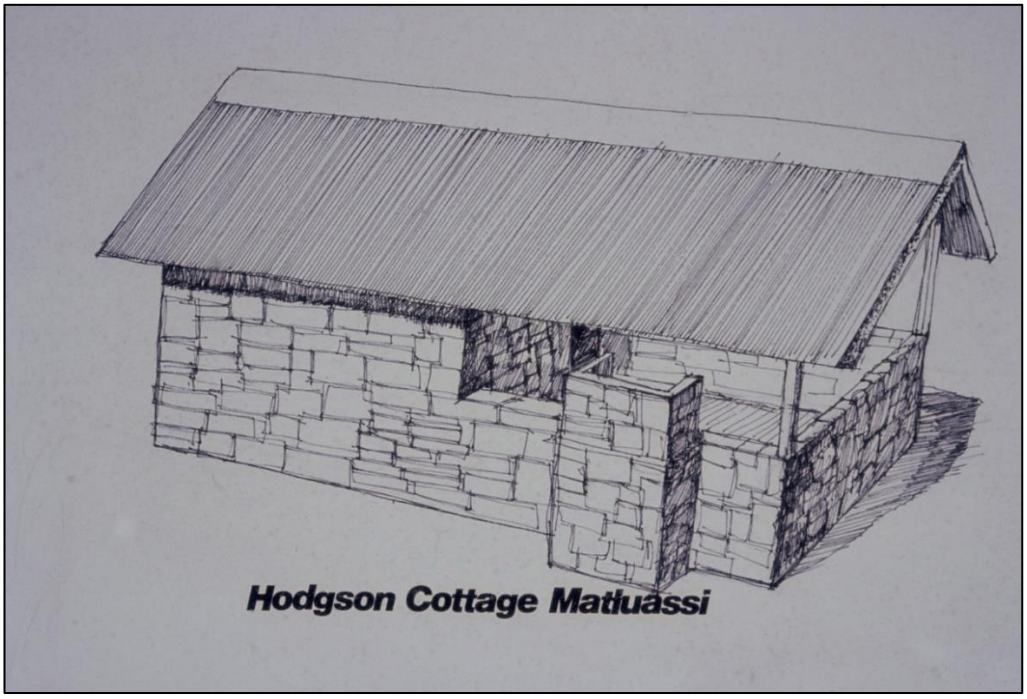

Figure 10.1. Sketch done by Mason (1964). Retrieved from Mason's slides stored in Wits Archives.



Figure 10.2. The remains of Hodgson's cottage (Photograph: R. Mason).

The first stage of the excavation involved removing and trimming as many of the trees invading the building as possible, protecting the walls as they went. They then had to clear the stones and deposit that had gathered above the original floors of the structure. A grid was then laid out along the length and breadth of the building, some of the squares overlapping into the structure. This would have given them a picture of occupation both inside and out of the structure.

The excavation of the interior of the structure revealed that there was likely a secondary occupation following Hodgson's departure, by "Iron Age people" (likely Taung or Barolong people). The presence of ash layers in what was originally the bedroom suggests that these people rejected Hodgson's exterior fireplace and chimney and instead built their fires in the centre of the bedroom, just as they would in their own huts. The actual chimney had little ash in it, suggesting that it was swept out before the missionaries left the station (Mason, 1986, p. 887) or that Hodgson never actually inhabited this space at all (Orford 1978: 5). This situation is similar to that found at Platberg in the Free State, where Backhouse complained of people building their nice rectangular buildings yet still built their fires inside, in the centre of the room (Backhouse 1844: 384). Furthermore, at the eastern end of MMH (see Chapter Eight), where it is thought a kitchen area has been found, very little ash was found. It is apparent that the lack of ash does not necessarily mean the absence of cooking activities. Missionaries placed great emphasis on cleanliness, but also on domestic production, increasing the potential for the employment of domestic servants (see Chapter Eleven).

During the excavation of Hodgson's cottage, a "horizontal ledge-like surface" was observed about 100 metres north-east of the cottage, the two sites separated by a low ridge of rocks. This rectangular structure, of which only the floor remained, was identified as being that built by Broadbent by comparing the site to his descriptions in his diaries, which matched almost exactly. It was also noted that artefacts, such as glass and ceramics, were washing out of the slope below the structure floor, and so a large grid was laid out measuring 16.5m by 6.7m, running parallel to the length of the rectangular floor (Mason, 1986, p. 899).

10.2 Artefacts

Mason (1986) gives a breakdown of the artefacts found at Hodgson's and Broadbent's cottages, and the assemblages seem to contain very similar items to those found at Platberg. The assemblages are made up of what Mason broadly calls "Western European artefacts" (consisting of slate, iron fragments, glass, porcelain, brass, gun flints and beads), Iron Age style pottery and bone fragments that have been identified as being largely wild animals, with only one domesticate (sheep/goat) found. Table 10.1 gives a summary of the finds excavated from Hodgson's cottage. As the finds from Broadbent's Cottage were much larger in quantity and variety, those data have been given in Appendix NN.

Table 10.1. Summary of finds (Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase). All data is from Mason (1986) or observed in person from the Wits archive.

	Interior Floor to 5cm above	Exterior 0-5cm below floor	Exterior 0-10cm[13] below floor
Iron Age style potsherds	87	37	95
Bone/tooth fragments	100	2	6
Ostrich eggshell fragments	0	0	6
Slate fragments	9	3	17
Iron fragments	39	5	18
Glass fragments	93	129	478
Porcelain fragments	45	14	78
Brass fragments	0	0	3
Gun flint	1	0	1
Bead	0	1	1

10.2.1 Glass

The results of this excavation shows that, like Platberg, a large part of the assemblage consisted of glass, and at least some of that glass was window glass (Fig. 10.3) (Table 10.1 and Appendix NN). Figure 10.3 is a photograph taken by Mason himself while on site. It is unclear where these shards of glass originated from, as the label on the slide is only "2726 AA" which broadly designates the glass to Matlwase. Furthermore, Mason (1986) gives little indication of exactly how much window glass was found at Hodgson's Cottage, in comparison with glass from bottles, vessels or miscellaneous.

[13] Table 9.1 was taken directly from Mason (1986, p. 891). It is unclear whether this third column includes the data from the previous column or not. No totals were given.

The glass from Broadbent's Cottage, however, was more closely analysed and it was found that flat glass made up 58% of the assemblage, green glass bottles 35% and clear glass bottles 4.6%. A total of 128 shards were found to have been painted, but as there is no description nor photographs of this glass, it is unclear whether it was painted window glass or vessels. No painted glass was found at Platberg, so this is an interesting variation.

The rest of the glass found seems to have been miscellaneous, and divided between their different colours (clear, blue and green). A portion of the glass (13 shards) was suspected of having been worked but, again, no description nor photographs were given so a comparison could not be made between them and the worked shards of window glass found at PPH (Chapter Six).

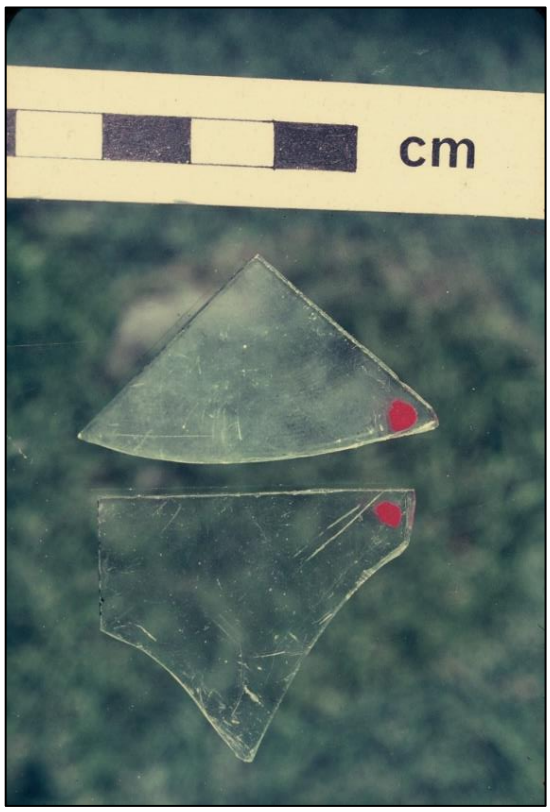

Figure 10.3. Flat glass, Matlwase (Photograph: R. Mason – slide stored in the Wits archive).

As part of his analysis of the artefacts, Mason sent a sample of the glass and imported ceramic assemblages to Dr. R. J. Charleston at the British Museum in London to get his expert opinion. Charleston had the following to say:

> Of the glass fragments, the dark specimen is part of a cylindrical bottle. Glass bottles of this type were made from about the last quarter of the 18th Century onwards. This piece could well date from the first quarter of the 19th Century. The window glass is very imperfect and does not really offer any possibility of dating.

The dark glass discussed above was presumably the large, glass base of a bottle that had been found at Hodgson's cottage (Fig. 10.4).



Figure 10.4. Base of large glass bottle from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase, stored in the Wits archive (Photograph: TH Hunt).

10.2.2 Imported Ceramic

The analysis of these artefacts by Charleston seems to have been done with the primary aim of providing a date for the site, to prove that it was indeed the Matlwase mission station, the first European settlement in the Transvaal. The sample sent to Charleston was therefore very small, and the analysis very basic, with only short descriptions of a selection of individual pieces, such as:

> Underglaze-blue printed earthenware, probably of a "willow-pattern dish". Staffordshire: probably first-quarter of 19th Century.

While these descriptions fulfil the aim of placing the artefacts and the site within a specific time-frame, they do not give a sufficient overview of the whole ceramic assemblage found at Matlwase. While taking a look at Mason's artefacts myself, I found examples of ceramics not analysed, and therefore not recognised as being part of the assemblage, such as hand-painted earthenware (Fig. 10.5) and a small sherd of Asian porcelain (Fig. 10.6). Furthermore, the ceramic results are further confused by the fact that Mason classified all imported ceramic sherds from Hodgson's Cottage as "Porcelain" (Table 10.1) which means that without completely redoing the analysis, it is difficult to truly assess and compare this assemblage to mine.



Figure 10.5. Earthenware, hand painted in harsh colours from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archives.



Figure 10.6. Small sherd of Asian porcelain from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archives.

When it came to the analysis of Broadbent's assemblage, Mason provided a more detailed classification (Table 10.2) but his terminology differs from that used in this thesis. For example, "blue on white" and "blue and green on white" are likely to have been transfer-printed refined industrial ware, and the ceramics classified only as "brown earthenware" and "dark brown" presumably refers to stoneware.

During perusal of Mason's finds, it became evident that the ceramic assemblages were very similar to those from Platberg. The presence of stoneware, blue transfer-printed ware, Industrial slipware, hand-painted ware (Fig. 10.5) and Asian porcelain (Fig. 10.6) shows that Hodgson and Broadbent were making much the same choices in ceramics as those made by the missionaries at Platberg. There did, however, seem to be much less variety in the ceramics. For example, predominantly blue transfer-printed ware was found at Matlwase, while at Platberg the transfer-printed ware came in a wide range of colours such as blue, purple, red, green, pink and black. Morris (2008, p. 106) argues that the 1830s saw an increase in the variety of transfer-printed wares, with the introduction of colours such as red, green and brown, and these wares were produced well into the 19th century. It is therefore evident that the limited variety in the imported ceramic assemblage may simply have been due to the limited choice available at the time.

Table 10.2. Summary of imported ceramics, Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Mason, 1986, p. 907) (Appendix NN).

Type	Body	Rim	Base
Plain white	921	149	0
Brown earthen ware	184	11	3
Blue on white	90	11	0
Blue and green on white	37	25	0
Dark brown	28	6	0
Blue glazed earthenware	1	0	0
Silver paint, white porcelain	1	0	0
Iron Age Ceramic	385	45	0

10.2.3 Local Ceramic

A total of 219 "Iron Age style potsherds" was found at Hodgson's Cottage (Table 10.1), compared with the 137 imported ceramics found at the same structure. It is interesting that the local ceramics so greatly outnumber the imported ones at this structure. Broadbent's Cottage, on the other hand, yielded a far larger assemblage, and here the

imported ceramics (1476) far outnumbered the local (430) (Appendix NN). This pattern was found at Platberg too. In spaces where missionary activity was predominant, the imported ceramics always outnumbered the local. But in spaces not dominated by the missionaries (BH, Chapter Nine), or even where groups had inhabited the structures after the missionaries were long gone (PPH J3 trenches, Chapter Six), the local ceramic assemblage usually equalled or outnumbered the imported.

The type of local ceramic found at Matlwase, in comparison to Platberg, was made of much courser and paler material (Fig. 10.7). Furthermore, there doesn't seem to be any ceramics that were burnished either red or black. Much like Platberg, very few of the ceramics were found to have been decorated - only approximately four vessels found at Broadbent's Cottage were said to have been decorated and in "various colours" (Mason 1986, p. 910) (Figs. 10.8 and 10.9). At Platberg, very few decorated sherds were found, mostly decorated with comb-stamped lines around the rim (Chapter Nine). The most predominant form of decoration at Platberg being simply burnished red or black ceramics. The local ceramic assemblages from Matlwase compared with Platberg are therefore quite different, perhaps not surprising given the fact that the mission stations were surrounded by different groups of people.

Mason asserts that all the imported material found at both Hodgson's and Broadbent's Cottages was brought in on the three ox wagons that arrived with the missionaries in 1823. The local ceramic, however, mostly undecorated, is said to likely have been from complete vessels acquired from Sehunelo's nearby community. These vessels may either have been objects of curiosity for the missionaries or used for practical purposes of holding water and other supplies (Mason, 1986, p. 911). Considering the local ceramic found at Platberg, it is likely that these missionaries acquired vessels from nearby Basotho groups. The high number of vessels, and the consistency of finding them across the site, particularly within the Mission Precinct, suggests that rather than objects of curiosity or ornament, these vessels were being used for entirely practical purposes.



Figure 10.7. Local ceramic sherd from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.8. Decorated local ceramic sherd from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.9. Decorated local ceramic sherd from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.

10.2.4 Metal

The metal assemblage from Matlwase was significant in that it appeared to be more elaborate and complex than that of Platberg, which is the opposite to the pattern that we see in the ceramics. There is the obligatory presence of rusted iron nails and miscellaneous fragments that appear to be in the same condition as those found at Platberg. However, several brass items were found in the excavation of Broadbent's Cottage, such as a hinge (Fig. 10.10), a cabinet handle (Fig. 10.11) and an elaborate screw with washer attached (Fig. 10.12) as well as many other brass artefacts (Table 10.3). An intricate metal keyhole plate (Fig. 10.13) was also found that would have covered the keyhole to a cabinet, chest of drawers or a similar piece of furniture. No such elaborate material was found at Platberg, with the most valuable metal pieces arguably being the piece of a harmonica and metal ring found at PPH (Chapter Six), both of which were very small and would have been easily lost or discarded. The iron artefacts are more similar in style and function to those from Platberg, consisting of building material (nuts and bolts), and a few clothing items such as clothing hooks and eyes, pins and a buckle (Table 10.3).

Table 10.3. Summary of identified metal artefacts, Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Mason, 1986, p. 908-909).

Brass	Total	Iron	Total
Screws	4 (1 with washer)	Nuts	1
Pen-nib	1	Lumps	2
Thimble	1	Clasps	11
Bracket for doorchain?	1	Pins	3
Drawer handle	1	Clothes hooks	5 (1 with washer)
Disc for handle	1	Coat or tent hooks	1
Boot stud	1	Hook of hook & eye	1
Ornament for furniture	2 + 2 nails	Eye of hook & eye	3
Curved strips for trunk	2	Bolt of door	1
Part of lock for case	1	Fragments of implement	2
Stopper for bottle	1	Flat pieces	17
Drawing pin	3	Buckle	1
Clip	1	Jewish harp	1
Hinge	1		
Keyhole	1		
Rings	2		
Buckle	1		
TOTAL	**27**		**49**



Figure 10.10. Brass hinge from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.11. Brass drawer handle from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.12. Brass screw with washer from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.13. Brass, decorative, keyhole cover from Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.

Finally, a George III sixpence coin was found at Broadbent's Cottage dated 1818 (Fig. 10.14). This went a long way to assure Mason of the legitimacy of the site, that this was the mission station of the history books, occupied in the early 1820s. This coin is said to be the only coin of its kind to be found in the South African interior (Mason, 1986, p. 910). Figure 10.14 shows both sides of the coin, taken by Mason in the 1960s during his analysis of the material.



Figure 9.14. George III sixpence coin dated 1818, Broadbent's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: R Mason). Stored in the Wits archive.

10.2.5 Bone

At Hodgson's Cottage a number of bones were found in both the kitchen and bedroom areas within the structure. Mason then employed A. Brown to analyse them and identify as many as possible (Mason, 1986). Table 10.4 lists the different species identified from this assemblage as given in Mason's description of his results (1986, p. 889). Mason (1986, p. 890) goes on to state that a further 14 bones were found outside of Hodgson's Cottage but no more is said about these.

Table 10.4. Total species of fauna identified, Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase (Mason, 1986, p. 889).

Species	**Number of bones**
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	1
Ostrich egg shell	[Present]
Total	**6**

Unfortunately, no information is given on evidence of butchery, burning or cooking, or carnivore and rodent damage. While it seems to have been a mix of domestic and wild animals, this is by no means certain as the descriptions are classed as "bovid size". It is also curious that some of the bones had been found in the bedroom area which ties in with the evidence of fires having been burnt in the bedroom. In the analysis of Broadbent's Cottage, even less is said about the bone samples. It is simply included in a list of miscellaneous finds which states that a total of 339 fragments of bone had been recovered (Appendix NN). Even though this was a much larger assemblage than that of Hodgson's Cottage, there is no evidence of it having been analysed.

10.2.6 Stone

Several pieces of slate were found at Matlwase: a total of 29 at Hodgson's Cottage, and five at Broadbent's. This slate, like that found at Platberg, would have been used as teaching tools, teaching people to read and write. The slate from Platberg has visible lines etched into the stone, providing lines in which the students were to practice their writing. The slate at Matlwase is slightly different in that there are no etched lines, but a few pieces

have deliberate scratchings etched deep into the stone (Fig. 10.15 and 10.16). These would have been made by people experimenting with the writing and drawing process. Figure 10.15 shows what may have been a child-like etching of a person, with a large round head and a simple, triangular body. Figure 10.16, however, appears to be more of an attempt at writing letters, or simply experimenting with the slate and slate pencil.



Figure 10.15. Flat slate from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase, depicting etching of possible humanoid figure (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.



Figure 10.16. Flat slate from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase, depicting possible attempt at writing letters (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.

10.2.7 Other

Lastly, Mason found a total of three gunflints at Matlwase, two at Hodgson's Cottage (Fig. 10.17) and a part of one at Broadbent's. These gunflints cannot be directly linked to the missionaries. A secondary occupation occurred at Hodgson's cottage after the missionaries abandoned the site, so the gunflints may have belonged to them; and Broadbent's cottage was ransacked by raiders. The gunflint there may have been brought in and lost during this destruction. It is interesting that the only gunflint found at Platberg so far was found at the back of the station at 'the wash' (Fig. 5.2). Both Matlwase and Platberg were to experience political upheaval and violence, and the inhabitants of both sites would have hunted for food to supplement their diets. The 1820s in the area surrounding Matlwase was characterised by political uncertainty and upheaval due to the *Difaqane* and the resulting displacement of many groups of people. It was therefore logical for the inhabitants in the area to arm themselves for protection, and the remaining

gunflints are evidence of this. It is curious that so little remains of military arms have been found at Platberg. They too experienced the threat of violence, and even had Cathcart's army camped on the station in 1852 (Collins, 1965, p. 31). The lack of gunflints by no means indicates that there were no guns, that the missionaries at Platberg had ample time to pack up before leaving meant that they could be more careful with their valuable items. The excavation of the other structures on the station, outside of the mission complex, may yield more military items than that found at present. After all, the missionaries were meant to be men of peace, while the Bastaards had a reputation for raiding and warfare.

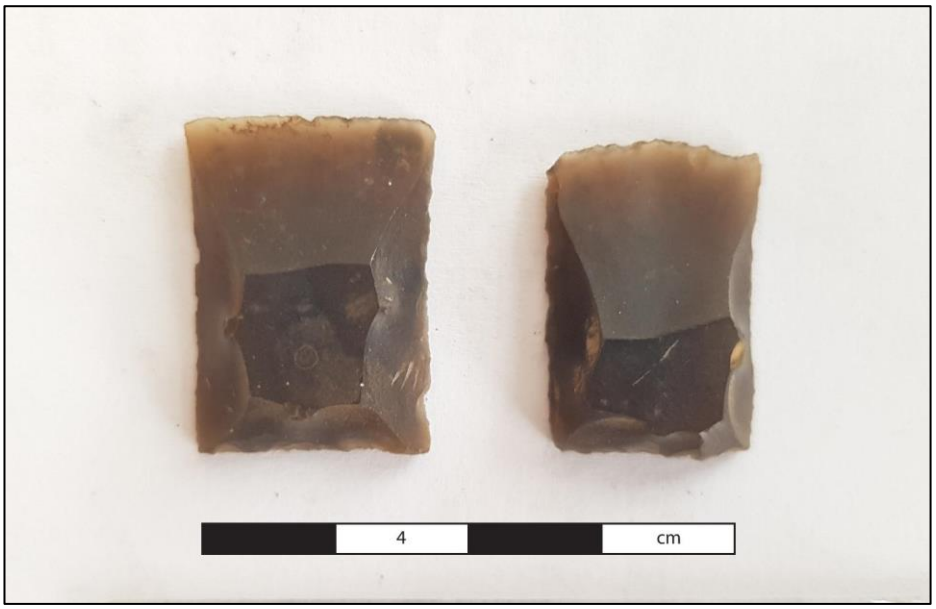

Figure 10.17. Gunflints from Hodgson's cottage, Matlwase (Photograph: TH Hunt). Stored in the Wits archive.

10.3 Discussion

Hodgson speaks of riding through "the old town", and houses, gardens and kraals having been burnt down (Cope, 1977, p. 291). This suggests that there was a measure of town-planning that took place in the layout and building of Matlwase, much like there was at Platberg. Mason (1986) gives no map of the old mission station, rather focusing on the nearby farming settlement and then only the missionary's private residences. The presence of houses and gardens, as described by Hodgson, suggests to me that the station may have been laid out in a similar manner to Platberg. However, Platberg was occupied for a much longer period (roughly 30 years) compared to Matlwase (only about two years) which would have enabled the town of Platberg to grow and establish a firm layout far

more so than Matlwase. It may be that the very short term of occupation meant that the structures built here were far more ephemeral than those at Platberg and therefore would have been very difficult to identify and map out in the present day.

Very little in the way of artefacts were found at Hodgson's Cottage compared with those found at Broadbent's. Mason hypothesises that this is probably because Hodgson and his wife were able to pack up their valued belongings and take them with when they left in September 1823 (Mason, 1986, p. 890). However, it may not be that simple as it seems that Hodgson built two houses at Matlwase. In April 1823, Hodgson describes how:

> This week has passed away, and not in idleness, as digging the foundations for my house, breaking up and collecting stones, leading them, building the foundation, making the frame of the door, fixing it in the wall etc., etc., have made me feel wearied in body (Cope, 1977, p. 170).

And in May of the same year, Hodgson describes his house as measuring 8.5 x 11 feet on the inside (2.6 x 3.4 metres), having a double window, a door made of hartebeest skin, the walls plastered with clay, and the whole structure thatched with grass (Cope, 1977, p. 173). This shows that his first house, built in 1823 was not, in fact, a stone structure, but rather a structure like those built at Platberg, with stone foundations and clay or mudbrick walls.

By the end of September 1825, Hodgson had completed his new home, describing that:

> After 8 weeks hard labour, during which time we had completed two comfortable rooms, 4 yards square inside, with some arrangements with regard to the cattle kraals etc., and nearly enclosed ground for a large garden in which two wells were dug (Cope, 1977, p. 298).

He gives no other description of this new house, but from Mason's findings we have to assume that this is the stone structure that was excavated. This structure could only have been occupied for a couple of months as the station was abandoned later that same year. The sheer shortness of occupation could easily explain the lack of material found during excavation.

In comparison, Broadbent's Cottage yielded many thousands of artefacts, all of which were found on the slope outside the structure. The reason given for this by Mason (1986,

p. 912) was that when Broadbent fell ill in 1824 he retreated with his family to Griquatown to get help. The family left all of their possessions at Matlwase with the view of freeing up wagon space so that they could bring back "a better load of necessary things" (Broadbent 1865: 121). The settlement of Matlwase was then ransacked by the invading Taung, resulting in most of the objects landing up outside (Mason, 1986, p. 913). This was confirmed by Hodgson in August 1825 when he returned to Matlwase lamenting at the destruction of the station he describes how:

> Mr. B.'s house [was] entirely destroyed, the hedge of our gardens burnt, a remnant of Dr. C.'s commentary here, part of an Encyclopaedia P. there, detached parts of other valuable publications rendered useless, various parts of household furniture etc. etc. scattered about, the two wells dried up and the people all sunk into discouragement (Cope, 1977, p. 291).

Thus, by 1825, Broadbent's cottage had been destroyed and his possessions either stolen, ransacked or broken. There was no such occurrence at Platberg which explains why we do not have the same wealth of missionary material as found outside Broadbent's cottage.

Mason then argues that the extreme similarity between the few objects at Hodgson's Cottage and those found at Broadbent's, indicates that the people who occupied the site after the missionary's departure may have picked up the items from one site and carried them across to the other. It makes sense that anybody taking refuge here would have chosen Hodgson's Cottage as it was made of stone and therefore much sturdier, but also would have utilized any discarded items that would have been scattered around Broadbent's Cottage.

Here, there are striking similarities with what has been found at Platberg. The missionary's home (MMH) and the printing press house were found to have been swept almost clean, and the only midden found was the one behind PPH (Chapter Six). Furthermore, there was distinct variation in artefacts across just the site of PPH, between the F1 midden and the J3 trenches, indicating that different activities were performed in each location. It seems likely, at this point in the study, that the midden at the back of the structure was the one used on a regular basis by the missionaries and their families, while the remains found between the two walls in J3 may be evidence of a later occupation, people taking

refuge in this area after the abandonment of the mission station. Similar to Matlwase, it is likely that these people would have used items found around them and moved them to where they were living, a place of perceived safety, which explains the large quantities of European artefacts found in the J3 Trenches, and at Hodgson's Cottage.

The high quality and intricacy of the metal material found at Matlwase is in stark contrast to the type of metal found at Platberg. This, too, could be explained by the fact that Broadbent and his family chose not to pack all their belongings and valuables before leaving, and then were unable to return. At Platberg, even though conflict and danger was always a possibility, the missionaries were never forced to leave at a moment's notice. This is why we have found no evidence of elaborate furniture with brass handles and brass keyhole plates (Fig. 10.11 and 10.13).

Overall, the analysis done on most of the Matlwase artefacts was very basic compared to what is required today, and on some of the material no analysis was done at all. The confused nature of the analysis on the imported ceramics meant that no comparison could be made with my own data. The very basic analysis of the faunal remains means that no conclusions can be drawn about butchery, burning, or even post-depositional carnivore activity. Even the list of species associated with bone sizes is uninformative as there is no evidence that the bones actually belonged to these bovids.

From what has been gleaned from the Wits archives and Mason's compendium of data (1986), several similarities can be drawn between Matlwase and Platberg, from their choices in ceramic ware, to post-missionary occupation of a structure. The most stark difference between the two sites was the sheer number of intricate and valuable goods found outside Broadbent's Cottage. The comparison of Hodgson's cottage to Broadbent's cottage shows clearly the effect of invasion and looting on the archaeological record, and in turn, comparing these findings to those of MMH – the missionary's home at Platberg (Chapter Eight) – supports my assertion that so little was found there due to the diligence and cleanliness of the missionaries packing up and leaving the site.

Chapter Eleven attempts to pull all the data, archaeological and archival, together to provide a more nuanced understanding of the Platberg landscape.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: A MISSION STATION LIVED

Historical archaeology projects run the risk of falling back on archival material when the archaeological material does not, or seems insufficient, to add to the conversation or provide an alternative point of view. Certainly, in the present study, while the artefacts provide a foundation from which to start a conversation, many more spaces and middens need to be excavated in order to argue convincingly about the socio-economic circumstances or even everyday practices and material relationships within the station. Furthermore, the high level of natural disturbance on this landscape has meant that there is a certain level of doubt pertaining to the stratigraphy, as well as the location of artefacts across the landscape.

That said, the social and natural landscape that has started to emerge through mapping and excavation, allows some dialogue between the broader political and ideological framework provided by the documents and the more embedded archaeological landscape. The archaeology detailed above combined with archival evidence has revealed several themes of interaction and quotidian experience that played themselves out on this landscape. This study has shown how the civilizing mission was projected onto this landscape, how the missionaries sought to recreate a European rural village in the wilds of southern Africa, and how notions of gender, class, and power relations were negotiated on this landscape. Similarly, it has also revealed some of the ways in which the material expression of civilization sought by the missionaries was unsuccessful, with the perpetual building of temporary structures rather than permanent ones, proving the inability and failure of the missionaries to build a stable and permanent community. Interestingly, it became clear that much of this success or failure seemed to be dependent on the personality of the individual missionary, notwithstanding the wider political conflicts and politics of the region.

11.1 The Civilizing Mission

> There are several more Basutos whom I judge fit for the fellowship of the church; but as I wish all whom I baptise if possible to be dressed in European clothes, and they plead inability to purchase them, their baptism on that account is delayed and their probation unnecessarily lengthened. (Cameron, 23 June 1841, volume 2, p. 429)

The manipulation of the physical space and quotidian practices is clearly visible at Platberg through both the historical literature and the archaeology. The above quote shows clearly how Cameron refused to accept people into his church who had not made a sufficient effort at adapting to perceived appropriate behaviour. Cameron often complained of how difficult it was to restrict alcohol on the station, with brandy and traditional beer being favourites of both Basotho and Bastaards (2 April 1841). And he battled continuously against polygamy (22 August 1842), raiding (28 May 1842), dishonesty and theft (4 July, 1842), and very often would expel those from his church that he found guilty of these perceived crimes.

The European missionaries that settled on this landscape had clear ideas on how a station should be built in order to achieve and outwardly express their mission. The permanent nature of the station and investment in agriculture and industry were part of the 'conceptual and concrete' worldview of the missionary (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997). An enormous amount of labour must have gone into the masonry of the mission precinct. The large sandstone blocks were cut, dressed, and transported to the building site. The walled structures in the mission precinct as well as the extensive boundary walling convey the sense of permanence and investment in the land that they wished to instil in their parishioners. The mission precinct is the most visible and concrete example of these ideals.

Two sources of historical literature (Arbousset and Daumas (1846) and Agnes' Tales) group the church and parsonage together in their writing, and Agnes's Tales goes further and adds the printing press house. Given that the shape and dimensions of PPH come so close to the diagram drawn by Ayliff in his journal (Appendix P), it is reasonable to assume that PPH probably served as the chapel for the mission station. The presence of many pieces of movable type and printing press material, suggests that HGH served as the printing press office that was mentioned in Agnes' Tales, and the sheer size of the mudbrick mound of MMH indicates that this structure, more than any other on the station had extensive internal walling and likely served as the missionaries private home. The enclosed area that stretched in front and behind HGH and MMH, with a pomegranate tree still growing in the northeast corner, would have been their private kitchen garden or orchard. The discovery of the door handle and stairs on the western wall of HGH, and the

high frequency of window glass along the western wall of PPH indicates that the entrances and predominant outlook side was located on the west, facing out onto the road, the rest of the station, and the valley beyond.

These three structures form the 'missionary precinct' and is without a doubt the most visible of any of the structures on the station. Anybody approaching the station would have had to approach from either the west or south due to the hillside to the east and the mountain spring to the north. The mission precinct is located at the crossroads of the intersecting streets so that any travellers approaching from the west would not be able to miss the centrally located, whitewashed (Cameron, 22 November 1843), chapel. Furthermore, the chapel is located on slightly higher ground compared with the rest of the station. Compared with the northern edge of the station, PPH is approximately 5m higher in altitude, and approximately 6m higher than the western edge. The drawing of Platberg in Backhouse (1844, p. 384), while not completely accurate, also depicts the church at the highest point on the hill, on the western slope, looking out over the smaller houses below it. The visibility and grandeur of these whitewashed buildings positioned against the natural tones of the hillside illustrates their desire and/or obligation to be seen as models of civility, and to set an example for all. Such prominence on the landscape would also have created a line-of-sight that not only provides a point of surveillance for the missionary to watch over his community (Spencer-Wood, 2002, p. 175), but also allows for the community to survey and ideally emulate those missionaries. Not only was the chapel so prominent and visible in the public space, but its function as a chapel and a schoolroom made it an inherently public space, with a bell which was used to call people to worship each day (Cameron, 1 November 1840). This is almost identical to the description of a LMS mission station in Botswana (Ashley, 2018) which speaks to the conformity to which missionaries went about their mission.

The archaeological map of Platberg (Fig. 5.1) most closely resembles the description provided by Cameron who laid out the street design in 1845. He described making it "four square" with the streets crossing at right angles, and running from north to south and from east to west (Chapter One). Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 8) described a slightly smaller village – a "little village in one long street" – surrounded by numerous gardens, and that these houses numbered between 25 and 30 but their visit was in March 1836

(Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, pp. 2–7), several years before Cameron took over the station (1840) and began work on its expansion. To date, the survey has recorded a total of 18 small structures arranged along two parallel lines. Of these 18, only seven had foundations that were readily visible above the ground. The very act of town-planning using a grid layout was an attempt at creating control and order, a concretisation of surveillance and westernisation of a landscape (Brink, 1997).

On a closer look at the smaller structures (such as BH), it was noticed that several of them do not show evidence of mudbrick walling, and were therefore likely to have been reed Hartebeest houses, and the material culture recovered from BH suggested that the occupation of the structure had been short-lived. Given the missionaries' goal of creating a sedentary society of permanent houses and people, the lack of mudbrick walling suggests that in this respect, they failed. Although Carolus Baatje and his people seemed vested in ownership and self-government within their own territory – something that they were granted by the British in 1849 (Theal, 1883a; Venter, 1960) – they also appeared intent on settling on their own terms and according to their own ideas. There certainly seems to be a greater investment in building dwellings more suited to their own life experience, ideology and gendered divisions of labour. Evidence for Hartebeest houses is more common than mudbrick houses. Hartebeest houses have been described as having been constructed of "tall reeds plastered with mud" (Backhouse, 1844, p. 384) and/or "narrow, low and smoky hut[s] formed of mats" (Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, p. 12).

The missionary complex was very different in comparison to the smaller structures such as BH. A lot of thought evidently went into the planning of BH, as it is situated within a private enclosure which is further enclosed within larger enclosures that would have been used to grow crops such as maize, wheat, sorghum or fruit. However, it does not seem as if it was occupied for long. The absence of a convincing midden suggests that the people living here were either discarding their debris elsewhere, and/or simply did not live here for very long. The presence of a fair amount of bone, all of it domesticate, and all in a very bad condition, suggests that it was discarded in the open rather than covered up in a normal midden. This indicates that the people living there either had no qualms about discarding debris in front of their house rather than a designated rubbish area, or that the rubbish pit was poorly constructed, shallow, and not used for long. The lack of material

culture may indicate a very short period of occupation, with the structure abandoned either in 1852 or the early 1860s. However, the high amount of modern animal activity in this area suggests that many artefacts have moved through the deposit or even across the landscape. This means that any interpretation of this site and its associated finds can only be tentative since so much change has occurred to the land in the intervening 150 years.

It seems unlikely that BH had any windows due to the comparatively low number of flat glass shards found (eight shards compared to the 2,646 and 770 shards found at PPH and HGH respectively). These eight tiny shards were quite scattered and were found at some distance from the structure in Section Two (Chapter Nine). BH also differs from the mission precinct in that the structure faces in a northerly direction rather than westerly – the trend throughout the rest of the station. The north-facing stone platform that was found attached to the structure probably served as the foundation for a wide, plastered step or patio (Figs. 5.23). It makes sense that a structure or house would open out onto the private enclosure rather than away from it, however, BH breaks the trend shown at the mission complex – and the rest of the station – of opening out onto the street, or onto a view of the valley. Rather, it faces the direction from where the majority of the mission station could be seen, including the mission complex. This was probably planned by the builders in an effort to create a point of surveillance over the activities of the missionaries and the other inhabitants of the station. It was the intention, or at least obligation, of the Wesleyans to be observed, so perhaps this point of surveillance was simply the builders complying with the expectations of the resident missionary. If this was so, it was the only effort made by the inhabitants of BH. The impermanent structure of a hartebeest hut and the strewn debris in the front yard, suggests that these inhabitants cared little for missionary values, and likely did not stay for very long anyway.

By 1834, only one year after the mission was established, it was estimated that 100 people had joined the church (Schoeman, 1991, p. 25) and by the early 1840s Cameron had established a group of 'local brethren' that assisted him with his daily duties, one of which (David Baatje) was appointed as schoolmaster. It is likely that many living at the station converted to Methodism or attended classes simply to get in the good graces of the missionary and thereby benefit from living on Platberg land (Vernal, 2009; Klatzow, 2018). These benefits would have included the allocation of a personal plot of land (Cameron,

May 1842), easier trade with the Colony (Storey, 2008, p. 91) and political protection from the Basotho and the English (Theal, 1883a, p. 57). Religion was a fact of life here, but how many were truly converted or devoted cannot be said. Living on the station came with all kinds of advantages including land on which to live and farm crops and livestock, a base at which to leave a family allowing a man to go on extended raiding and hunting trips, and political protection from the turmoil occurring in the region. In this setting, religion was an important part of daily life, and many people on the station evidently took part, but it was also manipulated and used for their own ends (Vernal, 2009). There was then a dialectic between missionary and congregant, each with their own motive, and religion was used as a means to an end, from both perspectives.

Thus, public spaces were utilized for the running of the mission station, religious instruction, and the civilizing mission. It was in the public spaces that a façade of a civilized European town was created, and it was this image that was sold to the WMMS in England and all visiting missionaries and European travellers. The following section then looks at how private spaces in the town were created and negotiated by the missionaries.

11.2 A Dialectic Between Public and Private Space

There were evidently differences between internal and external spaces at the Platberg mission station, with a distance placed between the public and the private. The missionaries, by their very mission, were meant to be very public figures, meant to be studied and emulated by the heathen masses, and one can see such goals in the prominence of the chapel that they built and the many religious and social duties that they performed. However, through both the literature and the archaeology it becomes evident that not all missionaries felt the same enthusiasm for their public presences, and the manner in which each missionary negotiated these different spaces seemed to be dependent on personality. Take, as examples, Cameron and Giddy, who lived at the station for the longest periods and would therefore have had the greatest effect on the landscape and operations of the mission station. There appears to have been fundamental differences in personality between the two, and that affected the ways in which public and private spaces were negotiated during the years that each ran the station. Cameron appears to have put a tremendous effort into achieving outward appearances, with the building of a new chapel, the town planning, and strict religious duties and schedules.

However, there are several indications that he resented being watched and put much effort into protecting his privacy. Giddy, on the other hand, seems to have been far more open in character.

The high visibility of the missionaries and MMH on the landscape must have caused an interesting dialectic between the public and the private, particularly for Cameron. Their position on the landscape and in the community meant that they were the example, the template, of Christian civility and domesticity, meant to be observed and mimicked in their own households (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Ashley, 2018). Cameron lamented on 28 August 1842 that:

> The last two evenings I have been grieved at tea by some of the people sitting the whole time as lookers on. I thought they had relinquished this improper custom, but am sorry to see them disposed to resume it. Whilst I am fully convinced that it would be wrong to encourage such a custom, which is in fact a direct intrusion upon our domestic liberty; yet I cannot enjoy anything of which I partake, in the presence of those whose comforts at home I know to be scanty. It is painful to be obliged to assume a hard-heartedness which one does not feel; but were I to do otherwise our family meals would be infested by the people beyond endurance.

This extract shows that Cameron seemed to resent being observed in their private domain, and furthermore, carried some guilt at the comparative wealth of the mission house versus the bulk of the other households on the station. It seems that "domestic liberty" and privacy were important values within the Cameron family, and they would rather that the people observed them only in their public duties rather than their private ones. Cameron took great pride in his family life, often helping his wife with the care of the children, and they even had at least one small family dog named Snap (Cameron, 19 April 1841), effectively painting a rather idyllic picture of domesticity. There was a definite reluctance to have his family socializing and communicating with the community, as he complained on 23 May 1842:

> I was obliged to beat my second son severely this evening. He will go among the boys on the station, and from them he learns improper language, which he repeats by way of bravado.

Furthermore, Cameron often expressed periods of depression in his diaries while living at Platberg. He would frequently describe himself as "cast down", "deeply mortified", "nervously timid", or experiencing "much mental trial". These expressions were confined

to his private diaries, with his public correspondence showing a far more confident and successful missionary (Kriel, 2008). The presence of Pride of India seeds indicates the planting of large bushes and trees, which, while very decorative, may point to efforts at preserving the privacy and intimacy of their household, of creating a barrier between their private lives and actions and the public, and thus may be attributed to Cameron rather than Giddy.

Alternatively, Giddy's whole enterprise at Platberg revolved around communication and the production thereof, through the use of the printing press, the establishment of a small library, and of course the chapel (Giddy, 26 October 1846). He learnt Sesotho, and printed documents in several different languages, predominantly English, Sesotho and Dutch, with the intention of communicating with all those different groups. The large numbers of religious and educational documents printed at Platberg would have required a small labour force, effectively turning the printing office, HGH, into a public space of production. Furthermore, Giddy (26 October 1846) describes the library as follows:

> We have also a library, which although small is attended with much good. The books are changed weekly and I take the opportunity every week of enquiring (?) (?) as to the books read.

This indicates that Giddy was a far more open character, welcoming people into the mission precinct, and more than that, making the effort to communicate with each of them. Previously, under Cameron, the chapel would have been strictly the only public space within the mission precinct, and even that was separated from the mission house by a garden wall.

It was the Giddy family who planted many almond and fruit trees, including pomegranate, fig and cherry trees. The large numbers of peach/almond seeds found at PPH suggests that these fruits and nuts were more than a snack – jams would have been made from the fruit and butter from the nuts. For Giddy, Platberg, and specifically the mission precinct, was more in line with the Wesleyan way of life, a site of industry and production (Thompson, 1966; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019), more of a public space, than it was for his predecessor who required an interpreter when preaching to the Basotho.

The large midden located behind the chapel, indicates that this may have been one of the few areas on the station that was used consistently and continuously for the duration of the life of the station. The mudbrick at the bottom of the midden suggests that the midden may have had a mudbrick base, but as the mudbrick did not consistently cover the base it may have been that the F1 area was originally the site of mudbrick production before a midden was created on top. The base of the midden, intermingled with mudbrick remains, is a hard, stony surface. This would have been the original walking surface. The midden in F1 is very likely the official disposal area for the entire mission precinct, given the consistency and wealth of the midden and our inability to locate any other midden in the vicinity. This explains why the F1 midden seemed to be a mix of private and public items, cooking and faunal remains right next to educational items such as slate sheets and pencils. It created a semi-public space of disposal behind the chapel, for the disposal of private items. But who was doing the disposing? As the missionaries had domestic servants to help with the cooking, cleaning and general maintenance of the mission precinct, it stands to reason that this space would predominantly have been used by the servants rather than the missionaries or their families, essentially moving the intimate and the private into a semi-public space, perhaps not immediately visible to the public, but certainly more accessible than if it was located behind the mission house.

11.3 Historical Descriptions of Gendered Roles and Spaces

As discussed in Chapter Three, gendered space is a complicated topic on this landscape. Women of all ethnicities were often very active on the frontier landscape, not only within the domestic space but contributing to the economy with physical labour outside of the home (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Dagut, 2000). Similarly, one tends to hear only about male activity in the public sphere, and little about their lives within the private. Agnes' Tales describes how Sarah Jane Giddy held a crucial role in providing for the family as she was a brilliant gardener, and Cameron tells of his wife leading the occasional ecclesiastical class of women seeking entry into the church. These few snippets illustrate that European women would have been tasked with several duties outside of the family home, including gardening and teaching religious studies and domestic skills to local women. Mrs Giddy was described as teaching "the natives" how to sew and plait wheat stalks into braids for hut-building. She also helped her husband in the printing process by translating and printing hymns into Sesotho (Agnes' Tales). The presence of slate, used as

a teaching tool and the few pins from PPH, support the hypothesis that these activities were certainly happening. It is important, however, to remember that they may have been done by either man or woman. Adele Mabille describes her domestic life while living at Thaba Bosiu in great depth, lamenting the amount of sewing that had to be done (Smith, 1939, p. 62) and Agnes' Tales describes how Sarah Jane had to supervise the washing of the laundry "otherwise it would come back from the river in a dirtier state than before". These women also had the task of making their own soap out of ash and candles out of melted tallow (Agnes' Tales).

Bastaard women alternatively were described by Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 12) as being 'indolent' and 'sluggish' in comparison to Batswana women. This is because Batswana women could be seen to "undertake…the whole work of the house, the charge of the children, the cares of house-keeping, and the cultivation of the ground" (Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, p. 12) while Bastaard women would devolve these chores upon a San servant and were described as never leaving the house, and residing in a chair all day every day and "the utter inanity in which she passes her days does not prevent her from professing a sovereign contempt for her bechuana sister" (Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, p. 13). Ironically, while the visiting Europeans, such as Arbousset and Daumas, may have looked down on the Bastaard women for perceived laziness, there is all possibility that these women were simply imitating the behaviour of the European women who also hired servants for assistance with housework and childminding. The ability to hire a servant may have placed the Bastaard woman in a self-perceived class that was above that of the Batswana or Basotho, and almost equal to that of the missionary. Ultimately, the only difference between the Bastaards and the European settlers was the colour of their skin. All groups in the region took part in raiding and trading, the Bastaards dressed in European clothing, spoke Dutch, and utilized western agricultural and weaponry technology.

These descriptions speak volumes more about the biases held by the PEMS missionaries than they do about the women they describe, showing that they were prejudiced against the Bastaards, and furthermore, seemed to be promoting their own perceived success in the region at the expense of other denominations. Alternatively, these criticisms may simply be attributed to the Protestant position on the value of industry over the sin of idleness. However, this does raise the question of the validity and value of their

travelogues as their writing was not objective. I maintain that these travelogues are still invaluable for their descriptions of towns and people during this early colonial period, but that they cannot be taken at face value and the biases and prejudices must be interrogated.

While there was an obvious need for hard work and labour on the station, there is some evidence of a level of frivolity and/or enjoyment. The finding of the ring in the F1 midden hints at intimate relations between two people as a ring is generally something that is given from one to another, be it from mother to daughter or man to woman. Similarly, the perfume bottle stopper, found near the walls of PPH, speak plainly of frivolity and vanity. Alternatively, the harmonica, suggesting an interest in music by someone on the station, may have had the added functionality of being played to hymns in the chapel. However, given that it was found in the J3 trenches, it may not have been contemporary with the missionaries, but rather with the people who took refuge and/or re-inhabited the space after the missionaries had gone (Chapter Six).

11.4 Within the Household

Households would have had to be very carefully organised given the sheer size of missionary families and firm division of domestic roles and spaces (Ashley, 2018). Although the Khwebe Hills mission was established only later in the century (1890s), Ashley's (2018) discussion of domesticity is still relevant to the present study. Gender politics were shifting over the course of the nineteenth century, in that missionary women were taking on more and more public roles, and were becoming recognized as missionaries in their own right rather than just the wives of missionaries (Gaitskell, 2003). With the rise of feminism in Britain, and the introduction of organisations such as the WMMS Ladies Committee, founded in 1858, missionary societies saw a dramatic rise in female recruitment in the late 19th century (Gaitskell, 2003, p. 142). By the 1870s, women were taking on more roles in church and parochial work, teaching and nursing, as well as their domestic work at home (Gaitskell, 2003, p. 144). Nevertheless, women's "advance" during this era was complex and ambiguous, with women still largely constrained by the Christian faith (Gaitskell, 2003, p. 146) to their domestic roles in the household.

Margaret Cameron gave birth to a total of eight healthy children, suffered two miscarriages and at Platberg she gave birth to twins but one passed away and was buried in the garden (June 1843). One of the Giddy children died of Tuberculosis in 1849 at the age of six and was also buried near the mission house (Agnes' Tales). The Giddy's, in contrast to the Cameron's, had many more children. With his first wife, Richard Giddy had six children before she passed away. He then married Sarah Jane (daughter of Hezekiah Sephton) and had a further ten children with her (Agnes' Tales). To further complicate matters, when Sephton passed away, Giddy invited his eight children that were still dependant to live with them at Platberg. Many of Giddy's older children would have been grown by this point and moved away, but Agnes' Tales describe six Giddy and eight Sephton children living with them at one point, making a total of 16 members of the missionary family. In an account of a later visit to Platberg (mid-1860s), Agnes described "a large table" in a "large dining room" with "a glass door through which they entered" the mission house. The description as 'large' may be misleading as modern ideas of a large dining room may be different from those of the 19th century missions.

As argued elsewhere (Chapter Eight), the size of the MMH mound strongly suggests the presence of internal walling. Cameron (10 March, 1845) described the building of a house with five rooms as well as a kitchen and pantry and this was almost certainly expanded by the Giddy family who were simply overflowing with children. The act of placing divisions within a household speaks to specific values of gender role division, domesticity and privacy (Ashley, 2018), but also of the emphasis placed on domestic production. A range of domestic activities would have been restricted to specific spaces within the house, and these activities and interactions would have occurred on different levels, between husband and wife, parent and child, and employer and employee (Chapter Three). Domestic servants at Platberg would not only have helped with the general cleaning and tidying of the place, but would have been instructed on the domestic skills of general housewifery, child rearing, knitting, sewing, and the preparation of European food (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997, p. 299). Thus, it is significant that the material culture collected at MMH-b was so limited as, similarly to Matlwase, the missionary emphasis on cleanliness would have had a significant impact on the archaeological record. It is interesting, however, that there was such a presence of local ceramic in this space that was supposed to be the shining example of western civilization. There are several possible

explanations for this. One is the possibility that domestic servants had greater agency in their daily tasks than previously attributed to them, bringing their own material culture, style and activity within the missionary space. Alternatively, or in combination with the above, the missionaries themselves may have been making different choices in domestic ware. We know from the imported ceramic assemblages that the missionaries kept relatively cheap and utilitarian ware, and from Cameron's diaries we know that they did not receive a generous stipend from the WMMS. So perhaps they were supplementing their limited household goods with locally sourced material. There was evidently a complex negotiation occurring within these spaces, between employer and employee, between imported and locally sourced goods, and this topic could form part of a valuable future study.

The Giddy household, given the number of family members, had to be extremely productive as well as thrifty. The assemblages collected from both PPH and HGH contain very little that could be described as luxurious or expensive. Of the imported ceramic found at PPH, only 5.3% was made of Asian or European porcelain (looking at the MNV) which would have been more expensive compared to the white-bodied refined industrial ware that made up 78% of the assemblage. Interestingly, it appears that the missionaries at Matlwase were making similar choices in ceramics to those at Platberg, except that they were almost all blue in colour. Rather than a conscious decision to buy predominantly blue ceramics, it was probably due to an influx in the 1830s of different colours in the market (Morris, 2008, p. 106), giving the Platberg missionaries more choice of colour and design. That the ceramics were broken into such small sherds, and very few cross-mends could be matched, suggests that these ceramics were possibly being used and reused until they were so broken they had to be thrown away. Therefore, such items, although mostly inexpensive, were valued deeply by the household and not discarded easily. However, it could also be that the condition of these ceramics deteriorated due to post-depositional processes, such as the initial destruction of the site, or the succeeding animal activity, farmer activity, or erosion of the land over time (Chapter Four).

Similarly, the household furniture appears to have been very simple, there is mention of a dressing table belonging to Mrs. Giddy made of a packing case and covered with glazed linen and muslin, and couches were similarly made of packing cases covered with

mattresses and cushions (Agnes' Tales). Furniture was reusable and transportable, and the packing cases would have had multiple uses and so would have travelled with the missionary and their families when they moved. The only items found suggesting minor expense, intimacy, or frivolity was the ring (PPH/F1.1/40-63cm) (which was, itself, made of inexpensive materials such as glass and metal alloy) and the perfume bottle stopper (PPH/H1/wall-chasing).

11.5 Permanence versus Transience

> Our reed buildings must all ultimately give way to brick and stone ones; until this be the case we shall never have anything like a decent village nor will the population become properly settled. The man whose residence is a mat or reed house, and a wagon, is never likely to fix himself in any particular locality for any length of time, as he enjoys every facility connected with many motives, for wondering about the country … It is very different with the man who has a good house and garden, upon which he has bestowed much pains; he cannot carry these about with him, nor find others of the same kind wherever he goes, and therefore he becomes not only content to be stationary, but even contracts a dislike to wondering, as a thing utterly opposed to his convenience and destructive of the comforts which his fixed mode of life has taught him to relish (Cameron, 5 July 1842).

Thus, Cameron illustrates his desire for a sedentary community; part of the Wesleyan ideal and mission calling for permanence and industry on the landscape, characterised by stone housing and agricultural production (Thompson, 1966; Deetz, 1977; De Kock, 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Meyer, 1997; Lester, 2001; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019). These ideals are visible on the physical landscape in the remains of the mission precinct, the layout of the town, and the designated areas for domesticated animals and the cultivation of crops and fruit trees. However, just over one month later, Cameron shows that the majority of houses being built here were of the temporary variety rather than the stone and brick ones that he had hoped for:

> …houses will not appear so rapidly as the gardens. Many have erected temporary houses near their gardens, intending to proceed at their leisure with more substantial houses, but I fear their intentions will not soon be brought into effect (12 August 1842).

The abundance of these temporary structures was described by both Backhouse (1844, p. 384) and Arbousset and Daumas (1846, p. 12) during their respective visits and may

suggest a relatively high level of 'nominal Christianity', a reluctance to fully commit to Christianity and a European lifestyle (Vernal, 2009). This was often perceived and lamented by the Wesleyan missionaries, as further testified by their continuous complaints of 'backsliding', disobedience and general bad behaviour (Cameron 1840-1845). Different modes of housing may also have been indicators of economic means and differing access to resources. Nevertheless, transience and impermanence were major factors on this station and landscape, that one does not fully realise from the reading of Cameron's diaries or Agnes' Tales, most likely because they were attempting to give a good impression of the missionary efforts to the powers-that-be (the WMMS) in London. Backhouse (1844, p. 384) relates an incident at Platberg where there was a measles outbreak and many of the Bastaard men packed up and left the area for a while, leaving their families to deal with the illness, illustrating how the Bastaards had no qualms about packing up and leaving when it suited them. Even with the building of permanent, square, houses, the material culture indicates that these too were not as permanent as originally thought.

The excavation of BH was valuable in this respect as it seemed to have an elaborate layout relative to the majority of the other structures on the station. The foundations of a house were situated within an enclosed yard, further enclosed within a larger field or orchard. And yet, upon excavation it was found that this structure was likely not occupied for long at all (Chapter Nine). Here, we see an interesting negotiation between the permanent and the transient, a labour-intensive and permanent stone layout, contrasted against a Hartebeest structure and a very short occupation.

The base stones for the Hartebeest house, do not provide a foundation for bricks. The undressed rocks offer an anchor and measure of support for the sapling poles and reeds that run on the inside of the two lines of rocks. According to Backhouse (Backhouse, 1844, pp. 357–358), the Hartebeest house (boat-shaped) had evolved from the 'round oven-shaped' houses covered in mats (Backhouse, 1844, p. 357), and apart from being bigger were often plastered. They were far more organic, temporary and more demanding of female labour, suggesting that Bastaard women were not as lazy and sluggish as described by the French missionaries (Arbousset and Daumas, 1846, p. 12). In fact, considering that the Bastaard men kept disappearing on trading, raiding and war expeditions (Backhouse,

1844; Theal, 1883a; Kirk, 1989; Klatzow, 2018), Bastaard women evidently played an important and active role in the domestic industry of the household. The houses speak both of a more transient, raiding and trading lifestyle, but also of people who were repeatedly displaced due to political turmoil and heightened tensions, and had become accustomed to moving. This may ultimately have been the reason for the short occupation of BH. Ironically, the same can be said of the itinerant nature of the missionary's lifestyles and household goods.

A further objection that the missionaries would have had to these temporary structures was that they did not conform to the domestic ideals that they were trying to impose on the station; ideals of western gender roles, privacy, and divided space for different functions (Ashley, 2018, p. 713). They would have had very few if any windows and so would have been very dark, and furthermore, would not have had any internal divisions. As Ashley (2018, p. 714) argues, the lack of spatial division for different domestic activities such as cooking, sleeping, ablutions and even sexual activities would have offended the missionaries ideals of strict Victorian domestic roles. A description by Cameron (5 July 1842) showed that larger houses with internal rooms were being planned, but at present only two such structures have been located on the station outside of the mission precinct, showing that the majority of the community must have lived in these more temporary, informal structures.

Ironically, it may have been that these temporary-style houses were more appropriate, and more comfortable on this landscape than the mudbrick ones that the missionaries insisted on. The climate study (Chapter Four) revealed that this landscape is characterised by very cold and windy winters and Cameron makes it clear in his diaries that the chapel and his house were not a good defence against such weather, as the wind and cold would seep through gaps between the brick and thatch, door and window frames, and glass windows that also would not have provided any insulation. Structures such as BH, plastered on the outside with few if any windows, may have provided better protection against the elements than the bigger and more impressive structures of the mission complex.

It is therefore evident that this mission station was not as successful as purported by the Wesleyans who ran it. A permanent and stable community, centralized around strong domestic roles and spaces, was fundamental to the Wesleyan civilizing mission (Thompson, 1966; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997; Ashley, 2018; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019), and here we largely find an absence of both of these factors, indicating that the Wesleyan ideal was not achieved. The material culture from BH shows that even when permanent stone foundations were built, the structure was not necessarily completed in a permanent fashion, may never have been intended to be a brick structure at all, and may not have been occupied for a great deal of time. The relationship between missionary and congregant was therefore complex, dominated by a negotiation between stability and mobility.

11.6 Social and Economic Stratification

The small graveyard that is located to the north of the station, on the opposite side of the small ravine, consists of approximately 105 graves with large stones laid on top. It is not a formal graveyard in an enclosed area, but rather a patch of land where graves are scattered. This area is so overgrown with vegetation that if there is any order or design to the graveyard, it is impossible to discern. The placement of the graveyard is interesting as it is distinctly removed from the station and the hub of activity. Cameron (5 August, 1840) describes one of his earliest burial services where he:

> … was called to bury a Bushman who had died a little away from the station. This man was in the service of some Bastards from Phillipolis … I read the burial service at his grave in the hearing of a few Bastards, none of whom belongs to our society; they however behaved very properly during the whole ceremony. When they had filled up the grave and laid large stones upon it, which I believe is intended to prevent wild beasts from disturbing the corpse …

And later the same month (20 August, 1840) he describes how he:

> Buried the woman who died yesterday. The corpse was wrapped in calico, and laid in the ground without a coffin, which owing to the scarcity of wood is seldom used here.

These excerpts show that religious burial at Platberg was not limited to only those that had been baptised, anyone in the area could request such a burial. The sizes of the graves range from very big to very small. These differing sizes indicate that people of all ages

were buried here, as well as representing graves where people were buried in calico wrappings versus those few in coffins. While we know that there were outbreaks of childhood diseases, such as measles in 1839 (Backhouse, 1844, p. 384), and croup in 1840 (Cameron, 12 September, 1840), the smaller graves may also simply indicate the absence of a coffin.

Both the Cameron and Giddy families lost a child each while living at Platberg, and both reference the burying of these children in their private gardens. Since no adults or older children from the missionary families died while at Platberg, we have no record of where they may have buried that older person. In other words, it may have been the age of the deceased rather than familial ties that determined place of burial. However, it is telling that the missionaries themselves did not utilise the graveyard across the ravine for their own dead as it may indicate a sense of segregation between classes, the missionaries placing themselves above the rest of the community. As argued above, the Wesleyan missionaries by no means believed in equality among men, but rather that all men had equal opportunity to get into heaven as long as they had lived a pious and frugal life while on earth (Thompson, 1966, p. 358; Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 113). These garden burials would also have enabled privacy in their time of mourning, further separating their family and private lives from their public duty of performing burial services, and effectively creating different rules of privacy and domesticity for the mission families versus the community.

Within this community, differing social or economic standing amongst the Bastaards may be illustrated by the different styles of construction and housing within the mission station. For example, Cameron (5 July, 1842) describes measuring out the foundations of a house for the Bastaard Captain:

> It is 38 ft by 15, and will consist of three rooms, one of which to be used as a kitchen. This though but a small house for a family, will be very commodious compared with the one in which the same family at present resides. The house now being erected for the Captain is the same size and will look very well when finished. The walls are already more than five feet high; the door and three of the window frames are made; two of the latter are provided with sashes; so I hope soon to see the building completed.

The Captain therefore owned a house of quite substantial size (11.5m by 4.5m) compared to a structure such as BH (approximately five by four metres in dimension) as well as having the privilege of several windows, two of which could be opened. Two structures roughly fitting these dimensions were located in the northwest corner of the station, very close to one of the borrow pits (Fig. 5.2). The contrasting scales of these larger structures compared with BH and the temporary structures that littered the station, combined with the assertion that BH likely had no windows at all and the lack of mudbrick walling, suggests that there was indeed social and/or economic stratification amongst the Bastaards at Platberg. Ironically, as Cameron (17 May 1842) showed, the mudbrick houses with thatched rooves and windows could be very unpleasant in the winter months, and perhaps the smaller and darker hartebeest houses were more effective against the elements.

The economy of the station was run largely on a bartering system, with the missionaries exchanging livestock, services, beads or European items in return for services or produce from the community. One of the small mudbrick structures, situated on the western flank of the main street has yielded evidence that it may have been a black-smiths operational centre (Klatzow, *pers. comm. 2018)* and we know that there were several traders that operated from Platberg. This main street therefore may not have been strictly residential, and it would be fascinating to know what the other small structures along this road were used for. Extensive excavation is required for this endeavour though.

There are circular, stone kraaling located just south of the mission complex and is also completely hidden from view by denser vegetation than that further down the slope. The act of hiding the cattle, of keeping them at the back, illustrates that there was a need to keep livestock secure during a time of political upheaval and incessant raiding. Furthermore, as with traditional African communities, the placement of livestock in the centre of a settlement indicated a level of social as well as economic importance attributed to the animals (Maggs, 1976, p. 320), whereas that social importance seems to be absent at Platberg. Cattle undoubtedly represented wealth during this time, instigating the high frequency of raiding and conflict throughout the region. They certainly had to be protected, but their value to the Bastaards was mostly economic, as opposed to the social and religious value placed on them by the Basotho.

As an example of the bartering that occurred, Cameron paid a wage of three cows a year to the Basotho couple that worked for him and taught one of them to read (15 March, 1841). In addition, the presence of remains of a single wildebeest and a possible blesbok suggests that the community were using the fruits of their hunting exploits as bartering items too, or even perhaps as a donation or tithe to the missionary. The community was expected to donate a certain amount to the church and Cameron often lamented the small contributions. Perhaps instead of giving up their valuable currency, the Bastaards preferred to pay their tithe in bartered items.

There was some currency used at the station, predominantly used for trading with travelling traders. James Cameron (6 January, 1841) describes the trading situation as follows:

> Four wagons arrived on the place from Modder River. The owners of them are African Boers come for the purpose of buying corn. They charge five Rds[14] for their sheep and offer three for a muid[15] of corn, but the people insist on having four, to which they are justly entitled. The real value of a sheep is from three to four Rds and at this price for a muid of corn renders the price of the latter very reasonable; but if the Boers value their sheep at 5 Rds each, then it is right that the people should estimate their corn at 20 Rds the muid. This in business transactions forms the rule of equity, and Bastard Hottentots begin to know it as well as Dutch or African Boers, a certain proof of their advancement in the scale of civilization.

While Cameron's description of pricing is a bit hard to follow, it is evident that there was some disagreement over the value of corn, and how much the Boer traders were willing to pay for it. I am sure that the Boers would have seen this negotiation as an obstacle to obtaining the prices that they wanted. It is interesting that while Cameron saw this advancement in the art of negotiation and capitalism as a sign of progress amongst the Bastaards, he seemed to resent the Boers for the same negotiating techniques.

[14] 'Rd' is an abbreviation of Rix dollar, the currency that was in use in South Africa at the time (Snodgrass, 2003, p. 368).
[15] A muid was a unit of measurement. One muid was equivalent to eight cubic feet, or roughly three bushels of crops (Martin, 1904, pp. 61–62; Coplan, 2009, p. 511).

11.7 Conflict and Shifting Borders

As argued in Chapter Two, different conceptions of land ownership was the source of many, if not most conflict in the region and there were several different forces pushing these disputes. Cathcart, not without his own ambitions in the region on behalf of the British empire, was scathing of the smaller chiefs and communities and their claims to territory in the region shortly after the Battle of Berea in 1852:

> I have now to acquaint you with certain facts which I have ascertained as far as in my power, which materially alter the circumstances of that part of Her Majesty's newly-acquired South African possessions. I find that the words chiefs, aborigines, and tribes are often used without due discrimination, and territories have been marked on maps presented to Parliament describing territorial possessions which convey impressions liable to lead to erroneous conclusions. The fact is, the only two real territorial chiefs within Her Majesty's Sovereignty are Sikonyela, chief of the Mantatis, and Moshesh, chief of the Basutos … Of the others, Moroko and Carolus Baatje, nominal chiefs of the Barolong and Bastards, are in fact little better than men of straw, set up by the Wesleyan missionaries to represent territorial possessions held by that sect (Cathcart, 1853, as cited in Theal 1883b p. 5).

It is evident that borders were continuously shifting as new groups entered with their own ambitions and need for fertile ground. The Basotho were under the impression that the land was theirs, and that any incomers would recognize the sovereignty of the chief, Moshoeshoe (Sanders, 1975; Coplan, 2000; King, 2018). Furthermore, the idea of land sale was alien to them, and Moshoeshoe maintained that it simply wasn't possible to sell his people's land, that the 'payment' was simply a tribute to the chief (Sanders, 1975, p. 67). All European incomers, however, from the Wesleyan missionaries, to the British, to the Boers, all with a western perspective on land sale, viewed these tributes as payment for the sale of the land (Theal, 1883a; Sanders, 1975; Coplan, 2009). This is not to remove agency from Moshoeshoe, who was renowned for his diplomacy and politics. It is highly probable that he was aware of his actions at every stage, and that he was attempting to manipulate the situation to protect his people's interests (Esterhuysen *et al.*, 2019, p. 108).

Platberg was occupied for only 30 years in the mid-19th century. It was started in 1833 but then suffered at least two abandonment/destruction events, one in the early 1850s and the second in 1861 when all remaining Griqua land, and presumably Bastaard land as well,

was sold and incorporated into the Boer Republic. The first conflict in 1851, between the British and the Basotho, was over cattle raiding and an attempt by the British to enforce a border that cut Moshoeshoe off from large sections of arable land (Theal, 1883a; Halford, 1949; Giliomee, 2003; Klatzow, 2018). The Bastaards joined the conflict on the side of the British, led first by Major Warden at the battle of Viervoet and then by Sir George Cathcart at the battle of Berea. This turned out to be ill-advised as it attracted the ire of the Basotho and resulted in the abandonment of Platberg several times in the early 1850s (Schoeman, 1991; Klatzow, 2018).

Even during the more peaceful times at Platberg, relations between the Platberg Bastaards and surrounding groups of Basotho were often highly contentious. The conflict between the groups predominantly involved issues of land ownership and raiding of livestock, with each group believing that they were better and more entitled than the other. Cameron's diaries occasionally offer anecdotes of members of one group assaulting a member of the other over an argument over land ownership as he describes in May 1841 (Volume 3, p. 32):

> A complaint was brought to me this evening by a Mosuto … Whilst the complainant was attending his class this afternoon, and his wife employed in the field cutting corn, the latter was attacked by two drunken Bastards, who said they would take the ground from her and her husband, which they cultivate by the permission of myself and the Captain, alleging as their reason, that no Basutos have any right to land on this place … one of them beat her severely with a sjambok and destroyed the corn which she had just cut.

And then a week later (Volume 3, p. 37):

> The Captain called upon me this morning to say that the veld cornet Jakob Mours, who has for a week past been ploughing on the other side of the mountain, had sent a messenger to inform him that the Basutos there had surrounded him with their assegai's, and were threatening to do him personal injury.

Evidently relations on this frontier landscape were contentious and violent. There are several other anecdotes in Cameron's diaries pertaining to Bastaards violently opposing the Basotho farming or occupying Platberg land at all. It is in this way that larger concepts, conflicts and misunderstandings of land ownership, land sale, and traditional payment of tribute, directly affected the quotidian happenings at the Platberg station, and ultimately

resulted in the abandonment and destruction of Platberg twice during its life as a mission station.

It is becoming evident that Platberg was a mission station formally designed with European civilising ambitions in mind but became a mission station fraught with cultural, political and economic turmoil that was heavily influenced by the broader politics that were at play in the region.

11.8 Taphonomy and (Re)Use of a Mission Station

The church and the associated missionary dwellings were repeatedly protected by Moshoeshoe, and it was only in the 1860s during the Basotho wars that the Boers saw fit to clear out and presumably destroy the remaining buildings. Interestingly, it seems unlikely that Moshoeshoe would have extended the same protection to Cameron as he did to Giddy. Cameron was notorious for interfering with local politics, and consistently sided with the British and Barolong against Moshoeshoe, culminating in the Battle of Viervoet in 1851 and was likely part of the reason for Cameron being sent to Port Elizabeth in 1853 (Schoeman, 1991, p. 8; Van Heerden, 1993, p. 20). Furthermore, Cameron battled to convert many Basotho to Christianity as he described on 16 July 1843:

> Left home this morning to itinerate amongst the Basuthos ... At no place could the people be induced to come together for the purpose of hearing the word of God: they showed the utmost contempt both for the message and the messenger … The moment I mentioned anything connected with religion, they turned up their noses, and sneeringly walked off, leaving me to talk to the winds.

The above anecdote speaks just as much to the attitudes of the Basotho as to those of Cameron. Perhaps the Basotho rejection of Cameron was to do with their unwillingness to renounce all their cultural traditions, as required by Protestant missionaries before baptism (Vernal, 2009, p. 412), or was it simply that they were aware that Cameron did not support them in their politics and conflicts over land. Conversely, there is mention in Agnes' Tales of Giddy being welcomed with open arms, which suggests that he fostered a much closer relationship with the surrounding Basotho people than his predecessor did, and that Basotho involvement with the mission station came down to simply like or dislike of different personalities. However, Agnes' Tales are stories handed down through three generations of the Giddy family. They are a mix of the experiences of both Sarah Jane Giddy (his wife) and Agnes Helen Giddy (his daughter), and these were then recorded,

decades later, by Maggie Taylor, Giddy's granddaughter. These tales are inherently biased and present Richard Giddy in a flawless light as a good and much-loved man. This is unsurprising as he was husband and father to the narrators of the tales. However, as argued above, Giddy did have a more public persona and was more communicative with surrounding communities, and so it seems plausible that he did indeed have a more cooperative relationship with the Basotho than did his predecessor, Cameron.

Notwithstanding this improved relationship with the Basotho, the taphonomy of HGH suggests that the mission complex burnt down. Ayliff, on his visit in 1861 provides the last description of the station and its state of disrepair. Platberg is no longer mentioned in the missionary reports of 1864. Moshoeshoe had great respect for the missionaries (Casalis, 1889; Smith, 1939; Gill, 1997) and presumably wouldn't have attacked the Bastaards if they took refuge with the missionaries, or in the church which made it a safe refuge during outbreaks of violence.

The difference between the F1 midden and the J3 trenches at PPH is interesting as it shows different disposal patterns within a single structure. The material from the J3 trenches suggests that a specific activity occurred between the two walls on the opposite side of the structure. The high proportion of local ceramic compared to imported ceramic in J3 indicates that the 'inhabitants' probably were not European, as the proportions were the same as that at BH. The high number of flat glass and charcoal in these trenches may have originated from the destruction of the structure rather than any purposeful activity. But the high numbers of peach/almond seeds, ceramics and bone suggests that some activity has occurred in this space. The nature and function of the material also differed slightly. The F1 midden contained teaching material such as slate, slate pencils, and round stone balls that could have been used as counting aids. Conversely, the J3 trenches yielded no slate, and no printing press material, which suggests that the missionaries had little to do with the activities within this space. It is unlikely that any missionary would have permitted a mess to be left on the doorstep of the church, at the front, no less. It is possible, then, that the activity in J3 occurred at some time during and/or after the abandonment of the mission station. The two parallel walls would have provided relative shelter, and the fact that it was a church may initially have provided relative political shelter for Basotho hiding out after the Boers annexed the Free State. There is a parallel

here, with the findings from Matlwase (Chapter Ten), where the Hodgon's stone cottage was evidently occupied and utilized post missionary occupation as can be seen by the fire place in the centre of the bedroom, and the scatter of waste that had been brought over from Broadbent's destroyed cottage (Mason, 1986, p. 890). These kinds of buildings were evidently seen as places of relative safety and shelter in a time of intense political upheaval and war, turning a public space of activity and ritual into a private space of safety and refuge.

Comparably, the presence of the 'wash' hidden in the hill behind the station (see Chapter Five, Fig. 5.2) seems to tell a slightly different story. The wash appears to have been a midden, once buried, that has become visible through the erosion of the hillside. The material culture collected from this wash consisted almost entirely of local ceramic, and above it are circular stone-walled structures completely hidden from view within the dense bush on the hill. The stone-walling is more similar to Basotho dwellings than Bastaard, who preferred the temporary mat hut or hartebeest house rather than the more permanent, circular stone-walling of traditional African farming communities (Backhouse, 1844; Maggs, 1976; Hall, 1984; Klatzow, 2018). This wash area and the above circular, stone-walled structures may not have been contemporary with the mission station. It may have served as a refuge from conflict in the area after the abandonment of the station, as it appears to have been intentionally chosen for its invisibility. The difference in shape and layout of the settlement suggests that a different group of people to the Bastaards occupied this location. The mission station was already falling apart in the early 1860s, and the taphonomy of HGH shows that it was eventually burnt down. With the lack of standing buildings, and the unpleasant nature of the climate in winter, the sheltered area behind the wash would have been a comparatively good place to take refuge.

There was thus a distinct difference between the 'official', 'visible' and 'permanent' station, and the 'back', 'hidden' and 'transient' station. What group of people lived in the back, hidden area and the activities being carried out there, is currently unknown and further excavation is required. These distinct areas of occupation hint at the relations between the different groups and ideologies on this frontier and changing landscape. The missionaries in their large, white-washed houses of prominence, the Bastaards in their variety of structures, varying from mat, to hartebeest, to mudbrick and square houses,

the European trading families who, like the Bastaards, inhabited different kinds of structures at different times (Kirk, 1989, pp. 64, 72), and then the people who came before or after, who used the station, or the area behind it, as a place of refuge. Spaces on the landscape were being utilized and manipulated by different people, at different times, for different purposes. This is not easily visible in the historical literature as the Wesleyans wanted to create an image of stability and organisation rather than be honest about the true nature of the complex and turbulent situation.

11.9 Final Thoughts

Life at Platberg was evidently complicated for all involved, stratified along cultural and economic boundaries and influenced strongly by the political climate of the time, and consistently reflected in the landscape, the manner in which different people built different houses and the divergence between permanence and mobility. The conflict between the archaeology and archives tell us that the missionaries were trying to pass across an image, a story – a civilized, settled and stable society, an example of a successful mission station. The archaeology indicates that life was not as settled as the missionaries may have wanted, that the Bastaards preference for temporary or semi-temporary housing meant that they always had one foot out of the door, ready to leave at any sign of trouble. The missionaries and their congregants seemed to be in a constant negotiation, congregants submitting to the missionary's demands of civilization, and in return the missionary's provided protection, access to trade, and turned a blind eye to the raiding excursions.

Platberg is a large site consisting of many different structures and spaces, which are suspected to be deliberately grouped according to the function they served or the family they housed (such as the mission complex). This research has just scraped the very surface of the ice-berg that is Platberg, and I do not pretend to have painted a complete picture of the lives that were lived there.

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

This research set out to investigate the lived experiences of the people who resided at the mission station, Platberg, with the specific aim of interrogating the civilizing mission and how it was negotiated on this landscape. This was done by contrasting the materiality of the landscape and material culture against details within the historical literature.

It became increasingly evident that the site and its accompanying history was extremely complex. The spatial layout has several layers to it, ranging from the prominent and public European-style street and buildings, of which you can still find the foundations, to a more hidden, ephemeral layer, spreading across the back of the station hidden in the undulations and vegetation of the hill. This suggests the agency of different people, representing the different requirements of each.

The missionaries aimed to 'civilise', build and Christianise, and to present themselves as examples to follow. To this end they built a village designed along two main roads running north to south, intersected by one running west to east. Square houses were built abutting onto square gardens and orchards, in which people lived and worked. At the centre, located at the crossroad, was the mission precinct: the largest structures, whitewashed and stark against the hillside, and situated at a slightly higher point on the landscape. The prominence and visibility on the landscape was meant to be a constant reminder to the community and travellers, a vision of Christianity and civilization to always aspire to.

In this the missionaries turned themselves into inherently public figures, effectively inviting the community into their private spaces in order to watch, learn, and replicate. It has become evident that some missionaries adapted far better to this public life than others. The missionary home, the site of the nuclear family, was divided internally according to Victorian gender roles, affording privacy and intimacy within those spaces. It is evident that Cameron resented any intrusion within this space and greatly treasured their privacy. Giddy, however, with the printing press on one side, the chapel on the other, and bundles of children in between, turned the mission precinct into a far more public and welcoming space.

Amongst these public and prominent structures, however, can be found evidence of temporary and hidden spaces. Hartebeest houses were a common feature on the landscape, cattle were kept hidden behind the station at the foot of the hill, and the wash and associated structures indicate a completely hidden space that requires further investigation. All signify a more ephemeral and transient community than that depicted by the missionaries in their reports and diaries. This was a community that needed protection from rival groups, trade with the colony, and a safe place for their families and livestock, but also the ability to pack up and leave at a moment's notice. The dialectic between permanence and transience on this landscape seems to have been a product of the political turmoil of the time, but also indicates the limited success of the mission itself.

I have just scraped the surface of the work waiting to be done at Platberg. Each of the small structures along the main road may hold secrets pertaining to their inhabitants and their activities; and excavation of the hidden and ephemeral spaces may give insight into the people building there, and why they sought to be invisible behind this highly visible landscape. I do not pretend to have painted a complete picture of the lives that were lived here, but rather I hope this research has opened up a conversation, particularly about the people that are largely ignored within the historical archive.

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