From Missionary to Merino: Identity, Economy and Material Culture in the Karoo, Northern Cape, South Africa, 1800 - ca. 1870.

University of Cape Town

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the 19th century sequence of Kerkplaats, a farm in the central Karoo, Northern Cape, South Africa. Over this period different colonialisms of varying power and effect were introduced. The first was to local Khoe, San and Griqua communities in the form of one of the first London Missionary Society stations in the early 19th century. A second phase between 1830 and 1860 was to sheep farmers of German, Dutch and mixed descent, who absorbed and moulded the increasing impacts of British influence and materiality into older worlds of cultural resilience and practice. From 1860, a third phase saw a flood of mass produced British goods enter the region, similar to other colonial contexts around the world. Amount, availability and choice changed significantly and provided the material substrate in which rural stock farmers re-expressed themselves within the growing stature of Empire. It is suggested that for some rural farmers, expressive cultural practice worked to underpin increased affluence brought by merino sheep farming for global markets. Through this sequence different expressions of identity, domesticity, and economic scale are assessed through a close reading of documentary and archaeological evidence. While the material opportunities through the 19th century are the result of global processes, how this material is understood has to consider local context. It is suggested that material expression and identity change is most dramatic from the middle of the 19th century, when patterns of consumption reflect the globalisation of British production.

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GLOSSARY

Ashoop: Ash heap.

Bastaard-Hottentotten: A derogatory Dutch term for the offspring of slaves and *Khoesan* individuals.

Bastaard/Basterd/Baster: A derogatory Dutch term for the offspring of European and *Khoesan* individuals. Legassick (2010: 46) notes that persons of slave-*Khoe* descent, acculturated slaves and *Khoesan* could also be classified as *Bastaards*. Some *Bastaard* groups later became the *Griqua* nation (see below).

Boer/Boor: A member of the Dutch-descended population of the Cape Colony, generally a farmer. Sometimes used in a derogatory sense by English speakers in the Colony when referring to those of Dutch descent.

Boerenbont: A term for bright, gaudy chrome-painted earthenware ceramics.

Bosjesmen/Boschemen/Boschjesmen: A derogatory Dutch term, directly translated as Bushmen, for hunter-gatherer *San* individuals and groups (see below).

Dorp: A small town or village, normally in a rural area.

Drostdies: Local government districts of the Cape Colony, nominally under the supervision of a *landdrost* (see below).

Galdery: Dining-room.

Griqua: Nation formed by the descendants of *Bastaard* groups. Penn (1986: 67) calls them "hardy hybrids of the frontier zone" that incorporated peoples from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In the early 19th century, *Griqua* groups had gained enough political and social authority to organise their own commandos and semi-independent social formations along the Orange River (see Legassick 1979, 2010).

Hottentot: A derogatory term for people of *Khoe* descent (see below).

Khoe/*Khoekhoe*: Indigenous nomadic pastoral herders of southern Africa. Often confused with *San* by European colonists, as *Khoe* groups also practised forms of hunting and gathering alongside their traditional raising of stock, mainly sheep, goats and cattle (see Barnard 1992). They were the first indigenous group to encounter Europeans at the Cape.

Khoesan: A term used to describe *Khoe* and *San* agglomerations. Early European observers often confused *Khoe* for *San* and *San* for *Khoe*, and because of this, and for reasons

of convenience, *Khoe* herders and *San* hunters are grouped together as *Khoesan* (see Penn 2005: 4-9; de Jongh 2012: 5).

Kommetjies: Ceramic, normally earthenware, bowls.

Korana/Corana: Semi-itinerant pastoral *Khoe* groups of the Orange River. *Korana* groups practised a raiding and trading lifestyle in the Transorangia zone along the Orange River, and are considered by some as descendants of *Khoe* groups from the Western Cape (see Barnard 1992: 162-175).

Kraal: A cattle enclosure or pen.

Landdrost: A title given to various officials with local jurisdiction in the Cape Colony.

Matjieshuise: Oval or circular reed and mat houses or huts, normally associated with *Khoe* and other non-European groups, but often used as temporary shelters by Dutch *trekboere*.

Nagmaal/*Nachtmaal*: The occasion in the Dutch Reformed Church on which the sacrament of the Eucharist, or communion service, takes place, usually occurring four times a year.

Oorlam: Hybrid groups of the northern frontier, initially formed in the late 1700s by *Khoe* proficient in Dutch and exposed to Christianity. Over time *Oorlam* groups were made up of peoples of mixed descent and had an economy often based on raiding and trading (see Dedering 1997: 52-57).

Platteland: Country districts or rural areas.

Pondok/Pondokken: A coarsely built hut or shelter.

Poort: A gap, pass or defile through a mountain range.

Rondavel: A traditional African circular dwelling with a conical thatched roof.

San: Southern Africa's first people, commonly called '*Bosjesmen*', or variants, by both Dutch and English speakers in the Colony (see above). The basic social unit was the nuclear family, but often several families would form bands of upwards of 80 people. They practised mobile hunting and gathering, dependent on the nature of the environment in which they lived (see Szalay 1995).

Skerm: A windbreak or screen to provide shelter or protection from the wind.

Smouse: Itinerant pedlars, often of Jewish descent.

Stoep: Veranda or porch.

Trekboer: Semi-itinerant or migratory pastoralists and farmers of Dutch descent.

Trekking: To migrate or journey with an ox wagon.

Uitspan: An outspan - an area on a farm or on public land kept available for travellers to rest and refresh their animals.

Veeboeren: Stock farmers.

Veldwagtmeester and *veldkornet*: A sort of District Commissioner in outlying areas of the Colony, often an officer in a civilian commando. *Veldwagtmeesters* or *veldkornets* were mostly local leaders whose authority was based on local considerations such as experience, wealth, family networks and knowledge of the land.

Vlei: A shallow minor lake or wetland, mostly of seasonal ponds or marshy patches.

Voorhuis: The front room of a house, nominally a parlour or waiting room (see Brink 1990)

Vrouws: Wives or women, most commonly used to refer to those of Dutch descent.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEIC: British East India Company

BMS: Baptist Missionary Society

CGHS: Cape of Good Hope Society

CWM: Council for World Mission

DEIC: Dutch East India Company

LSA: Later Stone Age

LMS: London Missionary Society

MNI: Minimum number of individuals

MNV: Minimum number of vessels

MOOC: Master of the Orphan Chamber

OES: Ostrich egg shell

REW: Refined earthenware

RMS: Rotterdam Missionary Society

SAMS: South African Missionary Society

SPCK: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

SPG: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

STP: Shovel Test Pits

VOC: *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or United East India Company, also known in English as the Dutch East India Company (DEIC).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On the 14th August 1806, the missionary Arie Vos packed the last of his few belongings and, along with the entirety of his small flock of converts, left the mission station he had called home for the last few years. He wrote in his journal,

> *"And thus did we leave Zak river, the place where it did cost us so many sighs, tears, yea, so many drops of sweat, this place we were now obliged to leave when we had day & night laboured at the preservation of immortal souls, this place which probably before long will be changed into a heap of ruins."* (CWM/LMS/SA Journals 1/12)

The mission at the Zak River, situated on the farm of Kerkplaats, had begun nearly seven years earlier, a pioneering effort by the London Missionary Society (LMS) to bring Christianity to those seen as the wildest and most untamed in the Colony, the San of the northern frontier (Fig. 1.1). Through the efforts of the missionary J.J. Kicherer, the Gospel would take root beyond the borders of the Cape Colony and a group of people who had, until then, lived godless lives on the level of "Brute creation" would see the benefits of God's Word and live devoted to Jesus in harmony with their European and non-European brothers and sisters.

The bulk of the responsibility for this lay on the shoulders of Kicherer, a young Dutch theology student, who had joined the LMS in 1798, drawn by a combination of trips to exotic lands and the spread of the Gospel. It is Kicherer, who, in many respects, is written in to the story of the Zak River mission. His whims and caprices accounted for many of its success and failures, and it is Kicherer's published 'Narrative', and correspondence with his superiors, that provides the bulk of the documentary sources on the mission's early years. It is the account of the individual, Elbourne (2002: 89-90) asserts, that is more faithful to the complex vagaries of the past, than the agentless account of the large-scale historical process.

Ultimately, the Zak River mission was a failure and abandoned after less than seven years. It did, however, express an early form of British colonial power on colonised groups in South Africa. The mission's aims were a jumble of the divine and the secular, but increasingly it became appropriated into the political intrigues of the Cape's northern frontier and could not

extricate itself. It was viewed by other colonial apparatuses, both government institutions and rural European farmers, as a means to placate lawless San groups and stabilise the northern frontier. That it failed was due to the the ineffectiveness of early mission enterprise and a failure to balance their religious goals with practical and political realities.



Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa showing the position of Kerkplaats and Fraserburg.

Religious and political domination are only two aspects of British colonialism at the Cape. A third and fourth are economic and ideological hegemony. In the early 1830s, the "heap of ruins" at the Zak River mission site was reoccupied by a family of Dutch frontier stock farmers (*trekboere*) and it is in this phase of occupation that the economic and ideological hegemony of British colonialism is articulated and the nature of the coloniser-colonised dichotomy becomes less clear. The family now residing at Kerkplaats were of European descent but *trekboere* identity, and already at odds with a social, political and cultural climate that was becoming increasingly drawn into global networks of Empire and Britishness, which they increasingly strove to keep at bay.

British influence became manifest in ideology and economy and it is within and against these expressions of colonialism that *trekboer* stock farmers had to place themselves. This resulted in localised reactions to the flood of British material culture that was slowly infiltrating the Colony in the first half of the 19th century.

In the early 1860s, the inhabitants of Kerkplaats abandoned their dwelling at the site of the Zak River station and moved to another *werf* (farm homestead or farmyard) on the same property. This was a shift that was symbolic as well as physical, as it signalled not only a change of residence, but a wholescale change in the mode of rural farm production. This production was based on revolutions in both the rural and national economy brought about by the rise of merino wool farming, which expanded the Colony's role in global colonial trade networks. It resulted in the trickle of British material culture becoming a flood, and a change in the relationship between rural farmers and British materiality and hence 'Britishness'.

It is the aim of this thesis to explore these shifting phases of colonial power in the 19th century. This is done through the archaeological sequence of one farm, Kerkplaats, and documentary sources concerning the Zak River mission station and frontier households in marginal, rural areas of the Colony.

In Chapter 2, I present the historical sequence of Kerkplaats, from the arrival of the missionaries at the turn of the 18th century to the shift of *werfs* by the farmers in the early 1860s. The formation of the LMS, the selection and training of missionaries, and preparations for the South African mission will be examined through contemporary sources, as the history of colonialism is bound to the history of the metropole, and it is therefore useful to look at this formative environment (see Cooper 2002: 55). The history of the Zak River mission itself will be outlined taking into account the agendas and biases inherent in colonial literature. Naturally, the post-mission period does not contain such a corpus of contemporary descriptions, and the focus will shift to the residents of the farm and developments in its ownership.

Chapter 3 examines the built environment and sequence at Kerkplaats. This includes a description and analysis of archaeological features and the remaining structures at the site, read within a framework of contemporary descriptions and images of the built environment made by Kicherer himself and visitors to the station. The built environment will be placed in a preliminary sequence in relation to the chronology suggested by the site history.

In Chapter 4, I outline the methods used for material collection at the site. This includes surface pickups, excavations and piece-plotted artefact collection. The nature of the recovered material is used to clarify the preliminary sequence suggested by the built environment, as well as to identify the nature and use of the different structures at the site.

In Chapter 5, I analyse the ceramic assemblage at Kerkplaats. This includes a description of various ceramic types and decorations and the correlation of these to specific forms and uses. Chronological markers are a particular focus in the case of the mission period ceramics in order to separate them from the second occupation period of the site. The form and function of vessels will also be described, as will the nature of ceramic recovered from excavations and surface collections. The ceramic assemblage is then compared to a sample of ceramics collected from the midden associated with the post-1860 *werf,* and from other later 19th century Karoo sites.

To interrogate the ceramic assemblage further, Chapter 6 compares the table- and teaware forms at Kerkplaats to those contained in probate records. A small sample of probates is examined from households situated in close proximity to Kerkplaats to comment on the patterns of table- and teaware identified in the Kerkplaats ceramic assemblage. The sample is then expanded to select probates from all rural districts of the Colony to identify general characteristics of tableware in rural households.

The data and disparities indicated by the probates and from comparison between the ceramic assemblages at Kerkplaats suggests that ceramic supply to rural areas may have been influential on the make-up of rural identity and consumption. To this end, Chapter 7 examines the nature of imports into the Colony, particularly ceramic, and the growth of rural commerce. In the first half of the century, rural commerce was closely tied to the activity of

itinerant pedlars, or *smouse*, and their relationship with both wholesalers in urban areas and consumers at frontier farms will be outlined. It will be demonstrated that ceramic supply to the Colony was subject to a number of factors that were not wholly involved in demand and that the nature of the ceramic market changed as the economy, market size and the 'Britishness' of the Colony grew.

Chapter 8 will use the data provided by the archaeology, documentary sources, probates and supply to comment on the phases of colonialism manifest at Kerkplaats. It will identify localised patterns of identity, consumption, and domesticity in rural areas, and how these changed as the form of colonialism altered, and suggest that the years around 1860 stand as a critical cusp in the manifestation of rural identity and consumption.

In Chapter 9 I will summarise conclusions and outline areas of further research.

Placing Kerkplaats within an archaeological historiography is problematic. The focus of this thesis is the contextual sequence of one place, a 19th century frontier farm, of which the mission period only forms a part. In terms of missionary endeavour, the Zak River mission was one of the earliest in the Colony, begun in 1799, and one of the first to be situated outside the Colony's borders. It was also the first station to administer to primarily San groups and, above all else, one of the LMS' first missions. For these reasons, it occupies a unique place in the history of mission enterprise in South Africa, yet it is poorly served by research into Christianity and missionary endeavour in the country. Indeed, it is marked in the wrong place in a map of 19th century mission stations in South Africa at the back of Elphick & Davenport's *Christianity in South Africa*, and barely mentioned in the text.

Scant attention to the Zak River mission persists in a number of histories of South African missions and the spread of Christianity (see Clinton 1937; du Plessis 1965; Japha *et* al. 1993; de Gruchy 1999). This has changed, however, in more recent works, and published texts by Stuart (1994), Penn (1995; 2001; 2005), Schoeman (1996), and Elbourne (2002) all dedicate entire monographs or chapters to the Zak River station. Other research places the Zak River within an examination of early European-Khoesan relations that do not dwell on other

historical processes at play other than those relevant to their broader subjects (Szalay 1995; Skotnes 1996; Dedering 1997; Guenther 1999; Gall 2002).

Archaeological work on mission stations in South Africa is also underrepresented. Research by Hall (1993), Rosenthal (1994), Gwasira (1996), Reid *et al.* (1997), Boshoff *et al.* (2001), Clift (2001), Lucas (2006), Boshoff (2007), Morris (2008), Ashley (2009), Swanepoel (2014) and Klatzow (2016) all make strides to correct this, but an archaeology of missions is negligible in South Africa compared to the United States, Australia and New Zealand (see Graham 1998; Middleton 2008, 2010; Lydon & Ash 2010 for overviews of mission research in these countries). Much the same occurs in later 19th century historical archaeology studies of the Northern Cape and Karoo, which are primarily limited to unpublished texts (Neville 1996; Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2011, 2013; Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012; Cottee 2015) and select monographs (Wadley 1992; Westbury & Sampson 1993; Sampson 1993, 2010; Neville *et al.* 1994; Plug & Sampson 1996). Although useful, none examine the complete contextual sequence of a particular site and instead focus on broader economic and social patterns in the region, or on a particular subset of material culture.

For this reason, analogues for South African frontier and mission sites, as well as theoretical frameworks, were sought for in North America (Lightfoot *et al*. 1993; Deagan 1996, 2003; Lightfoot 2005; Voss 2005; Panich *et al.* 2014; Panich & Schneider 2015) and Australasia in particular. From Australasia, the work of Allison (1998), Harrison (2002, 2003, 2004), Paterson (2005, 2011), Allison & Cremin (2006), Middleton (2008), Terry & Prangnell (2009), Ash *et al*. (2010), Birmingham & Wilson (2010), Griffin (2010), and Ireland (2010) provides valuable parallels in researching both 19th century missions, homesteads, households and isolated frontier sites. Some provide some comparison on how indigenous groups reacted to mission activities and other forms of colonialism, or on the methods in which indigenous groups were conceptualised and represented by colonists, yet comparative value was limited.

Archaeology has the capacity to address various issues. The theoretical framework used in this study is necessarily predicated by the 'on the ground' circumstances at Kerkplaats. It is subsequently an eclectic approach that primarily utilises three lines of theory. These are the

nature of colonialism, the nature of frontiers and inherent acculturation, and a theory of practice

In South Africa, there existed a number of British colonial institutions, that asserted, or attempted to assert, power over different colonised groups through the 19th century. Additionally, that different groups who were the subject of colonisation had different concepts of race is inescapable, and indigenous Africans' experience of colonialism at the turn of the century was entirely different than that of Dutch-speaking Afrikaners, who, for the most part, also saw themselves as colonised. The objectives of the missionary Kicherer and the experiences of the Khoesan and Griqua was significantly different from the interface between British authority and rural Dutch farmers.

Of course, this distinction was recognised by British colonial authorities and Afrikaner grievances were perhaps caused less by official policy than inherent differences in culture and lifestyle, and the "uneven impact of the waves of modernisation" engendered by British colonial rule (Tamarkin 2009: 4-13). This was a long-standing issue and evident in the push-back of Dutch farmers to changing stock management practices in the later 19th century, a result of cumulative pressure from earlier in the century (see Tamarkin 2009). A study of colonialism in South Africa is generally more complex than an approach that posits simply European power colonising pre-modern indigenous group, particularly when theories of frontier are taken into account (see Legassick 1980; Thompson 1983).

A concept of the frontier as a zone of intercultural contact and as a place of the cultural innovation will be utilised here. Frontiers are places of mixing, a cultural milieu that leaves a palimpsest of contest dialogues and materiality (Russell 2001). Thompson's (1983: 102) model of open and closed frontiers is significant and provides a framework within which to access the Kerkplaats sequence. A frontier opens with the first contact between societies and it closes when a single authority, in this case 19th century British colonialism, establishes political and economic authority over the frontier zone. A closed frontier, however, need not imply homogeneity or rigidity in actions and choices, nor the silencing of dialogue.

Consequently, a broad theoretical approach is required that takes into account the different forms of colonialism and their effective power through the 19th century, as well as the reactions and responses of rural communities and how they may have resisted or embraced it (see Richard 2012). At its largest scale, this project is situated within the broad framework of late 18th and 19th century changes in the model of colonialism and the passage of power and entanglement in this period. In this instance, this project is about different versions of colonialism and material expression of authority and responses to it. Colonialism here is recognised as an investigation of authority, and its myriad relationships, that starts from material culture and human relations with the world and allows for an innate understanding of agency (Gosden 2004: 23).

Power, as defined by Foucault (in Voss 2008: 21), is "a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions". There are fewer more apt signifiers for the inhuman machine of colonialism than 'apparatuses' and 'institutions', whether they are economic, administrative, educational or ideological. Silliman (2005: 59) gives a definition of colonialism as:

> *"the dual process (1) of attempted domination by a colonial/settler population based on perceptions and actions of inequality, racism, oppression, labour control, economic marginalization, and dispossession and (2) of resistance, acquiescence, and living through these by indigenous people who never permit these processes to become final and complete and who frequently retain or remake identities and traditions in the face of often brutal conditions."*

The attempts at domination listed by Silliman (2005: 59) above are contained in, and are products of, colonial apparatuses. Power takes different forms, and ideological, economic, military, and political power do not extend evenly across the landscape (Stein 2002: 907).

Certainly, colonial hegemony was diffuse and unevenly distributed. Voss (2008: 21) argues that through understanding this, agency becomes significant, and furthermore, positional; social subjects experienced varying capabilities and limitations depending on their position in various social structures and bodies. The nature of an individual's agency is dependent on

his/her/their position on a sliding scale of authority and power. From a strong position, relationships of force are possible, where space, resources and received authority allow for a deliberateness and forethought in the exercise of agency (Voss 2008: 21). At the other end of the scale, from a weak position, agency is ostensibly unstructured and unprompted, a figurative seizing-of-the-moment rather than demonstrated farsightedness (*Ibid.*). Positions on the scale are not set or immobile.

Culture contact studies provide a framework for the opportunity to examine the nature and conditions of agency within colonial domination or hegemony, and are integral to the concept of frontiers as cultural innovative places, even if the power differentials are steep. Born out of previous acculturation approaches, the culture contact framework utilised here will, however, not solely rely on a simplified colonised-coloniser dichotomy, or unidirectional paths of cultural influence. As Voss (2005: 462) notes, an emphasis on this distinction can disguise differences within each group. This works both ways – the responses of the colonised to colonial hegemony were not uniform and neither were the hegemonic practices of all colonisers. Subsequently, any approach needs to recognise the way in which social subjects lived their daily lives, and that material culture often contains the subtleties of cultural change and continuity (Silliman 2005).

The approach utilised here examines the lived, daily lives and agency of colonial actors as meaningful, irrespective of power differentials, and is indebted to practice theory. Practice in this context refers to "anything people do", the physical activities that humans engage in everyday; the practical, tangible and quotidian aspects of everyday life (Ortner 1984: 149): "It is through daily practices – how space is structured, how mundane domestic tasks are conducted, how refuse is disposed of – that people both organize and make sense of their lives" (Lightfoot *et al*. 1998: 201). Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *habitus* is clearly pertinent here, where daily life is a microcosm of the organisational ideologies and cultural categories of the individual, such as beliefs, cosmologies and actions. Practice in this context is the lived experience of the frequently non-discursive actions, that stresses improvisational action over rule-driven behaviour (Ortner 1984: 154; Silliman 2001: 192; Stoller 2002: 829).

Practice theory recognises social agents as individuals with goals, intentions and subjectivities that negotiate social relations and structures (Lightfoot *et al*. 1998: 201-202). This is critical in relation to different modes of colonial expression and power or non-power. People have volition and express cultural intimacy irrespective of the conditions they are subject to. These often have either intentional or unintentional political implications (see Ortner 1984: 149). The different scales of political action in practice are not always expressed in overt ways with explicit consequences, and are often vested in the agent. Thus, they occur along two inter-related fronts at sites of unequal relations, such as those of the colonised and coloniser. Silliman (2001) places differing forms and powers of agency within a theory of practice. For the 'dominator', acting from a position of power, the mundane, everyday practice of those they seek to dominate is singled out as a way to control bodies and routines (Silliman 2001: 195. See also Comaroff & Comaroff 1997). Equally, it is in the mundane that those 'dominated' can resist and push back in subtle ways that are beyond the notice of 'dominators'. For the former, in a position of weakness, the quotidian practices of daily life are invested with political significance, becoming pathways for exerting social agency, that may comply, resist, or 'get on', or a combination of all three (Silliman 2001: 195).

Alternately, practices are redefined or modified in order to be made meaningful in new social contexts, such as those introduced by colonial authority. Existing practical knowledge shapes the entanglements of colonialism (see Thomas 1991). Colonisation engenders conditions under which existing forms of social identification lose their relevance and shape. Subsequently, new social identities emerge. At a broader scale, and in the context of colonialism, the presence and power of the dominator is a vital condition for the creation of wider ethnic identities in a pluralistic setting. The colonising power, by virtue of its existence, creates and reinforces the dichotomy between colonised and coloniser. Identity at the macroscale needs something to react against in order to be generated, changed and/or strengthened.

At the scale of the individual, however, identity is invariably entangled with the materiality of the world. That is not to say that the broad scale reaction to the 'other' does not involve material culture - it certainly does - or that the small scale household is not infiltrated by the dichotomy between the colonised and coloniser, as it surely is. Rather, the reaction of agents

to the 'other' suggest that materiality in many archaeological studies, and certainly in this one, is necessarily confined to those of smaller groups of people. Recovered material culture in the archaeological record is the remnants of practice. Materiality and practice in tandem are the "silent tools" in renegotiating identity (Voss 2008: 4).

Despite some criticisms, the notion that objects participate in the formation of identity through their association with particular persons and groups is widely accepted (see Mullins 2008: 199-200). Yet, in a shared colonial space, such as a mission station, recognition of identity is constrained by the ambiguities and multiple uses of material culture (Silliman 2010: 32). Commonly, specific locations at archaeological sites are labelled as 'European' or 'indigenous' by the nature of their constituent artefacts. But this, firstly, assumes homogeneity of material culture within each group and, secondly, ignores the complexities of entanglement. A European object need not be modified to be reconceptualised by an indigenous African or Dutch *trekboer* farmer.

How then is identity isolated or identified in material culture? One method is to look for meaning in the object itself, where the object is treated as a 'text' that can be read and decoded (see McCracken 1988: 57-70). This derives from a logocentric approach to material culture study, utilising structuralist methodologies adapted from Saussurean linguistics, that grounds objects in an "imagined cultural baseline of enduring structures" (Stoller 2002: 827, 831). Objects, however, are endowed with meaning in terms of localised cultural sensibilities and are recontextualised when they cross cultural 'borders' into different domains of practice. Yet, a study of meaning in an object, Stoller (2002: 829-831) argues, risks obscuring the practical domain of human action, and "privileges the cultural construction of objects over the role of objects in constituting culture". Objects should represent embodied sensibilities instead of "autonomous preconditions" of ideas and mentalities, and therefore be studied as "active sites of cultural production" (Stoller 2002: 831, 832).

Rejecting the reading of 'meaning' in artefacts reinserts them into the domain of practical knowledge and theory in which they are generally produced, consumed and utilised. To replace 'meaning' in this form, Stoller (2002: 823-833) suggests the concept of *taste*: "Taste is *embodied* and *manifest* in practices shaped by choices made among an array of possible

practices and properties". It is the practical knowledge through which preference is made, embodied in material practices, and emerging through a rational discourse with the world of objects. Taste is shaped by past dispositions, habits and choices, and not necessarily by the conceptual world that underlies these (see Jackson 1996: 34).

It is practices of taste that defined the response to objects introduced through the presence of the coloniser. Taste is moulded by, and itself moulds, objects and their properties. Crucially, it also helps "attend to the dialectic of production and consumption", as material production both objectifies and constitutes taste (Stoller 2002: 835). Stoller (2002: 835) emphasises the source of the object and the source's proximity or distance from the consumer. Direct interaction with manufacturers produces different outcomes than indirect interaction. Production is also responsible for object diversity, and it is through this that preferences for particular styles, forms, and aesthetics can be discerned. Choice and variety also created more visible means of distinction, be it in defining social class or cultural or ethnic identity (Breen 1988: 82).

In this sense, expressing, to borrow a term from Appadurai (1986), "the social life of things" becomes significant. This entails the articulation of an object biography, which, when coupled with the pluralistic responses to the object, "reveals a tangled mass of aesthetic, historical, and even political judgments, and of convictions and values that shape our attitudes to objects" (Kopytoff 1986: 67). Silliman (2010: 36) notes archaeologists' over-reliance on seeking the origins of artefacts, as use and interpretation of the object is nearly always outside the control of the original producer, but in some cases the origin of the object is precisely what governs its cultural response. In a colonial setting, and one of complex forms of domination and resistance, materiality not only aids in renegotiating identity but also potentially creates, perpetuates and comments on colonial power relations (see Gosden 2005; Richard 2012: 57-60; Richard & McDonald 2016). A significant point here is the nature and control of supply of material culture, particularly in terms of creating or reinforcing colonial power relations.

In summary, a broader framework of colonial power, subject to, and acting on, agency, provides the framework in which this study is placed. Colonial hegemony produces

entanglements, materially and culturally. These entanglements lead to a focus on agency, which in turn plays on and plays out in the quotidian aspects of everyday life. Everyday life is embodied in practice theory, which, through the concept of taste, illuminates the choices and selections of the social subject regarding materiality, and dismisses logocentric, meaning-based approaches that threaten to emphasis the conceptual over the practical domain. Archaeologically recovered material culture, it is argued, is the result of the practical domain and a conceptual space where meaning, identity and power becomes entangled. An examination of an object or artefact therefore needs to take into account its social life and biography, which, coupled with the practical responses to it, reveals values, principles and identities.

This approach will isolate the different expressions of colonialism at Kerkplaats and allow for a methodology that accounts for agency and choice, while recognising the broader framework of colonialism within which it operates.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT – FROM MISSION STATION TO FARM

Kerkplaats has a complex biography that straddles various expressions of colonialism, hegemony and material practice through the 19th century. Its situation on the northern frontier meant it was a place of intercultural contact between various groups, and a site of agency for both the coloniser and colonised. This agency varied, and this is displayed in the manner in which quotidian practice is played out. The first period of occupation at Kerkplaats is as the Zak River mission.

The mission period is one expression of colonial hegemony at Kerkplaats. The mission, known as the Zak River mission, operated from 1799 to 1806 and was essentially under the auspices of one man, J.J. Kicherer, who founded the station and was the superintendent during its brief existence. Kicherer was a London Missionary Society missionary, one of the first in South Africa, and the Zak River mission was both the first mission established outside of the Colony's then borders and the first that, initially at least, administered exclusively to mobile, hunter-gatherer San communities (Fig. 2.1). The San of the northern frontier, however, were unwilling converts and the mission soon shifted its priorities to more pliant subjects, namely semi-itinerant, pastoral Khoe, Griqua and other mixed groups of the frontier (see Glossary).

For its time, the Zak River mission was rather notorious in mission circles and even, to a certain extent, in public conscience. In South Africa this was because of a number of 'spectacular' and well-publicised baptisms in late 1802 (Schoeman 1996: 126). In Europe this was largely due to Kicherer's return with three of his model 'Bastaard-Hottentotten' converts in 1803, roughly midway through the mission's existence. In England, the trip was fairly well-publicised and they met pious, curious, and often rapturous crowds, the LMS Directors, Sir Joseph Banks, and, eventually, King George III. The trip was a public relations success for the LMS and Kicherer. Kicherer became, as Schoeman (1996) notes, the equivalent of a modern day celebrity, his image reproduced and hung on walls and his 1804 English *Narrative* and Dutch *Berichten* widely disseminated and often reproduced.

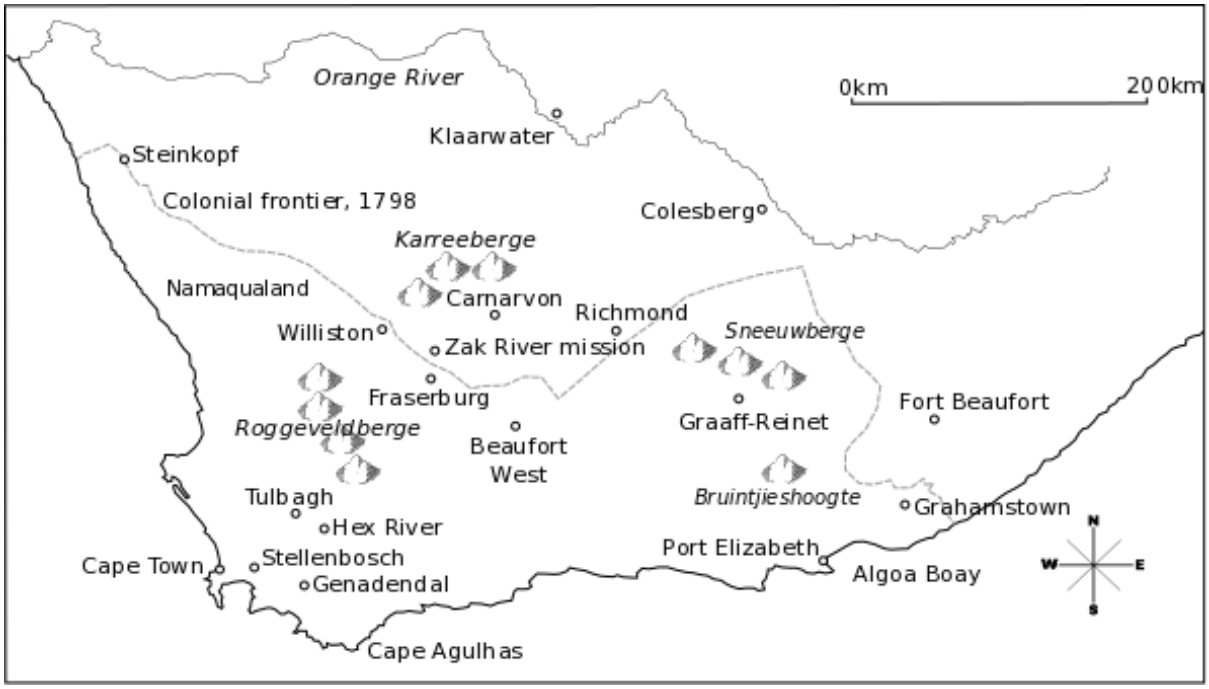


Figure 2.1: Map showing places mentioned in the text and the colonial frontier in 1798.

The missionary endeavour at Zak River did, nominally at least, have the support of powerful colonial institutions. The LMS, established in 1795 as a culmination of the British 18th century Evangelical Revival, was supported and directed by distinguished and influential men who had the ears of the Home Office and other British government departments. In the Cape Colony, the newly installed British government, unlike their Dutch predecessors, was supportive of missionary endeavour, for political if not entirely philanthropic and spiritual reasons.

Ultimately, and despite Kicherer's notoriety and the LMS' public relations drive, the Zak River mission was a failure, and shut down after less than seven years. Contemporaries at the time gave various reasons for its failure, including misdirected zeal ("instead of a church, a storehouse" as Barrow (1806: 380) put it), the misapplied nature of mission proselytising, financial difficulties, the character of the San, and the unstable politics of the Colony's northern frontier. In hindsight, however, a portion of the blame can also be laid at the feet of Kicherer, and, by extension, the LMS. Kicherer's public relations trip to Europe lasted for over two years and in the end meant the station was left without his supervision for nearly a third of its existence. Upon his return in 1805, Kicherer lost interest in the station, and, arguably, missionary enterprise in general, and, in the following year, before the Zak River had officially shut down, accepted an offer for a softer posting as minister at Graaff-Reinet.

To provide context for the mission and its short life, an outline of the environment in which the LMS was formed and sent out its early mission will be drawn. This will demonstrate the nature of the mission enterprise as an expression of colonial authority and show how its objectives were shaped by in-built processes of domination. Related to this is the training and advice given to the South African missionaries. This will be briefly described before the history of the Zak River mission is provided. This will include a short overview of the situation at the Colony's northern frontier, a key factor during the entirety of the mission's lifespan. Through describing the historical sequence of the mission, the agency shown by the missionaries and the mission's non-European inhabitants will be demonstrated.

Before I address the historical sequence at Kerkplaats, some remarks about documentary sources are in order. The South African mission was one of the LMS' very first, and, because of this, the LMS ensured that its early years were well represented through published letters, reports and narratives. A substantial number of these came from intelligence supplied by Kicherer. Kicherer naturally wanted his mission to be viewed as a success by his contemporaries and the public, and would share information that reinforced that view. On a more personal level, Kicherer wanted his abilities to be regarded highly, to be seen as the hero fighting the, so to speak, 'darkness' of Africa, and used anecdotes and devices in his writing and correspondence that emphasised this.

Because intelligence came from him, Kicherer could subsequently shape his own narrative and select, to a large extent, what he wanted the LMS to know. In disseminating select information, Kicherer shaped the LMS' interpretation of his actions. For their part, the LMS, in publishing select sections of his letters and reports, shaped the public's view of the Zak River mission and missionary enterprise as a whole. Published documents, therefore, necessarily represent condensed versions of events, essentially presenting the vested interests of both the missionary and the mission society, each with their own agendas directed at specific audiences.

Indeed, all contemporary published accounts, be they reports or letters, were circulated with the express aim of painting the Zak River, and missionary enterprise as a whole, in a

favourable light. Doing so would capture public interest, illustrate the value of missions, and, ultimately, gain support for missionary enterprise. Kicherer's *Narrative*, written and disseminated in early 1804, soon after his return to Europe, provides the most information about the early years of the Zak River mission. However, it was written by Kicherer in Europe, without his notes, and with the full cognisance that it would form part of the publicity surrounding the 'unveiling' of his converts in London, where Kicherer and the LMS needed a good story to tell. It is within, as Elbourne (2002: 89) puts it, "the insatiable appetite for publicity of the missionary fundraising machine" that all these published accounts have to be placed. Nonetheless, Kicherer's *Narrative* provides observations on the the daily routine at the Zak River station that comments on the nature of interactions between the missionary and his potential converts. These are, of course, from the perspective of Kicherer, and it goes without saying that the realities on the ground were very different.

There is a substantial corpus of 19th century histories and reports of the Zak River issued by non LMS-affiliated publications. Yet these too have to be read within a framework of religious literature that was altogether pro-mission and missionary and had, more often than not, adopted a narrative that painted the missionary as a pioneering hero (see Stuart 1994; Comaroff & Comaroff 1997; Elbourne 2002: 89). Furthermore, many of these contained rehashed reproductions, or sometimes complete facsimiles, of already-published LMS-approved accounts (see, for example, Winslow 1819; Smith & Choules 1832; Carne 1836)

As a result, most, if not all, contemporary sources have to be read with caution, and not automatically taken at face value. To this end, it is necessary to read them against private LMS correspondence and the accounts of individuals who had no vested interest in either the LMS or the Zak River mission, although these accounts too have their own prejudices and judgments. Doing so often reveals discrepancies, which, in turn, draws attention to the goals and aims of individual accounts.

Highlighting these in the historical sequence below is not just an effort to arrive at an objective truth of events, but to comment on how contemporary reports of the mission are also part of the mission's history, and, furthermore, part of the colonial hegemony that the

mission phase represents, that ended up influencing people in Britain far more than any non-Europeans.

2.1. The Evangelical Revival and the Formation of the LMS

Protestant ministers and clergymen created the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795. Influenced by the Evangelical Revival, the missionary efforts of the Moravians, the explorations of travellers such as Captain Cook, and the growing call of numerous ministers and clergymen for something to be done by Christians to spread the Word of God, the LMS was not the first British missionary society. Yet it became one of the more successful and one of the more renowned. It was also the second, after the Moravians, to attempt a mission in South Africa (see Kruger 1966; Elbourne & Ross 1997).

The Evangelical Revival was, as Bebbington (1989: 12) states, "the tree that bore the fruit of the significant missionary movements of the 19th and 20th centuries". Essentially, the Evangelical Revival was a popular, non-denominational movement of the Protestant church, formally begun in the British Isles in the 1730s that called for the promulgation of the Gospel by any means necessary. In 18th century Britain, substantial political and economic upheavals, such as food shortages, royal succession disputes, costly wars, impeachments and viciously contested general elections, and prolonged conflicts between Church and Dissent, created an increasingly anxious populace (see Ditchfield 1998: 67). Additionally, because of the influence of Enlightenment values, such as rational thinking and scientific evidence, it was a population becoming increasingly secular (see Bebbington 1989: 50-63; Ingram 2007: 71-113).

Understandably, an increasingly secular population was disturbing to a large number of clergy. They felt it was their responsibility to interpret social conditions and uphold their own status in a society where their influence was stymied in both public policy and social behaviour (Crawford 1989: 376-378). To them, religious practice was becoming voluntary, and since the populace was not going to church, the church had to go to them. To this end, numbers of the clergy experimented with evangelist techniques to persuade, rather than force, people to attend religious service. This resulted in a new preaching and pastoral style, one where clergymen trained in active preaching, rather than the Classics, Latin and Greek (Bebbington 1989: 11-12).

The clergy also went out as part of missionary undertakings and these were a significant part of the Revival. The first organised missionary institutions in England, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), formed in 1698 and 1701 respectively, and aimed to support already established churches and to create new parishes. The SPCK focused on the British Isles, while the SPG on the other hand, focused on settled Englishmen at mainly West Indian and North American plantations (see Porter 2004; Cox 2008). Early efforts to appeal to non-English members of communities were attempted but were ultimately unsuccessful.

British missionary activity in the West Indies and America was preceded by the missionary-like practices of late 17th century German and Scottish churches, such as camp and class meetings, field preaching, the circulation of reformation literature and informal domestic piety (Ditchfield 1998: 16; Ward 2006, 2014). The German Moravians were particularly successful and influential, preaching a dogma strong on pietism, egalitarianism, evangelical effort and missionary endeavour, rejecting the extravagance of the higher clergy and focusing on ordinary people (Ditchfield 1998: 17; see also Hutton 1909). By 1738 they had a robust presence in London.

Certainly, the role of the Moravian Church on the Evangelical Revival and British missionary endeavours cannot be overstated. The Moravians were almost entirely geared toward missionizing. Every member was encouraged to contribute to missionary effort in some way, be it financially or personally, and a relatively high number of them became active missionaries: one in sixty as opposed to around one in five thousand in the rest of the Protestant world (Jensz 2008: 189). The Moravians also became infamous for sending missionaries to areas considered difficult and dangerous, such as at the Cape in the 18th century, where they invariably found some success, and earned repute as industrious settlers (Mason 2001: 8).

It was only in the late 1780s that Moravian influence on other Church missionary efforts became overt. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was founded, consciously modelling their missionary effort on established Moravian practices (see Stanley 1992). That

same year a widely-circulated pamphlet by William Carey, one of the founders of the BMS, called strongly on Christians to follow the Moravian example and dutifully convert non-Christians wherever and whenever possible (see Schattsneider 1999). Carey's (1792) pamphlet was an important motivator for the beginning of more widespread, organised missionary effort in the Protestant world and inspired other religious men to take action.

One of the results of Carey's pamphlet was the establishment in 1793 of the *Evangelical Magazine*. It was established to create a platform for Revivalist ministers and clergymen to voice their opinions, organise meetings and disseminate information among themselves and the public. This included tracts, accounts and narratives from clergymen in both England and overseas that fuelled the fire of missionary zeal in the country, essentially motivating well-to-do ministers and clergymen to meet and discuss missionary endeavour. Out of these meetings the LMS took shape.

The LMS' formation came out of a mass meeting in the autumn of 1795. Its sole object, its directors wrote, "was to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations", which was to be financially supported by "donations, legacies, subscriptions, collections, &c" overseen by the chosen treasurer (*Transactions* I 1804: xiii). The LMS, unlike the SPCK and SPG, believed that it was overseas, amongst foreign and exotic peoples, that missionary enterprise would be most fruitful. Destinations discussed at these early meetings included Sumatra, the Coromandel Coast in south-east India, Tartary through Astrakhan (in central Asia), Sierra Leone and Tahiti. Ultimately, Tahiti became its first missionary field and by August of 1796 thirty missionaries were prepared to embark to the South Seas. The Tahiti expedition, however, is not relevant to the discussion here. More pertinent to LMS activities in the Cape was the first mission to Africa, namely the Foulah of Sierra Leone, in 1797.

The effects of slavery were a prime influence on the LMS' choice of the African West Coast, "where the guilt of Europeans has inflicted the deepest wounds on the unoffending natives" (Lovett 1899: 477-478). The mission to the Foulah in the interior of Sierra Leone was its first African mission, and, furthermore, its first failure. Sierra Leone initially seemed an auspicious choice – Britain was represented through the Sierra Leone Company and journals of two of

their agents, published by the *Evangelical Magazine*, portrayed a hospitable people and a welcoming king amongst the Foulah. Subsequently, the LMS sent six missionaries to Sierra Leone in October 1797.

However, within six months of its arrival the mission was all but over. Warfare amongst the Foulah, the ravages of the climate, and poor preparation meant that by the middle of 1798, three of the six missionaries were dead, a fourth was recalled, a fifth had his connection to the Society terminated, and only one, the sixth, managed to continue his work at Freetown (Lovett 1899: 480). The LMS' official historian, Lovett (1899: 480), writing over 100 years later, ascribes the failure to "the two factors which have exerted a powerful influence over every effort to evangelize the dark land – the quality of the workers [i.e. the missionaries], and the deadly nature of the climate." In hindsight, it was more likely that the Sierra Leone mission was a victim of botched organisation and not a little neglect from the Society, who, in 1797 and 1798, were still chiefly focusing on the South Seas. Lovett's mention of the quality of the missionaries raises an issue that plagued the LMS in its early years, namely what type of men were best suited to missionary work.

From its inception, the LMS had two principles that set it apart from other mission societies. The first was its non-denominational character and the second was that the LMS had no compunction in recruiting missionaries from lower socioeconomic classes. This broadened the field from which they drew volunteers, but a wider choice meant difficulty in narrowing down suitable missionaries. Subsequently, there existed two opposing views in terms of selection. The one opinion, influenced by the Moravians, was that a young man "from the forge or the shop" would be preferable to a highly educated one (Lovett 1899: 28). Moravian clergymen in London, in contact with the LMS' directors, stressed that missionaries holding useful employment outside of their religious duties would boost work ethic and provide economic benefits.

The other view was that a more pious, experienced, educated, and disciplined man would be better suited to mission work. "The plan of sending out young men unaccustomed to the task of religious instruction never appeared to me calculated to produce the end we had in view,"

one proponent later wrote, “I always thought it was the duty of experienced men to lead the way, and offer themselves for the service of the heathen (Bogue in Lovett 1899: 55).

Officially, the LMS decided to plot a tenuous middle route that satisfied both camps, and early volunteers were a mixture of those with a liberal education and those who were mechanically adept (see Lovett 1899: 43-44). However, the focus soon shifted to older men with more of a “liberal education” and “satisfactory evidence of personal piety” (Lovett 1899: 37). This was primarily because public opinion, important to the LMS for fiduciary and spiritual support, had been swayed through a number of essays published in the *Evangelical Magazine* in the second half of 1797 (See O’Brien 1994 for the importance of the written texts in the Evangelical revival). These essays, some penned by the directors themselves, strongly urged, in a direct and accusatory tone, that ordained ministers should mission overseas.

By the end of 1797 it was becoming increasingly clear that the LMS had decided that older, more experienced mission volunteers were the most suitable. To attract these men, a committee was formed to draw up an address that would “excite and encourage ministers of standing and respectability to accompany the missionaries to Jamaica, India, and other places; and to intimate that the families of persons who are willing to go shall be suitably provided for, thereby allaying the fears of the older clergymen with familial responsibilities and commitments (Lovett 1899: 54).

2.2. The Training of Missionaries

The LMS may have been leaning towards the employ of older, educated men as missionaries, but these men would still require further advice, training and preparation for the job at hand. Having the spread of the Gospel to far-flung, exotic lands as their main objective, the LMS generally placed a greater emphasis on the divine and providential aspects of the mission enterprise. Yet practical, applied and secular aspects were just as significant, if not more so. How could a missionary successfully preach and convert if he was hungry, exposed, or in danger? How was the missionary supposed to live and survive in places where few Europeans had even heard of, let alone seen?

Certainly, it is difficult to pinpoint how the missionaries were practically trained for mission work. Piety was confirmed by the Society's request that prospective missionaries sign the Westminster Confession, the standard document on church doctrine, governance, worship and discipline in the Church of England. Of applied skills, crafts and proficiencies that allowed one to set up a mission station in foreign, often hostile and inhospitable lands, there is little evidence other than pamphlets and tracts. The most significant of these were Spangenberg's *Instruction for the Brethren and Sisters Who Serve in the Gospel Among the Heathen* published in 1784, Horne's 1795 *Letters On Missions*, and published works by Thomas Haweis, an LMS director, and Edward Williams, a minister from Rotherham, in 1796.

Spangenberg's 1784 tract was published to give specific advice to Moravian missionaries undertaking overseas missions. The majority of the advice focused on theological aspects, including personal piety, gaining, selecting, treating and maintaining converts, the performance of various aspects of church ritual and discipline, and how to keep the congregation in order. It is likely the LMS took heed of these aspects of Spangenberg's tract, but it is the temporal advice offered that is most significant. At the time it was considered a major and influential work, read not only as a Moravian treatise but also as a very complete guide to evangelical work among non-Christians. Indeed, it was not altered or modified until 1836. Mason (2001: 147) doubts there was anything similar available in English at the time, and states that the leaders of both the LMS and the BMS ensured their missionaries made use of it. Certainly, it was aboard the *Duff* when she sailed to the South Seas with the LMS' first missionaries (Mason 2001: 147).

Spangenberg (1784: 7-10) immediately stresses that the missionary calling was not easy and that certain characteristics were necessary in missionaries, such as enthusiasm, cheerfulness, grace, and humility. Harmony, unity and brotherly love among the missionaries is emphasised and they should live together as family doing what they can to support the mission, including its finances (Spangenberg 1784: 11). No missionary should leave the mission of his own accord or pleasure, and those who do so are "guilty of manifold injustice" (Spangenberg 1784: 41). Any complaints between missionaries should be dealt with hastily and missionaries must lead by example to inspire and motivate potential converts. Relationships with the opposite sex should be well regulated, and patience and kindness shown to the natives. Spangenberg

(1784: 44) stresses that missionaries should not interfere in political affairs nor compete with other European missions. They should also not involve themselves in existing European trade, unless they could do so without neglecting their religious duties or interacting with "unprofitable acquaintance(s)" (Spangenberg 1784: 42, 46).

Converts should not be attracted by gifts, presents and bribes, and those that had shown interest in Christianity should be firmly encouraged (Spangenberg 1784: 20-22). Missionaries should visit prospective converts in their native dwellings and become used to the way of life of the locals. Mission congregations should be as regulated and disciplined as those in Europe, and the church-books should be kept in good order and all inward and outward activities recorded.

Spangenberg's work appeared to exist in isolation until 1795, when a tract by Matthew Horne was published and widely circulated in Evangelical circles, including amongst the directors of the LMS. Horne had been chaplain of the Sierra Leone Company, and had first-hand experience of the country's land, climate and people. He consequently had invaluable information on the realities of practicing Christianity in a foreign land (see Schwarz 2007). His positive mention of the Moravians suggests he had read Spangenberg's tract, if not entirely adapted some of its points (see Mason 2001: 158-160). He attributed their success to ardent piety, the fact that large groups of missionaries lived together as a family at one site, and that the Moravians where unafraid to labour with their hands where necessary (Horne 1815: 59). While not exclusively aimed at outlining missionary training, Horne's pamphlet was clear and instructive, conscious that having had experience of living in an exotic country his opinion could be more than useful.

To this end Horne offered some of the first practical advice, albeit specific to Sierra Leone, on being a working missionary. One of his first arguments is that missionaries would have to be itinerant and live in or near more remote villages (Horne 1815: vi). Consequently, suitable missionaries were men (women were not considered for missionary work) who were heroic and "disposed to run all chances, and to undergo sufferings, which…might freeze the blood of those, who hear them quietly by their fire sides" (Horne 1815: 70).

At each isolated station, Horne (1815: 71) recommended that no less than ten to twelve missionaries should settle, some of whom should be clergymen and some employed as "schoolmasters, transcribers, exhorters, and to assist in all the emergencies of the Mission, to which Missionaries may not be able to give attention" (Horne 1815: 71-72). Horne insisted that no men should be sent overseas that were not able to look after themselves, and that the supporting societies should provide them with salaries, books, clothes and "proper implements of their respective arts" (Horne 1815: 72). Another significant aspect of Horne's pamphlet, recognized by the LMS in a review of the tract, was that missions would "civilize the savage", and that local inhabitants could be taught to value European goods (Horne 1815: 50).

Horne was among the first LMS-affiliated individuals to pair religious duties with secular ones, and recognise that with mission potentially came commerce, and with commerce potentially came empire. There needed to be clergymen *and* practical workers, so that potential converts could receive religious instruction and be taught 'civilised' skills and crafts. Absorbing these elements would make a civilized Christian citizen out of a savage heathen, and, in doing so, create a market for European goods that would further reinforce the civilising process

Horne's pamphlet was ultimately more influential in the creation of the LMS than in unequivocally influencing mission policy. The LMS themselves were not entirely silent on the matter and at the LMS' general meetings of May 1796, the directors began formulating a preliminary 'Missionary instructions' booklet authored primarily by Thomas Haweis. In amongst the divine embellishments exists some practical advice that is a near facsimile of Spangenberg's tract and contains much the same advice that he offered.

Other advice is slightly different. The missionaries must make it clear that they show no malice or avarice towards their charges, relying on gentle persuasion and inducement rather than strong force and coercion. Their charges must not be made into servants, but rather the missionaries should show, by example, that manual labour leads to contentment and piety (Hunter & Edwards 1796). Unity amongst the missionaries is emphasised throughout but important decisions, such as where to set up the station, could be left to the most experienced and wise (Hunter & Edwards 1796: 64-65). The manner and doctrine of active

preaching is defined, and it is stressed that it be simple and uncontroversial. Those sins and depravities that are most immediately striking to the missionaries are those that must be targeted first. However, the missionaries must avoid criticising those local customs that are of "indifferent nature", such as dress and amusements, as this could cause negative consequences (Hunter & Edwards 1796: 59).

These documents stand as the sole arbiters of mission advice at the time and perhaps their ingenuousness can be excused, as there was little previous missionary enterprise to learn from. Additionally, the LMS was relying on fractured reports of foreign lands given by seasoned travellers who did not hold as zealous religious views as the LMS did. They were aware of this shortcoming and, according to Lovett (1899: 46), the Directors ideally wanted prospective missionaries to undergo at least two or three years of spiritual and intellectual training, and to show some evidence that he was able to survive and prosper in a foreign land. In the end, as Mason (2001: 160) suggests, missionaries may have had no practical preparation at all. 'Counsels' was nominally prepared for the mission to Tahiti, but there is no indication that it was altered or improved prior to the departure of the South African missionaries in 1798. The LMS likely gave copies of it, and Spangenberg's work, to the Africa-bound missionaries, so that they would have at least some concept of how practical missioning was to go about.

Given the nature of the context in which Kicherer departed, no amount of advice and counsel could have possibly provided him the basis for success. As an agent of an expanding colonial world with limited training and preparation, Kicherer had very little power to save himself, let alone those Khoe and San to whom he was meant to minister.

2.3. The Mission to South Africa

The mission to South Africa was one of the earliest the LMS undertook. For the LMS, Africa was a prime field for Christian enlightenment and concerted missionary effort. The Cape was considered a suitable stepping-stone for further African missions, as it had an established European population and a British administration friendly to mission endeavour (Schoeman 1996: 16). However, at the first meeting of the Society in 1795, South Africa was not even

mentioned as a potential mission field, and it was primarily through J.T. van der Kemp that a South African mission came into fruition.

In April 1797, when he first contacted the LMS, Johannes Theodore Van der Kemp was a middle-aged retired medical doctor in Dordrecht, Holland. In early 1797 he received a printed address that the LMS had circulated in Germany and Holland detailing the formation of the Society and the sermons preached at its foundation. Upon reading the tract, Van der Kemp was moved enough to make the decision to devote the remainder of his life to spreading the Gospel. He soon wrote to the Society offering his services.

The Directors of the LMS were receptive to Van der Kemp's overtures, but required that he first settle his affairs in Holland, establish ties with other Dutch Protestants and strengthen links between the English and Dutch churches. To this end, Van der Kemp oversaw the establishment of the Rotterdam Missionary Society (RMS) in December 1797. The LMS, perhaps aware of the struggles they were having in finding suitable missionaries in England asked Van der Kemp to "enquire if there be any Instruments for our purpose, willing to devote themselves to the work of a heathen Mission" (Haweis in Schoeman 1996: 13). One of the volunteers he did find was Johannes Jacobus Kicherer.

In 1798, Kicherer was a 23-year-old theology student at the University of Utrecht well on his way to becoming an ordained minister. As a young boy, Kicherer had read Captain Cook's account of his travels in the South Seas and had long harboured a desire to combine his religious feelings with exotic destinations. The news that a society had been formed in London that aimed to send missionaries to these far-off destinations made Kicherer, according to the foreword of his own Dutch '*Berichten'*, "extremely happy and elated" (Kicherer 1805a: iii-iv).

Kicherer soon made his enthusiasm known to the LMS via Van der Kemp. The LMS were initially unsure of how to best utilise their new missionaries (Schoeman 1996: 15-16). Van der Kemp, however, was set on South Africa and he appeared to have some knowledge of the country too, specifically asking to be sent to Namaqualand (Schoeman 1996: 16. See also Elbourne 2002: 102) (Fig. 2.1).

In April 1798, the LMS approved of Van der Kemp's request to mission in South Africa, although it would be among the Xhosa on the Eastern Cape frontier and not in Namaqualand. Kicherer joined Van der Kemp in London in July and would accompany him to South Africa. By September two British volunteers, William Edwards and John Edmond, also agreed to travel to South Africa (see Elbourne 2002: 90-91) and the four missionaries arrived in Cape Town in late March 1799.

2.3.1 The Northern Frontier and the 'Bosjesmen' Question

In 1795 the British took over governance of the Cape from the Dutch East India Company (DEIC or VOC), who had governed the Cape since 1652. European social and political turmoil, sparked off by the French Revolution, led to the British taking the Cape from the Dutch and becoming the dominant sea power in the Atlantic and Indian oceans at the end of the 18th century. The British did not desire the Colony for territorial or colonial expansion, nor material gain, and treated the Colony much as the Dutch had – as a convenient stepping stone on the route to Asia (Thompson 2001: 51-53). Because of this, the British saw themselves as temporary custodians of the Colony and had little compunction to interfere with the current status quo in any great form. Indeed, they maintained the previous Dutch administrative structure and staff and continued with the Dutch system of frontier land tenure (see Smuts 2012: 26-32).

Nonetheless, unlike their Dutch counterparts, the British were sympathetic to missionary endeavour and, significantly, wanted to exercise more control over the furthest boundaries of the Colony (Penn 2001: 2). The social and political climate of the frontier regions of the Colony at the end of the 18th century is pertinent to the history of the Zak River station. Essentially, the British administration wanted to utilise missions as a political tool and a means to gain a semblance of control over unstable frontier regions. This effectively reconstituted colonial power in the mission and reinforced Kicherer's role in this process.

At the end of the 18th century, the main region of frontier expansion in the Colony was to the east and less so to the north (Fig. 2.2). Attention was generally focused more on the east because, broadly speaking, this had been the main frontier of expansion in the preceding century (Guelke 1976). The population density of mixed farmers, such as Xhosa, in the region

was higher than that of hunter-gatherer San and pastoralist Khoe in the north, and colonists were living adjacent to settled and relatively stable African groups. Unsurprisingly, clashes between the two groups were frequent. Furthermore, the small town of Graaff-Reinet, situated just within the north-eastern border, had become a relatively important economic centre, chiefly because of the regular supply of meat it provided Cape Town, but also because of its potential as an administrative centre for the region (see Muller 1987) (Fig 2.1).

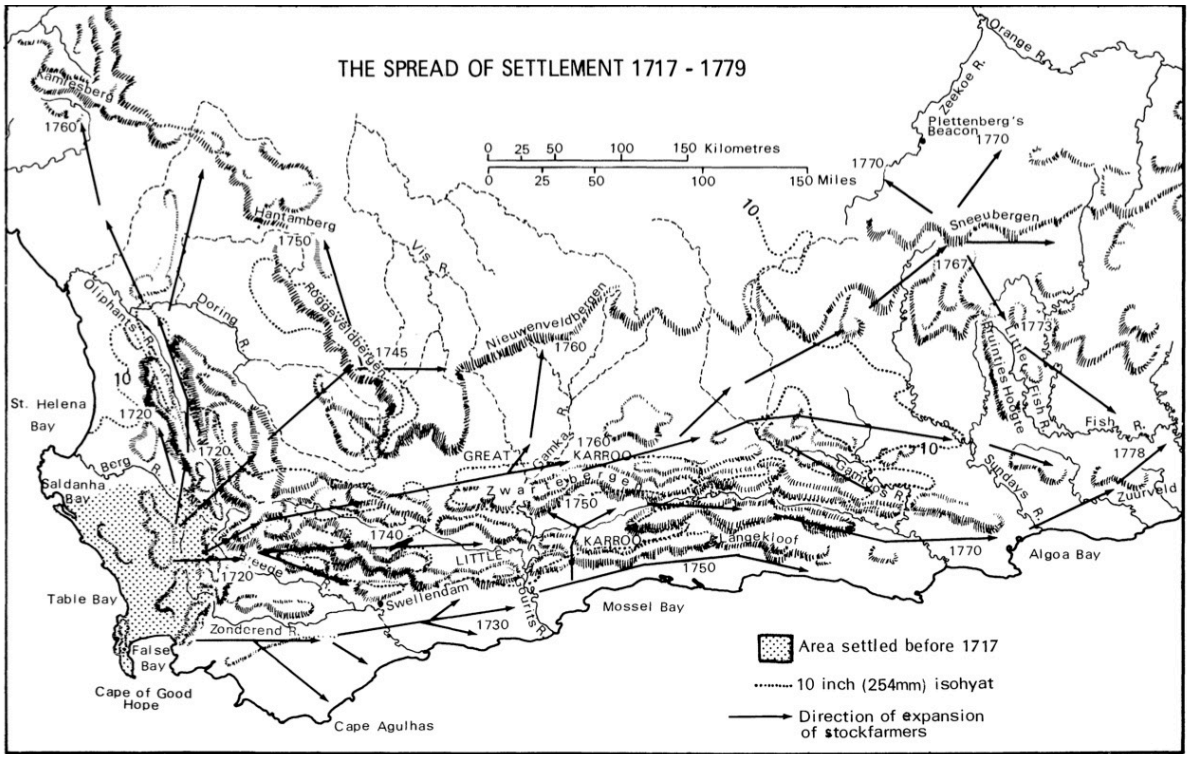


Figure 2.2: Map showing the spread and direction of *trekboer* expansion 1717-1779 (from Guelke 1976: 26).

Subsequently, the British felt that any instability at the eastern frontier, whether through clashes with African populations like the Xhosa or Khoe or dissatisfied and rebellious colonists, needed to be quelled by direct intervention (see Newton-King & Malherbe 1981; Boucher & Penn 1992). For the predatory San groups in the east, official attitude now shifted from the hostile commando system to one that was, on the whole, as friendly as it could be, relying more on gentle persuasion than brute force (Newton-King 1999). The British government was adamant that a peace with the San could be found and maintained by non-violent means. Despite its standing as official policy, this approach proved hard to maintain unofficially, especially among colonists actually living on the frontline of contact and having their stock

stolen and farms attacked. Regardless of this, the British administration encouraged a similar approach to the San in the north.

At least initially, San resistance only necessitated direct intervention in the east, as the northern border was a marginal, dry, harsh region where water was scarce and transhumant pastoralism the only suitable means to work the land. Expansion into this region had begun in the early 1700s, when pastoralists of Dutch descent dispersed from the Colony in the southwest over the Roggeveld in the north, toward the Sneeuberg mountains in the northeast, Namaqaland in the northwest, and Algoa Bay in the east (Fig. 2.2). These white pastoralists, the *trekboers*, generally migrated outside the Colony's official boundaries in search of pasture for their sheep and cattle. Many also held grievances against the VOC and the manner in which it was monopolising arable land and the meat market, or were affected by changes in the larger agricultural market and related labour costs (see Guelke 1976, 1985; Ross 1986; Feinstein 2005: 22-27).

The northern frontier contained comparably few colonists and, for the British, little prospect of economic or commercial growth, restricted, as it was, to nomadic pastoralism. Yet, clashes between Europeans and local Khoesan along the northern edge of the Colony were proving to be just as dramatic and violent than those further east (see Penn 1995). At various points throughout the 1790s, European farmers found themselves close to abandoning the area altogether. Lawless Oorlam groups along the Orange River threatened European, Khoe and San alike, while these groups were themselves ceaselessly raiding and marauding amongst each other (see Glossary). For the San, territory in which to retire and lick their wounds was constantly shrinking, and, through the *trekboers* habit of hunting vast quantities of game and driving their flocks and herds into areas after rainfall, the environment on which they relied was rapidly deteriorating.

A key figure in the politics of the northern frontier, and in the establishment of the Zak River station, was Floris Visser, then the *veldwagtmeester* of the Roggeveld region. Visser was an old frontier hand, and had won himself a reputation as a skilful negotiator through previous dealings with potentially hostile groups at the northern boundary (see Penn 2001: 6-8). In early 1798, Visser visited the *landdrost* of Stellenbosch with an idea that he believed would

bring a general peace to the region. There were three crucial parts of Visser's timely, yet not exactly original, proposal: the gift of livestock to the San, the appointment of mutually acceptable San captains, and, crucially, the recognition that the San had exclusive and unchallenged rights to certain tracts of land (see Penn 2001: 8).

The British government, looking to deal diplomatically, and absolutely, with the San, saw Visser's proposal as a godsend, and it soon reached the ears of the governor. Here was an influential, respected northern frontiersman willing to implement ideas the British were eager to continue, and, furthermore, he had already started implementing them with some success. The governor, Macartney, promptly issued a proclamation that was to broadly influence European-Khoesan relations for the coming years, including, indirectly, the Zak River mission.

Essentially, in Macartney's view, the best way to deal with the San was to 'civilize' them, to impress on them "a sense of the benefits arising from permanent property", as opposed to that taken through predation (Penn 2001: 9). There were, of course, the obligatory sinister undertones, as Penn (2001: 9) notes, as the British administration was no doubt aware that weaning the San off their predatory supplies was but one step towards their wholesale absorption into the colonial economy. Additionally, the British were naively relying on a wholesale change in San cosmology and worldview - permanent property and fixed territories would hopefully make the San pastoralists - to accompany their gifts of cattle, something the San were never eager to accept.

In terms of land, an area beyond the Sak River towards the Karreeberge would be gifted to the San where they could remain unmolested and unbothered by commandos, which were now strictly forbidden unless in self-defence (Penn 2001: 10) (Fig 2.1). In this regard, the British administration was reliant on cooperative *veldwagtmeesters*, such as Visser, to enforce recently drawn borders of the Colony. Land beyond these borders would be left untouched and unvisited by colonists, thus maintaining the peace.

Visser returned to the Roggeveld in late 1798 and was able to report that his peaceful overtures were progressing well. Throughout the early months of 1799 Visser met with various San 'captains' from as far north as the Karreeberge, gradually convincing some, but

not all, to accept gifts of stocks, beads, tobacco, mirrors, flints, tinder-boxes, and, more crucially, a détente in hostilities (Penn 2001: 12). At one of the larger gatherings, according to Kicherer (1804: 2),

> *Some of the Settlers, being religiously disposed, offered up a prayer in the presence of the Hottentots; who, upon their enquiry into the nature and design of this action, were informed that it was done with a view of imploring the blessing of Almighty God, who is the source of every good; they were also told that their ignorance and neglect of this Divine Being was the real cause of their comparative wretchedness. On this explanation, the Boschemen expressed their earnest desire that proper persons might come and reside among them, who would afford them those valuable instructions which would enable them to become as rich and happy as their neighbours.*

Bearing in mind Kicherer's pious nature, and that this excerpt from Kicherer's official *Narrative* was intended for the eyes of every LMS supporter, this account may be taken with a pinch of salt. Nonetheless, in early April 1799, three San captains, Vigiland, Orlam and Platje, were despatched to the Cape, as per the wishes of the governor, to receive "marks of kindness and approbation from him, and presents for their wives and children" (Penn 2001: 10).

2.3.2. A Mission to the 'Bosjesmen'

Coincidentally, the San captains arrived in Cape Town not long after the missionaries' own arrival. Their first few weeks in the Cape had been taken up with administrative activities, including a visit to the governor to ensure from him his, and the governments, cooperation and assistance. Van der Kemp busied himself in the formation of the South African Missionary Society (SAMS) with likeminded colonists and visited the Moravian mission station at Baviaanskloof (now Genadendal) for "mutual assistance and correspondence" (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 341) (Fig 2.1).

Van der Kemp was aware, at least by the end of April, of the San captains' presence at the Cape and their desire for Christian instruction. Edwards was initially the keenest to "undertake an exploratory excursion to this people" (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 341). Van der Kemp, perhaps mindful of the 'Bosjesmen's' savage reputation and the LMS' own emphasis on unity, was not so enthusiastic. "Our number is too small yet to establish a

mission among them", Van der Kemp wrote to the Directors, before asserting that at least six further missionaries would be necessary to commence such a mission (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 341).

Less than three weeks later, however, he had changed his mind, and in a letter to the Society from 18 May published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, he noted,

> *"Two captains of that nation [the San] (perhaps the most savage and cruel of the whole earth) are actually in this town…a third of the Coranna nation…accompanies them. This is a phenomenon which never had appeared before! They express their ardent desire to leave off all acts of criminal violence for ever, and to be instructed in the knowledge and service of the God of the Christians" (Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 427*).*

The visiting captains had clearly made an impression, and in his role as director of the South African Mission, Van der Kemp ceded to Edwards' earlier request and nominated him to mission among the San. A casting of Lots chose Kicherer as his companion.

Significantly, and in light of the political situation at the northern frontier, Edwards was instructed to correspond directly with the colony's government. Undoubtedly, the British administration saw the missionaries as a means to gain some measurer of control over the northern borders. Who better to embody their more benevolent approach to San interactions than a Christian mission? In the missionaries, the colonial administration had the means to hasten the processes that Visser had delineated in his three-point plan. They could supervise the distribution of gifts, recognise and communicate with San captains, and ensure that the demarcated San land was not trespassed on. Whether this was directly communicated to Edwards and Kicherer is unclear, but the fact that Edwards was instructed to keep a regular correspondence with Governor is suggestive.

The four missionaries left Cape Town on the 22nd May 1799. They travelled together as far as Rodezand (present day Tulbagh) and from there, they visited the Moravian mission at Baviaanskloof, where they found "a numerous and well-regulated congregation of *Tame*

Hottentots…who are somewhat more civilized than the wild Hottentots or Boschemen" (Kicherer 1804: 3) (Fig 2.1).

As Penn (2001: 15) puts it, in visiting the Moravians "the LMS missionaries were paying their respects to the pioneers in the field". The Moravians had been missionizing in the Colony, with varying degrees of both spiritual and secular success, since 1737. By the end of the 18th century their station at Baviaanskloof (Genadendal) had grown into the second largest settlement in the Colony after Cape Town (Penn 2001: 16). Moravian brethren had even been urged to mission to the San prior to the arrival of the LMS missionaries and the San captains in Cape Town (see Kruger 1966; Penn 2001: 16). The LMS missionaries undoubtedly received some invaluable advice from the Moravians, and took the opportunity to observe the operations of an admired, at least by the British, mission (see Kruger 1966: 75-85).

On returning to Tulbagh, Van der Kemp and Edmonds headed east to the Xhosa. According to Kicherer's *Narrative* (1804: 3), he and Edwards borrowed a wagon from a friend, servants and oxen from neighbouring farmers, and headed towards Floris Visser's farm in the Roggeveldberge in late June (Fig. 2.1). An earlier draft of his journal, however, published in the LMS' *Transactions*, states that Kicherer and Edwards returned to the Cape prior to their departure (*Transactions* I 1804: 326). There they received an offer of service from Cornelius Kramer, a young colonist who wished to accompany them to the San.

Kicherer, Edwards and Kramer's journey to Floris Visser was relatively uneventful and they arrived there after two weeks' travel. They spent a further three weeks at Visser's, preparing for their journey further north and holding religious services for local farmers. Indeed, for all intents and purposes, frontiersmen were pleased to have the missionaries in their midst. This was not only because they now did not have to travel to attend *nagmaal* but the missionaries, as harbingers of peace, had the potential, through Christianity, to placate the lawless and renegade San groups that had been causing them such distress. To this end, the local farmers were notably supportive and the missionaries left Visser's farm in late July, with fifty farmers and their servants, 60 oxen, 200 sheep, and six wagons loaded with provisions (Kicherer 1804: 4).

2.3.3. Blydevooruitzicht

A week later they passed "the last inhabited house in the Roggeveld" and were now in country clearly outside the Colony's influence (Lovett 1899: 519). They met their first 'wild Boscheman' in early August, and crossed the Zak River the next day, settling at a spot around one days' journey north, "near two fine springs of water, with a good piece of ground for cultivation", where they chose to erect their station, naming it Happy Prospects Fountain or Blydevooruitzicht (Kicherer 1804: 5). Their group of 50 farmers and servants stayed on for several days, helping the missionaries build a garden and a hut of reeds.

On the 12th of August, Visser and the farmers departed and Kicherer and Edwards were now alone among the 'wild Boscheman'. At this point Kicherer fell into a self-described depression: "This was a time of severe trial. I felt inexpressibly dejected…I well remember how deeply my spirits were depressed about this time…separated, as I found myself, from all I loved in this world", probably not helped by the fact that their reed house fell down not long after (Kicherer 1804: 6).

The numbers of San, according to Kicherer, grew considerably through August and September, 1799. Certainly, there were enough San for a confused Kicherer to distinguish between them only by writing their names on their backs with chalk (Kicherer 1804: 11). Kicherer does not hide that he attracted future converts by gifts of tobacco for the men, handkerchiefs to the women and dried fruit to the children, all items themselves gifted to the missionaries by the local farmers (Kicherer 1804: 11). It would appear that the local San were willing to forgo their traditional mobile hunting and gathering during this period, happy to make use of the mission's food supply. Understandably, by October supplies at the station were already running low. In just two months, it would appear that the majority of the sixty oxen, 200 sheep and six wagonloads of provisions they had arrived with had been consumed or lost. A farmer soon donated a bull, thirty sheep, flour and salt, amongst other things, and by the end of the year it also appears that Kicherer's garden was "flourishing", able to feed nearly 20 guests (Kicherer 1804: 13).

These difficulties in procuring supplies and provisions, and making them last, would plague the station throughout its duration. Self-sufficiency perhaps could not be expected within the

first six months, but the station was never able to grow its own produce, increase its herds, or consistently feed itself by any means. Another recurring pattern at the station was Kicherer's frequent trips to the Cape. In January 1800, after less than six months at Blydevooruitzicht, Kicherer decided that a trip to the Cape was necessary, "for the purpose of procuring the necessary supplies for my people, particularly Clothes (sic)" (Kicherer 1804: 13). Notably, he brought with him a small group of the more promising San inhabitants. Kicherer and his San group stayed in the Cape for a few weeks and the San were presented to the governor, met several of the chief magistrates, attended religious services, and, according to Kicherer (1804: 15), were impressed by all they saw. Kicherer too was trying to renew government support for his endeavours. They returned to Blydevooruitzicht in March, with clothes, "an abundance of useful articles" from the Fiscal and 140 sheep (Kicherer 1804: 15).

2.3.4. The Zak River Station

A flurry of activity accompanied their return. Both Kramer and Edwards had left Blydevooruitzicht, for the Hex River and the Cape respectively. Officially, Edwards was answering a call from Van der Kemp, who, having been abandoned by Edmonds in December, was in need of an assistant. "There is so few of the Bushesmen by us and the Caffres in so great number near Father Van der Kemp (sic)", Edwards wrote to the LMS, when informing them of his decision (CWM/LMS/Incoming 1/3/B). The reality was that Edwards simply did not like Kicherer and had accused him of inappropriate relations with local widows, amongst other things. The LMS sided with Kicherer and eventually severed ties with Edwards, who maintained his accusations throughout (see Schoeman 1996: 66-71).

Kicherer at this time was joined by J.J. Scholtz, a volunteer from the Cape, and, because of the threat of hostile San groups further north, the site of the mission moved to the Zak River, the present-day farm of Kerkplaats (see Penn 2001: 21). The new station was situated "in an elevated valley, surrounded by barren mountains, without a single tree to enliven the prospect" (Kicherer 1804: 37). It may have been harsh country, but the station soon attracted some pastoralist Khoe or, as Kicherer (1804: 16) called them, "tame Hottentots".

Throughout the following year at the Zak River, there were also sporadic visits by groups of 'Corana' and 'Bastaard-Hottentotten' from the Orange River, repeatedly requesting a mission

to be set up amongst them. Two of Kicherer's model converts were from the vicinity of the Orange and he told the SAMS that the 'Bastaard-Hotenttoten' were more willing to be taught than the 'Boschesmen', perhaps because their less itinerant, pastoral lifestyle was suited to the nature of a permanent mission (Schoeman 1996: 73). It may have been the promise of a more receptive audience, plus the indifference of the San, that encouraged Kicherer, Scholtz and a newly returned Kramer to abandon the Zak River station and move, with their flock, to the Orange in May 1801.

Essentially, the LMS approved of the move to Orange River. Yet they were still concerned about the fate of the Blydevooruitzicht and Zak River stations. Unbeknownst to them, Edwards had returned to Blydevooruitzicht after only three months at the Cape. In a letter he sent to the LMS in mid-1802, he complains of his futility among the San:

> *"I was now alone among the Boschmen, and because the old grudge between them and the farmers breaking out afresh through the former beginning again to rob the latter of their cattle [and] my interferance (sic) in behalf of the farmer, the Boschmen became angry with me, and would come no more to be taught of me nor any more to hear me"* (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/2/A)

Visser's plan that co-opted British backing was evidently failing and the 'Boschjesmen' were intransigent and poor material for conversion and civilising. Certainly, the situation in the Roggeveld and Sak River region had deteriorated. Whether through widespread drought, or hostile San captains, the San of the area had reverted to their old ways (Penn 2001: 25, 28). Kicherer's conceptual shift to Khoe, Korana and other non-San groups, and the physical shift to the Orange, although not his agreed flock, was perhaps well-timed, and somewhat necessary and justified.

While Kicherer was at the Orange, W. Somerville, P. Truter and John Barrow, part of an expedition to procure a steady meat supply for the Colony, passed through both Blydevooruitzicht and the Zak River in October 1801. In the official account, Somerville and Truter describe Blydevooruitzicht as a "not unpleasant place", where they found "in good repair a long oblong building or hut, which probably had served both for a church and a

lodging, together with several smaller huts, and the remains of a kitchen garden" (Theal 1899: 366). The Zak River site they passed the next day, finding "a similar building and huts", albeit in a greater state of disrepair than at Blydevooruitzicht, unsurprising considering Edwards had just left the latter to mission to the Tswana.

Barrow, in his account, describes the church/lodgings at Blydevooruitzicht as "an earthen building of considerable dimensions, surrounded by a number of demolished huts", and the Zak River site as a "kraal or hamlet in ruins" (Barrow 1806: 367). P.B. Borcherds, also a member of the traveling party, noted "a large hut and some smaller ones, and a little garden" at Blydevooruitzicht, while at Zak River, "the huts were abandoned and in ruins, only one was fit to be occupied" (Borcherds 1861: 61-62). The expedition stayed one night at the Zak River and then moved on. They met with Kicherer at the Orange River not long after.

Kicherer, Kramer and their flock, sans Scholtz, journeyed back to the Zak River site in March 1802. According to Kicherer (1804: 33), their return was due to insufficient land for their cattle, threats from a "Boscheman free-booter of great fame" and the general longing of some of his San converts for their familiar territory in the vicinity of Zak River. William Anderson, a newly arrived missionary at the Orange, told the LMS in a letter sent in September 1802 that the return to the Zak River was because of the "indisposition" of Kicherer, who wanted "to be a little nearer to the means, which he could use for his recovering" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/2/B).

There may have been some truth in Anderson's assertion, as, not long after the return to the Zak River, Kicherer made another trip to the Cape, ostensibly to purchase "a variety of articles…clothing, and needful utensils" for the "forming of a regular congregation of Hottentots" (Kicherer 1804: 36). While he was away, Somerville and Truter passed the Zak on their return journey to the Cape, noting that the inhabitants "were all busily employed in covering, repairing and building their huts" (Theal 1899: 423). Schoeman (1996: 123) suggests Kicherer returned to the Cape to justify his return from the Orange and request permission to make the Zak River station cater exclusively to Baster, Khoe and other non-San groups. If Kicherer was on the fence before, his focus had now irrevocably shifted away from the San.

2.3.5. The Growth of the Zak River Station

The establishment of "a regular congregation" at the Zak River began as soon as Kicherer returned from the Cape. A "more commodious" church was built first, with the help of two slaves, a mason and a carpenter, borrowed from nearby farmers (Kicherer 1804: 36). Kicherer (1804: 37-38) continues,

> *Besides our Church, which is capable of containing eight hundred people, we have a good dwelling house, consisting of several rooms on one floor, the whole being built of stone. Nearly opposite the door of the house is the fountain, or spring, which supplies ourselves and our cattle with water. We have a good garden, inclosed (sic), for our more tender vegetables, and garden-ground adjoining it for more hardy plants. Before our house, the baptized Hottentots have built themselves decent habitations, in the farmer's style; and at the back of it the Heathen live in small huts. We also have a Cattle Yard, surrounded with a high wall, behind the houses of the Christian Hottentots; and on the north side of the River, which is about three quarters of a mile distant, are our Corn fields*

Even the LMS was aware of Kicherer's hyperbole. In a footnote to this passage in his *Narrative*, they state "the dimensions of the church…would be insufficient for 800 people, accommodated in the European manner; but the Hottentots sit squatted on the ground, very close together" (Kicherer 1804: 37). Regardless of its veracity, Kicherer's description presented a picture of a model Christian settlement in an unpromising spot.

Numbers grew in the following months and the station was booming. According to the Stellenbosch Society, presumably from information provided by Kicherer, there were 500 to 600 "heathen" at the station at the end of 1802, a garden of corn, pumpkins, watermelon and greens with which to feed them, and, despite the "Slowness, Slovenliness and carelessness, which is natural to these people" some progress in respect to their clothing and household formation (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/A). **T**he "heathen" were a mix of primarily Khoe, Baster and Griqua people, with, evidence suggests, a small number of San (see Glossary). Presumably, the San at the station, otherwise denigrated by all population groups at the frontier (see Skotnes 1996; Gall 2002), lived peaceably with the other inhabitants and there is no mention in both official and unofficial correspondence of any hostility between the various groups living at the station. Possible there was. Indeed, there may have been a

semblance of common identity formed, at least towards the end of the mission, and a recognition that predatory groups in the region, whether San, Griqua, or Xhosa, were hostile to all the station's inhabitants and not just the European missionaries (see CWM/LMS SA Journals 1/12). Furthermore, Kicherer was also engaging with local field-cornets and farmers to gain some influence on more hostile San groups in the region, who, like Edwards before, were not quite so happy to see the return of the missionaries (see Penn 2001: 31)

Religious affairs were also progressing well. Khoe, Baster and Griqua converts were baptised on a fairly regular basis throughout the second half of 1802, and, according to Schoeman (1996: 126), these were relatively well-publicised and promoted as tokens of Kicherer's success. Despite this, Kicherer made yet another trip to the Cape in the autumn of 1802, a trip he leaves out of his official *Narrative*, apparently to make plans for a visit to Europe the following year (Schoeman 1996: 125). This trip came to fruition in January of 1803. Accompanying him on his trip would be three of his model 'Bastaard-Hottentotten' converts.

2.3.6. Kicherer's Trip to Europe

It was, all things considered, a curious time to abandon his flock just as they had settled down and news had spread of the station's success. The LMS appeared to think so too, and were disappointed in Kicherer leaving the Cape when there was a want of missionaries there. They also saw his return, with three converts, as a financial burden they could not carry (see Elbourne 2002: 123). Indeed, they were initially reluctant to even meet with Kicherer upon his return to Holland, and it was only through the interventions of the RMS that he was allowed to sail to England.

In a letter sent from The Hague in August 1803, Kicherer attempted to justify his departure to the LMS. The tone of the letter is defensive and indignant and suggests the LMS may have accused him of acting purely out of self-interest (see Elbourne 2002: 123). Kicherer was, however, adamant that his own interests had nothing to do with it. He argued that the appearance of three converted Africans would silence critics and naysayers of the LMS and the missionary cause, who, in seeing the converts, would no longer doubt their good intentions and would bear witness to the power of the Divine Word (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/B). Additionally, he argued, a visit to Europe would benefit the converts, who themselves

wanted to address the Directors, meet other Christians and display themselves as evidence of God's work.

More practically, he emphasised the need for clothes for the 300 to 400 'Boschemen' at the Zak River, including 83 converts, who until now "were used to wearing skins only" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/B). "You will reflect at the same time upon the extreme dearness of all articles at the Cape," he continued, "which exceeds the belief of every inhabitant of Europe" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/B). In Kicherer's opinion, buying clothes and other items in Europe would be cheaper than buying them at the Cape, and, as far as Kicherer was concerned, these items were necessary for a proper congregation to exist.

Yet, the public relations and pecuniary reasons he gives may have come second to those more private and personal. To the directors he wrote that the weakened state of his body, his desire to converse with the directors of them and the RMS, and the sudden death of his father, all compelled him to come to Europe (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/B). The arguments are not quite convincing. Very few missionaries that went to Africa in the first half of the 19th century ever returned to their homeland to see their families, or sought medical help when ill, or felt such an urgent need to converse with their parent societies that they did not rely on regular mailed correspondence. Edwards, who, throughout his time in South Africa, was consistently on the verge of having his association with the Society terminated, never felt the need to return to England to fight his cause. Van der Kemp stayed at his post until his death in 1811, and Edmonds, who left Van der Kemp and the mission to the Xhosa within six months of its start, chose to mission in India instead of return home. The aforementioned William Anderson spent 52 years of his life in self-imposed exile (Schoeman 1996: 125). The impression is given, even from his very public and widely-read *Narrative*, that Kicherer simply missed the comforts and familiarity of Europe and 'western civilization'.

Nonetheless, once in London, the LMS was quick to use Kicherer and his charges to their advantage. Any ill feeling vanished when they witnessed the "lively sensation" he and his three converts caused (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/C). "Universal satisfaction" was brought about through the "interesting appearance of the Hottentots, their affecting representations of the state of the Heathen, and pleas in their behalf, and their ready answers to a great

variety of questions" (Lord 1813: 116. See also Kicherer 1805b). The converts, although already well-accustomed to white settlers even before living at the Zak River, were presented as "wild Hottentots" from "a place where no Christian, no farmers, no Dutchman live; only wild waste land, where wild people live in the holes like beasts", now tamed and civilised through the efforts of Kicherer and the LMS (*Evangelical Magazine* XI 1803: 591).

From England, Kicherer and the converts went to Holland, where they stayed until October 1804, their departure delayed by difficulty in gaining passage to the Cape. In that time Kicherer continued to plan for the growth of the Zak River station. He requests supplies in a number of letters from The Hague to the LMS in London, including a furnace to warm the church, an 'Engine' or pump to water the land, a weaver's loom and plough, and permission for two of the newer South African missionaries to teach weaving at the Zak River (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/4/A; CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/4/B).

2.3.7. Return to South Africa and the End of the Zak River Mission

Yet, Kicherer and the converts arrived at a different Cape Colony in January 1805. The Cape had returned to Dutch rule, and the Batavians had a different, not necessarily sympathetic, idea about missionary enterprise. They did not agree with the British administrations more gentle approach, nor did they see the missionaries as the primary means to control and administer the northern borders. New *drostdies* and districts were formed, placed under temporal authorities and told to more directly regulate the relations between colonists and San at the northern districts. To the LMS and their missionaries in the Cape, the Batavian administration was altogether hostile, curbing missionary activity that did not fit their idea of what it should encompass (see Elbourne 2002: 139-154).

For the Zak River, the interference of the Batavian authorities was partially linked to the actions of Floris Visser. Visser had lost much favour and influence amongst the northern colonists in the years following 1800. A petition, penned by unknown northern frontiersmen, had reached the governor in 1804 that linked the the ills of the Zak River mission to Visser's influence (Penn 2001: 35). Local colonists, once supportive of the mission and the peace it potentially brought to their region, had changed their tune once they realised that the mission

had little to no influence on hostile San groups and, above all else, was evidently no longer even interested in preaching to them.

If this affected Kicherer upon his return to the Cape, he did not show it. He was met with the approbation of Governor Janssens and had brought with him renewed funding, novel ideas, the support of additional missionaries from the RMS and LMS, and, no doubt, restored self-confidence after the successes of Europe. His return to the Zak River in late 1805, however, may have dented his confidence. A widespread drought in late 1805 and early 1806, coupled with an increase of San depredations in the area and a general sea change in the views of local farmers, meant the Zak River station's future was on a knife edge from the time of his return. The drought had proven even more disastrous for local San. There had been increasing clashes with *trekboers* and many San were reduced to preying on the station and its supplies. In October 1805 a merchant visiting the Zak River had been killed, and 200 newly-purchased sheep stolen *en route* to the station (CWM/LMS/SA Journals 1/4).

The problems at the Zak River had begun less than six months after Kicherer's departure to Europe. In April 1804, Kicherer informed the LMS, from information received from Arie Vos, a local supervisor at the station, that "a great many have been forced by poverty to leave the place [Zak River] for some time, and to look for means of maintenance", although he ensured the LMS they would return there once he did (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/4/B). Yet, later in the same letter, possibly seeking to quell any anxieties the LMS may have felt, confirms that "hundreds of new Hottentots were come from the mountains; every thing was in a very good situation (sic)" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/4/B). In reality, by July 1804 only 95 remained of the alleged 600 Kicherer had left in 1803. At the time of Kicherer's return in late 1805 there were 84 converts at the station, increasing to around 100 at the beginning of 1806.

Kicherer only remained at the Zak River in late 1805 for a few days before returning to the Cape. He may have still harboured plans for the continuation of the station but these were slowly becoming obsolete in the political climate of the time. The Zak River was no longer fulfilling the duties the government required of it, and that other beacon of support, the LMS, was strangely silent on the matter, apparently willing to trust in Kicherer's judgment. As 1806 passed, Kicherer's judgement increasingly shifted towards the abandonment of the mission.

Vos's journal, kept from the beginning of 1806 to the station's abandonment, details the station's decline (CWM/LMS SA Journals 1/12). It paints a sorry picture of drought, starvation, fruitless hunting expeditions, costly supplies, and ruined gardens, all within a backdrop of increasing San depredations. Kicherer is conspicuous by his absence, only visiting the station in January and early August. He had married upon his return to the Cape and in early 1806 been offered a pastoral position at Graaff-Reinet by the newly-installed British Governor Sir David Baird. Newly-married, with a child on the way, and the superintendent of a mission in which he saw little chance of further success, Kicherer accepted the position, reassuring the LMS that he would continue to superintend the Zak River mission through Bothma and Vos.

This was not to be, however, and by mid-August 1806 the Zak River mission was abandoned. Those who remained were encouraged to move to Graaff-Reinet and join Kicherer, who assured them that pastoral care would be provided once they arrived. Some did, while others removed themselves to the Christian community at Klaarwater or to the new LMS station at Steinkopf (Penn 2001: 38). It is his trip to Europe that perhaps most exposes Kicherer's character. Both Elbourne (2002: 124-125) and Stuart (1994: 75-77) mention Kicherer's overwhelming need to prove himself, and it is in the fanfare of his trip to Europe and the subsequent popularity of his *Narrative* that this is evident. Prior to his departure to Europe, Kicherer let slip to the Stellenbosch Missionary Society that part of his desire to travel there with the three converts was that "He wished also that we should be eyewitnesses upon his Labour" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/A). Kicherer needed his success recognised by his peers.

Nonetheless, in many ways, it was the activities of Kicherer, as weak and ineffective as they were, that manifested the colonial hegemony articulated by the early mission enterprise. It was he that charted the course of preaching, teaching and conversion, that selected where the station was situated, that outlined the daily activities, routine and diet. While he was a missionary, colonial dominance over San, Khoe, Griqua and all the non-European inhabitants of the mission was vested him and he had neither the ability nor power to articulate this.

Evidently, Kicherer wanted more than just the LMS to be the eyewitnesses to his labour and it is perhaps this that contributed to the Zak River's downfall. Kicherer's repeated excursions

away from the station left it isolated and neglected when it needed his presence and full support. Whether the mission would have continued had Kicherer been more committed and less absent is a moot point. Tellingly, other early missions in the Colony, that of Van der Kemp at Bethelsdorp and William Anderson north of the Orange, continued far longer than the Zak River and neither of these missionaries were absent from their calling for an extended period of time (see Boas & Weiskopf 1973; Hodgson 1984).

2.4. The Post-Mission Period and *Trekboer* Farmers

The period after the abandonment of the mission saw for a shift in colonial and frontier dynamics. The opening of the northern frontier was embodied by the mission enterprise. However, the mission was too weak and ineffective to maintain its own authority and influence over the northern regions of the Colony and could not fulfil the political mandate the British administration vested in it. This is evident in the increasing San depredations along the northern frontier that contributed to the mission's closure.

In the years following the Zak River's abandonment, the population of the northern frontier was gradually increasing, land tenure practices were changing and the northern frontier boundary had shifted northward (see Smuts 2012: 32-34). Increasingly, *trekboer* farmers were moving to the northern borders of the Colony and in doing so shifting the nature of British colonial administration in the region. When it began, the Zak River mission existed beyond the Colony's border and when Kicherer described Visser's farm in the Roggeveld as the last inhabited house north of the Colony he was not far wrong (Fig. 2.1). By 1830, however, the official Colony border had shifted north of the Zak River mission, partly through the British government's increasing interest in refining the Dutch system of land ownership in more remote areas, and partly through *trekboer* migrations further and further north. Indeed, title deeds were being given to farms north of Carnarvon as early as the 1830s and it is likely that permanent homesteads were being constructed there earlier (Smuts 2012: 49) (Fig. 2.1).

This shift in colonial administration is manifest in the changing occupations at the Zak River, from the shared space of a mission embodying the interface between European and non-European frontier-dwellers, to a rural farm inhabited by Dutch *trekboer* farmers looking to

establish a household in a marginal, remote area. The relationship between colonised and coloniser was no longer between non-European and British, but between Dutch farmer and British colonialism.

After the Zak River site was abandoned the government, according to John Philip (1828: 16), left Kicherer a large tract of land between the Riet and Zak rivers. Kicherer, around nine years after the Zak River had been abandoned "permitted an inhabitant, named Krieger, to take this spot as a temporary residence, in consequence of his friendly disposition towards the Bosjesmen" (Philip 1828: 16). It is possible that local Khoesan or other mobile frontier groups temporarily occupied the site in this brief window between European occupations. There is, however, little evidence to suggest that this was the case.

The 'Krieger' given the land by Kicherer was Willem Frederik Krugel, a farmer from the Eastern Cape, banished to the northern frontier area by the British authorities after his involvement in the Slagtersnek Rebellion of 1815 (Leibbrandt 1902). Krugel was apparently born in Beaufort West in 1767, but at the age of 11 lived on a farm in the Bruintjieshoogte region of the Colony, where he may have remained until his banishment (MOOC8/16.45a).

Unless Philip is mistaken, it is curious that Kicherer gifted the land to an individual involved in the Slagter's Nek rebellion. It is more likely, considering his involvement and banishment, that Krugel would have had an unfriendly, if not hostile, disposition towards 'Bosjesmen'. The Slagtersnek rebellion, after all, was essentially a rebellion of Dutch farmers against what they saw as the British administrations overly friendly treatment of eastern Khoesan groups (see Giliomee 1979). Additionally, Krugel, by virtue of his rebellion and subsequent banishment, would certainly have felt hostility towards the British administration.

Nonetheless, according to Schoeman (1996: 250-251), Krugel resided at the Zak River site from 1815. However, it is more likely that he lived at Blydevooruitzicht, around 18km south of the Zak River station and the site of the first mission. Ann Hamilton, wife of LMS missionary Robert Hamilton, travelled through the Zak River in 1816 on the way to the mission at New Latakoo (Kuruman), and, on the 29th June 1816, made a brief note in her journal: "passed the place where Mr. Kicherer once laboured, which is now dry and barren" (Hamilton 1818).

By 1830, the Zak River mission was part of the surveyed farm 'Kerk'. A diagram drawn up for the surveyor-general's office in 1830 illustrates the farm borders and marks the church, roughly in the centre of the farm (Fig. 2.3). The north-west section of government ground had been applied for by Willem Krugel Jnr., the son of the Krugel referred to by Philip and Schoeman and probably the new owner of 'Kerk' farm. In 1830, Blydevooruitzicht was also surveyed for 'Willem Frederik Krugel Senior;.

Whether Krugel Senior had permanently resided at Blydevooruitzicht since 1815 is unclear, although a house is marked on the diagram, and, according to Heese & Lombard (Vol. 4 1992: 480), he passed away there in 1837. When Krugel Jnr. actually resided at Kerkplaats is uncertain. No house is marked on the 1830 diagram, suggesting that the farm was still uninhabited at this time. Other evidence indicates that it was still uninhabited three years later. Tindall (1833: 32) recounts a conversation with C.L. Stretch, who had met Floris Visser's widow and visited the Zak River with Truter, the Civil Commissioner of Worcester, in 1833. Stretch (in Tindall 1833: 32) remarks that the land belonged to a farmer named Kruger, and,

> *It [the Zak River mission] was situated on the Zak River, in a gorge through which the stream passed into a less dreary country towards the Orange River, and presented the most melancholy aspect to my mind. It was completely deserted, and only the stone walls of the church remained to remind one of the prayers and trials of the devoted men who once lived there.*

If the Zak River was still deserted in 1833, Krugel Jnr. must have moved there at a point soon after, although the station was on land that belonged to Krugel Snr.. Krugel Jnr. and family may have been in the Worcester district in 1832, as his fourth child was baptised there in September of that year, but his fifth child, born in 1834, was baptised in Beaufort West and it may have been around this time that he began residing at Kerkplaats (Heese & Lombard Vol. 4 1992: 480). In 1836, Krugel Jnr.'s first wife, Elizabeth Bergh, passed away and, the next year, he married Maria Louisa Francina Mans from Germany. Krugel Jnr. and Mans had eight children together between 1838 and 1858. Seven were baptised in Beaufort West and the last in Fraserburg, founded in 1851, implying that they were in the district, if not Kerkplaats,

for at least the next 20 years. Krugel Jnr. and Mans passed away in 1867 and 1869 respectively, and their graves are in the cemetery adjacent to the current farm house at Kerkplaats. It would appear they remained at Kerkplaats until their deaths.

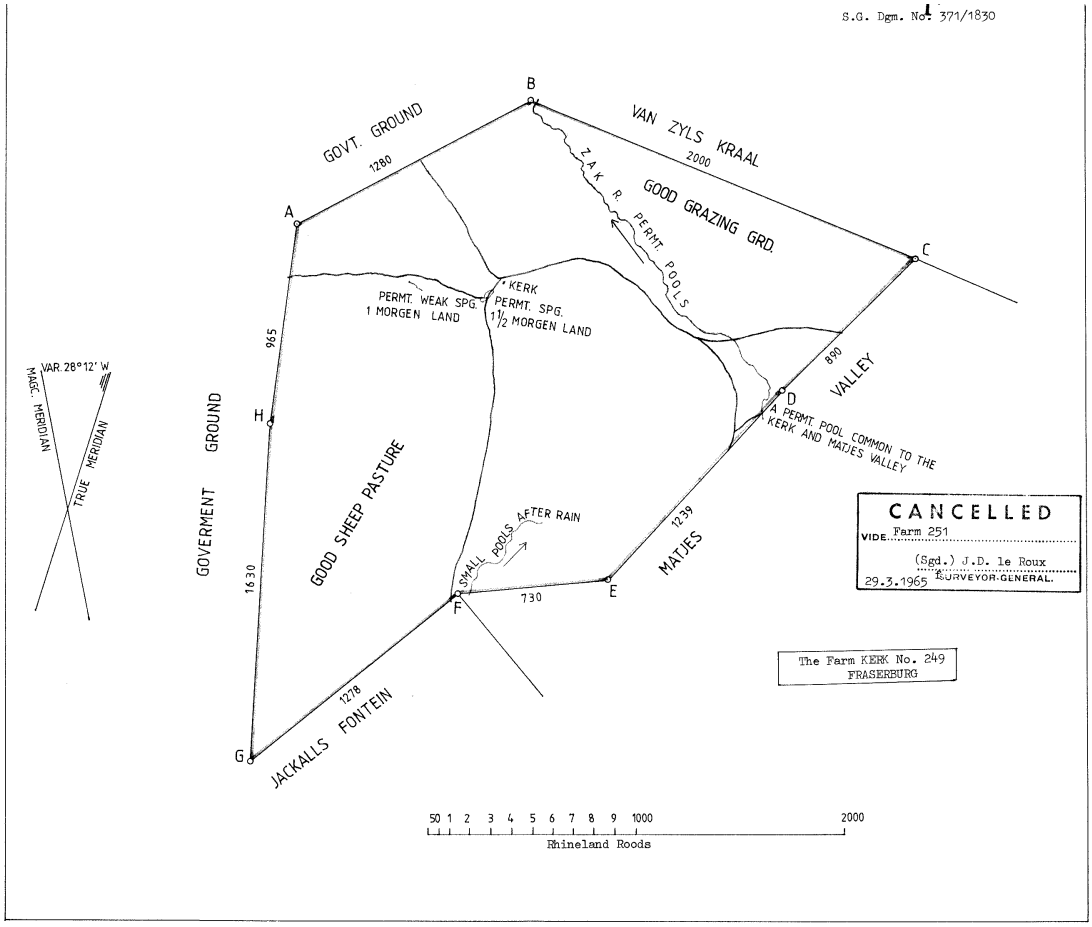


Figure 2.3: Map of the farm 'Kerk' No. 249 taken from the 1830 survey diagram.

However, at some point in the late 1840s Kerkplaats may have changed hands. A Cornelia Elizabeth du Toit was born at Kerkplaats in 1847 or 1848, the daughter of Gillaume Bernardus du Toit and Anna Cecilia Smit (Heese & Lombard Vol. 10 2004: 397). In 1866, Cornelia du Toit married Dirk Jacobus van Schalkwyk, described in Heese & Lombard (Vol. 10 2004: 397) as a farmer at Kerkplaats. The assumption is that Dirk van Schalkwyk received the farm upon his marriage to Cornelia du Toit in 1866. However, neither of her parents are clearly linked to Kerkplaats, she was either born or baptised there, and were married in the Beaufort West region. Anna Smit's family appear to have come from the eastern districts; her parents were married in Graaff-Reinet and her mother passed away in Richmond, but her father is named as a witness at Cornelia's baptism in the Dutch Reformed Church Baptism Registry for

Beaufort West. Gillaume du Toit's family, however, owned property elsewhere in the Fraserburg region.

Significantly, prior to the establishment of Fraserburg town in 1851, there was discussion of a village forming on Kerkplaats. This is according to Samuel Zwaartman (in Nienaber 1942: 13), the pen name of the lawyer H.W.A. Cooper, who was a resident of Fraserburg in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Zwaartman's writings were gently satirical letters based on interactions with his clients, so this assertion must necessarily be treated with caution.

Nonetheless, if Kerkplaats was considered a potential village site at this point, it suggests that the farm had some attributes that made it suitable. The process of town and village development in the Colony generally followed certain patterns (Frescura 2002). Broadly speaking, villages formed at farm homesteads or *werfs*, *uitspans*, established churches and mission stations, military posts and garrisons, at railway stops, mines and company outposts, convict labour camps or administrative centres (Frescura 2002). If Kerkplaats was contemplated as a potential village site in the early 1850s, it was not because of the military, railways, mining, convicts, or administration, and although possible it is unlikely that the farm was an *uitspan*.

In 1830, the mission church was still recognised as such on the 'Kerk' farm diagram, but that it was used as an active place of worship, particularly considering the remarks of Stretch above, is highly unlikely. Conceivably, the presence and history of the church was strong enough in local living memory for its rehabilitation to be considered, the most common pattern of village development in the Karoo (Frescura 2002).

The town of Fraserburg was established in 1851, and Williston and Carnarvon further north in 1845 and 1860 respectively. Both the latter grew out of established mission stations. Williston was initially the Rhenish mission station of Amandelboom and Carnarvon was originally the Rhenish station of Schietfontein, established in 1847 (see Strassberger 1969; Zachariou 2013). The growth of these mission stations may have facilitated the development of a more formal road infrastructure to the north, and Kerkplaats may have become a suitable, and popular, enough landmark for travellers, pedlars, post riders and wagon drivers

to be used as a stop-over, and subsequently considered a site for more permanent infrastructure. The survey from 1830 does show the mission site at a junction of four roads (Fig. 2.3). Ultimately, no village formed at Kerkplaats, and the reasons for its consideration are not clear, although it may be related to the possible change of ownership in the late 1840s suggested by the birth of Cornelia du Toit.

Furthermore, there is no evidence in the Heese & Lombard genealogy volumes of a conjugal link between the du Toit and Krugel families, suggesting that either Gillaume du Toit or a relative purchased or leased Kerkplaats from the Krugels prior to 1848. Krugel Jnr. and his family may have moved to Blydevooruitzicht on the death of Krugel Snr., but this does not explain why Krugel Jnr. and his wife are buried at Kerkplaats. It is also plausible that the du Toit's were tenant farmers on Kerkplaats and both the du Toit and Krugel families resided on the property.

The van Schalkwyk family, on the other hand, resided in the Fraserburg district for some time. Dirk van Schalkwyk's grandfather owned two farms in the district, Krabbetjes Kraal and Goedeverwachting, both just south of Kerkplaats and bordering Blydevooruitzicht (Heese & Lombard Vol. 10 2004: 397). From 1866, when Dirk van Schalkwyk married Cornelia du Toit, until ca. 2012, Kerkplaats has been in the van Schalkwyk family.

The historical sequence at Kerkplaats can be divided into two phases, that of the mission and of a post-1830 *trekboer* farm. The mission period is well documented through written records, although these have their own agendas, biases and prejudices. However, it is in and against these that an archaeological investigation must be placed. The nature of British colonialism shifted between each phase, from hegemony over non-European frontier groups to hegemony over Dutch frontier farmers. Having described the historical sequence of Kerkplaats, I will now move on to a description and analysis of the built environment.

CHAPTER 3: THE BUILT SEQUENCE AT KERKPLAATS

When he first ventured into the Karoo, the one aspect of situating a mission that must have become abundantly clear to Kicherer was that the station had to be near a constant water source. The Nama Karoo biome, in which Kerkplaats is situated, is a semi-desert region that receives little rain in the hot summers, frequent frosts in the cold winter and is subject to drought, as the Zak River station found out (see Palmer & Hoffman 1997: 168). Consequently, settlement in the Karoo is predicated on access to adequate water sources, such as springs and fountains.

The Zak River mission established itself around a good source of water and imposed itself on the spring through the construction of a church, Kicherer's 'house', and a number of thatch and mat dwellings of Khoe and Baster converts. It is not surprising that prospective San converts, dismayed at the ignorant invasion of their pivotal cultural place, rejected Kicherer's alternative. Much of the mission fabric decayed but the stone built church and probably the core of Kicherer's own dwelling and the mission stock enclosure, lived on. While this built environment witnessed the failure of the LMS mission for spiritual conversion, its physical fabric was a colonial intrusion onto the landscape, and was recycled and increasingly entangled into a subsequent conversion that served the farming of sheep for meat, and as the 19th century progressed, for wool. The LMS mission, despite its spiritual demise, provided a physical grid upon which a Karoo farm grew. As ineffective and transient as the Zak River mission's colonialism was, Kerkplaats lived on and its mission changed under an altogether different form of British colonialism.

The mission fabric needs to be disentangled from the later 19th century additions in order to interrogate the documentary sources and Kicherer's own representation that was, in all probability, a disguise of failure. Additionally, the functional identity of the built environment provides a framework in which a depositional sequence and the material record within it may be assessed.

The mission period at Kerkplaats was historically cursory and lasted only for six years from 1800 to 1806. How is Kicherer's continual concern over resources, food and the 'necessary things' he found so important, reflected in the archaeology? After his failure and retreat to Graaff-Reinet, the site was likely unoccupied until the early 1830s, when the Krugel family began to reside at Kerkplaats. It is in this second period of occupation, that an additional farmyard fabric was constructed and used until the early 1860s. This was a critical cusp and the mission site was vacated and the occupants, either the Krugels or van Schalkwyks, moved and established a new homestead at the top Werf 2. From the 1860s onward, the original mission site was seemingly domestically uninhabited and most farming activity moved to the area in and around the newer *werf*.

As noted, the nature of the built environment at Kerkplaats is premised on the establishment of the mission. It is during this first period that the initial structures at Kerkplaats were built. Although the site is adjacent to a permanent spring, the Krugels would have viewed already-built, yet probably ruined, structures enticing. Their presence, practically, would mean less labour intensive construction was necessary. It may be that, practicalities aside, the mission lived on in local memory, and there may have been an element of social cache in living at a former mission station.

This progression presents a stratigraphic challenge that this chapter confronts. I will address the built environment of Kerkplaats, in order to identify the built sequence and link it to the documented chronology. This will include a description of structures and features, with cautious reference, where relevant, to descriptions provided by documentary sources. A preliminary sequence will be posited at the end of the chapter.

Kerkplaats farm is situated in the Great Karoo region of the Northern Cape Province, 40km north of the town of Fraserburg and 390km northeast of Cape Town (Fig. 3.1). The property is on the eastern side of the arterial road between Fraserburg and Williston (Fig. 3.2).

The farm has two *werfs*. Werf 1 is the site of the original Zak River mission station. It is situated through a *poort* in a roughly semi-circular range of hills and low peaks that extends around 7km northwest to southeast. Within this *poort*, and around 200m southwest of Werf 1, is a

permanent spring that drains north-northeast to the Sak River about 1.8km away. Werf 2 is immediately to the east and adjacent of the arterial road between Fraserburg and Williston and consists of the modern farmhouse, associated midden, and farm outbuildings, workers' cottages and stock enclosures (Fig. 3.2). It is also adjacent to a spring that drains due northeast through the *poort* where it meets the drainage from the Werf 1 spring.



Figure 3.1: Google Earth image of South Africa showing the position of Kerkplaats.

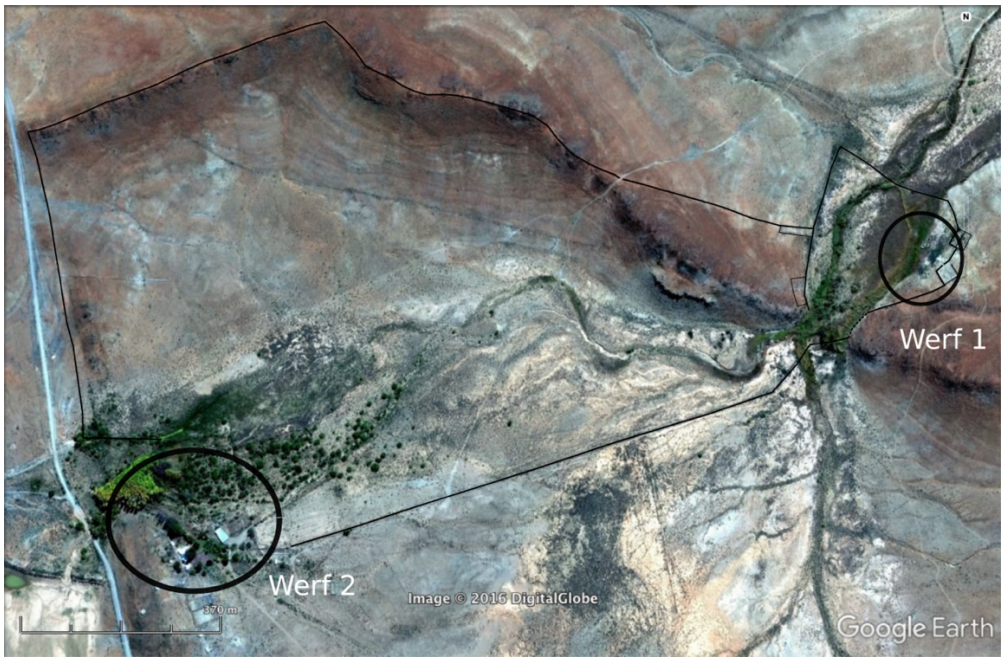


Figure 3.2: Kerkplaats farm showing the situation of Werf 1 and Werf 2, as well as the extensive KP5 ostrich walling.

3.1. Werf 1 Description

The initial perception of Werf 1 is that it is all about the mission station. Its complexity, however, increased as more structures were built through time. The mission component is subsequently a small part of the Werf 1 sequence. Werf 1 was divided into five sections – KP1, KP31, KP3, KP4 and KP5 (Fig. 3.3). KP1 consists of domestic dwellings, *skerms* and other structures. KP31 is a series of structures that cluster on the edge of the *vlei*. KP3 and KP4 consist of a number of circular, low stone walls situated outside of KP1 and KP31. KP5 is a number of straight stone walls and attached structures.

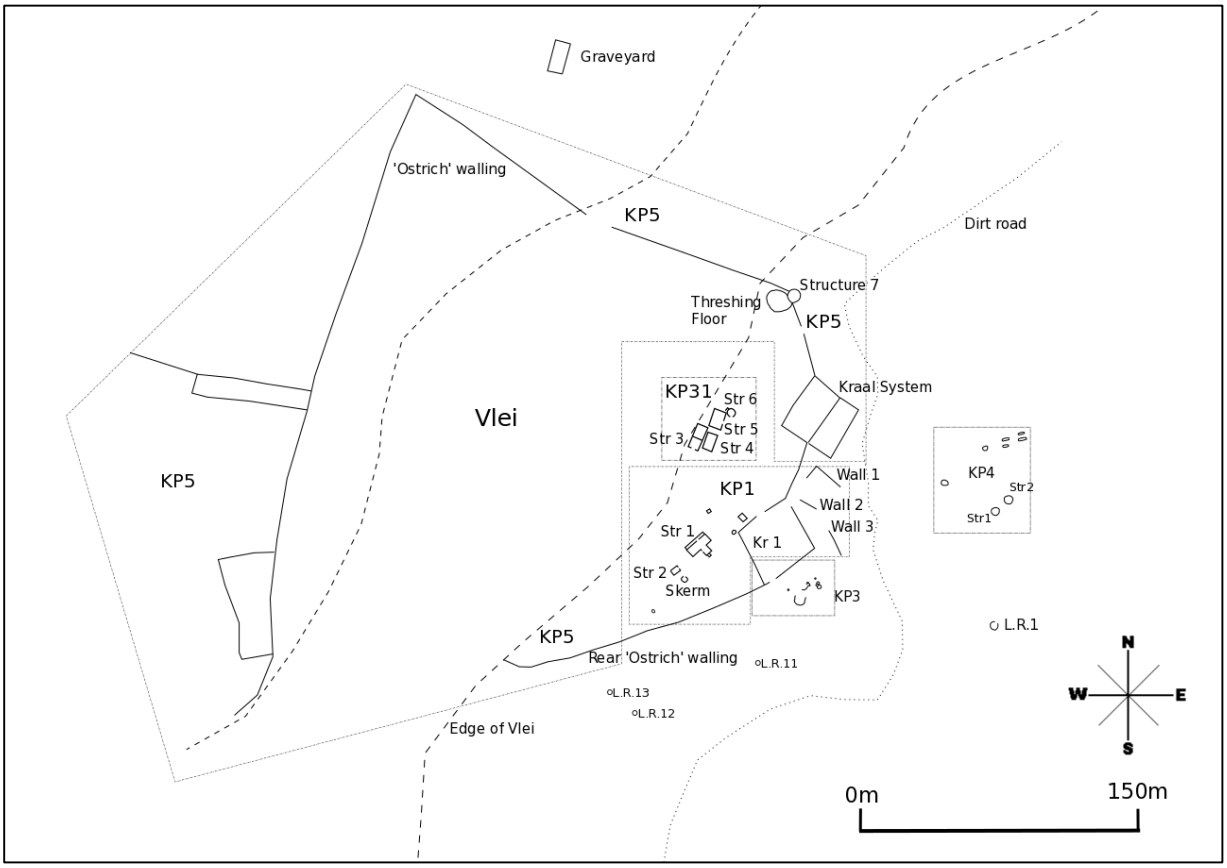


Figure 3.3: Map of Werf 1 showing the site sections, structures and select physical features.

3.1.1. KP5 Description

KP5 is on the periphery of the original mission station. It consists of walling and attached *kraals* within and on the western side of the *vlei*, Structure 7 and an associated threshing floor, and the Kraal System east of KP31 and north of Kraal 1. The easternmost extension of KP5 continues 400m to the west and upslope to a dolerite ridge. It is on this ridge that Mark

McGranaghan excavated two sites in 2009 left unpublished but part of his DPhil research in Bushman ethnography (Mark McGranaghan pers. comm.; McGranaghan 2012). This wall continues northwest along the top of the scarp for a further 660m where it continues to the southwest for a further 600m (Fig. 3.2). At this point the wall reaches the Fraserburg-Williston road and turns sharply south downslope towards Werf 2. It continues parallel to the road for a further 570m, suggesting that the wall was built after the road was first constructed, and meets with Werf 2.

Werf 2 consists of a large farmhouse, several outbuildings, *kraals* and stock pens, dry stone walls, wire enclosures, workers' dwellings and a graveyard. The graves are marked, and the earliest is dated 1866, giving a *terminus post quem* of the start date of Werf 2. Southwest and immediately behind the farmhouse is a large ash midden.

A low stone wall runs for just under 1km from Werf 2 northeast towards the Werf 1 *poort*. It disintegrates in the drainage and *vlei* of the Werf 1 spring and it is possible that it linked with the wall marked 'Rear ostrich walling' that encloses Werf 1 to the south and east (Fig. 3.3). The walling and attached *kraals* of KP5 are constructed of loosely stacked dolerite boulders, between 0.5-1.5m high and about 0.5m wide (The crude construction, ephemeral nature and high level of disrepair on most of the structures described means that measurements given are approximate).

Structure 7 is a circular wall that still stands up to 2 metres in height. Although the upper sections have collapsed, inward curvature on the higher eastern side suggests that it may have been a corbelled structure. There is certainly enough collapsed stone to support this. Structure 7 is keyed into the dolerite walls but was built with sub-rectangular sandstone and slate blocks. Structure 7 is also attached to the threshing floor immediately to the southwest and is marked by thin, upright slate slabs dug into the ground that define the perimeter. The link between the threshing floor and the structure suggest that Structure 7 served as a cereal/chaff store (see Kramer 2012).

Structure 7, the Kraal System, Kraal 1 and the eastern and northern walling more-or-less enclose Werf 1. It is likely that these structures are contemporaneous with the camp or

enclosure formed by the extensive walling that links to Werf 2, which is most likely post-1860 in date and used as an ostrich enclosure (Judy Maguire pers. comm.). However, the chronology of Kraal 1 is somewhat ambiguous and while it is possibly keyed into the enclosure perimeter walling, it may date from the earlier 19th century occupation of Werf 1. For this reason, Kraal 1 was grouped as part of KP1 and will be discussed later.

Additionally, it is unlikely that the Werf 1 farmhouse when in use would be situated within the ostrich enclosure. The Werf 2 farmhouse, for example, is situated outside and west of the ostrich camp, and the western end of the enclosure is associated with the *kraals* and pens of Werf 2. Consequently, the majority of KP5 probably post-dates the main occupation period of Werf 1, and that the Kraal System, and possibly Kraal 1, at Werf 1 formed part of the ostrich/stock management system associated with the large enclosure that was contemporary with Werf 2. Both structures are situated close to the spring, providing easy access to water for stock. Structure 7 and the attached threshing floor would have been used for the processing of grain or wheat that probably was cultivated on the relatively well-watered *vlei* north of the spring or in areas further north along the drainage to the Sak River.

It has already been posited that the KP5 complex post-dates the Werf 1 occupation. The extensive size of the enclosure that encompasses water sources suggests that its construction pre-dates the introduction of wire fencing in the Karoo (see Archer 2000). Additionally, the extent of the walling is consistent with the construction of ostrich pens in this part of the Great Karoo in the second half of the 19th century. Ostrich enclosures generally incorporate a high ridge habitat down to *vleis* or drainage areas, where the females lay eggs. Ostrich breeding in the Great Karoo was an attempt to take advantage of of the ostrich feather boom of the late 1800s (see Mosenthal & Harting 1877; Douglass 1881).

North of Structure 7, and outside of the ostrich walling, are several unmarked graves within a rectangular dry stone wall enclosure. This graveyard is 215m from KP31, across the drainage and northern extant of the *vlei*.

Three ephemeral features, designated as Low Round (LR) 11, LR12, and LR13 are also located 'outside' of the KP5 wall. These are crudely built, low, sub-circular structures of loosely packed

dolerite boulders. LR12 and LR13 are on a relatively steep slope below a small terrace before the slope rises to the eastern ridge overlooking Werf 1. On this terrace is LR11, another crudely built, ephemeral sub-circular structure. Both the slope and the terrace are strewn with dolerite boulders and scrub. Associated material culture is limited to a small scatter of late stone age (LSA) lithics and ostrich egg shell (OES) fragments adjacent to LR11. LR1 is still further upslope and is similar to the other features, although slightly more substantial. There was no material culture visible in the vicinity of this feature.

3.1.2. KP4 Description

KP4 is a collection of features and graves 103m northeast of KP3 and 156m east of KP1 (Fig. 3.3). KP4 is located on flat, scrubby ground that has a thin layer of coarse-grained red soil. While the surface is clear around the features, the general area is strewn with loose dolerite boulders and outcrops of slate and sandstone bedrock. The two largest structures (Structures 1 and 2) are circular features of dolerite walls (Fig. 3.4).

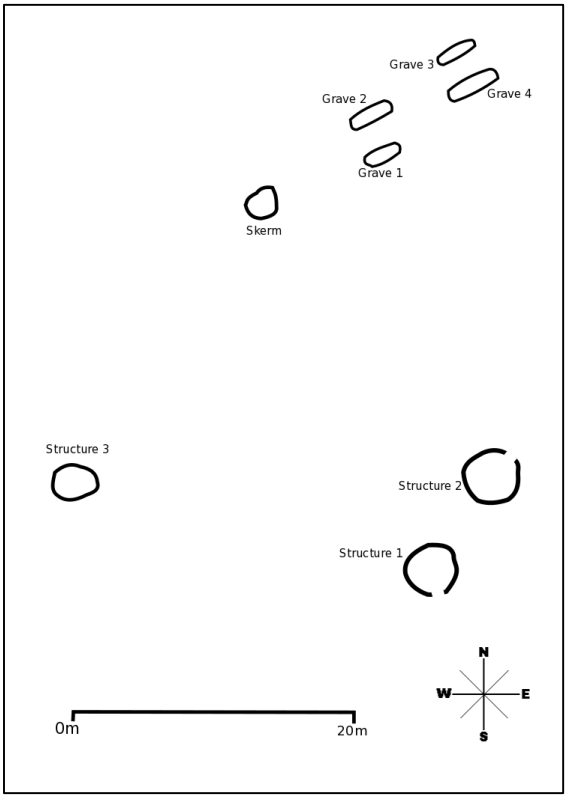


Figure 3.4: Map of KP4.

Structure 1 has a maximum diameter of 2.4m and relatively thick (0.5m), well-constructed walls. An entrance faces south, upslope towards the escarpment. The interior surface is slightly higher than the exterior surrounds. The inside of the structure is flat and clear of vegetation and debris. Structure 2 is less well-built (max. diam. 3.62m). An entrance faces northwest and away from Structure 1. The interior is flat and clear of vegetation and loose stones. No material culture was visible on the interior surfaces of either structure.

Approximately 22.3m northwest of Structure 1 is Structure 3. Structure 3 is an extremely crude, ephemeral sub-circular structure in an area of slightly denser vegetation (max. diam. 3.2m). Its walls consist of loose, thinly packed dolerite boulders and there is no obvious sign of an entrance.

Around 22m north of Structure 2 are four oval-shaped piles of dolerite boulders that are assumed to be graves. They are all oriented northeast to northwest. They range in length from 2.7m to 3.4m. Approximately 6.7m southwest of Grave 1 is a very crude, rough *skerm*-like feature of low, thinly packed dolerite boulders in a sub-circular shape with no clear sign of an entrance or opening.

3.1.3. KP3 Description

KP3 comprises crudely built dolerite structures southeast of Kraal 1 (Fig. 3.3). It is located on sparsely vegetated, sandy, flat ground at the base of the steeper slope to the south. Patches of shale bedrock are exposed in some areas, and the surface is littered with loose dolerite boulders that are partly tumble from upslope and partly poorly built features that are difficult to identify.

The largest structure at KP3 is a rough, semi-circular enclosure that extends south, upslope, and utilises the scarp edge (Fig. 3.3). There is evidence of a thin dung deposit at the rear of the enclosure, suggesting it was probably a *kraal*. The *kraal's* maximum diameter is between 7m and 8m. The northern end is open towards the other KP3 features downslope.

The other structures at KP3 possibly represent two household units. The first consists of Platform 1 and 2 and Feature 1 and 2. The second comprises Platforms 3, 4 and 5 and Feature 3.

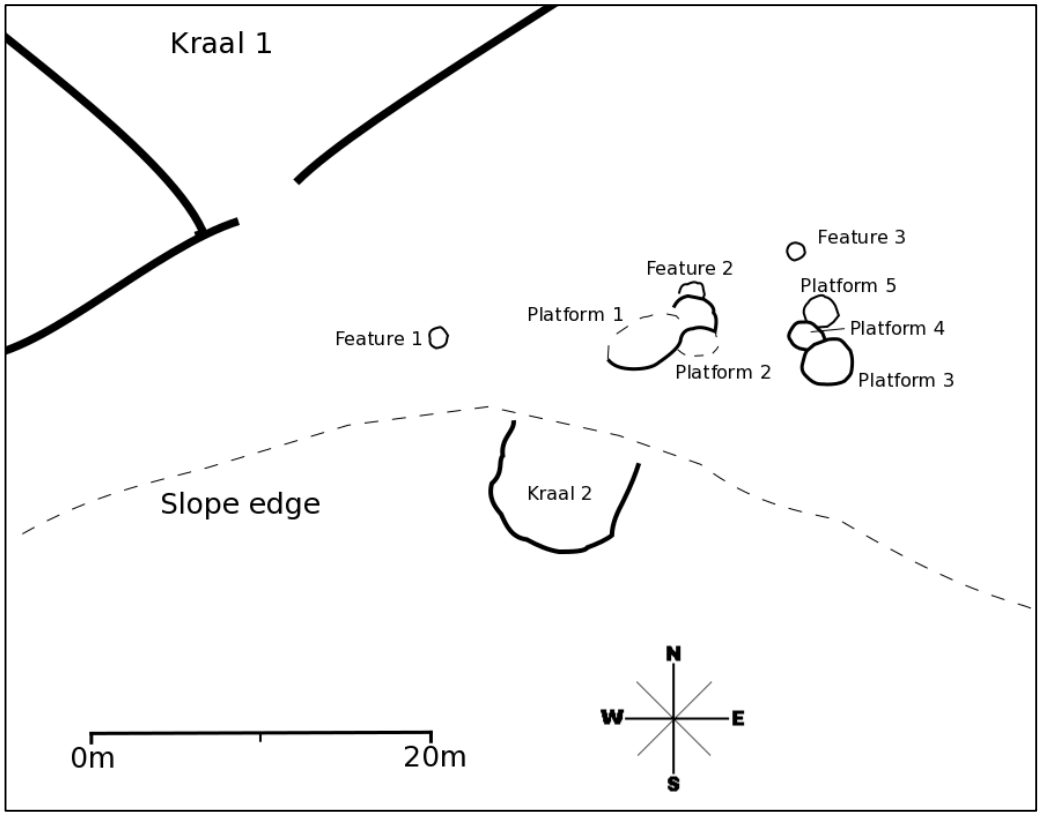


Figure 3.5: Map of KP3.

Situated around 6m northwest of the KP3 *kraal* and 10.5m southeast of Kraal 1 is Feature 1. This is a sub-circular feature of small dolerite rocks semi-buried in the ground (max. diam. 1.1m). About 8.5m east of Feature 1 is a roughly S-shaped crude low dolerite wall extending west to east for around 6m. The western end of this low wall formed the rear section of a flatter, roughly oval area, absent of both boulders and vegetation, named Platform 1 (2.1m by 3.2m). The wall's western end formed the northern edge of another clear, sub-oval area called Platform 2 (3.3m by 2.1m). On neither of these platforms did the walling continue around the entire perimeter.

North of Platform 2 and at the western end of Platform 1 was a substantial pile of dolerite boulders that appeared to form the rear of a small, semi-circular feature of rudimentary dolerite walling (Feature 2). The area within these platforms, apart from being clearer of scrub

and larger dolerite rocks, also appeared to consist of a slightly lighter, finer deposit and contained small amounts of cultural material visible on the surface.

Directly east and approximately 3m from Platform 2 was a collection of three round features running roughly south to north and sharing parts of their low dolerite walls. Platform 3 was the largest and most visible. The circular area inside Platform 3, around 1m in diameter, was clear of vegetation and debris. Platform 3's walls were low and quite thick, although it was unclear whether this was deliberate or the result of spill and rubble from the walls. Directly below and south of Platform 3 is Platform 4, a roughly circular feature around 1.5m in diameter. Its walls are low and crude, and abut the southern end of Platform 3. Attached to the northeast side of Platform 4 is another round feature (Platform 5). This feature also has rough, low dolerite walls and is slightly larger than Platform 4 (max. diam. 2.4m). The surface areas of all three platforms contained little material culture but were relatively clear of debris and vegetation.

Around 2m north of Platform 5 and approx. 5.4m northeast of Feature 2 was a final small, circular feature of crude, low dolerite walls (Feature 3). This feature appeared similar in size and composition to Feature 1.

3.1.4. KP31 Description

KP31 is situated downslope and north of KP1 and consists of four structures (Fig. 3.3). The western edge of KP31 borders the *vlei* and after heavy rainfall, water rises and laps against it. Consequently, relatively deep, silty deposit supports thicker vegetation and there is no exposed bedrock.

Structures 3, 4 and 5 are rectangular and roughly oriented southwest to northeast, parallel to the drainage (Fig. 3.6). In contrast, Structure 6 is circular. The orientation and positions indicate that, as a cluster, they were built in reference to each other. All four structures have thick (0.3m-0.6m) walls of shaped sandstone and shale blocks. Structure 3 is the westernmost structure and may be the original mission church (see below). Structure 4 is around 1m southeast of Structure 3 and runs parallel to it. Structure 5 is approximately 3.3m northeast of Structure 4, and Structure 6 is 1.5m from the northeast corner of Structure 5.

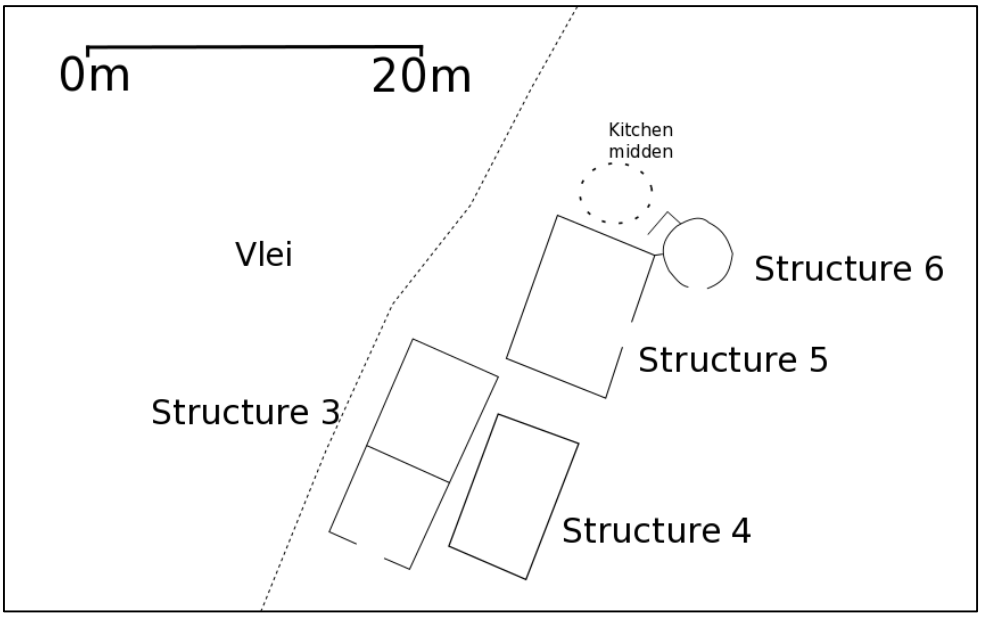


Figure 3.6: Map of KP31.

Structure 3 has two rooms and measures approximately 12.4m by 5m. Most of the walling is between 1.5m to 2m high, although extensive wall collapse occurs at the northern and north-western ends, and in the room dividing wall (Fig. 3.7). It has one clear entrance facing southwest towards the spring and *poort*, and indications of another entrance at the northern end of the western walling. There are no windows in the standing walls, but the nature of the collapse at the northern end suggests there may have been a window or doorway situated there. This is confirmed by a photograph taken in 1932 (Fig. 3.21, below).

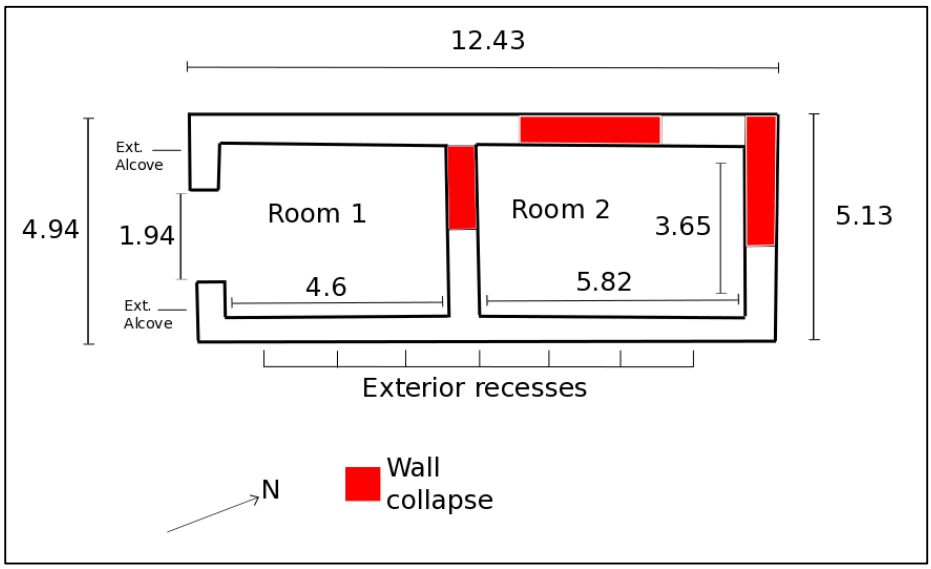


Figure 3.7: Plan of Structure 3 at KP31 showing dimensions and extent of wall collapse.

The southern entrance is abnormally wide (max. length 1.94m) and has a lintel made of three wooden beams keyed into the entrance frame. The wooden lintels have several holes drilled through them and are roughly cylindrical in shape. The holes in each beam run horizontal to the ground and do not align, suggesting that they have been recycled as lintels and were originally used elsewhere. The nature and shape of the beams suggest that they may have once been ox wagon axles or part of an ox wagon chassis.

The interior of Structure 3 is subdivided by a cross wall (Fig. 3.7). It abuts the eastern wall and was probably a later addition to the structure. It is possible that there was a doorway between the rooms, but if so this is obscured by wall collapse.

The wall is highest above the intact entrance, where it forms a gable for a pitched roof. There are recesses on the interior of this wall that suggest sockets for wooden beams that possibly extended to the northern wall and supported the roof. The roof was likely made of reeds from the adjacent *vlei*. There are two further rectangular alcoves on the exterior side of the southern wall, on either side of the entrance and roughly in line with the top of the doorway, around 2.8m from ground level. These do not extend through to the interior surface and the location and size (roughly 0.4m by 0.15m) may relate to the structure's initial function, possibly as Kicherer's mission church.

There are several further recesses on the exterior of the eastern wall. These are all at the same height (from 0.3m-0.5m above ground level), are evenly spaced every 1.5m, and are sub-rectangular in shape. The equivalent does not exist on the opposite western wall. The function of these alcoves is unclear and, like the large recesses on the southern wall, possibly relate to its purpose i.e. a church.

The interior surface of Structure 3 contained no visible material culture. Vegetation was thick in Room 2, which also contained a large amount of spill and debris from wall collapse. The surface of Room 1 was clearer of spill and a dung deposit is visible at its southern end indicating use, either deliberately or not, as a sheep or stock pen.

Structure 4 is also a rectangle and around 8.74m long by 5.25m wide. The south-western walls have collapsed and have been colonised by thick plant growth. The only standing walls are at the northern and eastern ends. There may have been an entrance in the eastern wall, facing upslope. The standing walls are built of thick sandstone and shale slabs, extending to just under 2m at their highest point in the north-eastern corner. The collapse of the eastern wall has exposed a sandy mortar. There is no indication of windows or other breaks in the remaining walls. Vegetation is extremely thick in the structure and combined with extensive collapse it was difficult to access.

Structure 5 is also built of shaped sandstone and shale blocks, but there is serious collapse of the western end of the southern wall, northern end of the western wall, and the centres of the northern and eastern walls. The walls are approximately 1.6m at their highest points. There was a southeast-facing entrance in the eastern wall, but no clear indication of windows or other entrances. Like Structure 4, there is thick plant growth in the interior of the structure.

Structure 6 is a *rondavel*-like, cone-and-cylinder structure adjacent to the north-eastern corner of Structure 5, and a low, ephemeral sandstone and shale wall connects the two, from the corner of Structure 5, and abuts both structures. Structure 6 is circular, with a 4m diameter. There is extensive collapse along the eastern side of the structure, but the walls on the western side have a maximum height of 1.75m. The entrance faces south towards the *poort*. One alcove in the northern wall may have once been a window as its outline is visible on the exterior surface. A possible second alcove was built into the southwestern wall. Despite the collapse, there is no indication that the structure had a corbelled or domed stone roof, and this must have been a wooden frame for a conical roof of reeds (see Kramer 2012).

There is a crude low L-shaped wall of lighter sandstone and shale abutting the north-western side of the structure. The longest extension measures around 2m. The shorter section abuts Structure 6 and measures just over 1m (Fig. 3.6). The area inside this feature was covered with dense shrubs and there was no material culture visible on the surface. Clearance of the vegetation exposed a working *skerm*. Immediately downslope of this *skerm* is a kitchen midden (Fig. 3.6). This feature may account for the formation of the cross-wall between Structure 5 and 6, which was to prevent access to the kitchen area from the south.

3.1.5. KP1 Description

KP1 forms a major component of Werf 1, situated 200m downstream (northwest) of the spring and within the enclosure described as part of KP5 (Fig. 3.3). KP1 consists of Structures 1 and 2, a *skerm* and four other stone features. To the east is Kraal 1, and Walls 1, 2 and 3 (Fig 3.8).

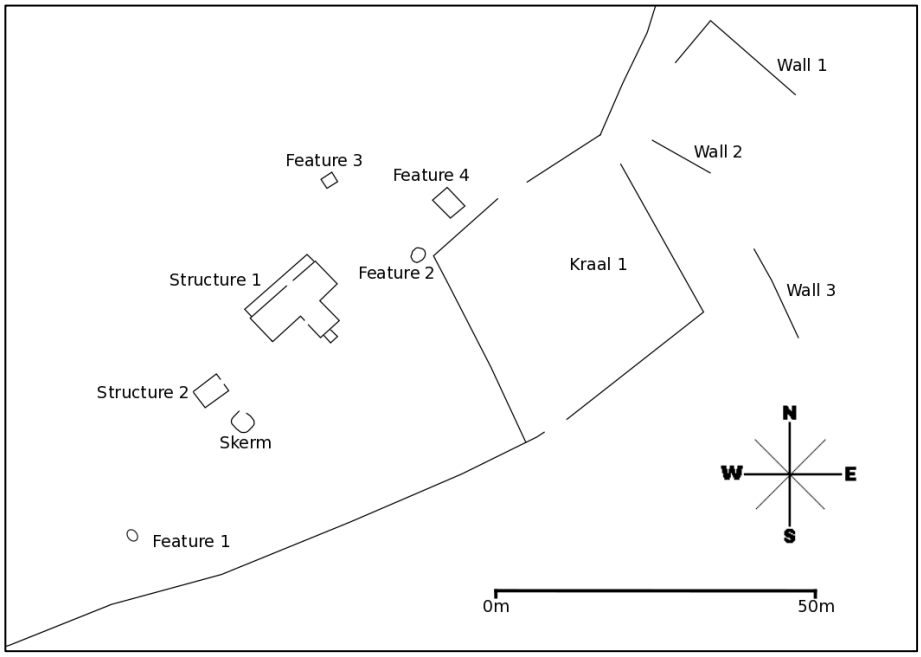


Figure 3.8: Map of KP1.

The KP1 structures are on the gentle slope running to the southeast down towards the *vlei* edge and spring drainage. Vegetation is sparse, with patches of scrub, grass and thorn in between exposed bedrock of sandstone and slate. There is some sediment between loose stones and boulders that dominate the surface. Both vegetation and sediment thicken towards the *vlei* and west towards the *poort*. To the east and southeast of Structure 1 there is a dense scatter of material culture and indications of ash associated with the *skerm* and banked up against the southeast wall of Structure 2.

Three structures dominate the western section of KP1. The first is the 'T'-shaped house (Structure 1), second is a sub-rectangular ruin labelled Structure 2 and third is a relatively

large *skerm*. Feature 1 is on the southwest edge of KP1, and Features 2, 3 and 4, northeast of Structure 1.

I describe Structure 1 first and in more detail because it provides some relative chronology around which the other KP1 features may be situated and is the best-preserved structure at KP1. A part of the chronology is whether the house, or a section of it, served as the accommodation for the missionary Kicherer. Additionally, the large scatter of surface material directly south of the structure indicates the location of the main midden, that has been deflated by runoff and wind.

Structure 1 is a relatively well-preserved three-roomed, 'T'-shaped single storey structure (max. width 13.26m, max. length 11.44m) (Fig. 3.9). A front *stoep* and entrance face downslope (northwest) towards the *vlei* and drainage. The walls are built from sub-rectangular shale and sandstone blocks purposefully broken and chosen for a relatively tight fit. Gaps have been plugged with smaller sub-rectangular sandstone and shale blocks, and sandy clay mortar is visible between wall blocks and around window frames. The *stoep* runs the length of the house front, is around 1.6m wide, and is made of sandstone and shale blocks.

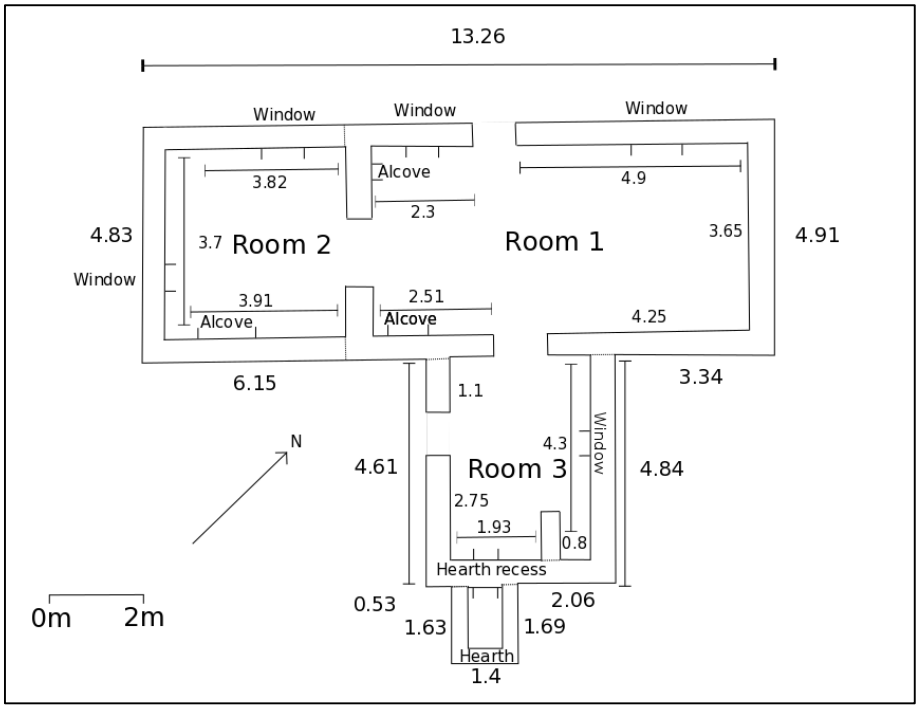


Figure 3.9: Plan of Structure 1 at KP1 showing dimensions and features.

The preserved wall height throughout is relatively consistent, between 1.5m - 1.8m high. There is significant wall collapse at the eastern end of Room 1, but enough remains to indicate a steeply pitched end gable. The presence of a long sandstone lintel in the collapse suggests that there may have been a window in this wall. This is confirmed by an undated photograph of Structure 1 showing the front and eastern end of the house (Fig. 3.10). The end walls of Rooms 3 and 2, where there has also been significant collapse, likewise indicate the remains of gables, as seen in a second undated photograph (Fig. 3.11).



Figure 3.10. An undated photograph of Structure 1 at KP1 looking south. (Photo credit: http://www.karoohoogland.gov.za/fraserburg-photo-gallery/).



Figure 3.11: An undated photograph of Structure 1 at KP1 looking north from the slope south of the structure. (Photo credit: http://www.karoohoogland.gov.za/fraserburg-photo-gallery/).

Room 1 is the largest room of the structure and has a front entrance and two further doorways - southeast into Room 3 and southwest in to Room 2. Room 1 also has two windows, one on either side of the front doorway (Fig. 3.9). Both windows have large flat lintels. The western window is 0.55m from ground level and roughly 0.8m high and 0.77m

across. The eastern window is approximately 0.4m from the ground and 0.5m across by 0.78m high. There were two further windows in Room 1 that have been bricked up to create alcoves. These are in the south-western and south-eastern walls (Fig. 3.9). The south-eastern wall alcove is 0.8m above the Room 1 surface and measures roughly 0.55m by 0.65m. The south-western wall alcove is irregularly shaped, and around 0.87m from the surface and 0.55m by 0.7m.

The outline of the original south-western window is not clearly visible from Room 2 and the finish of this alcove suggests it may have been constructed where there was a natural wall collapse. The outside outline of the south-eastern wall alcove, on the other hand, is clear on the exterior surface of this wall.

Room 2 is an extension of the structure to the southwest of Room 1. Like Room 1 it contains two windows, one facing northwest and the other southwest towards Structure 2 (Fig. 3.9). There is one long (>1m) alcove in the south-eastern wall, about 0.92m above the room floor. Like the alcoves in Room 1, it appears that this alcove was also possibly once a window. The southwest-facing window is relatively small (0.5m by 0.27m) and around 0.7m from the floor. The front-facing (northwest) window is substantially larger (0.6m by 0.8m) and only about 0.3m from the room floor.

Room 3 is at the rear of Structure 1 (southeast of Room 1) (Fig. 3.9). This room was the kitchen and a recess in the south-eastern wall leads to a kitchen hearth situated outside Room 3. The hearth is around 1.6m-1.7m deep, and 1m high, and abuts the exterior of Room 3 (Fig. 3.9). The top section of the exterior hearth has collapsed in on itself and the interior is filled with collapsed stone. This collapse, and other tumble from the Room 3 end wall, make it difficult to accurately reconstruct the dimensions of the interior recess that leads to the hearth. The hearth recess' lintel is a C-shaped iron spring from an ox wagon keyed into the walls.

Adjacent to the hearth is a short (1.09m) wall that abuts the south-eastern wall of the kitchen and runs parallel to the north-eastern wall. It creates a narrow (0.8m wide) space with a maximum height of 1.7m. There are several thin, flat sandstone or shale slabs built into the western side of the wall that served as shelves for storage.

Room 3 has one window in the northeast wall. It is around around 0.7m from the surface and measures 0.5m in length and 0.6m in height. There is a doorway facing southwest and leading outside to the rear of the structure (Fig. 3.9).

Structure 2 lies approximately 11m southwest of Structure 1 (Fig. 3.8). It is a rectangular sandstone and shale ruin, primarily consisting of large, sub-rectangular foundation stones (5.3m by 4.1m) (Fig. 3.12). The western wall is slightly better preserved. The original height is not known because there is extensive wall collapse onto the interior surface. There is comparably little evidence of wall-collapse in the northern corner and along the eastern and northern walls, and the stone may have been robbed for use elsewhere.



Figure 3.12: Photograph of Structure 2 at KP1 looking southwest towards the *poort*.

The *skerm* is around 4m to the southeast of Structure 2 (Fig. 3.8). It is roughly circular in shape with a break on the northern side that faces downslope towards Structures 1 and 2 (max. diam. 4m) (Fig. 3.13). The low walls are coarse and roughly built, made of several large dolerite and sandstone boulders on the northern and western sides, and smaller boulders on the eastern and southern sides. Where the walls are thick, they are nevertheless no more than 0.5m in height. The roughly built nature of the structure results in gaps and breaks throughout where smaller boulders have fallen off. The inside of the *skerm*, however, had

less collapse and a fine, ashy light brown deposit containing faunal remains, and other material culture, is exposed, as well as on the surface outside the north-western *skerm* wall.



Figure 3.13: Photograph of the *skerm* at KP1 taken directly north of the feature.

Features 1, 2, 3 and 4 are of uncertain purpose. Feature 1 is an isolated, large, circular cairn of dolerite boulders, situated 14m southwest of the *skerm* (Fig. 3.8). The cairn is less than 1m in height with a maximum of 1.5m. Its function is unclear, although it could mark a burial.

Feature 2 is also a pile of dolerite boulders, although less regular than Feature 1. Feature 2 is 2.5m in diameter, and may have been attached to the corner of Kraal 1 by a loosely-defined line of dolerite boulders. Feature 4 is a rectangle of sandstone and slate foundation stones just visible above the current surface (3.1m by 4.1m). Feature 3 appears to be the collapsed remains of a roughly square slate and sandstone structure measuring 2.3m by 2.2m.

Kraal 1 comprises of a series of stone walls, one of which is the KP5 perimeter wall (Fig. 3.3). Dung deposit in the southeast half of the *kraal* and against the western and northern walls identify its primary function. It is a large sub-rectangular structure upslope and to the east of Structures 1 and 2 and the *skerm* (Fig. 3.8). Its walls are extensive and thick, made of large stacked dolerite boulders. There is substantial wall collapse in the northeast and southwest corners. There are two deliberate breaks in the *kraal*'s walls, near the centre of the northwest wall and at the northeast corner, and another break at the southwest corner (Fig. 3.8).

The original entrance is situated in the centre of the northwest wall and faces downslope towards the *vlei*. There are crudely built extensions made of large sandstone and shale blocks piled haphazardly that are at right angles and on either side of the break, and run downslope for around 2m-3m. A second break at the northeast corner of the *kraal* is over 5m long. The KP5 wall links the north-eastern corner of Kraal 1 with the Kraal System (Fig. 3.3). A third break is near the south-western corner of Kraal 1. It is 3.8m in length and may be collapse. Due to the coarse construction of the Kraal 1 walls it is difficult to see whether the southwest and northeast corners key into the KP5 ostrich wall.

Between Kraal 1 and the Kraal System are Walls 1 and 2 (Fig. 3.3). These are wall foundations of two parallel dolerite and sandstone rows that barely rise above ground level. Wall 1 is L-shaped and appears to be incomplete. It runs downslope to the northeast. Its longer section is approximately 16.9m in length. The northwest wall runs roughly parallel to the KP5 ostrich walling and is 8.4m long. Wall 2 also runs downslope roughly parallel to Wall 1, and measures approximately 10m in length. It may have been intended as part of a *kraal* to be joined with Wall 1. Wall 3 is an isolated wall around 15.4m in length and 0.4m in height. It may also mark an abandoned *kraal* construction and, with Walls 1 and 2, may predate Kraal 1.

3.2 Sequence and Documentary Sources

On structural and documentary grounds, the range of structures described above are part of a sequence that may include pre-colonial Khoesan, the mission station, and various developments around a post-mission *werf*. I discuss the potential chronology of this sequence, starting with the imagery left to us of the mission and work outwards from there.

Visitors to the Zak River throughout its existence and after its abandonment in 1806 primarily note the ruins of the old mission church. Lichtenstein (1812: 183-186), in late 1805, notes no stone structure other than the church, remarking that Bothma, the supervisor of the station at the time, slept in a curtained-off section in the “dark background” of the church. The fact that the sole European at the station in 1805 was sleeping in the church suggests that there was no mission house at that time. Additionally, according to C.L. Stretch, who visited the abandoned station in 1833, only the church walls remained, and that the church was “roomy

and well built" (Tindall 1856: 32). Other contemporary written evidence, other than that of Kicherer himself, supports that the church was the only stone structure built in the mission period. The issue is now which, if any, of the Kerkplaats ruins the church may be.

Contemporary pictorial representation of the mission station is limited to one illustrated schematic or plan of the station drawn by Kicherer himself, dating from his early years at the Zak River station, and a second, made by Lichtenstein (1812) when he visited in 1805 and included in his 1812 publication. Kicherer's schematic shows a plan of the station viewed from the hills above the *poort* looking east, with several mission structures in the foreground and the hills beyond the Zak river in the distance (Fig. 3.14). Kicherer's schematic is not drawn to scale. The Zak River at the top of the image looks as close as the *poort*, when in fact it is nearly 2km away from the church. Both Lichtenstein and Kicherer's representations were used as guidelines in surveys of the site. Leaving aside differences of scale and distance, Kicherer's illustration proved particularly useful in this regard.

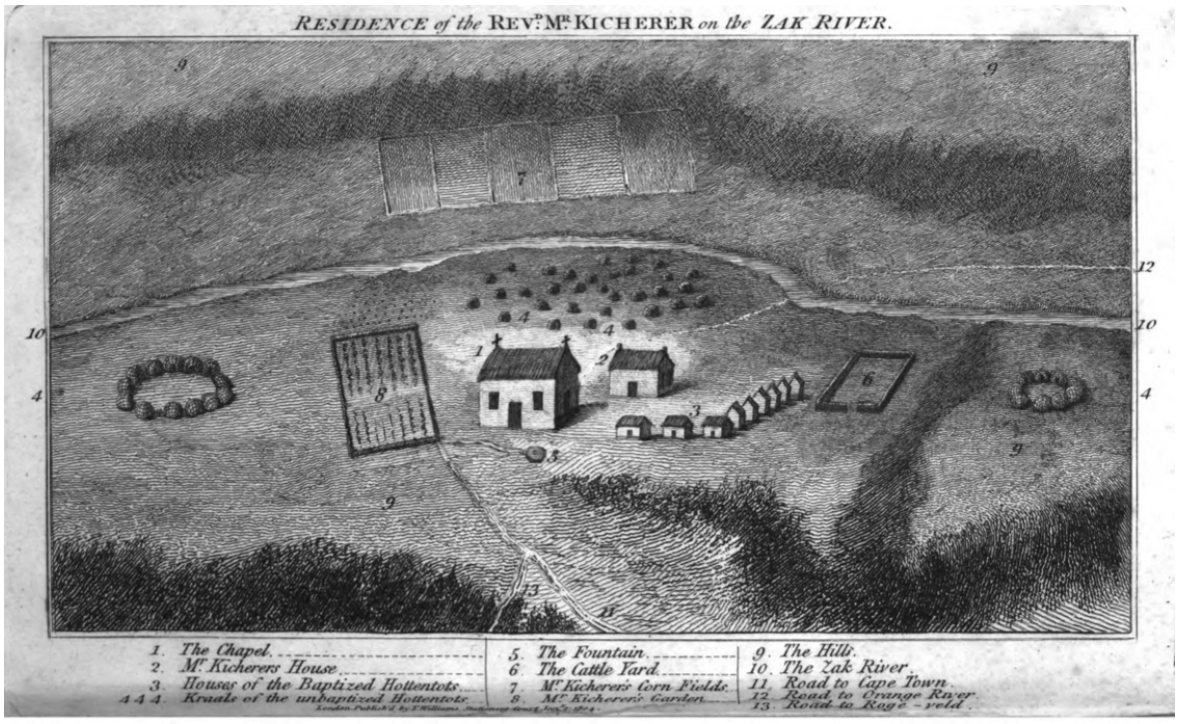


Figure 3.14: Kicherer's schematic of the Zak River mission, drawn in 1804 while in Europe, and reprinted, and used as the frontispiece, in *The Transactions of the Missionary Society* 1(2) from 1804.

The large central structure in Kicherer's illustration, labelled as 'the Chapel (1)', corresponds to the position of Structure 3 at KP31. In the image, the fountain is drawn in front of the

chapel, corresponding to the flow of the spring, although not the position of the 'eye'. For this reason, features at Kerkplaats were initially surveyed in relation to the central position of the church. Kraal 1 roughly corresponds to the position of the 'Cattle Yard (6)' on Kicherer's plan, while the small, white square houses on the map, marked as 'Houses of the Baptized Hottentots (3)', are in the same area as Structures 1, 2 and Feature 4 at KP1. Therefore, the remains of the KP31 structures possibly post-date the mission.

Other features marked are 'Mr Kicherer's Garden (8)', which was assumed to be on the western side of the *vlei*, and the 'Kraals of the Unbaptized Hottentots (4)', assumed to be northeast, in the relatively vast stretch of rocky land between Werf 1 and the Sak river, on the escarpment east of Werf 1, or in the scrubby plateau across the *vlei* to the northwest. Ultimately, little sign of these features were found anywhere to the north of the site. However, on the escarpment directly east of the site, around 680m from Structure 3, was a collection of sub-circular *kraals*, low dolerite walls and artefact scatters (Fig. 3.15).

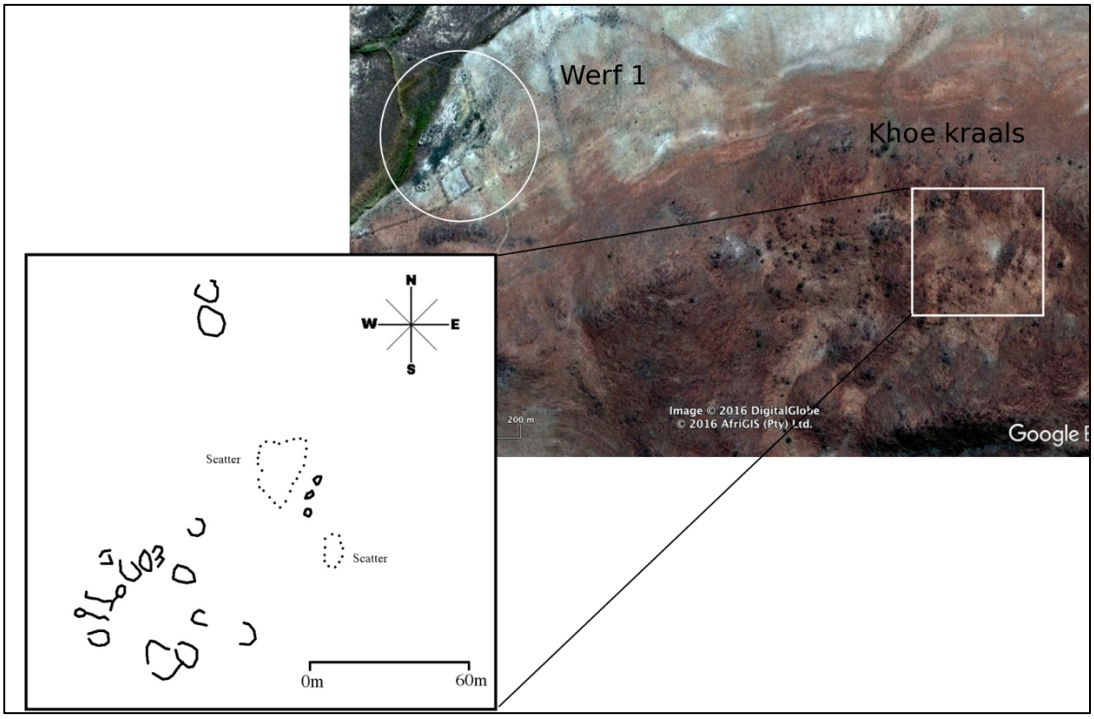


Figure 3.15: A map of the Khoe features on the escarpment east of the mission station, shown in relation to Werf 1.

Whether these features date from the time of the mission station is not known. They roughly correspond to the 'Kraals of the Unbaptized Hottentots (4)' on the right side of Kicherer's

schematic. If so, they are over 0.5km from the station and not directly associated with the mission activities of the station. Additionally, the artefact scatters on the surface consisted primarily of large numbers of OES fragments and LSA lithics, and a small quantity of coarse earthenware sherds, possibly related to a pastoralist Khoe identity. If this site was contemporary with the station, it would be reasonable to assume that some European material culture would have found its way there. However, no European material culture was visible in the surface scatter, nor were there any areas that showed clear signs of a deep deposit that could hold any material culture. These stone features could therefore represent a Khoe site that pre-dates the mission period at Kerkplaats, and, furthermore, it is unlikely that it dates from the post-mission period of the European farm, as landowners would not allow a Khoesan, or any other non-European, presence of this scale on their property.

3.2.1 The Sequence at KP1

If Kicherer's schematic is followed, then some of the structures at KP1 may also date from the mission period. Most likely these are Structure 2, parts of Structure 1 and Feature 4. Structure 2 and Feature 4 are both rectangular features of low slate and sandstone walling in the greatest states of disrepair. The walls are roughly parallel to Structure 1, from southwest to northeast, above the *vlei* and KP31 cluster.

Structure 1 may be Kicherer's house, and has its own internal chronology and sequence. It has also undergone significant modifications and alterations. The initial assumption was that it was the stone house built by Kicherer at the same time as the church in 1802, described by him as "a good dwelling house, consisting of several rooms on one floor, the whole being built of stone" (*Transactions* 1(2) 1804: 37-38). Yet later accounts of the station, namely those of Lichtenstein (1812) in 1805 and Stretch in 1833, make no mention of any stone structures other than the church. It is therefore possible that part of Structure 1 is the oldest structure at Werf 1, and doubled as both the church and Kicherer's dwelling house.

Closer scrutiny of Structure 1 shows that it was not all built at the same time. After examination of the walling type and walling junctions, a preliminary sequence for this structure was considered, which breaks down into three, and possibly four, phases (Fig. 3.16).

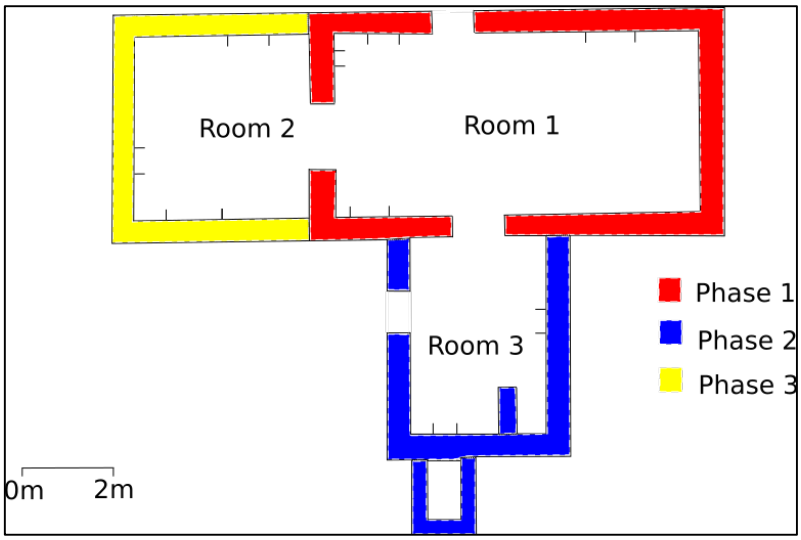


Figure 3.16: A plan of the house (Structure 1) showing the three phases of the sequence.

Phase 1, the earliest phase, was a one-room building (Room 1). It is unclear whether the south-eastern and south-western doorways were in place at this point, but it is considered unlikely. The alcove at the back of the room recycles an original Room 1 window. Despite Kicherer's illustration, it is unclear whether the roof was pitched in this first phase, although evidence outlined below suggests it may have been. The roof was probably made of reeds taken from the spring and *vlei*.

Room 1 may date from the mission period, particularly if its position in relation to Structure 2 and Feature 4 is taken into account and compared to Kicherer's schematic. Further detail is added by Lichtenstein's 1805 sketch of the station (Fig. 3.17). This shows only one stone structure, described by Lichtenstein (1812: 183) as both the church and the missionary house, and although Lichtenstein's position when sketching cannot be positively identified, he may have been directly east of the *poort* looking southwest. The position of the stone structure does not quite correspond to where the church should be, and is slightly upslope and too far to the southwest. Lichtenstein's structure does, however, have end gables, as does Structure 1. Consequently, the structure could be Kicherer's house or the church or both. The rectangular reed houses adjacent to the structure could have been based and anchored on stone foundations, and may correspond to the positions of Structure 2 and Feature 4. This is unlikely, however, as Structure 2 had higher walls that had been robbed. The marquee

situated in the *poort* in the centre of the image is the temporary dwelling of the members of Lichtenstein's expedition.



Figure 3.17: The central detail of Lichtenstein's sketch of the Zak River mission from 1805. Lichtenstein (1812: 183) notes that the animals and figures were added later "to enliven the scene".

Room 1 represents the earliest phase of Structure 1, but whether it dates to the mission period and was Kicherer's dwelling is unclear.

Phase 2 of Structure 1 is represented by Room 3, but the hearth and inside wall could be later additions. The northern ends of the western and eastern walls of Room 3 abut the rear walling of Room 1 and it is likely that the doorway between the rooms was formed at this point. An additional back entrance and exit into Structure 1 was provided by the doorway in the western wall of Room 3. The hearth, keyed in by a wagon spring lintel, suggests that the hearth extension, although itself not attached to the rear wall, was constructed at the same time as Room 3. The construction of Room 3 probably resulted in the recycling of the rear window in Room 1 into an alcove.

Room 2 makes up the final phase of the Structure 1 sequence. The ends of both the northern and southern walls abut the western end of Room 1. The doorway between Rooms 1 and 2 was likely constructed at this point. Furthermore, the stones and boulders in used to construct the the walls of Room 2 are noticeably different from those of Rooms 1 and 3. They are lighter

in colour, generally slightly larger, and identical to the stone used for Structure 2. The fact that there was very little wall collapse around Structure 2 indicates that it was robbed to build Room 2 and that Structure 2 was contemporary with the earlier phases of the house.

There is, however, possibly a fourth construction phase at Structure 1. The top 0.5m-0.75m of the walls at certain junctions are continuous and keyed in sandstone and shale blocks, while the wall junctions below this abut (Fig. 3.18). This occurs at both wall junctions between Rooms 1 and 2 and at the western junction of Rooms 1 and 3. This suggests that these top layers were added at a date after Phases 2 and 3, and could either mean that the tops of the walling, particularly in the western half of the structure, fell into disrepair and were subsequently rebuilt, or that the heights of the walls were increased at a later date. It also possibly suggests another scenario whereby Room 3 and Room 2 where constructed at the same time.



Figure 3.18: A photograph of the junction between Room 1 on the right (darker stones) and Room 3 on the left (lighter stones). Note the top courses of boulders extending over the wall junction.

The sequence assumes that Room 1 represents the first phase and may date from the mission period. If so, then Room 2 and 3 could have been added simultaneously when the farm was re-occupied by the Krugels in the 1830s. It is conceivable that any structures built by the missionaries would have fallen into some disrepair after their departure, and, indeed,

they are described as ruins by the two visitors to the site in the period between the mission and re-occupation in the 1830s (see above).

In this scenario, when the Krugels arrived, Room 1 was relatively intact, but with the tops of some walls collapsed to a reduced height of around 1m. The depleted state of the walling would mean that when Rooms 2 and 3 were constructed, their walls would only abut the remaining 1m or so of Room 1. Once the walls of Room 2 and 3 reached the existing height of Room 1, then all the walls were completed at the same time, resulting in the interlocking, keyed-in blocks that extend over the junctions. An examination of the front of Structure 1 supports this idea (Fig. 3.19).



Figure 3.19: A photograph of the front of the house (Structure 1). Note the lighter blocks of Room 3 on the right hand side.

The exterior of Room 2, visible on the right hand side of Figure 3.19, consists of lighter-coloured, flatter and thinner sandstone blocks. Similar blocks are visible in the top third of the exterior wall of Room 1 (left hand side), on the right side of the front entrance, and making up the pitched roof walling at the eastern end of Room 1 (far left of the image).

A closer image of the front and eastern side of Room 1 shows this more clearly (Fig. 3.20). Here a continuous course of stone is visible at the height of the top of the window, extending to the doorway, on the right hand side, and to the corner on the left side. The same stone and construction style continues in the eastern end gable. A similar process is visible in Figure 3.18, except here the wall courses are more similar to that of Room 1 than Room 2.



Figure 3.20: A photograph of the northeast corner of the house (Structure 1), showing a continuous course of lighter stone above darker rock.

If this lighter coloured stone was robbed from Structure 2, and possibly Feature 4, and the above sequence is correct, then both these structures and Room 1 probably date to the mission station and were still standing when the station was reoccupied in the 1830s. The fact that both Structure 2 and Feature 4 are the most ruined European structures at the site perhaps supports this. On the other hand, these structures may have been constructed in the early part of the second European occupation in the 1830s, acting as outbuildings for the house and their walls only robbed for Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the sequence in the post-1830 period.

The chronology of the *skerm* at KP1 may also be closely related to the sequence of Structure 1. The *skerm* could date from the mission period, and used as an outside cooking area for the inhabitants of Room 1, Structure 2 and Feature 4. This holds true if the kitchen (Room 3) of Structure 1 was built on the arrival of the Krugels after 1830, in which case the *skerm* would have become redundant. On the other hand, if Room 3 was built later, the use of the *skerm* by the Krugels may have continued.

The function of features 1, 2 and 3 at KP1 are unknown, as is whether they are represented in Kicherer's or Lichtenstein's illustrations.

I now briefly consider some of the other structures and features at KP1, KP3 and KP4 before returning to the critical identity and chronology of the KP31 structures.

Another structure with an ambiguous chronology is Kraal 1. It may also have been built during the mission period, and roughly corresponds with the position of Kicherer's 'Cattle yard (6)', but the presence of Walls 1, 2 and 3 perhaps discounts this (Fig. 3.14). The longest section of Wall 1 and the entirety of Wall 2 run roughly parallel to each other and could have formed the southwest and northeast walls of a square or rectangular *kraal*. The L-shape of Wall 1 forms a corner that could conceivably have extended to meet the northern end of Wall 2. Both walls run upslope and could have utilised the exposed sandstone and shale rocks on the incline to form the rear, southern wall of the *kraal*. Walls 1 and 2 are both low and close to the surface, suggesting either that these were foundations that were extended with thorn bush or scrub to form higher *kraal* walls, or that the above-ground boulders were robbed to construct Kraal 1. A similar scenario may have occurred as described above regarding the house (Structure 1), where the Krugels used the depleted ruins of existing structures, in this case the *kraal* formed partly by Walls 1 and 2, to build new and larger structures, in this case Kraal 1.

As mentioned earlier, Kraal 1 forms part of the extensive ostrich walling that includes the Kraal System and Structure 7, and extends as far as Werf 2 over 1km to the southwest. Kraal 1 could conceivably have been built at the same time as this walling, and Walls 1 and 2 may have been the Krugels *kraal*. However, this seems unlikely, primarily because Kraal 1 is the *kraal* closest to the 19th century *werf* and contains extensive dung deposits, particularly at its southern end, that suggests prolonged use. The interiors of the enclosures in the Kraal System to the northeast, by comparison, contained little to no dung. The builders of the large ostrich enclosure were making use of a sizeable, already existing structure when they attached the walls to the corners of Kraal 1.

3.2.2 The Sequence at KP3 and KP4

The features and structures in KP3 and KP4 are of a similar nature and clearly not influenced by rectangular concepts and adhere instead to a circular building style. All are relatively rudimentary, made of dolerite and located in areas that are well beyond the boundaries of

the mission and the post-1830 farm *werf.* Consequently, their construction and occupation may have pre-dated the mission phase. However, both loosely correspond to areas marked by Kicherer on his schematic as 'Kraals of the Unbaptized Hottentots (4)' (Fig. 3.14), and for this reason, as well as their relative proximity to the mission, I initially considered that they could date from the time of the mission. The low round features (LR1, LR11, L12 and LR13) identified south of the rear wall of KP1 and south of KP4 may also date to this period, being similar to the features in KP3 and KP4, but isolated from both as well as from the mission *werf* (Fig. 3.3). These could also be some of Kicherer's elusive 'Kraals of the Unbaptised Hottentots (4)'.

The graves at KP4 could potentially provide further indication of chronology. They are not characteristically Khoe in nature, being rudimentary cairns of dolerite boulders that are considerably longer than they are wide, as opposed to the typically oval or conical shaped cairns of more traditional Khoe burials (Brink *et al.* 1992; Stynder & Yates 2006). The extended shape of the cairns, and the shallow deposit, may infer that the bodies were laid flat and encased in the mound, as opposed to the upright, sitting or squatting positions of interred bodies in Khoe burials. If they date from the time of the mission period, then they presumably are of Khoe who lived on the periphery on the station. More likely, however, is that the graves date from the 19th century occupation and belong to non-European farmworkers.

3.2.3. The Sequence at KP31

From the first survey of the site, Structure 3 at KP31 was considered to be the mission church and the first European structure built at Kerkplaats. Not only did it correspond to Kicherer's schematic, but it preserves architectural features that cannot be interpreted as structural or practical. Features such as the twin alcoves on the exterior of the eastern wall and the row of recesses on the exterior of the southern wall do not appear to have clear or obvious functional roles. Additionally, the unusually large entrance and front face the *poort*, which, at the time, was the only route to the church from the south. Indeed, Kicherer marks the road to Cape Town as passing through the *poort* on his illustrated plan (Fig. 3.14).

For a man as ambitious as Kicherer, it is likely that he wanted the most impressive structure at his mission to be the first building visitors saw when they arrived at the station from the

Cape. In his own narrative there is some suggestion that he recognised the symbolic capital of a church and the impression it may have had on potential converts. The church is the first structure he claims to have built upon his and the congregations return to the Zak River from the Orange, in March 1802. Kicherer also notes that he was assisted in its construction by two slaves, one a carpenter and the other a mason, lent to him by nearby farmers (*Transactions* 1(2) 1804: 36). This suggests that thought went into the construction of the church, and that Kicherer considered it important enough to gain construction help from specialist craftsmen.

In 1932 a photograph was taken of the northern and eastern ends of Structure 3 for an article by the church historian and N.G. Kerk archivist Rev. A. Dreyer (see Schoeman 1996: 251) (Fig. 3.21). Presumably, Dreyer, standing on the right, understood Structure 3 to be the mission church. The image shows the building in much better condition than it is today. A doorway is clearly visible in the northern wall, behind Dreyer on the right, in a section of the wall that has subsequently collapsed. There also existed a large window near the centre of the eastern wall, which, along with the central interior wall, was gabled, all features which are now no longer present. The gabled eastern end of Structure 4 is also visible behind Structure 3.

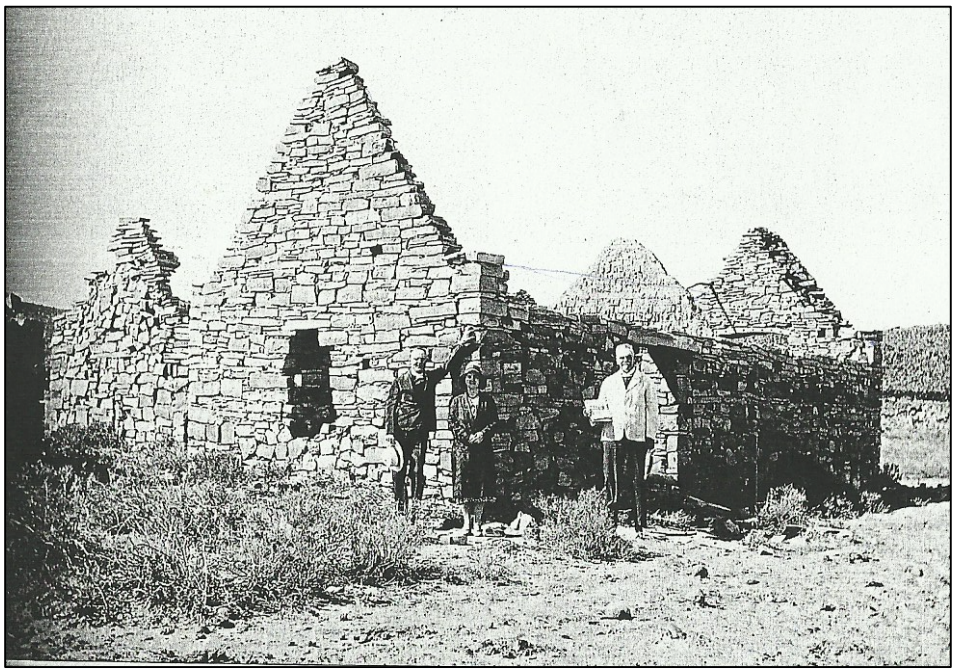


Figure 3.21: A 1932 photograph of Structure 3 at KP31. The eastern end of Structure 4 is visible behind Structure 3 (Image: Schoeman 1996).

Schoeman (1996: 251), in his history of Kicherer and the Zak River mission, offers an alternative interpretation of the structures at KP31 than the one offered here. Schoeman presumably visited the site in the early 1990s for his monograph, and from his account it appears that the structures in KP31 were in slightly better condition than they are now. Schoeman (1996: 251) asserts that Structure 4, and not Structure 3, is the ruins of the mission church. He selectively uses descriptions given by Lichtenstein (1812) as the basis for his assertion. Thus, Lichtenstein's (1812: 185) "hole in the wall" is a window in the eastern wall and the "sort of pulpit" Lichtenstein (1812: 185) mentions left of the entrance, is a raised platform. Neither of these features were identified at Structure 4, although the "hole in the wall" window could be the window in the northern wall of Structure 3 (Fig. 3.21).

Other descriptions offered by Lichtenstein (1812: 185), such as the church dimensions and Bothma's "dark background" bedroom, are discounted. Structure 3, in Schoeman's (1996: 251) interpretation, is a barn, citing the break at the southern end, a "*waenhuisdeur*" or wagon-house door, as evidence. Ultimately, however, Schoeman (1996: 251) errs on the side of caution and later notes that "van die bestaande geboue op die perseel lyk dit inderdaad die meeste asof dit die voormalige kerkgebou so kan wees", or that any remaining structure on the farm could be the old church.

Necessarily, all written accounts must be treated with caution, contemporary one perhaps even more so. Kicherer's (1804: 37) account is boastful, as he describes the church as "about sixty feet by thirty" (roughly 18m by 9m) and able to seat 800 people. Lichtenstein (1812: 183-186), on the other hand, was relatively antagonistic towards the mission station, the missionaries and their work and he may have exaggerated when he describes the sorry state of Bothma's bedroom in the 'dark background' of the church and the small window covered in fine parchment that failed to keep out the cold or let in the light. Yet the dimensions Lichtenstein (1812: 185) gives of the church in 1805, roughly 40 feet by 17 feet (or 12.19m by 5.18m), do match remarkably closely the dimensions taken of Structure 1 which are 12.43m by 5.13m.

As to the area surrounding the church, Lichtenstein (1812: 185) noted the presence of "six or seven *pandokken*…a kind of hut made of reeds woven into a wooden frame", as well as, "little

low huts in the form of a hemisphere, which consist of a skeleton of wood, with a mat drawn over it." These Khoe *matjieshuise* are the only other structures he describes, other than the *kraal* walls "fallen into ruins" (Lichtenstein 1812: 186). In many ways, Lichtenstein's description of the Zak River station is strikingly similar to his sketch.[1]

Even without Lichtenstein's account, and disregarding Schoeman's alternative view, I considered Structures 4, 5 and 6 to date to the second phase of occupation between ca. 1830 and 1860. Structures 4 and 5 may have been barns or storage facilities for farm equipment. They are larger structures with no clear indication of interior subdivision. Surface scatter of material culture in the vicinity of these structures was minimal, suggesting that they were not domestic or lived in for any length of time, if at all, and likely fulfilled practical functions related to farm operations. It is also possible that the church (Structure 1) was used as a barn or another functional farm building during the ca. 1830-1860 occupation, and that the wall that roughly divides the interior in half, and was extended to a gable, was constructed for this purpose.

Structure 6, on the other hand, is an abrupt departure from the rectangles of the KP31 cluster - its circularity provides a sharp juxtaposition. As discussed, it is not corbelled and was probably a cone-on-cylinder structure similar to those found at the Pramberg in the Northern Cape (see Zachariou 2011, 2013). The Pramberg cone-on-cylinder structures were associated with migratory Xhosa groups, and Structure 6 subsequently speaks of a non-European presence at the site during the second 19th century occupation, possibly, because of the nature of the structure, of farm labour from the Eastern Cape. Farmworker dwellings are typically at some distance from the main *werf* and farmhouse, and Structure 6 is, indeed, the furthest structure from the house (Structure 1), situated nearly 70m north. However, it is still adjacent to contemporary farm structures and, additionally, in the eye-line of the farmhouse (Structure 1).

[1] Lichtenstein's sketch is almost identical to an image found in Brommer and Hattingh's *Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch East India Company,* Vol. 5, where it is marked as 'The Encampment at the Liesbeek', in the vicinity of present-day Wynberg, Cape Town, and attributed to Josephus Jones between 1803 and 1806. It is doubtful that this description is correct, however, as the topographic features in the image closely match that of the Zak River station, notably the *poort* between the escarpment. See Appendix A for a reproduction of the Brommer image.

In comparison, at Werf 2 the farmworker dwellings are over twice the distance from the farmhouse. Conceptually, they are further still, having a *kraal* situated between them and the main residence. If we were to use the positions of the farmworker dwellings at Werf 2 as a proxy for Werf 1, then the farmworkers would live greater than 100m distant from the farmhouse and have a structure between them and the main *werf*. In that case, KP4 could also potentially be farmworkers dwellings, being over 150m from the farmhouse with Kraal 1 situated between the two points.

The L-shaped wall at the rear may have been a cooking *skerm* used by Structure 6's inhabitants. There is an ephemeral kitchen midden and light surface scatter of cultural material extending northwest and north of Structure 6 and possibly related to the *skerm* and Structure 6 occupation. Investigation of this material culture may provide clarification. The rear cooking *skerm*, in combination with the structure's circularity, stands in sharp contrast to the house (Structure 1) and the outbuildings associated with it.

3.3 Built Colonialisms at Kerkplaats: A Preliminary Sequence

European occupation at Kerkplaats was divided into two preliminary phases based on documentary evidence. Phase 1 is the period of the LMS mission station from around the time of the arrival of the missionaries in 1799-1800 to the abandonment of the station in 1806. Phase 2 is from the 1830s to the early 1860s, when the mission site was reoccupied and became a working stock farm. At a point before 1866, Werf 1 was abandoned as its inhabitants moved to Werf 2. A third phase can be introduced that includes the initial habitation of Werf 2 and the construction of ostrich walls enclosing Werf 1.

Table 3.1 below divides the structures and features at Kerkplaats into each preliminary phase. Some features and structures are shared amongst phases. Structure 2, Feature 4 and the *skerm* at KP1 could conceivably date from either Phase 1 or Phase 2, and thus appear next to both below. Kraal 1 similarly could have been constructed in either Phase 2 or Phase 3.

The built environment at Kerkplaats represents a materiality of colonialism that is at first more marginal and then more elaborate over time. The pictorial evidence supplied by

Kicherer and Lichtenstein is flawed yet reveals the perspectives they wished to communicate. For Kicherer, it was the success and growth of his station. The large size and central position of the chapel in his sketch communicates the importance he placed on the church, and how significant its role was in the development of the station. It is the pivot around which everything else revolves and is dwarfed by. The mission house and the homes of converted 'Hottentots' are drawn as rectangles and squares, and the small homes of the converts are positioned in a sharp L-shaped line. This stands in stark contrast to the round huts and *kraals* of the unbaptised 'Hottentots'. These are drawn smaller, set on the margins of the image and separated from the rectangular Christian structures by the square outlines of the cattle yard and garden. For Kicherer, there is a clear division between Christian and non-Christian structures in his image that represents a binary opposition between one and the other.

Table 3.1: Table showing the chronological phases at Kerkplaats and associated structure and features.

Phase 1 (1799-1806)	Structure 3, Room 1 (Structure 1), Walls 1-3, KP3, KP4, Low round features 1 & 11-13, Structure 2, Feature 4, *Skerm*
Phase 2 (ca.1830-1865)	Rooms 1 & 2 (Structure 1), Kraal 1, Features 1-3 (KP1), Structures 4-6, Structure 2, Feature 4, *Skerm*
Phase 3 (post ca. 1865)	Ostrich walling, Kraal system, Structure 7, Threshing floor, Werf 2, Kraal 1

All of this suggests mission structures that reinforce this duality. Yet, the metaphorical boundaries present in Kicherer's image are difficult to identify in the mission-period structures. The order and organisation that Kicherer wished to impose was not tangibly reproduced. Instead, the reality of the built environment of the mission period appears closer to Lichtenstein's image than Kicherer's. Lichtenstein's representation is supported by the description of Blydevooruitzicht supplied by Barrow (1806: 367), who notes a large building, presumably the church, surrounded by the ruins of a number of huts.

Lichtenstein's image may itself be flawed, biased as he was against the mission. There was little reason for Lichtenstein to embellish the truth, however, and certainly his description of the decline of the station in late 1805, when he visited, tallies with other accounts. It is likely that his depiction is closer to the truth. His image shows a mish-mash of organic, creolised dwellings - traditional *matjieshuise* and rectangular reed houses with pitched gables - located adjacent to the European stone structure that both housed the missionaries and served as

the church (Fig. 3.17). Furthermore, Lichtenstein visited the station when San presence had all but disappeared and the station's inhabitants were mainly mixed groups of Griqua and Korana. The linearity that Kicherer represents in his image is simply not present.

Despite the different representations given by Kicherer and Lichtenstein, they are both consistent in depicting stone structures and highlighting the contrast between these and the circularity of the 'Hottentot' dwellings. The variety of dwelling forms and their close proximity to one another, as portrayed by Lichtenstein, suggests opportunities to examine intercultural contact in a frontier zone. The Zak River mission site is potentially a space shared by European and indigenous groups and implies an archaeology that will reflect this.

In effect, the form of colonialism vested in and by Kicherer had little power. The archaeology of the built environment demonstrably supports this. Potential mission-period structures are ambiguous and difficult to identify.

To investigate the chronology further, clarify the sequence at Kerkplaats, and place structures and features more securely in their respective phases, it is necessary to examine material culture at Werf 1. Recovered material could further comment on the intercultural contact between the European missionaries and non-European inhabitants, and reveal other methods in which the duality between European and non-European was made tangible and colonial power enacted.

Cultural material on the surface was visible in the vicinity of nearly all the structures and features described above. The next chapter will focus on the process of artefact collection at Werf 1 through surface pickups and excavation.

CHAPTER 4: MATERIAL COLLECTION AND EXCAVATION

Fieldwork at Kerkplaats had three primary aims. The first was to find cultural material that dated to the mission period. The second was to clarify site chronology and the preliminary built environment sequence suggested at the end of the previous chapter. Against this background, a third aim was to determine the material sequence of Kerkplaats within a framework of colonial materiality.

Fieldwork was undertaken in the 2015 and 2016 seasons. The 2015 season focused on KP1, predominantly the area south of the house (Structure 1). Fieldwork in the 2016 season expanded to KP31, KP3, KP4 and the entirety of Werf 2.

4.1. Surface Collections

4.1.1. KP1

Initial surveys at Kerkplaats identified a substantial and dense surface scatter of material culture at KP1, primarily in the area directly behind and south of the house. This continued west to the *skerm* and Structure 2 and east to Kraal 1, thinning out to the north and upslope to the rear ostrich wall. The area west of the *skerm* and east of the house also contained relatively extensive surface scatters. Material culture from the areas upslope appeared to have washed down the slope to areas south of Structure 2, Feature 2 and Feature 4. Although there is little typical midden with deep deposit, the density of material behind the house indicates an extended period of discard in that area that was associated with the *skerm*, Structure 2 and the house.

Because of the deflated deposit and the general surface scatter, the strategy for material collection was a controlled pickup. To add control to material collection and identify patterns in material discard, a 1mx1m grid of squares was set up that encompassed the area south of Structure 1, including the *skerm* and the surface immediately west of Structure 2 (PU1) (Fig. 4.1).

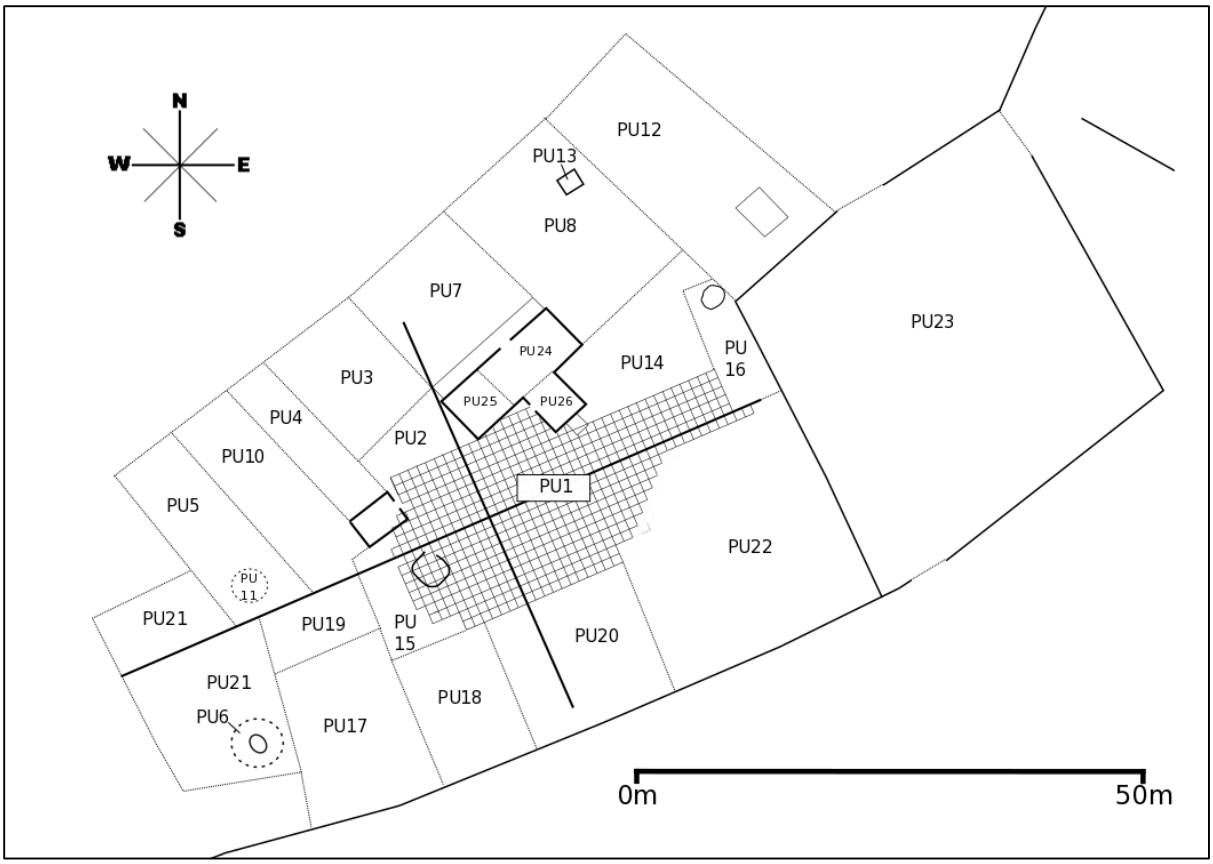


Figure 4.1: Map of pickup areas at KP1.

Material from other sections of KP1 with lower densities of surface material were collected in larger pickups (PU2 to PU8, PU10 to PU26) (Fig. 4.1). It was clear that with increasing distance from the house, artefact density was thinner and material in the northern-most pickup zones was assumed to have washed downslope from higher up the slope. Additionally, the aim of the broader pickups was to ensure that the areas of occupation suggested by Kicherer's and especially Lichtenstein's illustrations were sampled.

4.1.1.1. Pickups 2 to 26

The size and orientation of the other KP1 pickups was roughly defined by nearby features and obvious higher densities of material. For example, PU4 and PU10 were downslope from Structure 2, PU6 encircled Feature 1, and PU7 was at the front and downslope of the house.

Every artefact in these areas was collected. This included ceramic, glass, faunal remains, OES fragments, OES beads, glass beads, metal, waste slag, gunflints, and LSA lithics. The majority of the material from these pickups was collected during the 2015 season. In order to enlarge

the samples, 13 of the 25 pickup zones were revisited in 2016 and further artefacts collected from these areas. PU1 was gridded in 2015 but left ungridded in 2016.

Material from each pickup was analysed as a separate unit. Artefacts were labelled, sorted, washed and counted and all artefacts, except for ceramic and glass, were weighed. This data was recorded and tabulated.

Table 4.1 summarises the finds from this sample. Ceramic and glass pieces are by far the most numerous artefacts recovered. Small fragments of OES were common throughout, but other faunal remains appeared relatively infrequently.

Table 4.1: Summary of material recovered from PUs 2-26 at KP1 (minimum number of individuals (MNI)).

Ceramic	Glass	Metal (g)	Slag (g)	Gunflints	Glass beads	OES fragments (g)	OES beads	Bone (g)	Fresh water mussel shell (g)
2649	1453	266 (4006)	12 (249.5)	7	6	912 (418)	1	234 (278.5)	22 (22.7)

4.1.1.2. Pickup 1

The 1m1xm grid behind the house is shown in figure 4.2.

The grid covered an area of approximately 471m^2. The northern and southern limits of the grid were chosen arbitrarily, although influenced by the clear drop in material density relative to the central parts of the pickup. The western edge of PU1 included the *skerm* and the eastern edge was defined by the Kraal 1 wall.

All squares, except for those marked with a cross in Figure 4.2, were brushed and scraped to a depth of between 2-5cm, depending on the nature of the deposit. This material forms part of the PU1 analysis. Squares marked with a cross in Figure 4.2 were later excavated because initial scraping exposed intact pockets of ash. Any changes in deposit, notable features in each square, or an absence of material culture, was recorded. Squares that had more than half their surface taken up by the walls of Structure 1 were combined with adjacent squares and the combination noted. Cultural material was found in nearly every square.

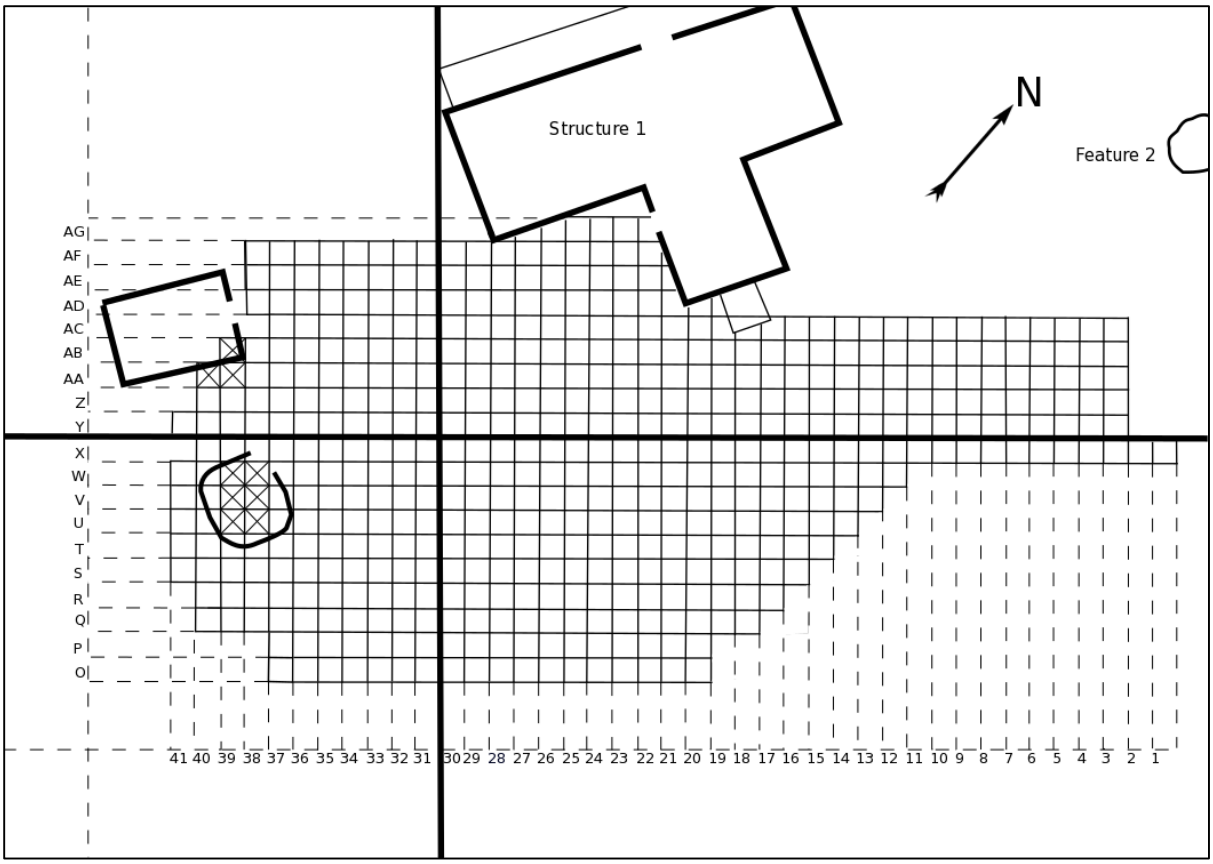


Figure 4.2: Map of the grid (PU1) situated at the rear of the house at KP1. The squares containing crosses are excavated squares.

4.1.1.3. Analysis

Initial quantification and analysis was by 1mx1m squares. This provided a density analysis of artefacts in relationship to structures. Density plots clearly show that the core of PU1 was a midden that has been deflated and eroded. Given the chronology outlined for the KP1 structures in Chapter 3, the material also potentially provides an assessment of this. I briefly present an analysis of glass and ceramic densities here, but a detailed analyses of the ceramic is presented in Chapter 5.

The distribution of glass and ceramic was plotted in greyscale for MNI (minimum number of individuals) and weight (Figs. 4.3 to 4.6). A comparison between Figure 4.3 and 4.5 clearly indicates that more ceramic fragments were recovered than glass fragments, but their density distribution across PU1 covaries. There is a high density in the area in front of and upslope from the *skerm* and Structure 1, and also extending diagonally downslope towards the house and the back entrance from the kitchen (Room 3). The density drops substantially to the east towards Kraal 1.

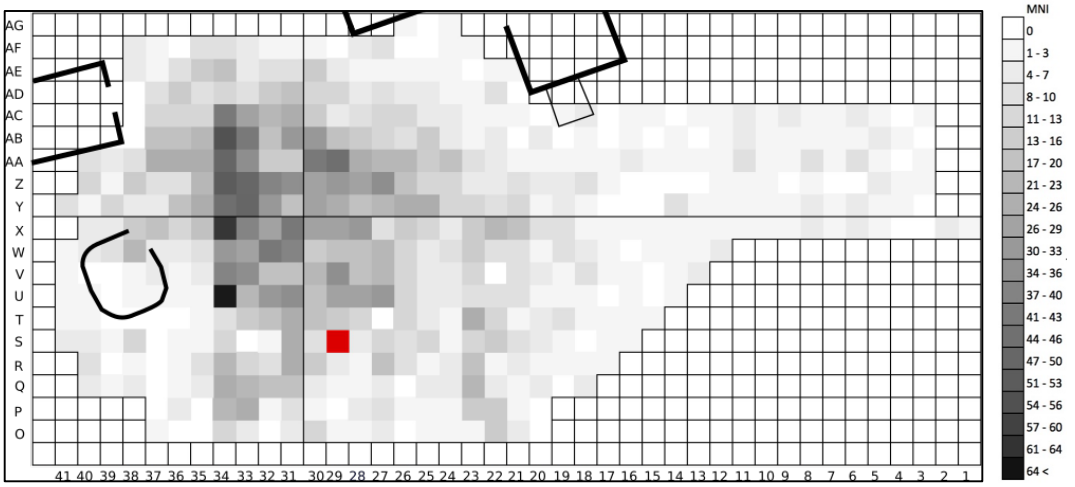


Figure 4.3: Plotted distribution of ceramic MNI at PU1 (red square indicates data missing).

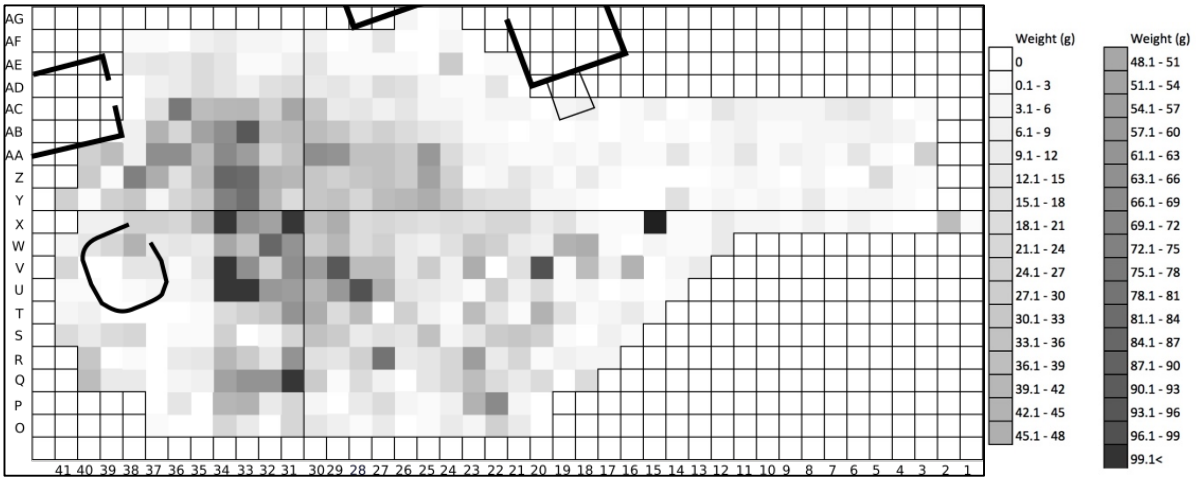


Figure 4.4: Plotted distribution of ceramic weight at PU1.

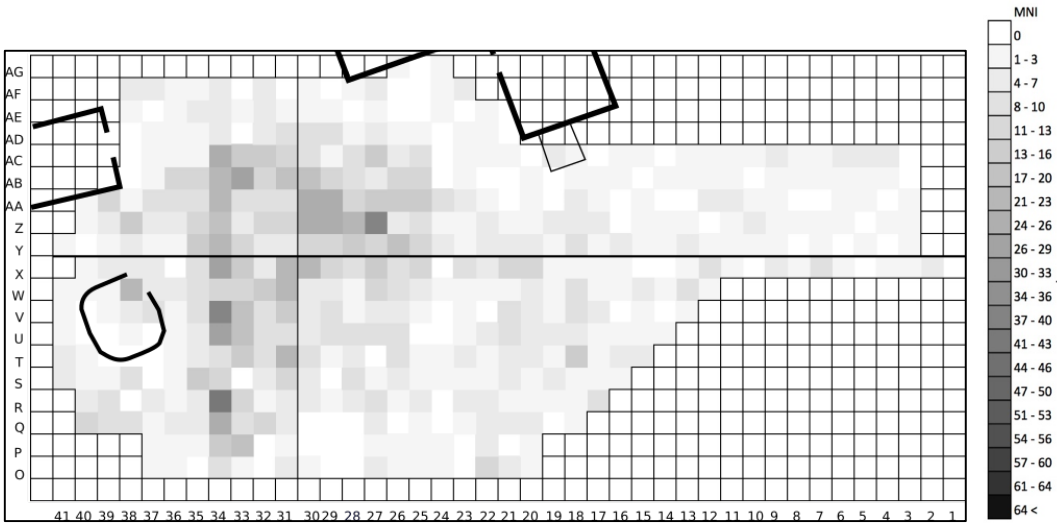


Figure 4.5: Plotted distribution of glass MNI at PU1.

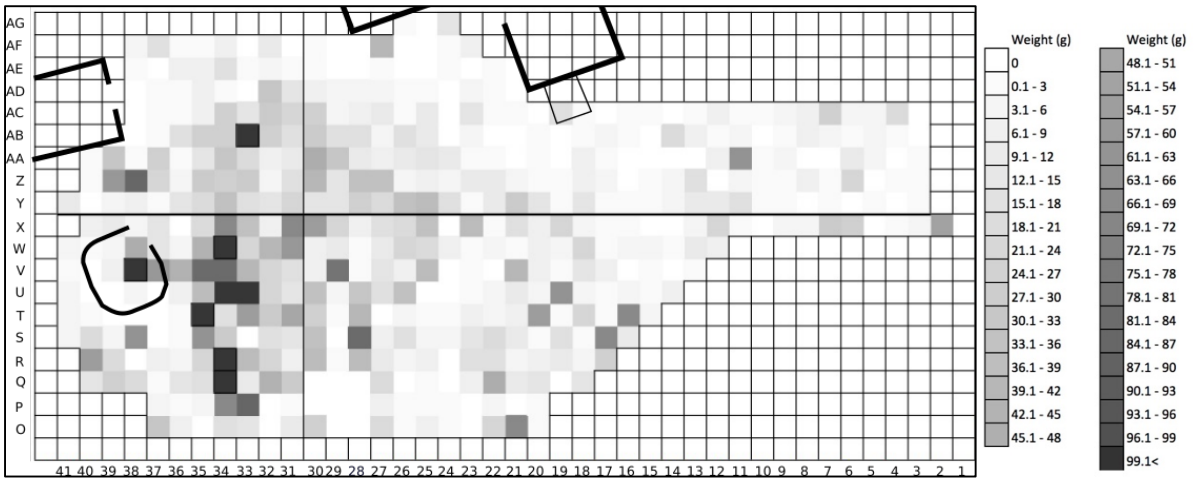


Figure 4.6: Plotted distribution of glass weight at PU1.

The distribution of ceramic weight across PU1 is similar to the MNI. There are, however, some outliers (X15), where ceramic frequency was low, but weight high (Fig. 4.4). This is an indication of fragmentation, but little can be read into this.

Larger fragments of glass were more common than larger fragments of ceramic, but the distribution is generally the same. There some outliers to the east, where density is low but weight high. The high-weight glass squares reflect the presence of thicker and heavier bottle bases.

Clearly, both glass and ceramic were discarded in much the same area of PU1, between Structure 1, the *skerm* and diagonally above the house. Squares with the highest density and weight are close to the *skerm* and about 10m from Structure 1. Despite this proximity, the density of material suggests that this glass and ceramic is from the house and was discarded a few metres upslope from the kitchen back door. This midden is now deflated. In order to assess this, I also plotted the density distribution of bone and ostrich egg shell fragments.

The distribution of high density bone is around the *skerm* and upslope and around the edge of the high density areas of ceramic and glass discard (Fig. 4.7). Figure 4.8 is important in this regard, as it highlights areas of *in situ* subsurface ashy deposit. This distribution does covary with the bone distribution and consequently, bone density may simply reflect greater preservation within an ashy matrix.

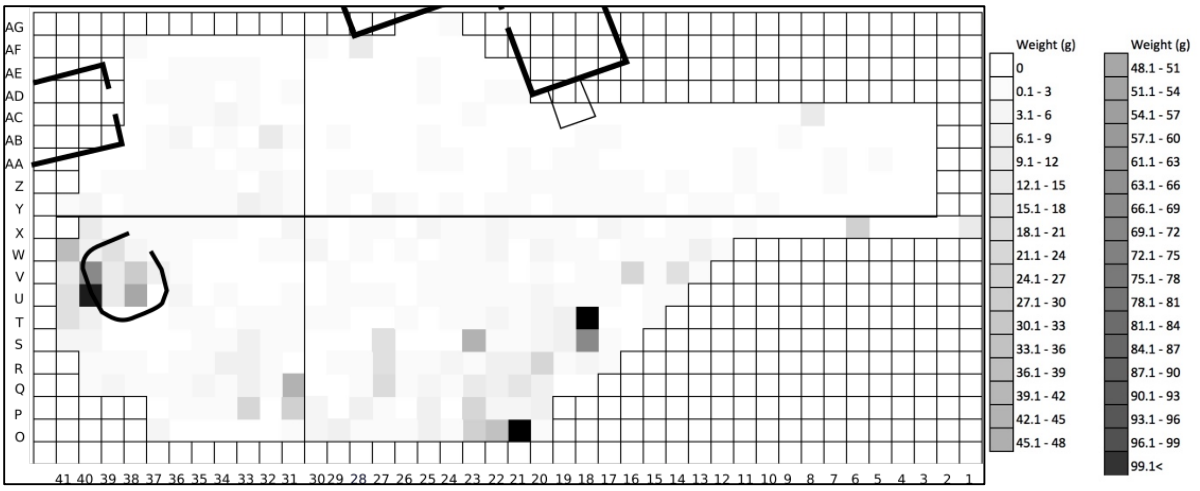


Figure 4.7: Plotted distribution of bone weight at PU1.

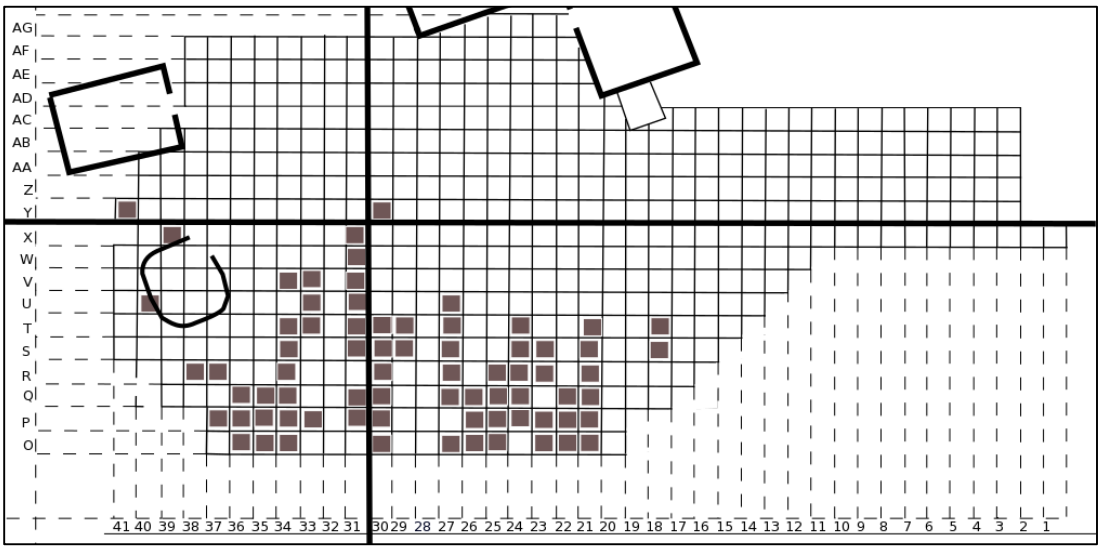


Figure 4.8: Plotted distribution of ashy deposit at PU1.

The density distribution of OES fragments is similar to the midden area inferred by the high densities of ceramic and glass (Fig. 4.9). While OES fragments are ubiquitous around Werf 1, especially in association with LSA sites (Mark McGranaghan pers. comm.), their covariance with ceramic and glass densities indicates contemporary dumping.

In summary, the high density of material in the area between the *skerm*, Structure 2 and the house marks a deflated midden. In area protected by rocks or walling, pockets of ash are still preserved. Importantly, when in association with stone walls, the ash banks against walling. The midden, therefore, is either contemporary with the *skerm* and Structure 2 or these predate the midden. Additionally, density distribution of ceramic, glass and OES fragments

covary and consequently were discarded together. The same probably applies to bone. While it is not known what the *skerm* and Structure 2 were used for, the position of the midden indicates that whatever purpose they served, they could have contributed to the dump. However, it is suggested that the density of material was generated by the house, and as developed in chapter 5, very little can be attributed to the mission period.

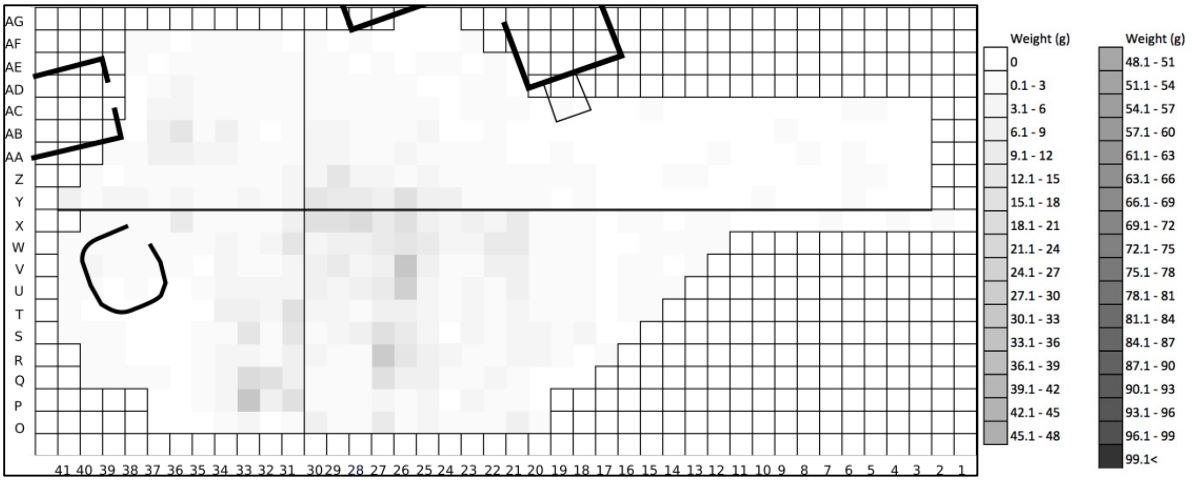


Figure 4.9: Plotted distribution of OES fragment weight at PU1.

4.1.2. KP31

In order to get a comparative sample of material from the KP31 cluster that comprises buildings that, apart from Structure 6, were not seemingly for domestic use, a scatter of material culture was sampled northwest and north of Structure 6. This scatter was densest in the vicinity of KP31, and possibly associated with Structure 6 and, in particular, the L-shaped walling at its rear.

Controlled surface collection was taken from a 1mx1m grid 20m northeast of Structure 5 (Fig. 4.10). Each square was brushed and scraped to a depth of between 2-5cm and all material culture collected.

The density of material is low and indicates an unfocused broadcast scatter (Table 4.2).

A wider surface collection at KP31, piece-plotted with a theodolite, indicated that artefact density is much higher north of Structure 6, but noticeably lower in other parts of KP31. The

majority of the mapped artefacts in this section are mixed mini-scatters of European and non-European material. Some material was recovered east of Structure 4, 5 and 6, but no material was recovered from the more western areas (Fig. 4.11).

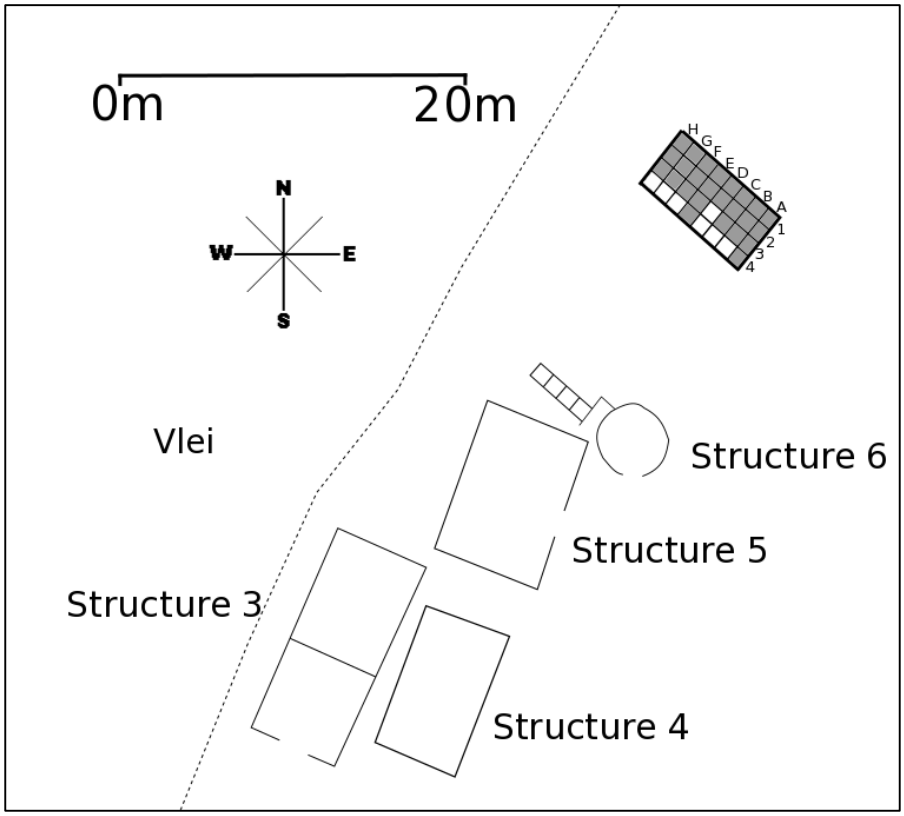


Figure 4.10: Map of KP31 showing the position of controlled gridded pickup and excavation.

Table 4.2: Table showing MNI of finds from the gridded pickup at KP31 (REW = Refined Earthenware).

REW	Stone ware	Asian porcelain	Glass	Metal	Bone (g)	OES (g)	Lithic	Other
30	5	4	19	2	7 (>0.5)	71 (19)	18	Glass beads, mussel shell

The higher density of material north of Structure 6, and the relative scarcity of artefacts elsewhere at KP31, suggested that these artefacts mark discard from the L-shaped feature behind Structure 6. The assumption was that this feature was a cooking *skerm*, and that waste material from its use was discarded north and west. Test pitting immediately downslope exposed a thin, *in situ* ash deposit. The excavation is described below.

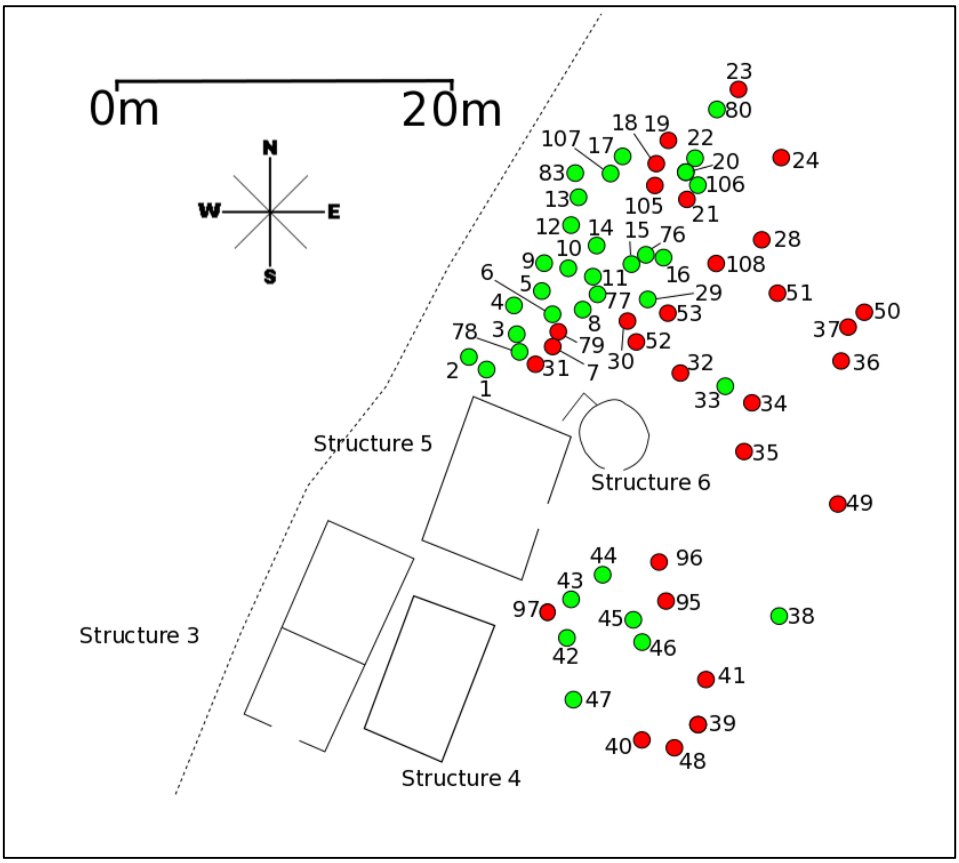


Figure 4.11: Map of KP31 showing piece-plotted artefacts. The red dots are ceramic/glass/metal artefacts and the green dots are ceramic/glass/metal with OES/bone/lithics/mussel shell/bead artefacts.

Table 4.3 provides a summary of the finds from the piece-plotted pickup at KP31. Ceramic is common (MNI=186), as are OES fragments. Other material, such as glass and metal, is also present, albeit in lesser quantities. Little animal bone was recovered from the surface.

Table 4.3: Table showing MNI of piece-plotted finds at KP31.

REW	Stone ware	Asian Porcelain	Glass	Metal	Bone (g)	OES (g)	Lithic	Other
126	43	17	46	10	9 (1.5)	238 (37.0)	41	OES bead

4.1.3. KP3

The assumption is that KP3 are Khoe households that may be contemporary with the mission station (Chapter 3). The aim was to recover material culture that could assess this assumption. No midden was identified, and material culture from KP3 was recovered through surface collection and piece-plotted with a theodolite. Additionally, in and around structures and

features the surface was brushed and scraped and all material culture was collected. These are shown by the shaded areas in Figure 4.12. Figure 4.12 also shows the distribution of plotted material at KP3.

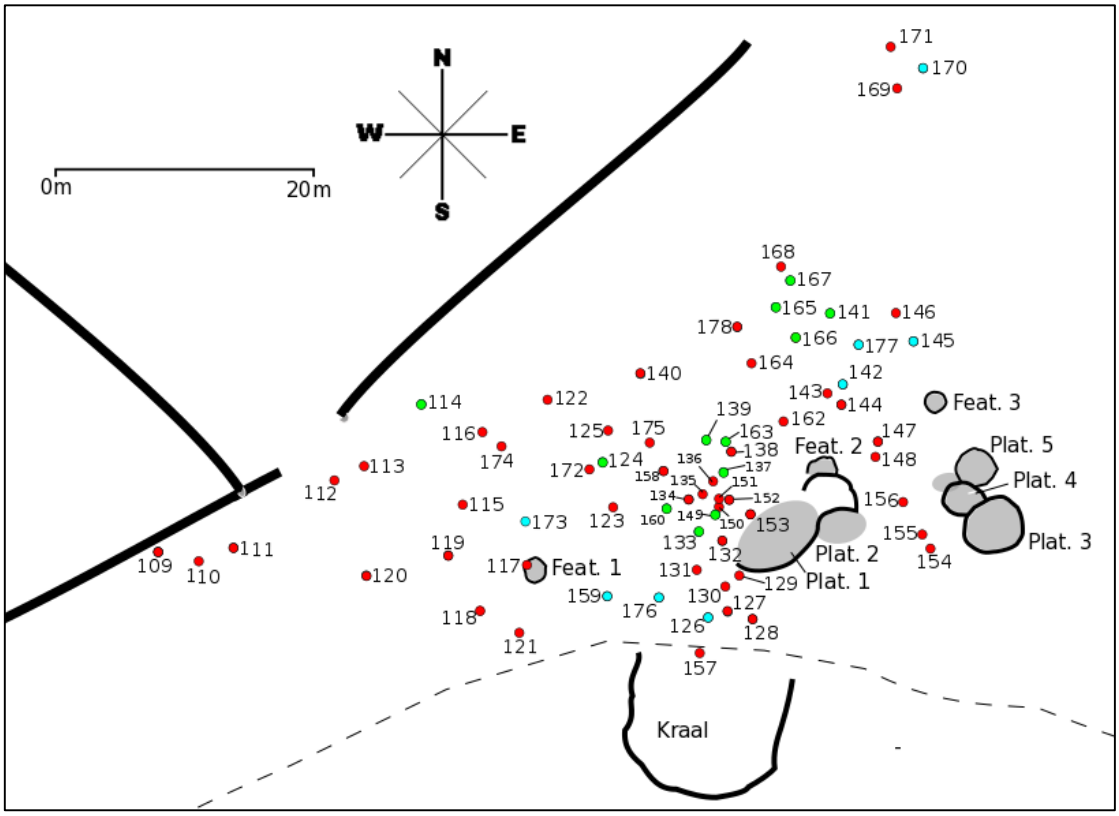


Figure 4.12: Map of KP3 showing position of piece-plotted artefacts. The red dots are ceramic/glass/ metal artefacts, the blues dots are OES/bone/lithic/mussel shell/bead artefacts, and the green dots are ceramic/glass/metal with OES/bone/lithics/mussel shell/bead artefacts. The shaded areas indicate surface scrapes.

Only one scrape, at the western junction of Platforms 4 and 5, occurred at the exterior of a structure. This area contained a denser scatter of cultural material.

Seventy points were shot in at KP3. Artefacts cluster on the western side of Platform 4, although a relatively dense spread continued towards the east (Fig. 4.12). Most of the artefacts in the central cluster are European ceramic and glass, while non-European material appeared to be denser in the periphery of the area.

The most numerous artefact from KP31 is refined earthenware ceramic (MNI=66), followed by lithics (n=32) and glass (MNI=30) (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Table showing MNI of finds recovered at KP3.

Area	REW	Asian Porcelain	Glass	OES		Bone		Fresh water mussel shell		Lithic
	MNI	MNI	MNI	MNI	Weight (g)	MNI	Weight (g)	MNI	Weight (g)	MNI
Feat. 2			2	4	1.6	7	1.6			
Plat. 1	4			76	48.3	8	0.8			7
Plat. 2	1		1	19	9.5	21	2.5			8
Plat. 4 Int.	3					9	4.9	4	1.6	1
Plat. 4 Ext.	4		1	52	31.3	52	34.2	15	14.0	4
Piece Plots	54	5	26	11	7.7	1	0.1	6	9.8	12
Total	66	5	30	162	98.4	98	44.1	25	25.4	32

Overall, finds from surface scrapes were low. OES fragments and smaller bone pieces were relatively common, as were LSA lithics. Some REW was recovered, and glass was also infrequent. The exterior scrape at Platform 4 contained the highest density of animal bone and fresh water mussel shell, suggesting that it may have been a small deflated dump abutting Platform 4's exterior. Feature 1, Feature 3, Platform 3 and Platform 5 were sterile and contained no material culture.

The scarcity of non-organic material culture compared to organic faunal remains is a notable feature of the surface scrapes. However, except for the OES fragments on Platform 1, and bone and fresh water mussel shell from the exterior of Platform 4, the quantities of organic material are low. If the platforms were living spaces the the amount of ceramic and glass makes sense because it was discarded away outside.

The key question is whether the colonial material is directly associated with the KP3 features. The dominance of REW is notable but may be an extension of the KP1 scatter. However, the material does cluster around the features and structures, particularly Platforms 1 and 2. No surface material was found east of Platforms 4, 5 and 6, or further west than plot #109 in Figure 4.12. Additionally, the REW is similar to that recovered from KP1 and no material indicates an early 19th century mission period date. If the KP3 features do date from this early period, then it is possible that the associated REW indicates recycling of the structures at a later date. The OES, lithics and fresh water mussel shell may indicate a much earlier precolonial date for the KP3 features.

With this in mind, then the European material from KP3 is associated with the use of the structures in the post-1830 period. It is possible that the KP3 features are associated with farmworkers, who, when working at Kerkplaats, situated themselves outside of the main *werf* district. The stone outlines represented by the platforms at KP3 could possibly be floors, and the small *kraal* at the rear of KP3 could be for the few stock owned by the migrant, seasonal workers. It is unclear who these workers could have been, although the nature of the structures suggests non-Europeans.

4.1.4. KP4

As with KP3, the same issue of the association and chronology of KP4 informed the collection of material. The same methodology was used. A total of 57 artefacts or artefact scatters were plotted (Fig. 4.13). There is a general scatter of material but the density appears higher between Structures 1 and 2 and the southern end of KP4, and the graves at the northern end. North of the graves only lithics and OES fragments were found. European material is therefore associated with these features, because the scatter fades south of Structures 1 and 2, west of Structure 3 and east of the graves. There is no *in situ* deposit or ash at KP4.

OES fragments and LSA lithics were the most commonly found items at KP4 (Table 4.5). European REW, stoneware, glass and metal fragments are also present. The OES may date to the mission period, but the European REW suggests a mid-19th century date (see chapter 5), and is similar to every other surface collection at Werf 1. Like in other areas of Werf 1, the LSA lithic scatter, particularly pronounced at KP4, suggests a non-European, potentially Khoesan, presence at the site. However, the lack of stratigraphy and context means that these artefacts cannot be directly tied to the mission or post-mission period at Werf 1, and could, conceivably, date from any point in the last 20,000 years (see Deacon & Deacon 1999). Ceramic refits of seven blue transfer-printed fragments come from one vessel. Additionally, there are at least three slipware bowls, two painted forms and one spongeware vessel. All the stoneware fragments probably came from only two or three vessels. Despite the small sample, the material is clearly associated with structures but this does not mean that the European material necessarily dates them.

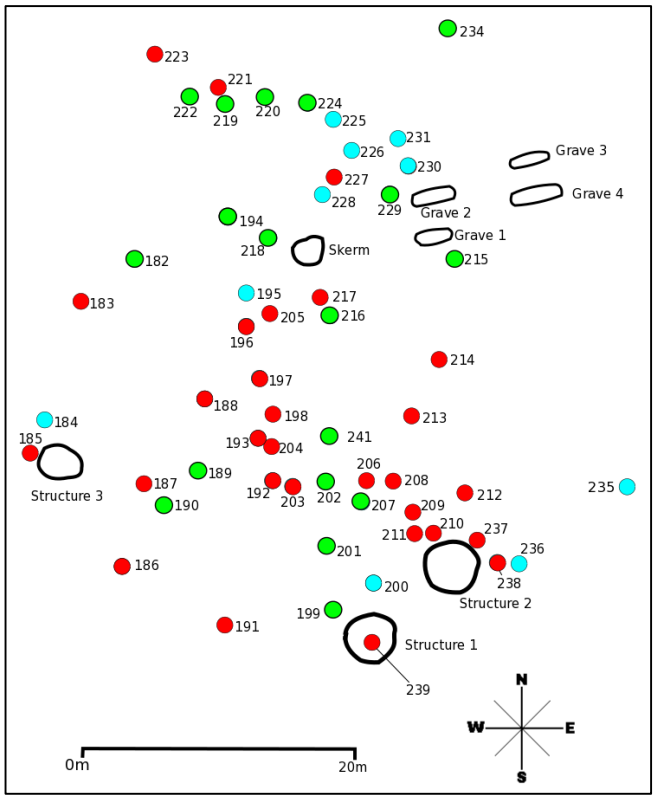


Figure 4.13: Map of KP4 showing position of piece-plotted artefacts. The red dots are ceramic/glass/metal artefacts, the blues dots are OES/bone/lithic/mussel shell/bead artefacts, and the green dots are ceramic/glass/metal with OES/bone/lithics/mussel shell/bead artefacts.

Table 4.5: Table showing MNI of piece-plotted finds at KP4.

REW	Stoneware	Glass	Metal	OES (g)	Bone (g)	Lithic
37	22	21	7	46 (18.4)	1 (<0.1)	48

4.1.5. Other Surface Collections

A further 45 artefacts or artefact clusters at Werf 1 were piece-plotted with a theodolite (Fig. 4.14). These are not directly associated with any structure and were collected to enlarge the sample.

European cultural material is common, particularly ceramic and glass (Table 4.6). Faunal remains, other than OES fragments, are uncommon. The European artefacts from east of Structure 7 come from a small number of vessels. This suggests that the European material in this cluster was discarded as part of one event.

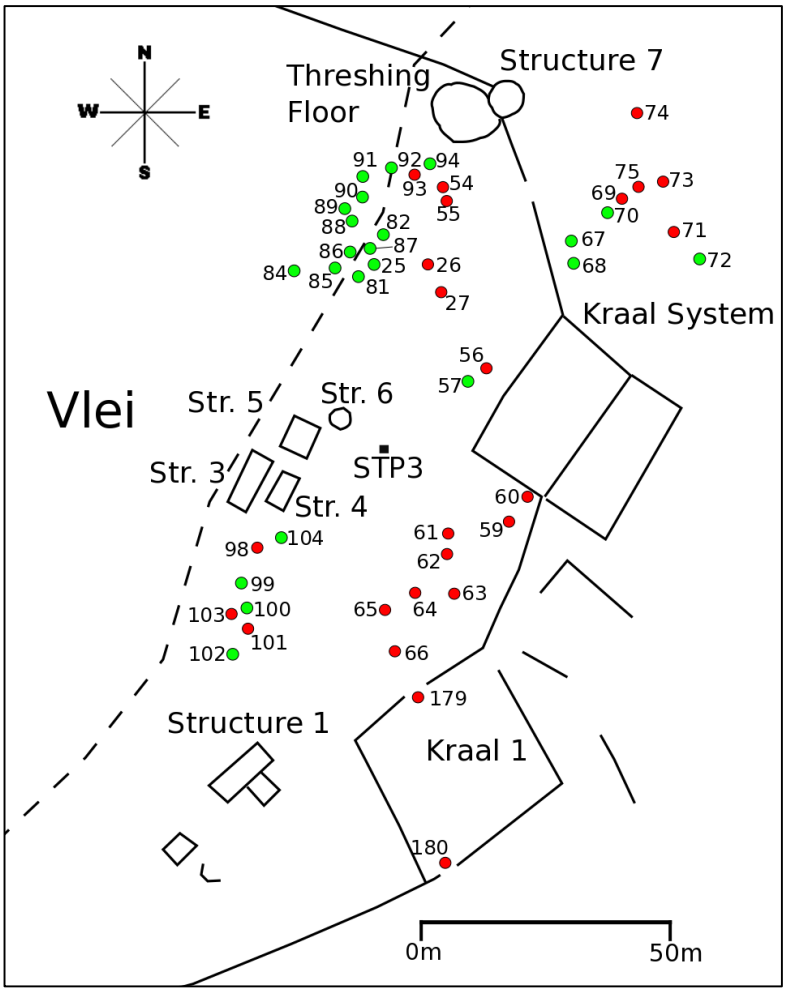


Figure 4.14: Map of showing position of other piece-plotted artefacts at Werf 1. The red dots are ceramic/glass/metal artefacts, and the green dots are ceramic/glass/metal with OES/bone/lithics/mussel shell/bead artefacts.

Table 4.6: Table showing MNI of other piece-plotted finds at Werf 1.

REW	Stoneware	Asian Porc.	Glass	Metal	OES (g)	Bone (g)	Lithic
82	10	8	51	1	65 (20.9)	2 (<0.1)	21

4.2. Excavation

As indicated, patches of *in situ* deposit were exposed while making the controlled collections outlined above. The aim of the excavations was, where possible, to stratigraphically link deposit with structures and search for stratified ceramic sequences, especially between the mission period and the post-1830 Werf 1 occupation, and overall provide more chronological control.

Excavations took place at KP1 and KP31. At KP1, trenches were excavated in and around the southern side of Structure 2 and within the *skerm* (Fig. 4.15). At KP31, excavations were northwest of Structure 6, abutting the L-shaped wall (Fig. 4.10). The KP1 trenches were excavated in 2015 and the trenches at KP31 in 2016.

A cursory glance at the artefacts collected from the surface showed material of similar characteristics from throughout Werf 1. There was little that appeared to date from the mission period, and it was decided that this material was most likely in the lower halves of areas that showed substantial deposit.

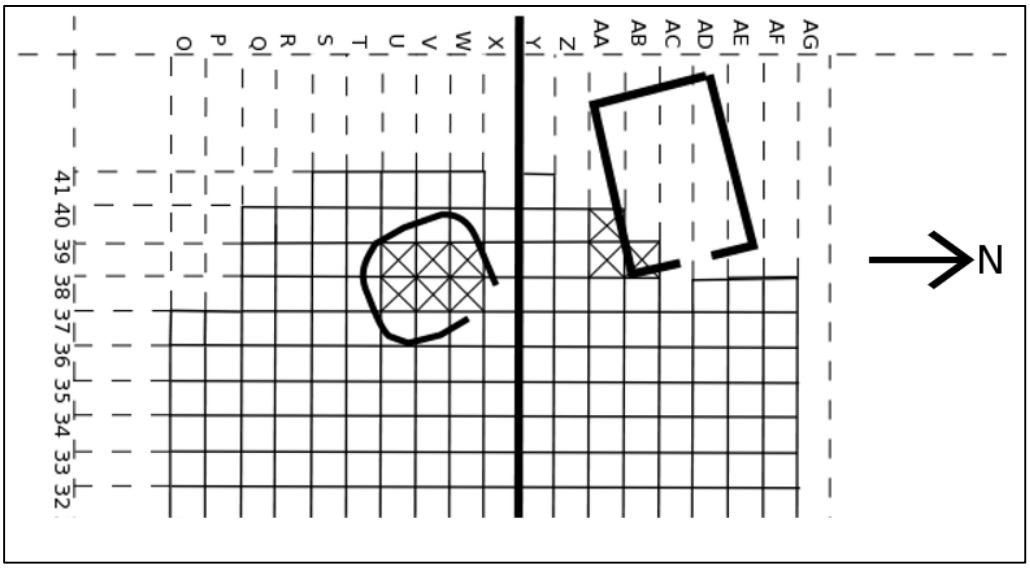


Figure 4.15: Map showing position of excavated squares at KP1.

4.2.1 KP1 Structure 2 Excavation

A total of nine squares were excavated at KP1. Three of these were situated at the southern end of Structure 2, and six within the *skerm* (Figure 4.15).

Deposit had banked up against the southern wall of Structure 2. There is also deposit associated with the *skerm* and is possible that the *skerm* and Structure 2 deposit were once part of the larger midden to the east. An animal or sheep track runs east to west between the *skerm* and Structure 2 and this and erosion may have removed *in situ* deposit between the two features.

Furthermore, the chronology of Structure 2 at this point was unclear. It had been posited that it may have been among the first structures built by the missionaries. Additionally, Structure 2 seemed to have a direct relationship with Structure 1, in that Room 2 of Structure 1 appeared to have been constructed from stones and rubble robbed from Structure 2. Therefore, dating Structure 2 would indirectly date Room 2 of Structure 1, and, potentially, Room 3. Excavating adjacent to walling would establish the stratigraphic relationship between the wall foundations and ash.

The Structure 2 excavation proceeded in 10cm spits. Each spit was treated as a separate unit, regardless of stratigraphy or deposit type. Every bucket was sieved using a 0.3cm sieve. Surface finds were examined as part of the surface collection at PU1.

The deposit was fairly uniform across the excavation. The predominant deposit throughout the sequence is a fine, moist grey/brown soil with charcoal inclusions (Fig. 4.16). In the edges bordering the walling there are fine, ashy lenses of damp red/orange with larger charcoal inclusions. The lenses thinned out away from the wall where the undifferentiated grey/brown soil continued. Below the red/orange ash there is a thin layer of undifferentiated grey/brown soil resting on a layer of fine light red soil that extended across the complete square. Below this is another layer of grey/brown soil above a layer of fine, light brown soil. The light brown soil sits on a band of depleted orange/red bedrock that shared the base of the wall.

Spit 1 was made up of a moist grey/brown soil and the top the ashy red/orange deposit in the edges close to the wall. Finds were primarily small bone pieces, glass and ceramic (Table 4.7).

Ceramic included German stoneware, slipware REW, Willow pattern REW and undecorated whiteware.

Spit 2 consisted of the grey/brown soil and the damp red/orange ashy deposit banked against the walling. Faunal remains appeared frequently and were generally larger, articulated and less decomposed, particularly in the red/orange lens. OES fragments were more frequent in Spit 2 and the amount of ceramic and glass increased in AA39 (Table 4.7). Glass was primarily

opaque/colourless and undiagnostic. Only REW ceramic was found in Spit 2, including slipware, blue transfer-printed REW and undecorated whiteware. A gunflint was found in AA39. Charcoal inclusions were also larger and more numerous.

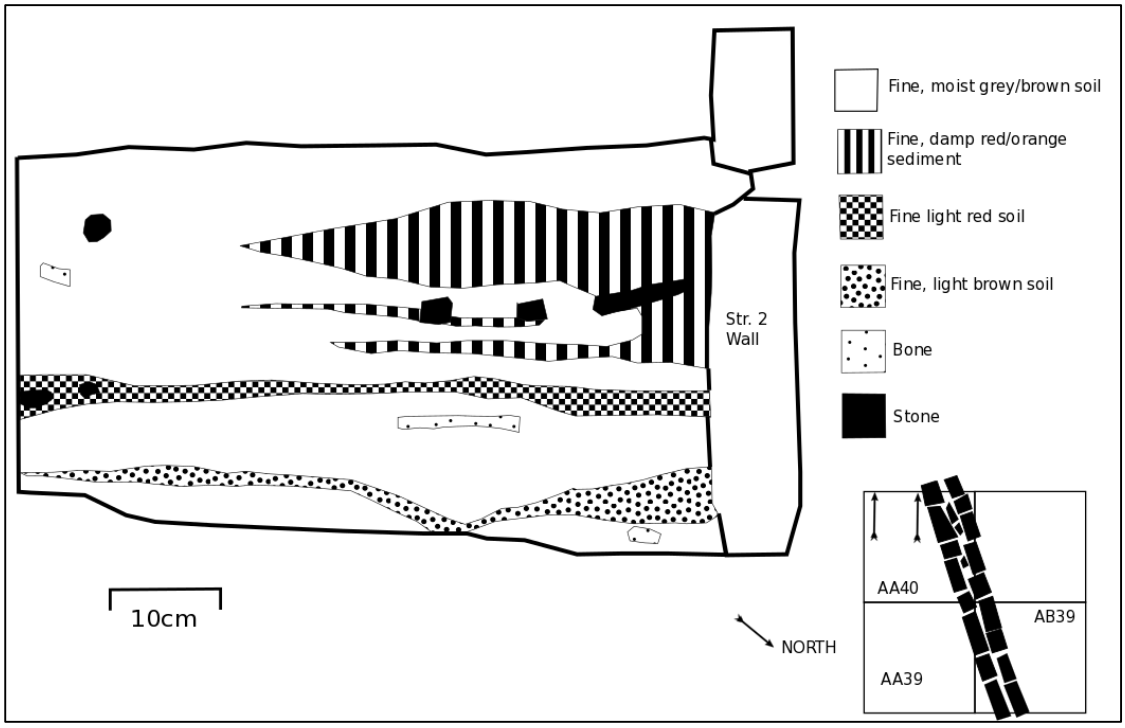


Figure 4.16: Section drawing of the southern wall of AA40 at the Structure 2 excavation.

Table 4.7: Table showing the MNI and selected weights of excavated material in AA40 and AA39 at Structure 2 in KP1.

Square	Spit	Bone (g)	OES (g)	Ceramic	Glass	Metal (g)	Other
AA39	1	45 (154.86)	0	1	6	2 (34.08)	
	2	162 (239.45)	15 (8.75)	7	15		gunflint
	3	181 (532.87)	31 (24.47)	8	6	1 (40.81)	
AA40	1	75 (221.69)	2 (0.5)	8	7	1 (0.28)	
	2	227 (453.69)	5 (1.97)	1	2		
	3	341 (717.7)	87 (63.09)	8	4		Button
	4	67 (178.94)	9 (8.13)	4	2	4 (36.14)	

Spit 3 contained contained the largest amount of bone pieces and OES fragments (Table 4.7). Ceramic and glass was consistent with that of Spit 2. Slipware REW was the dominant ceramic, although fragments of Asian porcelain ginger jar and British stoneware were also found in both squares. Charcoal inclusions decreased in this spit and bone fragments remains were

large and well-preserved, similar to Spit 2. AA39 bottomed out at this layer. No artefacts were recovered from the depleted bedrock layer.

Spit 4 only occurred in AA40. Bone pieces were common in this layer but the frequency of OES fragments dropped (Table 4.7). Ceramic consisted of slipware REW and undecorated whiteware and glass was also present. One glass fragment was a colourless, flat piece, possibly from a window.

AB39 consisted of only one deposit of a hard, light red, clumpy soil that persisted throughout the square. Fragments of walling stones were present in the top 10cm (Spit 1) and finds were limited to small bone and OES fragments (Table 4.8). Finds increased in Spit 2 and include bone pieces, stoneware, REW, one glass fragment and a bone button.

Table 4.8: Table showing the MNI and selected weights of excavated material in AB39 at Structure 2 in KP1.

Spit	Bone (g)	OES (g)	Ceramic	Glass	Metal	Other
1	16 (10.52)	2 (1.14)				
2	88 (505.16)	2 (1.2)	5	1		Button
3	9 (9.31)	2 (0.5)				

Spit 3 continued from 20cm down to bedrock, which was reached at about 30cm from the surface. Only small fragments of bone and OES were found in this spit.

The Structure 2 excavations demonstrated that the bottom of the wall was contiguous with the bottom of the deposit, and the material recovered from the excavation was discarded after the structure was completed.

The material culture from the bottom spits of AA39 and AA40 was similar to material recovered from surface pickups at KP1. No material suggested an unequivocal pre-1830 date. A small fragment of colourless flat glass recovered from from near the bottom AA40 may be window glass. Window glass entered the Karoo regions near the middle of the century, and this confirms that none of the material culture dates from the mission period, and dates from the post-1830 Werf 1 occupation. The articulation, size and preservation of some of the bone

pieces suggests that some material is *in situ* and that the recovered material forms part of the deflated midden located to the east of the excavation.

The excavation within Structure 2 revealed no stratigraphy and the amount of recovered cultural material is small. The presence of over 500g of bone in Spit 2 (Table 4.8) suggests that it was discarded when Structure 2 was no longer in use. Consequently, the artefacts in Spit 2 possibly post-date the abandonment of Structure 2 and the construction of Room 2 at the house. Two fragments of salt-glazed, British commercial stoneware and a fragment of flow blue transfer-printed REW from Spit 2 suggest a date from the second-half of the 19th century but this is unclear.

4.2.2. KP1 *Skerm* Excavation

Six 1x1m trenches were excavated in the *skerm* (Fig. 4.17).

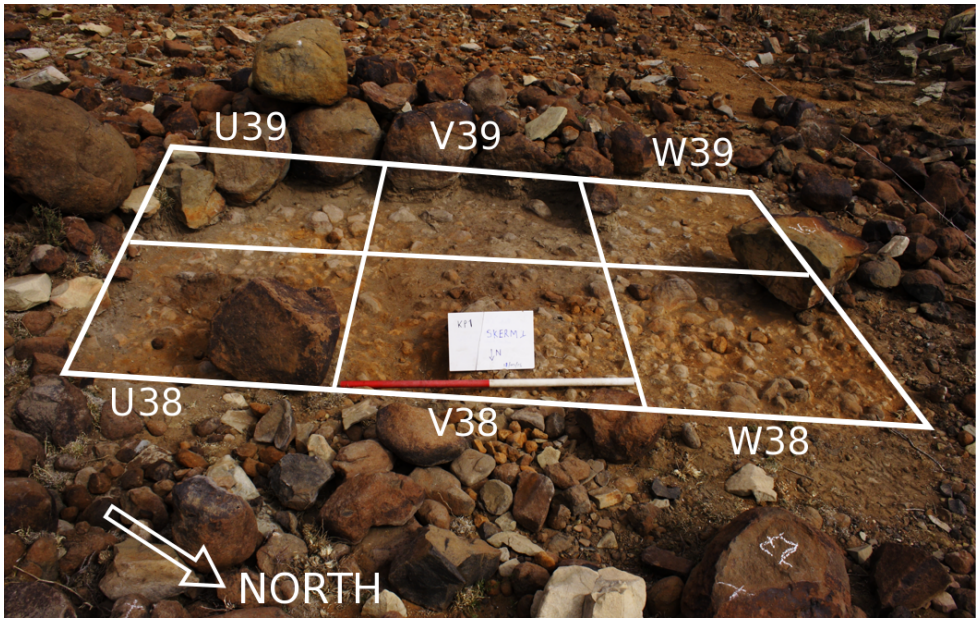


Figure 4.17: Photograph of the *skerm* excavation at KP1 showing the excavated squares.

The size of the *skerm* suggested that it might have been the primary cooking area at Werf 1 and pre-date the construction of kitchen in the house. Subsequently, material from the *skerm* could indicate when the kitchen was constructed. Excavating adjacent to the *skerm* walling would establish the stratigraphic relationship between the foundations and deposit.

Squares U38, V38, and W38 were excavated to bedrock first and then extended into U39, V39 and W38. Excavation began in 5cm spits but it soon became clear that stratigraphy was consistent across the excavation and it was decided to treat each deposit as a single unit. Deposit was thickest in U39 and V39, at the rear of the *skerm*. Every bucket was sieved using a 3mm sieve.

The stratigraphy was uniform across the excavation. Each stratigraphic layer was consistently thicker at the higher, southern end of the *skerm* and thinned out downslope and to the north. Spit 1 was a fine-grained, brown topsoil, between 5-8cm in U38 and U39, thinning in V38 and V38 and disappearing in W38 and W39. This layer sat on an ashy-grey deposit of very fine, soft soil (Spit 2), thickest in U38 and U39 and disappearing at the southern end of W38. This layer sat on bedrock in each square. Bedrock was a compact red/orange soil between rocks and stones and was reached at about 20cm from the surface in U38, while the nature of the slope meant that deposit was thinner in W38 and bedrock was reached at around 7cm from the surface.

Bone pieces and OES fragments were recovered from every square (Table 4.9). Bone MNI is high throughout the excavation but pieces were decomposed and generally highly fragmented, and some showed evidence of being burnt. Bone pieces and OES fragments were particularly common in Spit 2. Ceramic and glass fragments were recovered throughout the excavation and also highly fragmented. More ceramic and glass was recovered from square surfaces than subsurface deposits, but were still common in Spits 1 and 2. Two gunflints were recovered from Spit 1 of U38. Metal, LSA lithics, waste slag and fresh water mussel shell fragments were also recovered.

The REW fragments in the *skerm* excavation are similar to REW from the Structure 2 excavation and the PU1 surface collection and there is little indication of a mission period date. The presence of a flow-blue transfer-printed REW fragment in Spit 2 of U38 probably dates from the second half of the century and places this deposit in the post-1830 second occupation of Werf 1.

Table 4.9: Table showing the MNI and selected weights of excavated material in the *skerm* excavation at KP1.

Square	Deposit	Bone (g)	OES (g)	Ceramic	Glass	Metal (g)	Other
U38	Surface	73 (50.2)	2 (0.8)	2	1		
	Spit 1	100 (52.21)	6 (3.33)	4	3		2 x gunflints
	Spit 2	113 (51.98)	5 (2.86)	3	1		
V38	Surface	76 (28.8)	3 (0.8)	3	6	2 (21.6)	
	Spit 1	20 (9.47)	1 (0.8)		1	1 (6.06)	
	Spit 2	86 (33.3)	7 (2.74)	13	9	2 (2.08)	
W38	Surface	6 (4.3)	3 (2.4)	19	21		Slag (0.2g)
	Spit 1	38 (8)	13 (5.8)			9 (7.8)	
U39	Surface	34 (11.5)				1 (4.1)	Lithic
	Spit 1	136 (71.01)	4 (1.99)	1			Mussel shell
V39	Surface	12 (10.4)	1 (0.8)		1	1 (6.06)	Lithic
	Spit 1	16 (41.16)	2 (1.04)	1			
	Spit 2	142 (172.5)	11 (9.1)	2	1	3 (13.2)	Mussel shell
W39	Surface	26 (15.17)	6 (2.6)	7	3	2 (45.82)	
	Spit 1	223 (173.88)	2 (1.9)	3	4		

The *skerm* deposit is shallow and stratigraphy is simple and consistent. Material culture was common on the *skerm* surface, although more fragmented and less-preserved than other surface collections at PU1. The presence of large quantities of fragmented bone, some burnt, in ashy subsurface deposits suggests that these deposits were *ashoops.* The haphazard nature of the walling meant deposit leached through the wall at various points, but did not continue underneath the larger wall stones, which sat on bedrock.

The *skerm* excavation did not uncover material that dates from the mission period, and other markers suggest a mid-century date from the second post-1830 occupation. It is likely that the *skerm* deposit and recovered material formed the edge of the deflated midden east of the *skerm*, and that the base of the walling sat on bedrock indicates that it may have been constructed prior to the midden's formation.

4.2.3. KP31 Excavation

At KP31, artefact density was highest north of Structure 6 suggesting that these artefacts were discard from the use of the L-shaped *skerm*. A thin, *in situ* ash deposit was exposed downslope from the L-shaped wall and four 1x1m trenches were excavated running due east

and downslope from the *skerm* (Fig. 4.10 & Fig. 4.18). Excavation was primarily to gather material culture related to the domestic use of Structure 6.

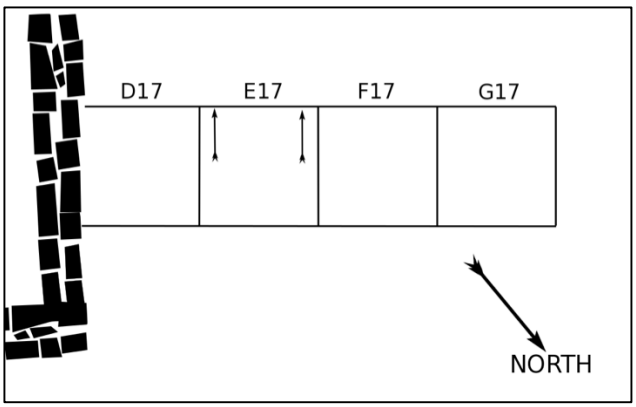


Figure 4.18: Plan of KP31 excavation.

Excavation proceeded in 10cm spits and every bucket was sieved in a 3mm sieve. Squares D17, E17 and G17 were excavated to bedrock. The deposit in G17 was consistent and a compacted orange/red soil with patches of looser, light brown sediment throughout. Spit 1 contained dense roots, and evidence of bioturbation. Artefact density in the top 15cm was low, and increased slightly in the deposit from 15cm down to bedrock, measured at 25cm and consisting of a depleted hard orange/red deposit.

The stratigraphy was uniform across D17 and E17. The layer in Spits 1 and 2 consisted of a compacted red/orange sediment, similar to that found throughout G17 (Fig. 4.19). Artefact density was low and it contained large rocks fallen off the *skerm* wall and extensive bioturbation. Below the compacted red/orange soil was a thin band (3-5cm) of a finer, light grey ashy deposit around 25cm from the surface. None of the fallen rocks extended into this layer and artefact density also increased. Below this layer was a thin band of hard compacted orange/red soil that was sitting on bedrock. Bedrock in both squares was reached at around 35cm from the surface.

The stratigraphy in E17 suggested that the artefact-rich finer, light grey ashy deposit was thinning out as it ran downslope and would have disappeared in F17. For this reason, it was decided to discontinue excavation in F17 after 10cm.



Figure 4.19: Photograph of the southwest section of E17 at the KP31 excavation.

Recovered artefacts include bone pieces, OES shards, and ceramic, glass and metal fragments (Table 4.9). Bone from this excavation was not analysed. Few artefacts were found on the surface. Artefact density increased in Spit 1 of F17 and G17, and the quantity and size of the spilled rocks in D17 and E17 meant few artefacts were recovered from Spit 1 and Spit 2 in these squares. The frequency of ceramic and glass fragments and OES pieces increased in Spit 3 in D17 and E17, which contained the fine, light grey ashy deposit. Artefact density dropped in Spit 4 but OES fragments, ceramic, glass and metal were still present.

Other finds recovered include OES and mussel shell fragments, metal, a glass bead, and LSA lithics (Table 4.9). Fresh water mussel shell fragments were highly fragmented and metal was highly-corroded, non-diagnostic pieces of varying size common in the bottom 20cm of E17.

The finer light grey ashy sediment abutted the base of the walling and was artefact-rich, suggesting that this layer contained ash and material discarded from the L-shaped *skerm* and formed the heart of the midden. None of the stones fallen off the walling extend into the ashy grey deposit and cultural material from the upper 20cm probably dates from when the *skerm* was no longer in use. The upper deposit is a wash of topsoil trapped and compacted by wall collapse from the *skerm* wall.

Material from Spit 3 and possibly spit 4 is associated with base of the *skerm* wall. OES fragments in D17 and E17 were larger and particularly common. Additionally, although not

analysed, bone pieces excavated from the ashy grey layer appeared larger, more complete and better preserved than bone recovered from the upper deposits. On the basis of the ceramic, discussed more completely in Chapter 5, the earliest date for the midden and *skerm* could be the early years of the second European occupation at Werf 1.

Table 4.10: Table showing the MNI and selected weights of excavated material in the KP31 excavation.

Squ.	Spit	OES (g)	Ceramic	Glass	Metal (g)	Other
D17	Surface					
	1 (0-10cm)					
	2 (10-20cm)	5 (1.6)	4		1 (0.7)	3 x lithic
	3 (20-30cm)	25 (9.5)	16	4		Mussel shell
	4 (30cm-Bedrock)	106 (29.9)	4	1	2 (3.3)	
E17	Surface					
	1 (0-10cm)	5 (0.8)	1	1		
	2 (10-20cm)	22 (6.2)	9	4		3 x lithic
	3 (20-30cm)	115 (44.6)	16	10	9 (14.7)	Mussel shell
	4 (30cm-Bedrock)	62 (19)	3		14 (69.7)	Mussel shell
F17	Surface		1			
	1 (0-10cm)	22 (9.4)	18	4		Mussel shell, glass bead
G17	Surface	13 (4.9)	2			
	1 (0-10cm)	5 (2.4)		1		Mussel shell
	2 (10-20cm)	49 (16.5)	11	2		Mussel shell, pipe stem, lithic
	3 (20cm-Bedrock)	49 (15.6)	3	1	1 (2)	2 x lithic

The excavation confirmed that Structure 6 was a domestic dwelling and that waste material was discarded behind the structure and adjacent to the L-shaped *skerm* in a kitchen midden. None of the recovered material clearly demonstrated a non-European presence at Structure 6, although the character of the ceramic, as discussed in the next chapter, is slightly different from those recovered from KP1 and the other two excavations.

4.3. Shovel Test Pits

Four shovel test pits (STPs) were dug at Werf 1. STP1 was situated in the western corner of Room 1 in the house at KP1, STP2 was against the eastern extension of the northern wall of Kraal 1, and STP4 at the southern end of LW3 (Fig. 4.20). STP3 was in the area between KP31 and the Kraal System (Fig. 4.14). Further shovel testing was restricted by a lack of deposit in

the vicinity of Werf 1, as most areas, barring the *vlei*, were exposed bedrock and offered little to no deposit to test.

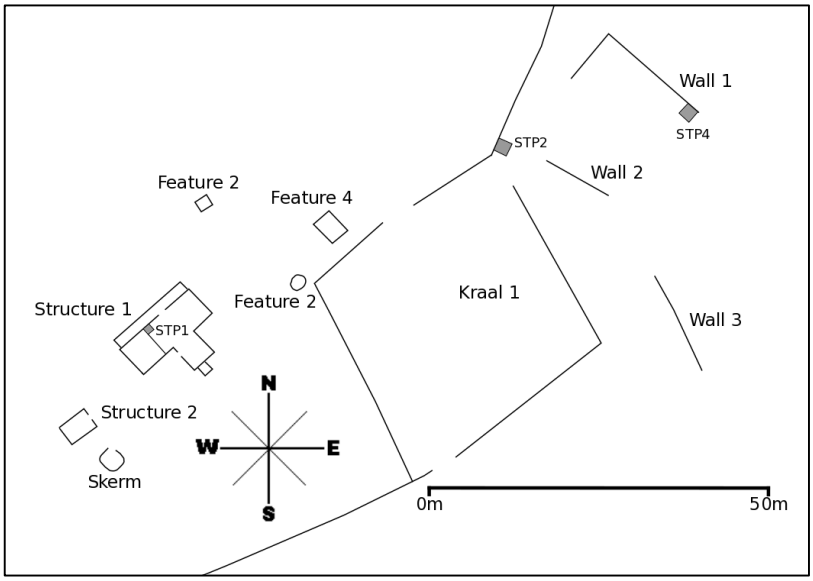


Figure 4.20: Map of KP1 showing the position of Shovel Test Pits (STPs).

STP1, STP2 and STP4 attempted to isolate deposit and archaeology that commented on the mission-period. STP1 was a pit dug at the western corner of Room 1 in the house to expose the foundations of the walling, and test the nature of deposit. Bedrock was reached at about 57cm and exposed the wall base sitting on 5cm of sterile hard orange soil. The top 5cm-7cm of was a fine, red/brown soil containing ceramic, OES fragments and flat glass. The next 8cm down was a much harder and coarser soil that contained no cultural material. Below this layer and continuing for 10cm-15cm was a softer grey sediment, and below this a sterile granular, pebbly orange soil. At 40cm down another fine grey sediment appeared, around 10cm thick and containing some cultural material. This layer sat on 5cm of grainy, sterile orange sediment above bedrock. There was little in the nature of the material finds that suggests mission-period artefacts.

STP2 aimed to test whether deposit had banked against the walling between Kraal 1 and the Kraal System. The nature and position of the low walling in this area suggested that they might have been part of an ephemeral square *kraal* that existed prior to Kraal 1, possibly from the time of the mission station (Chapter 3). Kicherer's (Fig. 3.14) schematic of the mission station also indicated that the mission *kraal* may have been situated in this vicinity. A 1mx1m STP was dug where deposit was considered deepest and bedrock reached at around 30cm. There

was no stratigraphy present and the sediment was a bioturbated clumpy red soil. No material culture was recovered. This suggested that no deposit had banked against the wall from upslope.

STP4 was situated at the northern end of LW3, situated between Kraal 1 and the Kraal System. As at STP1, STP4 aimed to explore the possibility of the mission *kraal* in this area. A 1mx1m square was dug at the northern end of LW3 where deposit appeared substantial. Deposit was around 25cm on its northeast side, thinning to around 20cm at its lowest point and was an orange, granular topsoil throughout. A small amount of faunal remains was recovered, and one fragment of salt-glazed stoneware was found near the surface.

STP3 explored the nature of the deposit in the area between KP31 and the Kraal System (Fig. 4.14). A 0.5mx0.5m pit was dug at an arbitrary spot and every second bucket sieved in a 3mm sieve. A fragment of colourless glass was found on the surface, but no other material culture was recovered. Deposit consisted of around 10-15cm of a fine orange wash sitting on bedrock.

4.4. Conclusion

In summary, the material collection and excavations at Werf 1 gathered a large sample of material culture, including ceramic, glass, metal, gunflints, LSA lithics, OES fragments, OES beads, fresh water mussel shell, waste slag, glass beads and animal bone. Despite frequent mention in the mission documents of various items of material culture (Chapter 2), and evidence from Lichtenstein's sketch (Fig. 3.17) of shared European and non-European living and cultural spaces, no artefacts irrevocably dated to the mission period or comment on the nature of materiality in the mission phase.

This stands in contrast to the nature of the mission provided by the LMS' official correspondence and publications, Kicherer's own descriptions, and contemporary mission literature. The mission period is materially thin and insubstantial, and there is little indication of an organised, efficient mission presence or the "abundance of useful articles" Kicherer (1804: 15) received from Cape Town and Europe. Conceivably, in the gap between the station's closure in 1806 and the reoccupation of the site in the 1830s artefacts may have been scavenged by groups of San in the area, although this is hard to test. Certainly, predatory

San groups were already targeting the station in the years before its closure, and hunter-gatherer Aborigine groups in Australia often reused and recycled discarded material at abandoned missions and sheep stations, as well as sometimes re-inhabiting the abandoned space (Harrison 2003, 2004; Birmingham & Wilson 2010).

The excavations and material collection provided comment on the preliminary chronology suggested by the built environment at Werf 1 and outlined in the previous chapter. A deflated midden is situated in the area upslope and to the south of the house at KP1. Because of its position and the distribution of ceramic, glass, OES and bone fragments in it, the midden probably dates to after the construction of the kitchen (Room 3) in the house. The deposit in the Structure 2 excavations forms part of the midden and indicates that Structure 2 was constructed prior to the midden's formation. The lower levels of the *skerm* excavation at KP1 suggests an *ashoop* that might conceivably pre-date the midden formation, although this is not confirmed by the material culture. It is likely that the midden extended over the *skerm* and that the *skerm* was no longer used after the kitchen was constructed.

Material culture at KP31 was densest at the rear and to the north of Structure 6. Excavation confirmed the presence of a small kitchen midden at the rear of Structure 6 and associated with the attached L-shaped *skerm.* Structure 6 was a domestic dwelling and its inhabitants discarded waste in the area behind the structure. The circularity of Structure 6 suggested a non-European presence at KP31 and although this is not confirmed by the material, further analysis of the ceramic elaborated below indicates a different character to ceramic from KP1. This suggests that Structure 6 may have been a farmworker dwelling from the second post-1830 occupation at Kerkplaats.

The artefacts from KP3 and KP4 are associated with the structures in these areas but do not date them. The European ceramic and glass date from the middle of the century and later. The non-European material is indicative of an earlier date and it is possible that the structures in these areas were recycled and reused in the post-1830 farm phase, possibly by farmworkers.

To further elaborate on site chronology, the focus of the next chapter will be an analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Werf 1. This will also focus on ceramic price, availability and supply, as well as ceramic form and function. Other material recovered from surface collections and excavations at Kerkplaats was not analysed as part of this study.

CHAPTER 5: THE KERKPLAATS CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

In this chapter, the ceramic assemblages from Kerkplaats are described and discussed. As outlined in Chapter 2, the colonial occupation of Kerkplaats starts at the beginning of the 19th century and continued through the century and, consequently, straddles the final years of Dutch and Batavian rule and influence at the Cape and the start of British control. As shown and discussed by Malan (1993), Klose & Malan (2000; 2009) and Malan & Klose (2003), this shift at the Cape is expressed in the decline of Asian imported ceramics and the rapid rise and dominance of mass produced British refined earthenwares. An outline of general ceramic wares and their associated decorative styles is given in Appendix B. Ware types provides a framework upon which the methodology and analysis of the ceramics, and resulting assemblage reports, operates. The description of the ceramic assemblage from each *werf* will focus on quantifying types, assigning form and function, and identifying chronological markers of types and their presence and availability in South Africa, as well as information on pricing and cost.

5.1. The Ceramic Assemblage at Werf 1

A total of 7937 ceramic fragments were recovered from Werf 1 and Werf 2. The majority, 7014 or 88.4%, were recovered from Werf 1. There is a total minimum number of vessels (MNV) of 659, 445 vessels, or 67.5%, coming from Werf 1. These 445 vessels were recovered from controlled pickups and excavations but only 153 (2.2%) pieces came from sealed excavated contexts and the vast majority (92.8%) were found From Pickups 1 to 24 in the vicinity of the T-shaped house (Chapter 3).

5.1.1 Methodology

The methodology used in the ceramic analysis was taken from Klose & Malan (2009: 24-28). The assemblages from each field season were treated marginally differently (see Chapter 4). The ceramic assemblage from the 2016 field season increased the sample size and provided additional chronological information but the large 2015 assemblage provided the minimum number of vessel counts (MNV), and only if a sherd from the 2016 assemblage contributed an entirely new ware-type or decorative style, was it added to the MNV count.

Each artefact from the 2015 assemblage was washed and labelled. The finds from the gridded PU1 (see Chapter 4) were counted and weighed separately before being combined with the rest of the assemblage from the larger pickup areas. They were then sorted by primary ware type and then by decorative technique. Counts were made of every artefact within its decorative group, and rims and footrings were separated to formulate the MNV count. Small fragments with similar styles within a decorative category were grouped together, but could not contribute to additional counts and did provide cross-mends and refits in some cases.

The artefacts from the 2016 assemblage were also washed and labelled, but at no point were the finds physically combined with the 2015 sample, and the total station, KP3, excavations and PU1 finds from 2016 were treated as separate, distinct groups. However, the ceramics found in the larger 2016 pickups at Werf 1, once divided and counted, were added to the totals from the same areas collected in 2015.

Once MNVs were counted, attempts were made to sort each vessel by form and function. Where possible, only one form is assigned, but due to the highly fragmented nature of the ceramics it was difficult to specifically identify the form of smaller hollowware (HW) and flatware (FW) vessels and many hollowware vessels, for example, are identified as either cups *or* bowls. Assigning form for flatware categories is slightly easier, as plates or dishes generally have thicker rims than saucers or small plates. Nonetheless, form categories are not attempted beyond large plate or dish or small plate or dish and are kept quite broad.

5.1.2. Ware Types

The ceramic sherds were first grouped by primary ware types and an MNV estimate for ware types was made. This included Asian porcelain, Asian stoneware, European porcelain, European stoneware, coarse earthenware, tin-glazed earthenware, and refined earthenware (Table 5.1).

European refined earthenware, which includes coloured-bodied ware and clay tobacco pipes, by far made up the majority of vessels at Werf 1 (Table 5.1). This was followed by

European stoneware and then Asian porcelain. The remaining wares individually made up less than 3% of the MNV.

Table 5.1: Werf 1 ware and MNV frequencies (ceramic profile).

	(MNV)	(% MNV)
- Asian porcelain	27	6.1
- European porcelain	5	1.1
- Asian stoneware	4	0.9
- European stoneware	65	14.6
- African earthenware		
- Asian earthenware		
- European-type coarse earthenware	1	0.2
- European tin-glazed earthenware	1	0.2
- European refined earthenware	342	76.9
Total	445	100
Werf 1 MNV=445		

5.1.2.1. White-Bodied Refined Earthenware

This ware category accounted for over three quarters of vessels at Werf 1. It is subdivided into groups by decorative type (Table 5.2). The most common decorative group is slipware, followed by transfer-printed ware, painted, spongeware and modified edge. Transfer-printed ware will be discussed first as it has the most variety in decoration.

Table 5.2: Werf 1 white-bodied REW decorative categories.

	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
Transfer printed	89	26.8	20
Painted	55	16.6	12.4
Print + Paint	1	0.3	0.2
Spongeware	24	7.2	5.4
Slipware	141	42.5	31.7
Modified edge	6	1.8	1.3
Undecorated	16	4.8	3.6
	332	100	74.6
Werf 1 MNV=445			

5.1.2.1.1 Transfer-Printed REW

The transfer-printed decorative category can be further sub-divided into seven different transfer-printed colours: blue, flow blue, black, red, green, brown and purple/mulberry (Table 5.3). Blue-printed is the most common, followed by flow-blue while collectively the other colour groups make up the remaining 22.5%.

Table 5.3: Werf 1 transfer-printed REW decorative categories.

Colour	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
Blue-printed	55	61.8	12.4
Flow blue-printed	14	15.7	3.1
Black-printed	3	3.4	0.7
Red-printed	5	5.6	1.1
Green-printed	6	6.7	1.3
Brown-printed	1	1.1	0.2
Purple/mulberry-printed	5	5.6	1.1
Total	89	100	19.8
Werf 1 MNV=445			

5.1.2.1.1.1. Blue Printed

The blue-printed group is dominant in the Werf 1 sample (over 60% of transfer-printed vessels) (Table 5.3). Of the 55 blue-printed vessels, 35 are hollowware, either cups or bowls. The small size of the fragments made any more specific attribution difficult. The other 20 vessels are flatware. Seventeen vessels are decorated with the Willow pattern, a Chinoiserie style popular throughout the 19th century. Thirteen are flatware plates or dishes, and four are hollowware, probably bowls.

Decorative motifs present on blue-printed flatware vessels include repetitive geometric motifs, floral motifs, and pastoral and scenic views, including a Wild Rose pattern plate that was extremely popular in the second quarter of the 19th century, and used by a number of potters (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 399). It shows a rustic scene with a cottage and two boats on a lake in the foreground, while the Wild Rose name refers to the floral border pattern. Another plate is decorated with a lattice or weave-like pattern on the marly known as the Wicker pattern (Fig. 5.1). No direct reference to this pattern can be found, but it appears at mid-to-late 19th century New Zealand sites (Fraser 2002). One flatware vessel

was printed using the field-dot technique of tightly bunched small circles with white interiors forming the pattern, that was common in the first half of the 19th century (Samford 1997: 23, 24) (Fig. 5.2).

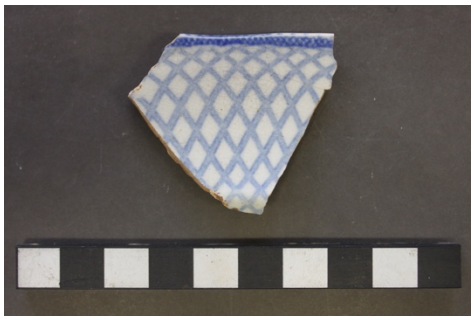


Figure 5.1: Blue transfer-printed REW fragment decorated with the Wicker pattern.

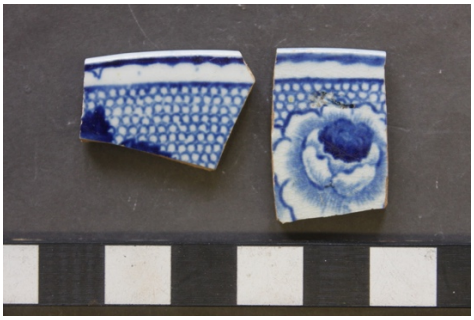


Figure 5.2: Blue transfer-printed REW fragments printed using the field dot technique

A number of hollowware sherds also have floral decorations, and exotic and pastoral views, including scenes of minarets and towers, a fox in a field, a grazing horse, a possible milkmaid, and cows.

5.1.2.1.1.2. Flow Blue Printed

There are 14 vessels in this category (Table 5.3), nine hollowware vessels, including bowls and cups, four flatware vessels, including smaller plates and dishes, and one unidentified vessel. Flow blue patterns primarily consist of floral motifs with geometric borders.

5.1.2.1.1.3. Black Printed

Only three black-printed vessels were identified, including a small plate, a cup or bowl and a shop pot/jar. The shop pot/jar shows printed text: the number 6 above possibly '(pr)oprie(tor/s)', '(a)nd Lo(ndon)' (Fig. 5.3). The other two vessels are decorated with floral motifs on linear border patterns.

5.1.2.1.1.4. Red Printed

Five vessels are red-printed, three unidentified flatware, one plate or dish and one cup or bow. All have floral motifs and repeating linear border decorations.

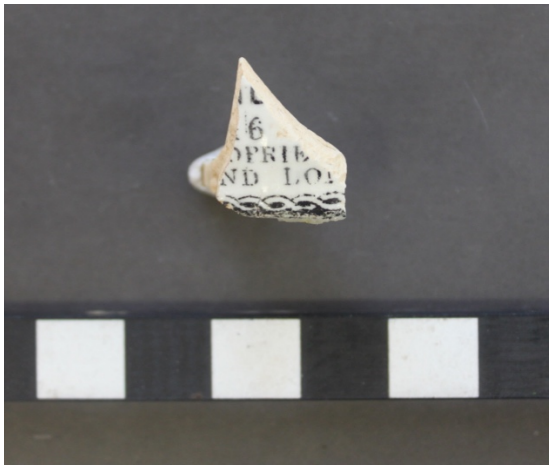


Figure 5.3: Black transfer-printed REW shop pot.

5.1.2.1.1.5. Green Printed

Six vessels are green printed. All are hollowware, including three cups or bowls, one commercial pot or jar, one large bowl or tureen, and one unidentified hollowware form. Two HW vessels have recognizable sheet patterns, namely Fibre, closely related to the Seaweed or Coral patterns, and Shagreen, a Spode or Copeland transfer-printed pattern registered in c. 1834 and produced until the 20th century (Figs. 5.4) (Jewitt 1878: 388; Sussman 1979). One other hollowware form is printed with an unidentified sheet pattern. Other vessels are decorated with floral motifs.

5.1.2.1.1.6. Brown Printed

Only one unidentified hollowware vessel is brown-printed. The pattern is unclear, although one fragment of this vessel possibly shows the arm of a man holding a fishing rod.

5.1.2.1.1.7. Purple/Mulberry Printed

Five vessels are purple/mulberry printed. One is a cup/bowl with an oriental or exotic scene on the outside surface and floral motifs on the interior (Fig. 5.5). There is one small plate or dish and three unidentified hollowware forms. Floral motifs dominate on linear pattern rim decorations.



Figure 5.4: Green transfer-printed REW fragments. The fragments on the left are decorated with the Fibre pattern, and the fragments on the right with the Shagreen pattern.



Figure 5.5: A fragment of a purple/mulberry transfer-printed REW hollowware vessel. The image on the left shows the interior floral decoration. On the right is the exterior decoration.

5.1.2.1.1.8. Forms

The small size of the fragments means vessel form in the transfer-printed category is difficult to determine beyond broad hollowware and flatware categories (Fig. 5.6). Hence, many hollowware forms above are described as 'cups or bowls'. One transfer-printed vessel is adiagnostic and not included.

From Figure 5.6 it is clear that there is almost twice the number of transfer-printed hollowware vessels compared to transfer-printed flatware vessels at Werf 1.

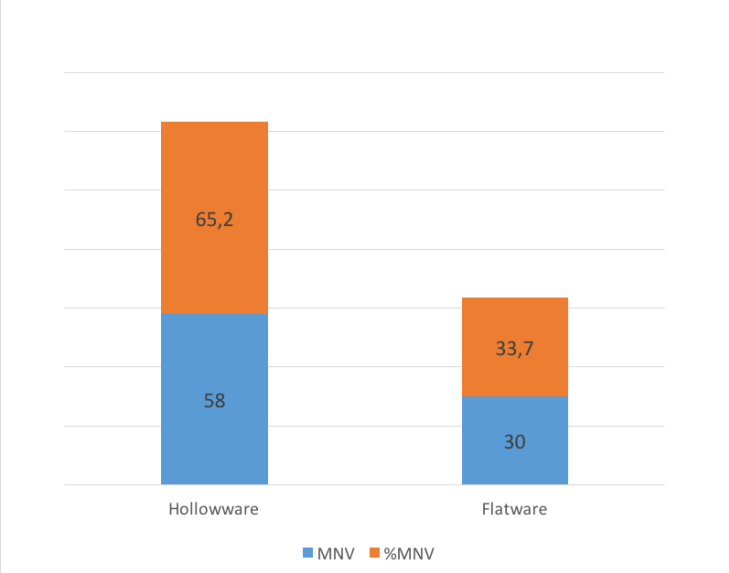


Figure 5.6: A bar graph showing the frequency and percentage frequencies of transfer-printed vessel forms at Werf 1.

5.1.2.1.1.9. Chronology, Price and Availability

Table 5.4 shows the mean dates (peak production) and date ranges for transfer-printed decorative motifs and colours at Werf 1 (Samford 1997). This data provides a rough guide to popular trends in design and production in transfer-printed ware through the 19th century, often reflecting more widespread artistic and cultural revivals and trends. It is worth keeping in mind, however, as Klose & Malan (2000: 55) points out, that these dates are for ceramics found in the United States, and may not be applicable to 19th century British colonies such as the Cape. Nonetheless, they offer a rough guide to the popularity of certain motifs and colours. I discuss the general structure of this decoration and the chronology of the trends, but collate all ceramic chronological indicators and the implications for Werf 1 in the concluding section of this sub-chapter.

The central pattern is the design or motif in the centre of flatware vessels and/or on the sides of hollowware vessels. *Chinoiserie* motifs, such as the Willow pattern, are European interpretations of Chinese or oriental designs. These exotic views show designs of foreign, i.e. non-European, architecture, ruins, and animals, and became popular through Britain's

increasing colonial possession of foreign lands (Samford 1997: 12). Pastoral views show idealized images of rural-based scenes, often containing farmers and farm animals. Floral motifs were common throughout the century and showed flowers and plants either as the central motif, on the border or marly, and often on both. Sheet patterns are similar to wallpaper in that there are no distinct beginning or end points to the main motif. They tend to cover the whole vessel, and are often of floral designs.

Table 5.4: Mean dates and date ranges of transfer-printed ceramics from Werf 1 (from Samford 1997).

		Mean dates (peak production)	Date range (first and last production)
Central Pattern	Chinoiserie	1816 – 1826	1783 – 1873
	Exotic views	1820 – 1842	1793 – 1868
	Pastoral views	1819 – 1836	1781 – 1859
	Central floral	1833 – 1849	1784 – 1869
	Sheet patterns	1826 – 1842	1795 – 1867
Border Pattern	Continuous geometric	1818 – 1829	1784 – 1864
	Continuous floral	1820 – 1836	1784 – 1856
	Continuous linear	1842 – 1858	1820 – 1891
Colours	Dark blue	1819 – 1835	1802 – 1846
	Black	1825 – 1838	1785 – 1864
	Brown	1829 – 1843	1818 – 1869
	Green	1832 – 1850	1818 – 1859
	Red	1829 – 1842	1818 – 1880
	Purple/Mulberry	1834 – 1848	1814 – 1867

Border designs are at the edges of the vessels, often framing the central motif. All the border decorations on the transfer-printed ware from Kerkplaats are continuous designs that run unbroken around the marly of flatware vessels or on the outside rims of hollowware vessels. Geometric motifs show various grid-like patterns of lozenges, honeycombs, lattices and fish roe, and are also commonly found on *Chinoiserie*-style vessels like the Willow pattern. Continuous floral borders show flowers and plants, and linear patterns contain closely spaced concentric lines as a background for discontinuous floral or scroll motifs that frame the central pattern. Through the 19th century there was a growing trend for patterns to become less complex and for the spaces between the central motif and border decoration to increase, so that by the end of the century transfer-printed decoration was commonly limited to the edges of the vessel (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 11).

The colour of the print also has some chronological use. Blue was first developed and the most popular for refined earthenware, followed by black and then by shades of brown, purple, green, red and lavender (Samford 1997: 22) (Table 5.4). Indeed, new colours were developed in reaction to the ubiquity of blue printed wares, so that by the 1830s the popularity of blue was waning (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 142, 145; Samford 1997: 25). Outside of Samford's (1997) sample dates, green, red black, and brown prints were becoming popular by 1829-1830, and slightly later in South Africa (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 145; Malan & Klose 2003: 203). In summary, the peak production dates of the transfer-printed decorations and colours in Table 5.4, all fall between 1815 and 1860.

Flow, or flown, colours, particularly flow blue, developed in the early 1830s. In flow-blue ware, the colours of the print are treated so that they 'run' or 'bleed' into the white spaces around the decoration, forming a halo effect. Flow blue has its own pattern-related chronology where earlier wares had a *Chinoiserie* landscape or floral pattern, while later wares had small non-*Chinoiserie* floral designs, or patterns with floral borders and no central motifs (Samford 1997: 24). In South Africa, flow blue is found in small quantities at mid-to-late 19th century sites (Klose & Malan 2000: 55).

In the beginning of the 19th century, transfer-printed ware was the most expensive tableware and toiletware, according to contemporary Staffordshire price-fixing agreements (Miller 1980: 14; Sussman 1997: 50). Only fancier wares, such as porcelain or black basalt were more expensive (Sussman 1997: 50). Transfer-printed wares are listed as the most expensive in a 1906 US American catalogue, and suggests that the relative price of transfer-printed wares stayed much the same through the century and into the beginning of the 20th (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 33). Using American analogies can be problematic when discussing British colonies of the 19th century, however (see Brooks 2002; Lawrence 2003: 20). Therefore, it is important to note that transfer-printed ware maintained its popularity in Australia, Canada and New Zealand into the 20th century in varied colonial contexts other than in America (Lawrence 2003: 20, 25-26).

In South Africa, transfer-printed ware is dominated by blue-printed designs, particularly the Willow pattern, Asiatic Pheasants, a type of floral design, and the Wild Rose pattern (Klose & Malan 2000: 55). The Willow pattern first appears in South Africa ca, 1810, the Asiatic Pheasants at mid-century and the Wild Rose from ca. 1830 to 1850, roughly corresponding to the dates of their first manufacture. Significantly, all of these patterns were also extremely popular in Britain (see Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 29, 399, 402). This has a number of implications regarding ceramic supply in South Africa, as it suggests that South African consumers were receiving, or choosing, generally popular patterns produced by a number of manufacturers, and few patterns specifically requested or produced for South Africa, as was the case in the US and, to a lesser extent, Australia (Lawrence 2003). Aspects of supply will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

5.1.2.1.2. Painted REW

'Soft' polychrome, 'harsh' chrome, sprig and lined ware are all present in the painted ware assemblage from Werf 1. Chrome colours are most common, and are present on just over 49% of the vessels (Table 5.5). The lined ware sherds are fragments that show only concentric bands and no other painted designs and are the next most common at just under 44%. There is only one sprig painted vessel and only three polychrome painted vessels.

Table 5.5: Werf 1 painted REW decorative categories.

Paint style	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
'Soft' polychrome	3	5.5	0.7
'Harsh' chrome	27	49.1	6.1
Lined only	24	43.6	5.4
Sprig	1	1.8	0.2
	55	100	12.4
Werf 1 MNV=445			

All the vessels in the painted category are hollowware, either cups or bowls. In the first three quarters of the 19th century, however, painted vessels were predominantly teawares, as they were relatively cheap and slipware was the main decoration for bowls, at least in the United States (Miller & Earls 2008). On the other hand, no teacup handles were found at Werf 1, and at least one polychrome vessel is clearly a bowl. Again, the small size of the fragments limits specific vessel form classification but bowl rather than cup is suggested.

5.1.2.1.2.1 Chronology, Price and Availability

Softer, multi-coloured polychrome painted vessels with floral designs are generally more common in the first half of the 19th century, particularly prior to 1830. Miller *et al*. (2000: 13) places the start of their production at 1795 but by ca. 1830, they are replaced by the harsher and 'gaudy' chrome colours, with a dominance of red flowers and black to brown stems. Sprig painted wares were popular from 1835-1870 (Samford 2014: 35).

In terms of pricing, Miller (1980: 4) places painted wares as the second most expensive decorated ceramic type, above shell-edge, slip and spongeware. Only transfer-printed vessels were more expensive. This is probably because of the level of proficiency required by the painters, who needed to be skilful enough to duplicate patterns for matched sets (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 159). On the other hand painted wares have been classified as part of the 'bread and butter' lines of brightly coloured earthenwares "of the cheaper kind" left unmarked by their manufacturers and meant for export (Barker 2001).

In South Africa, bright chrome painted wares are commonly known as '*boerenbont*' and 'Gaudy Dutch' and it is the dominant painted ware in the country until the end of the 19th century (Klose & Malan 2009). They generally take the form of bowls and, to a lesser extent, cups.

5.1.2.1.3. Print & Paint REW

Only one vessel shows a print and paint decoration. The vessel form is unclear.

Print and paint wares are printed vessels with an added painted or enamelled decoration. Transfer-printed styles were particularly common in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but appear at sites throughout the 19th century. Lithograph or decal printed wares with overglaze painting or enamelling are exclusive to late 19th century sites.

Late 19th century ceramic catalogues in South Africa suggest that this combination of decorative styles is relatively expensive, presumably because overglaze painting or enamelling meant the vessel had to be fired a second time at an additional cost to the

manufacturer, or because two decorative techniques might mean payment to two different workers (Miller 1991: 7; Moffett 2010: 61).

5.1.2.1.4. Spongeware

The 24 identified sponged vessels account for 5.4% of the total Werf 1 MNV (Table 5.1). Cut sponge is the most common style in the category (Table 5.6). The sponge or spatter decoration is next most common, followed by the open sponge. Seventeen spongeware fragments were too small or weathered to assign to a specific style and were classified as adiagnostic.

Table 5.6: Werf 1 spongeware REW decorative categories.

Style	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
Sponge/spatter	10	41.7	2.2
Cut	11	45.8	2.5
Open	3	12.5	0.7
Total	24	100	5.4
Werf 1 MNV= 445			

The small size of the fragments made identifying vessel form problematic. Sponged vessels were commonly tea, table and toilet wares. Despite this variety, 23 vessels were classified as hollowware, most likely either cups or bowls. Two sponged pieces looked like fragments of a small doorknob, and may have been a pot or basin handle (Fig 5.7).



Figure 5.7: Two sponged REW fragments. These may have been a jar or basin handle.

5.1.2.1.4.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Each spongeware decorative style has a rough chronology. Sponge or spatter decorations first appear in the 1820s, peak in the 1830s, and remained common until the 1860s (Samford 2014: 36). Cut sponge designs began around 1845 and were popular until the 1870s in America and into the 20th century on European produced wares (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 161; Samford 2002a). The open sponge style was common from ca. 1860 until around 1935.

Spongeware was produced in great quantities by Staffordshire, and Scottish potters throughout the 19th century. It appears to be a whiteware specifically manufactured for export. Turner (1904: 149) mentions spongeware "manufactured in gaudy colours and in dark blue for the West Coast of Africa, North and South America, &c." in the middle of the 19th century, and Kelly (1993: 3) tells a story of a museum in England claiming to have no spongeware on display because it was all made for foreign markets and exported. Barker (2001) confirms this view, placing it with painted and slipware as ware made for export.

By all accounts, it was seen as cheap and vulgar by collectors, ceramic historians and even by the manufacturers themselves (Kelly 1993: 5; Scott 1994: 25). It was an inexpensive, utilitarian ware, and, according to Miller (1991: 6), the cheapest decorated ware between 1850 to 1870. Despite, or perhaps because of this, it was common in the colonies and a signature of Canadian, Australian and South African sites through the 19th century and into the 20th (see Lawrence 2003: 25-27).

5.1.2.1.5. Slipware

The slipware category is by far the largest ceramic category in the Werf 1 assemblage (MNV=141) (Table 5.2). Assigning style or type to slipware vessels has to be treated with caution, as the method in which slipware was decorated means that the decoration on the rim is not necessarily indicative of the style on the remainder of the vessel. For example, a vessel could have banded decorations around the rim and slip-trailing or cabling decoration on the body. However, eighty-eight vessels had sufficient of the profile preserved to confirm, with some certainty, the complete decorative style. This gave confidence that the remaining 53 vessels, identified only on rims with limited body are not from the same

vessels with significant profiles preserved. One slipware vessel identified from 11 pieces is yellowware with a mocha decoration on a white band (Fig. 5.8). It has been included here as a slipware type.



Figure 5.8: A fragment of yellowware slipware with a mocha decoration.

Seven decorative styles are present in the slipware assemblage (Figs. 5.9 - 5.15). These are banding, slip-trailed, cat's eye, cabling, speckling, mocha, and engine-turning/dicing/rouletting. Banding is the most commonly produced, and plainest, decorative style. The coloured band was either the primary decoration, or formed the background to, or bracketed, other slip decorations. The band could be wide or thin, and there could be one or several.

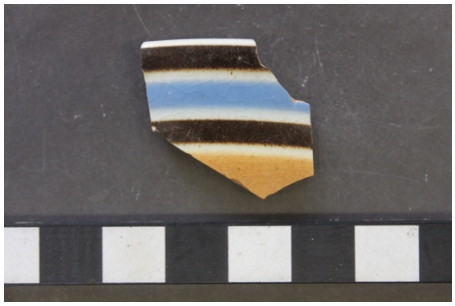


Figure 5.9: Banded slipware.



Figure 5.10: Slip-trailed slipware.

Slip-trailing is when the dyed clay is applied with a slip-bottle, similar in shape to a teapot, leaving a variety of curves, dots, loops, flourishes and 'painted' designs. Banding and slip-trailing can be done with many different colours. The cat's eye style is when a single tri-coloured drop of slip is applied to the vessel surface, spreading into a clean circular design.

Cabling, also known as finger-trailing or worming, is basically a closely overlapping series of distorted cat's eyes. In speckling, common styles on inexpensive mid-century items, specks of slip were dripped onto the coloured slip field, leaving a mottled appearance.

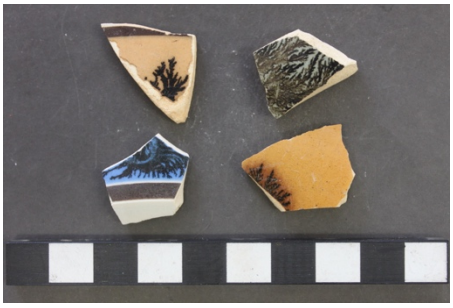


Figure 5.11: Mocha slipware.



Figure 5.12: Engine-turned/diced/ rouletted slipware.

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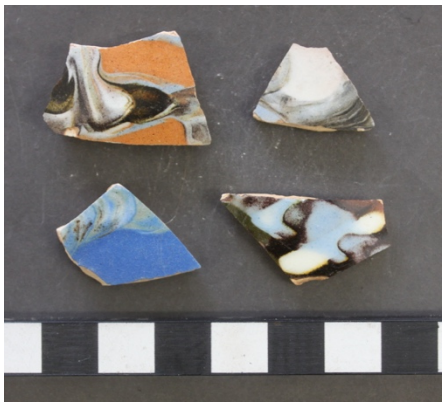


Figure 5.13: Cabling slipware.



Figure 5.14: Speckled slipware.



Figure 5.15: Cat's eye slipware.

The mocha decoration is the most well-known slip design, in fact contemporary records sometimes refer to all slipware as mocha. It is created by applying a slip background slip and then gently touching the surface with an acidic solution or 'tea', often tobacco, coffee, vinegar or hops. The solution subsequently spreads into fern-like, dendritic patterns. By controlling the direction in which the 'tea' flowed and spread or by manipulating it with a brush, the potter could create a variety of designs. Engine-turning, dicing or rouletting are all ways in which the applied slip is cut or removed to create a pattern. These designs are often check blocks, zigzags, chevrons, and flutes, but could be any type of regular, often-repeating, pattern.

Rim decorations such as rouletting, rilling and banding appear with various all-over slip designs. Rouletting on the rim used the same technique described above for all-over rouletting but was focused on the rim. Rilling consists of narrow, pressed grooves continuing around the rim and was made with a sharp-toothed tool. Banding is simply applying a different, normally green, glaze to the rim. The glaze could be applied to smooth, undecorated rims, or to rouletted or rilled edges. A green glaze is also sometimes painted over rouletted and rilled rims. Nine vessels (MNI=31) had additional rim decorations. All were covered in a greenish glaze, and showed some variety of herringbone, double herringbone, rilling or chevron motifs.

In the sample of 88 vessels, banded decorations were by far the most common decorative style (52%) (Fig. 5.16). Cabling is the next most common style (17%), followed by slip-trailed (15%), mocha (5%), engine-turned (5%) and cat's eye (1%). Nine vessels have two types of applied decoration. Five had a combination of cabling and banding, one with cabling over speckling and one with an engine-turned motif with speckled bands. Two vessels had cabling designs with additional rim decorations.

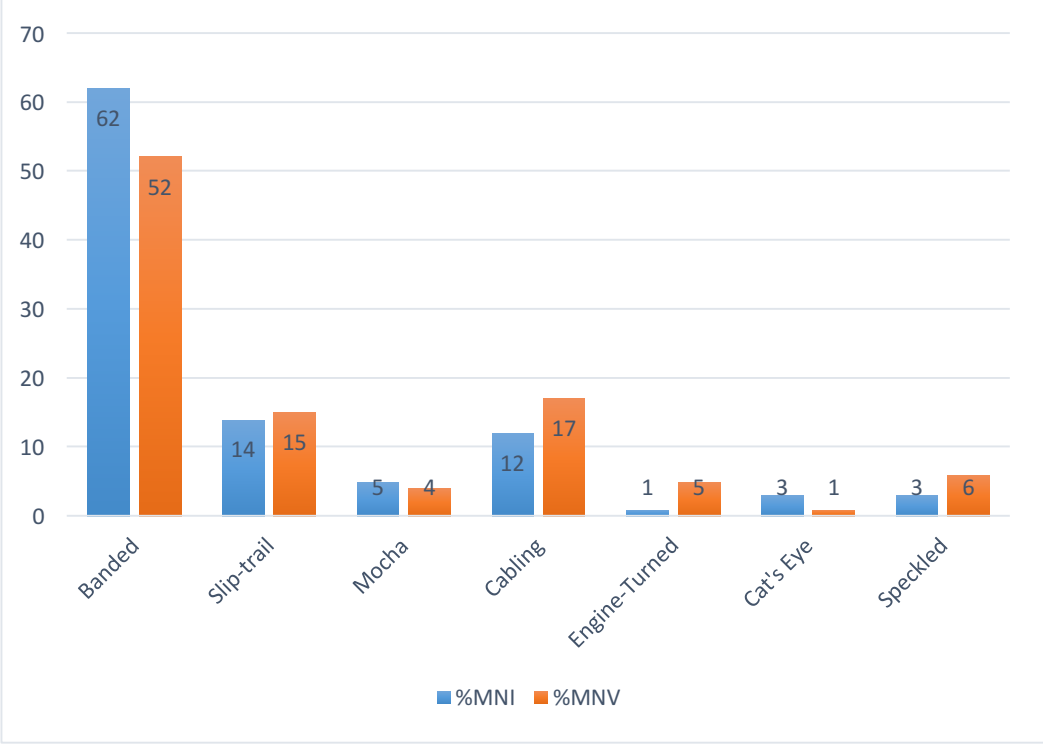


Figure 5.16: Frequency of decorative styles in a sample of slipware (n=88).

To further test the frequency of decorative styles, a sample of 1053 decorated slipware body fragments from pickups 1 to 24 were sorted by decorative style and counted.

The frequency of each decorative style on these fragments is similar to that shown in Figure 5.16. This confirms that the banded style is the most common decoration, even on vessel fragments not used for the MNV count. This popularity has chronological implications that will be discussed at the end of this section.

Of the 141 slipware vessels from Werf 1, 139 (98.6%) are bowls. Only two vessels appear to be mugs or jugs. These two vessels have noticeably thicker rims, and one base fragment has a snapped handle attachment above a stepped foot with a flat resting point.

These slipware bowls come in two shapes, hemispherical, or 'common shape', and London shape. London shape bowls have a ridge or bevel roughly three-quarters down the exterior surface, giving it a carinated appearance. Decoration on London-shape bowls always occurs above the bevel and not below. The presence of London-shape bowls has chronological implications as this shape was only commonly produced after 1820 (Miller 2011: 10-11). Only nine fragments clearly indicate a hemispherical shaped bowl. None of these were counted as part of the MNV as associated rims could not be matched. It is highly probable that all the counted slipware bowls are London-shaped, as there are at least 146 London-shape bevel fragments in the assemblage that also did not form part of the MNV count. Clearly, the London-shape is the dominant profile.

5.1.2.1.5.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Slipware is the dominant whiteware type in the Werf 1 assemblage and for this reason it is worth examining its history in some detail.

As with other decorated whitewares, stylistic shifts have chronological implications. Banding, the most common slip decoration, dates between 1797 and 1890. Mocha decorations have a similar range and are described in documentary sources dating from 1795 until 1895 (Sussman 1997; Miller *et al*. 2000: 12). A specific tool is needed to create slip-trailed, cat's eye and cabled decorations, and, according to Sussman (1997: 49), this

appeared in 1833. However, there is a possibility that more rudimentary tools capable of creating these designs were available earlier.

The chronological indicators provided by decorative styles in slipware are relatively broad, and, furthermore, pieces with makers marks are rare. There are, however, certain trends in use of colour, rim decoration and bowl shape that are helpful. Earlier wares generally show more 'earthy' colours, such as light rust, chestnut brown, tan, ochre yellow, and grey (Sussman 1997: 6; Carpentier & Rickard 2001). Wares produced from 1770 to 1840 often had green rouletted bands at the rim, and these very rarely appear on vessels that post-date 1850 (Carpentier & Rickard 2001).

London-shaped bowls were introduced c. 1807 and dominated bowls shapes thereafter, although the hemispherical form was not completely eclipsed and can be found at later sites (Carpentier & Rickards 2001). The two mugs or jugs found at Werf 1 are anomalies, as their production became less frequent through the 19th century, particularly so for mugs (Sussman 1997: 70). The frequency of bowls overall is not unusual for slipware, and their high presence at Werf 1 might be because they were multi-purpose forms that had a variety of uses. I return to this issue when I discuss the tableware component of probate inventories in chapter 6.

Sussman (1997: 57-76) addressed 19th century slipware chronology by examining a sample of 775 slipware fragments from 25 Canadian and American sites. Her sample included creamwares, pearlwares and whitewares, each of which chronologically overlap. Overall, the largest differences observed was in post-1830 whiteware, and pre-1830 cream and pearlware. A greater variety of decorative styles was found in creamware and pearlware than whiteware. Sixty percent of her whiteware was dominated by banded designs and 50% of her sample was London-shape bowls. Slip-trailed, cabled and mocha styles made up around 6% to 10% each, with cat's eye and diced/engine-turned less than 4%. Furthermore, her post-1830 whiteware sample contained fewer rim decorations, fewer cabled pieces, and fewer pieces with more than one kind of decoration (Sussman 1997: 65).

Sussman (1997: 65-67) concludes that later slipware increased in simplicity and uniformity of decoration and design. Decorative features that required more individualised labour and/or more skill to achieve, such as dual decoration and decorative rims, decreased in frequency through the century, as increasing mass production of machine made banded styles, particularly in blue, increased. This is reflected in the ubiquity of simple banded decorations at later sites (see also Miller 1991: 7). The Werf 1 sample also reflects the later dates of increased simplicity.

This trend was also a consequence of changes in the market and the role of slipware in households. As the range of other decorated whiteware increased, particularly after 1840, slipware became strictly defined as a cheap, utilitarian ware suitable for taverns and cottages, with no role in formal dining and purchased only by those who required the most necessary items. Bowls, in this regard, were particularly suitable, as they were jack-of-all-trade forms that did not have specific functions and Sussman (1997: 53) finds no mention in contemporary sources of bowls linked to precise uses.

In terms of cost, between slipware's first appearance in the 1770s, until at least 1871, it was, along with spongeware, the second cheapest tableware. Only plain, undecorated creamware or whiteware was cheaper (Sussman 1997: 50; 53). Slipware was part of a range of whiteware commonly exported from Staffordshire to foreign markets and Africa in particular and Charles Dickens, on a visit to a ceramic factory in 1852, noted that the mocha ware at the factory was a "common crockeryware…exported to Africa and used in cottages at home" (Dickens 1852: 10 in Sussman 1997: 53). Barker (2001) also mentions it as unmarked ware bound for export from the middle of the 19th century.

In South Africa, slipware also appears to have been a cheap tableware. It was one of the primary forms that entered South Africa in the beginning of the 19th century when under British colonial rule, and its popularity lasted throughout the century. Indeed, Malan & Klose (2003: 207) emphasis the large amount of slipware *kommetjie* bowls found at most Cape sites in the second half of the 19th century.

5.1.2.1.6. Modified Edged REW

There are 17 edged ware fragments, representing six vessels in the Werf 1 assemblage. Five are flatware, probably plates or dishes, while one is indeterminate.

Three plates have the 'classic' shell-edge pattern of a scalloped rim, with impressed curved lines painted in blue (Fig. 5.17). One plate shows the same scalloping and curved lines but is unpainted. One plate has unpainted, impressed dot and an acanthus motif and a scalloped rim (Fig 5.18). The adiagnostic vessel has no marly decoration, but a scalloped rim with blue paint on a rim margin.



Figure 5.17: Modified edge REW shell-edge pattern.



Figure 5.18: Modified edge REW dot-and-acanthus pattern.

5.1.2.1.6.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Miller & Hunter (1990 in Miller *et al*. 2000: 3) have created a useful chronology for edged wares based on the style and rim decoration of bisque fired waster sherds from Staffordshire. The earliest recognized design, the Rococo-style, dates from the end of the 18th century, while plainer unmoulded and unscalloped styles date to the end of the 19th century.

Using Miller & Hunter's (in Miller *et al*. 2000:3) guidelines, the three 'classic' shell-edge plates from Werf 1 and the one unpainted version, were most popular between 1813 and 1834 (Miller & Hunter (in Miller *et al*. 2000:3) call this design 'bud motif'). The dot-and-acanthus, classified as an embossed pattern with scalloping, peaked between 1823 and 1835. The unidentified vessel cannot be dated.

Blue paint was the first colour used to decorate shell-edge patterns at the end of the 1700s, followed not long after by green paint. By the 1830s edges were also painted in brown, purple and pink, but blue and green remained the most popular colours.

Early edged-ware vessels came in all forms, and were often marketed and sold as complete dinner services to primarily middle class consumers (Gerth 2011: 7). As the 19th century progressed, however, vessels showing typical shell-edged decorations were limited to plates and platters, and Gerth (2011: 7-8) points out that these forms were popular among all classes and all population groups in America, as likely to be found in New York parlours as Native American burials, or western frontier farmsteads as slave quarters, particularly prior to 1850 (see also Lees & Majewski 1993; Kwas 2009).

The situation may have been similar in South Africa, where edged wares, particularly blue painted, are archaeologically common from the 1780s to the end of the 19th century (Klose & Malan 2009: 29). In the Cape specifically, underglaze blue shell edge ware was the most common tableware between 1810 and the 1830s, diminishing somewhat through time (Malan & Klose 2003: 199-200; Klose & Malan 2009: 29). At least in the United States, edged ware vessels were the cheapest English earthenware with colour decoration during the middle of the century (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 151; Gerth 2011: 7).

5.1.2.1.7. Undecorated Whiteware

Any fragment of refined earthenware that did not show any type of decoration was placed in the undecorated whiteware category, resulting in a large sherd count (n=1319). Despite this, the vessel count was only 16 and most certainly reflects that a large number of the plain fragments actually come from decorated vessels. Of the 16 vessels, nine were either bowls or cups, and seven were flatware, most likely plates or dishes.

There was a large disparity between undecorated whiteware bases or footrings (MNI=338) and undecorated whiteware rims (MNI=122). Only the rims were considered for the MNV count, as undecorated bases most certainly came from vessels with decoration elsewhere on the body. For example, nearly all slipware bowls are undecorated at and around the base, and edged-ware plates generally are decorated only around the rim. Undecorated

bases/footring fragments from hollowware (MNI=272) noticeably outnumbered flatware footring fragments (MNI=66).

The majority of hollowware footring shapes and profiles matched those of London-shaped bowls. This suggests they may have belonged to slipware bowls, nearly all of which were probably in this shape. Furthermore, Miller (2011: 11) states that undecorated London-shape bowls were very rarely produced, and that painted, enamelled, printed and slipped bowls are far more commonly found. Several footrings had profiles similar to double curve shape bowls, which are similar in shape to the London type but with a more pronounced ridge at the bevel (see Miller 2011: 12). However, no body fragments were recovered that had double curve body profiles. Some of the footrings could conceivably have belonged to London-shaped teacups, but in the absence of handles, this is unlikely.

5.1.2.1.7.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Undecorated whitewares, because of the absence of decoration, were cheaper to produce, and, subsequently, cheaper for the consumer. Undecorated cream-coloured wares appear in the early to mid-19th century Cape sites (Klose & Malan 2000: 55). Undecorated wares, particularly heavier ironstone types, became more common later in the century, as expanding markets and mass production drove the need for an inexpensive ware type produced in large amounts. This is particularly evident at American sites, and although ceramics in British colonies were generally colourful throughout the century, it is possible that there was a 'spillover' of American-targeted undecorated whitewares into the Cape in the latter half of the century (see Lawrence 2003; Hayes 2007: 94-95).

5.1.2.2. Tin-glazed Earthenwares

There are twelve fragments of tin glazed earthenware from Werf 1 (MNV=1). A number of fragments that had lost the glaze due to weathering were identified on the colour and body texture of glazed sherds. Five fragments show a horizontal blue banded decoration and suggest a jar, pot or basin with a pronounced indented neck or everted rim (Fig. 5.19). Seven fragments are unglazed for the reasons mentioned above. The everted rim suggests that the vessel may be an apothecaries' pot. The indent below the rim would have been used to tie down the lid or cap.



Figure 5.19: Fragments from a tin-glazed earthenware vessel.

5.1.2.2.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Tin glazed ware is an early ceramic type, originating in the Middle East in the 15th century and forming an important part of 16th, 17th and 18th century ceramic production (Hume 1969: 204. See also Miller *et al*. 2000: 11). Towards the end of the 18th century, it was gradually replaced by Chinese porcelain and English refined cream and pearl wares, mainly because these later wares were stronger and less likely to crack and break (Schrire & Klose 2015: 181). Additionally, white salt-glazed wares, developed in the second quarter of the 18th century, were lighter, more elegant and of better quality than tin-glazed wares, and its popularity, along with the introduction of creamware in the 1740s and 1750s, contributed to the decline of tin-glazed ceramic (Klose 1997: 55). The production of tin-glazed wares appears to have dropped significantly in the 19th century. The *Terminus Post Quem* list in Miller *et al.* (2000: 11) has only the production of pedestal-footed ointment pots continuing into the 19th century, and only until 1830. Subsequently, where tin-glazed ware persisted, it was as toiletware, and not for kitchen, table or teaware, and even then in diminishing amounts.

Decorated tin-glazed ware was often painted in blue or polychrome designs, and there is a rough chronology to decorative styles (see Miller *et al*. 2000: 11). Decorations occurring in

the last quarter of the 18th century include Oriental landscapes, dot-and-diaper borders, plain wares, scratched decorations, and painted rims.

In 17th century South Africa, Delft tin-glazed earthenwares are present at most Cape sites. However, tin-glazed earthenwares became increasingly rarer in the 18th century, as colonists, tired of the weak, easily chipped glaze, took advantage of the VOC's access to the Asian market and Asian porcelains (Klose 1997: 13). This occurred prior to the replacement of tin-glazed wares by creamware in Britain and other colonies (Klose 1997: 13; 38). Ultimately, tin-glazed earthenware forms only a minor part of Cape ceramic assemblages in the late 18th and 19th centuries (Schrire & Klose 2015: 181, 183).

5.1.2.3. Unidentified Whiteware

Fragments in this category were either too damaged/weathered or too small to confidently place in a decorative group. As the majority of the ceramic fragments were recovered from surface collections, damage from the elements and/or through trampling meant many pieces were either too small or had lost their glaze and decoration. A total of 455 fragments were not positively placed in a decorative category and made up the unidentified group.

5.1.2.4. Coloured-Bodied REW

Only teapot ware is present in the assemblage (MNI=9, MNV=4). Four further fragments are light blue-bodied with a matching light blue glaze (MNV=1). It is possible that these are tinted-bodied wares, but the colour is stronger than a tint would suggest, and there is no sign that the paste was ever white. Subsequently, a standalone sub-category, blue-bodied ware, was created for these fragments.

The teapot ware vessels comprise of one lid, possibly for a teapot, and three cups. One cup has a moulded dot decoration on a dark brown band below the rim. The rest of the vessel is a lighter sandy-brown colour (Fig. 5.20).

One vessel (MNI=18) is European red-bodied earthenware (Fig. 5.21). It has white slip on the inside and glazed, and is likely to be from an English kitchenware bowl, dish or milk pail.



Figure 5.20: Fragment of teapotware showing a moulded decoration below the rim.



Figure 5.21: Fragments from a European red-bodied earthenware vessel. This vessel was probably a milk pail.

One yellowware vessel is classified as slipware and forms part of that analysis (Fig. 5.8).

5.1.2.4.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Red-bodied earthenwares with an interior white slip were common vessels for milk-processing and dairying activities in England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In South Africa these vessel types are often referred to as milk pans, and although more common in earlier 19th century households, were still being produced and sold as late as 1880 (Klose & Malan 2000: 55).

Teapotware and tinted-bodied ware are fairly similar, and are both related to an earlier coloured-bodied ware – Jackfield or blackware. Blackware is a red-bodied ceramic with a thick black glaze, used most often for teaware, and popular in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Teapotware is related to blackware, with more variation in the colour of the body, from dark red to buff, and with lighter brown glazes. Tinted-bodied ware is almost an extension of teapotware, where a refined white body is tinted or dyed various shades, often pale blue, green and yellow. Both of these were primarily used for teaware and were common in the second-half of the 19th century and into the 20th.

5.1.2.5. European Coarse Earthenware

One vessel (MNI=3) is a clear-glazed, red earthenware hollow form. The sherds are highly fragmented and its specific form is unclear. This vessel could be VOC pottery because the majority of coarse earthenware found on late 17th, 18th and early 19th century sites is VOC pottery, made at the Cape from 1666 to ca. 1790 (Klose & Malan 2009: 15). Taking into account the character of the larger ceramic assemblage, however, this vessel could also be British coarse red earthenware.

5.1.2.6. European Porcelain

Compared to British REW, there is little European porcelain at Werf 1 (MNV=5, MNI=56) and all of it is undecorated. However, porcelain was rarely undecorated, (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 128) and consequently, decorated fragments were simply not recovered. The MNV was calculated from rim counts, and represents three bowls or cups and two flatware vessels, possibly saucers. One may be from a children's tea set.

5.1.2.6.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

In the first half of the century, porcelain appears to be mainly associated with elite households and is uncommon at most Cape Town sites (Klose 1997: 136-150, 159; Klose & Malan 2000: 54). Bone china was the primary British porcelain produced for export, and, post-1850, became cheaper and more widely available, however still more expensive than most refined earthenwares (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 115; 129; Kwas 2009: 55). This may be because it was one of the few wares not advertised by decoration type, but by ware type (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 105). In other words, English porcelain's selling point was the

fact that it was English porcelain, suggesting there value derived from the ware type as opposed to the decoration type. This is evident in South African late 19th century trade catalogues, where more expensive wares are described as 'fine china' and 'best English china', while cheaper wares are simply described as 'earthenware' or 'china' (Moffett 2010: 49).

5.1.2.7. European Stoneware

European stoneware is the second largest ware category after refined earthenwares (Table 5.1). All European stoneware vessels (MNV=65) are hollowware, primarily pots, jars and bottles.

Stoneware fragments were initially divided by glaze type, either salt, liquid, salt and liquid, or unglazed. Liquid glazed vessels are glazed all-over. Vessels that had a combination of salt and liquid glazes, for example a liquid glazed interior and salt-glazed exterior, were placed in the salt + liquid category. Fragments that were too small or were damaged were placed in an unidentified group. Within each glaze, fragments that showed similar colour and texture, both on the exterior and interior, and with similar paste and bodies were grouped together and counted as one vessel.

Attempts were also made to group the stoneware by provenance. This was difficult as many fragments were small and/or damaged. Furthermore, the popularity and sheer number of stoneware vessels in the 19th century meant that attributes, that might indicate specific provenance, are shared by many vessels from different production centres. For example, rilling on the interior surface of stoneware vessels, created by potters' fingers, is traditionally a feature of German made mineral water jugs (Klose & Malan 2009: 17). Yet British made stoneware vessels do not always have smooth interior surfaces and an absence of rilling. Nonetheless, where a good idea of form was suggested and where characteristic features were more positively identified, vessels can be assigned a provenance.

Salt-glazed vessels accounted for 83.1% of the stoneware MNV count (Table 5.7). Combined, the liquid and liquid + salt groups made up 15.4% and there is only one unglazed vessel. All are hollowware forms.

Table 5.7: Werf 1 European stoneware categories.

	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
Salt-glazed	54	83.1	12.1
Liquid-glazed	5	7.7	1.1
Salt + liquid glazed	5	7.7	1.1
Unglazed	1	1.5	0.2
Total	65	99.9	14.6
Werf 1 MNV=445			

Of the salt-glazed vessels, 22 were provisionally classified as German. This included one German or Rhenish brown stoneware (Fig. 5.22) and 15 mineral water or 'gin' bottles. The remaining six German vessels are storage pots or jars. Thirty-two salt-glazed vessels are British. This includes one English brown vessel (Fig. 5.23), six ink pots and two blacking pots. The remaining 23 vessels are British commercial storage jars or pots, cheaply made ware for commercially produced food, drink and household products.

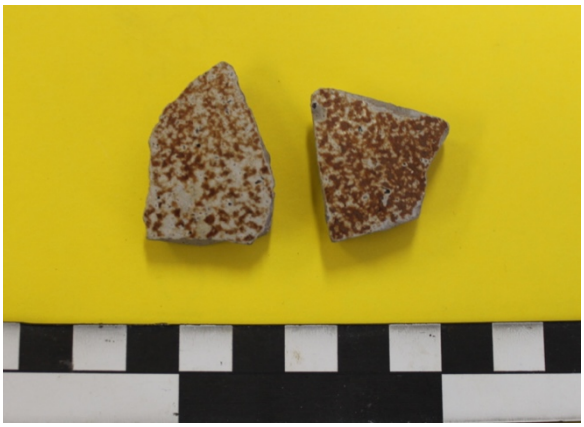


Figure 5.22: Fragments from a Rhenish (German) brown stoneware vessel.

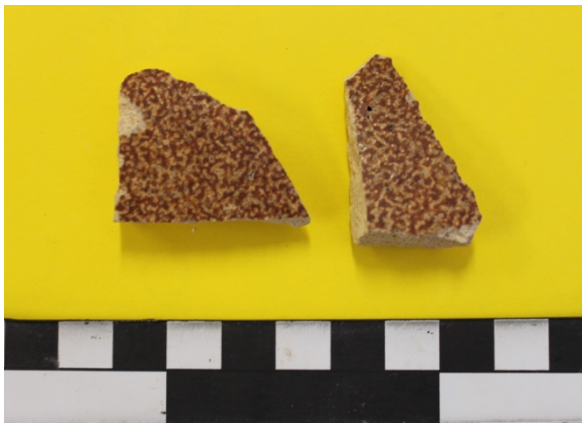


Figure 5.23: Fragments from an English Brown stoneware vessel.

Rhenish (German) brown stoneware in South Africa is commonly seen in the form of *Bellarmine* or *Bartmann* jugs (see Jordan 2015). They are either undecorated or show an applied male face on the neck as well as stylized medallions or rosettes on the body. Their paste is buff to dark grey and less grainy than English brown. The vessel from Werf 1 appears undecorated.

The mineral water bottles are in a variety of colours including red, buff, brown, and grey. All have rilling on the interior surface and most have an unglazed coloured slip on the inside. Two vessels have associated rim fragments and one has the characteristic shoulder lug.

Two German mineral water vessels are marked with an incomplete etched or stamped seal on the shoulder. The one shows the letters 'LT' with a part of a circular border (Fig 5.24). The seal shows a crowned, climbing lion facing left, inside a circle of letters - 'SEL' (Fig. 5.25). The 'LT' and 'SEL' probably forms part of the word 'Selters', a common mark on German mineral water bottles (Krivor *et al*. 2010: 137). Normally, these bottles would also show the well number from which the water was collected and the town from which they were shipped. These marks are missing from these examples. Bottles with similar lion marks had 'Herzogthum Nassau' stamped under the seal, and it is possible that this bottle had the same (Cook 2012: 161). A further mineral water vessel has an unclear mark stamped on its base. This could be either the bottle volume or possibly a batch number.



Figure 5.24: Part of a stamped/etched seal on a salt-glazed German mineral water bottle.

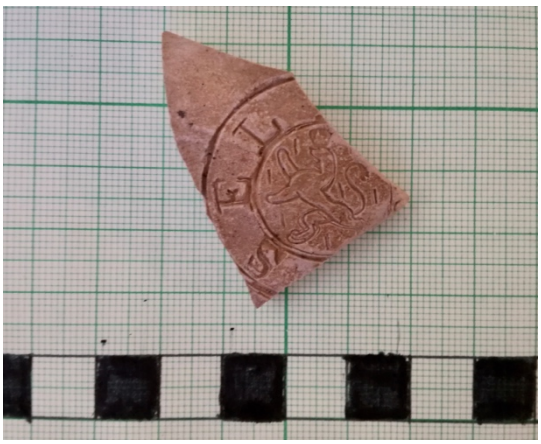


Figure 5.25: Part of a stamped/etched seal of a crowned, climbing lion on a German mineral water bottle.

The body of the English brown stoneware is light grey to buff coloured, and the paste is relatively grainy compared to the German brown (Fig. 5.22). The surface is covered with a speckled brown slip and undecorated. The six inkpots are all brown salt-glazed, suggesting they contained blue ink, and had bead rims (Moffett 2010: 69). Blacking jars held stove blacking or grease. The two blacking vessels here are also brown.

Three salt-glazed British commercial stoneware vessels contained etched, stamped or embossed marks on their bodies. One mark is unclear, but two show incomplete text. The first has 'WALS(H)' (Fig. 5.26) and the other has '-DD' above '(LON)DON' (Fig. 5.27), both stamped on the vessel body. There is no detail on these marks but are likely manufacturer or shop marks indicating the trademark, or name of the shop or town where they were produced (Klose 1997: 50).



Figure 5.26: Marked fragment of British salt-glazed commercial stoneware. The mark shows 'WALS-".



Figure 5.27: Marked fragment of British salt-glazed commercial stoneware. The mark shows '-DD' above '-DON'.

The ten salt + liquid and all-over liquid glazed vessels are British commercial ware and were either storage or preserve jars, or bottles. Two liquid-glazed vessels have impressed horizontal line decorations on the shoulder, and one has '-ING' above '–TLE' marked on the body. The single unglazed vessel is also a British made storage pot or jar.

5.1.2.7.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

Salt glazed stoneware was first produced in Germany during the 16th century and in bulk in England by the mid-1700s. German salt-glazed stoneware, in the form of Rhenish (German) brown Bellarmine and Bartmann jugs, are common on 18th century sites in South Africa. English brown salt-glazed was developed in the late 17th century and used primarily as drinking vessels throughout most of the next century (Hume 1969: 113; Samford 2014: 15). However, it is not found in South Africa in the same numbers as their German counterparts. Indeed, 18th century stoneware in the Cape is primarily German (Klose 1997: 49). Nonetheless, these two vessels are possibly two of the earliest at Werf 1.

It is only at the end of the 18th century that British salt-glazed stoneware begins to replace Rhenish (German) brown and other German stoneware. Klose (1997: 49) suggests that this was almost a complete replacement, and that nearly all commercial stoneware at Cape sites dating to the late 18th and 19th century were British-produced. German salt-glazed mineral water or 'gin' bottles are one of the only German stoneware that continue into the 19th century in the Cape (Klose & Malan 2000: 51).

Salt-glazed German mineral water bottles begin to appear in South Africa in increasing numbers from the second half of the 18th century, and remained common until around the middle of the 19th century (Klose 1997: 13, 155; Klose & Malan 2000: 51). Bottled mineral water was considered to have therapeutic and health-giving properties. They were exported in large consignments from Germany to many British colonies (see Krivor *et al*. 2010; Cook 2012). Both vessel shape and colour changed over time, although the small lugs on the shoulder of the vessel were always present and the inside of the vessels usually showed rilling and a coloured slip. Early bottles were rounded, squatter and coloured buff to white. After 1750 the form became more bullet-shaped, and after 1780 brown became the dominant colour (Krivor *et al*. 2010: 139). Post-1800 bottles are more cylindrical and by the second quarter of the century had vertical sides (Krivor *et al*. 2010: 139). The lion 'Selters' mark described above was used on mineral water bottles dating from 1836-1866 (Cook 2012: 161).

Salt-glaze was the dominant glaze on utilitarian stoneware for most of the 19th century (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 110; 116; Jordan 2015: 165). In South Africa, British salt-glazed stoneware, often called British commercial stoneware, is a feature of almost all 19th century Cape sites (see Klose & Malan 2000: 54). The vessels took on many forms and shapes, depending on what was being stored, and were often stamped or impressed with the manufacturers' name, product, and/or trademark.

British commercial ware includes later liquid-glazed vessels. The first liquid glaze (Bristol glaze) for stoneware was developed in about 1835, although earlier salt-glazed vessels often had greenish lead glazes on the interior. All-over, high fired liquid glazes appeared in Britain

ca. 1860, and became more popular towards the end of the century, as a smooth liquid glazes allowed vessels to be cleaned and re-used. These liquid glazed vessels are generally all British commercial pots or jars dating to the second-half of the 19th century (Klose 1997: 49; Hildyard 2005: 222).

5.1.2.8. European Clay Tobacco Pipes

Four stem fragments from white clay tobacco pipes were recovered (MNV=4). None are marked or decorated. They have average bore diameters of 1.94mm and an average maximum thickness of 7.14mm.

5.1.2.8.1. Chronology, Price and Availability

In South Africa, pre-19th century clay pipes appear to be mainly Dutch made (see Markell *et al*. 1995: 25). They are common on early Dutch and VOC sites, and tobacco itself was popular in barter between European and indigenous Khoesan throughout the contact period (see Schrire *et* al. 1990; Sampson 1993: 2-6). Like with other ceramics, the start of British occupation in the 19th century meant British made clay pipes begin to replace those of Dutch manufacture. In the 19th century, tobacco was still a useful commodity and a feature of a number of rural and urban sites, but are rarely found in 20th century contexts (Gojak & Stuart 1999).

5.1.2.9. Asian Porcelain

Asian ginger jars (coarse marketware) make up the majority of the Asian porcelain category at Werf 1 (MNV=21). There are also three other coarse marketware vessels and three Chinese export porcelain vessels (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Werf 1 Asian porcelain wares.

		MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 1)
Coarse Marketware	Ginger Jars	21	77.8	4.7
	Other	3	11.1	0.7
Export		3	11.1	0.7
Total		27	100	6.1
Werf 1 MNV=445				

The other coarse marketware vessels at Werf 1 include two underglaze blue painted dishes and one vessel with an overglaze red enamelled decoration in an unidentified flatware form (Fig. 5.28). The decoration on all three is crude and simple. Both the blue painted vessels are biscuit-fired at the base, and one is also unglazed on the base interior. The body colour of all three is a creamy grey.

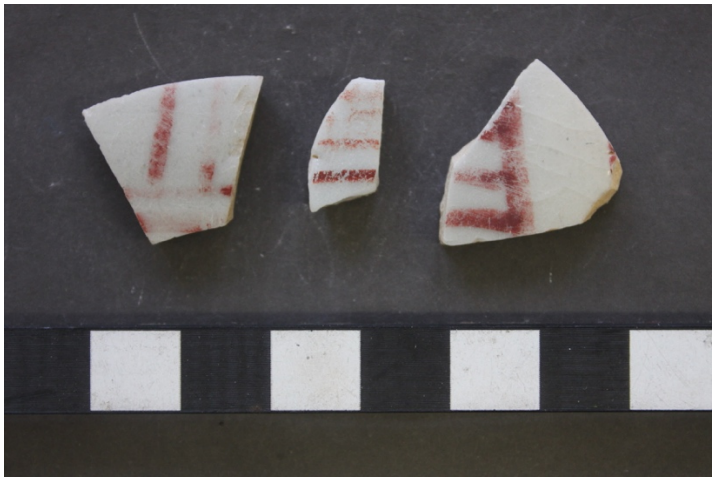


Figure 5.28: Fragments from a coarse Asian marketware vessel decorated with an overglaze red enamel.

There are three fine Chinese export porcelain vessels in the Asian porcelain assemblage. All three are fine bodied, translucent and thin with painted cobalt blue decoration under the glaze. The specific form is difficult to identify on two of the vessels, but all three are hollowware, with two vessels most likely small cups or bowls. These bowls both have identifiable rim decorations. One has rows of repeating geometric motifs associated with the *Shou* central motif, and the other has a possible *Nanking* or *Canton* border decoration (Figs. 5.29 & 5.30).

The final Chinese export porcelain vessel is a small cup or bowl decorated on both the interior and exterior surfaces. The exterior pattern on the two rim fragments appears to be a thick cloudy blue band, but due to the small size of the piece this 'band' may extend all over the outside surface and consequently, cannot be classed as *Canton*. The interior pattern shows two geometric motifs that look like crudely drawn flying birds (Fig. 5.31).

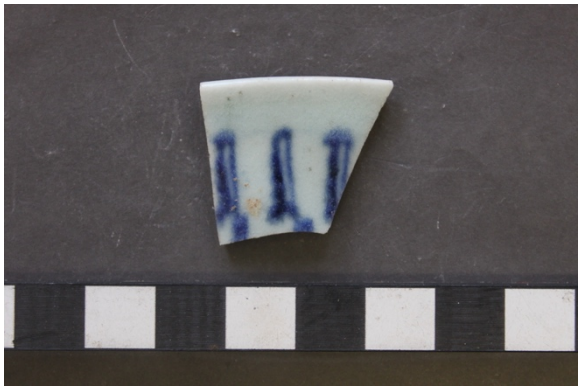


Figure 5.29: Asian porcelain fragment decorated with geometric motifs associated with the *Shou* pattern.

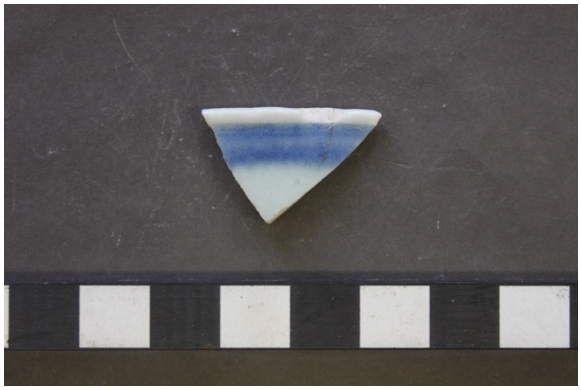


Figure 5.30: Asian porcelain fragment decorated with a possible *Nanking/Canton* border.



Figure 5.31: Underglaze blue decorated Asian porcelain fragment.

Other underglaze blue painted Chinese export porcelain fragments recovered are highly fragmented and, where visible, are decorated with simple abstract geometric designs and Chinese symbols.

5.1.2.9.1 Chronology, Price and Availability

Blue painted Asian marketware was used in the Cape for food preparation and consumption (Klose 1997: 23). Overglaze red enamelled ware was more expensive to produce and to purchase, and subsequently not as common as blue painted marketware (Klose & Schrire 2015: 105). Asian ginger jars have little to no variation in decoration or colour through time, and are generally indicative of 19th century sites in the Cape.

The finer Asian porcelains generally are thin, translucent wares, with hand painted cobalt blue decorations under a clear glaze. *Nanking/Canton* borders and geometric motifs related to *Shou* central patterns are common border decorations. In the United States, vessels with *Nanking* and *Canton* borders generally date from 1790 to 1850, falling out of fashion after 1820 (Samford 2002b). In South Africa, thinly walled vessels with *Canton* borders are features of late 18th to early 19th century sites, generally in the pre-1820 period (Klose 1997: 163). *Canton* style plates and dishes do appear at later Cape sites, but generally in thicker, coarser forms and styles (Klose & Malan 2000: 54). In South Africa, vessels with *Shou* motifs appear to be coarser provincial or market ware, appearing at sites dated to the last quarter of the 18th century into the early 19th century.

Chinese porcelain exports into South Africa dropped substantially once the colony was taken over by the British and British-made porcelain and REW ceramic imports flooded the market (Klose & Malan 2000: 49). This sequence is reflected in many ceramic assemblages from turn of the century Cape sites (Hall *et al*. 1993: 50-51; Klose & Malan 2000: 53; Malan & Klose 2003: 207-208). Overall, Oriental porcelain, including Chinese ware, was the preferred tableware at the Cape for all social classes until ca. 1800-1810, when it was eclipsed by British ware (Klose 1997: 12-13). These wares are probably the earliest colonial period ceramic vessels at Werf 1.

5.1.2.10. Asian Stoneware

The Asian stoneware from Werf 1 consists of four utilitarian storage pots or jars (MNI=50). Three vessels are liquid-glazed and one is either unglazed or the glaze has been lost through use or post-depositional processes. One brown glazed vessel has lugs on the shoulder (Fig. 5.32). The presence of lugs corresponds to the typical *martevan* shape. Another vessel has a black glaze.

5.1.2.10.1 Chronology, Price and Availability

Like Asian porcelain, Asian stoneware formed a significant part of the VOC trade network in the 17th and 18th centuries and is subsequently common at 18th century Cape sites (Klose & Schrire 2015: 103). Again, like Asian porcelain, it was generally replaced by British and

European equivalents at the beginning of the 19th century, and also suggest that these vessels are some of the earlier ceramics at Werf 1.



Figure 5.32: A fragment of a brown-glazed Asian stoneware vessel with a lug on the shoulder.

5.1.3. Makers' Marks on REW

Makers' marks can provide date of manufacture, and suggest vessel form and decoration through the maker's own classification system. Seventeen makers' marks were identified on whiteware vessels, but only five were positively identified. There were no complete marks, and because of this a number remain unidentified. Additionally, there are marks and insignia that were common to a number of different marks or were stock marks, such as crowns, crests, scrolls, Prince of Wales feathers and *fleur-de-lis* (see Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 166). The small number of marked sherds is unsurprising, as Staffordshire manufacturers only marked a small portion of their wares and marked even fewer that were particularly cheap and utilitarian (Kelly 1993: 5; Walthall 2013: ix), which for the most part, is the case at Werf 1. The identified makers' marks are described below.

5.1.3.1. Mann & Co., Hanley

There are two sherds that have this makers' name printed in blue. The one sherd has a floral design and the second the Willow pattern as their main decorative motifs. A third sherd has a portion of the pattern name Balmoral in a cartouche, printed in blue, also with a floral design on the upper surface (Fig. 5.33). This last sherd has been provisionally attributed to Mann & Co., on the basis that they often included the pattern name as part of the mark and a Balmoral pattern Mann & Co. plate was found in Auckland dating from the second-half of

the 19th century (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 237; Macready & Goodwyn 1990: 16). The other marked sherds are less ambiguous. Mann & Co. operated from Hanley, Staffordshire, from 1858 to 1860, and produced blue-printed wares (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 237).



Figure 5.33: The 'Balmoral' mark on the back of a European REW fragment.

5.1.3.2. Davenport, Longport

One undecorated REW sherd has a stamped or impressed mark showing 'DAVENPORT' in upper case above an anchor (Fig. 5.34). Above both is the number '14'. According to Godden (1990: 189) the makers name was printed in lower case letters from 1793 to 1810, while upper case examples post-date 1805. The impressed anchor mark was most used in the 1830s, and examples from later than 1836 often have the date stamped on either side of the anchor, a feature not shown on this mark (Davenport 2015: 2). Nonetheless, Godden (1990: 189) suggests that some impressed anchor marks without the date continued into the 1850s. It is unclear what the '14' represents, but it may be a pattern or batch number.

Davenport was one of the larger and more successful porcelain manufacturers, operating from c. 1793 to 1887, with offices in London and Liverpool (see Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 102). *The Commercial Directory and Shipping Guide of Liverpool* for 1871 mentions Davenport as "manufacturers of china, earthenware, and glass", and their presence at the town, a busy shipping port, suggests they commonly exported their wares overseas.



Figure 5.34: An impressed Davenport mark on the bottom surface of a REW fragment.

5.1.3.3. Copeland & Garrett, Stoke

Three sherds have portions of the mark for Copeland & Garrett of Stoke, Staffordshire, printed in brown (Fig. 5.35). The sherds belong to three different REW vessels, at least one being hollowware. The Copeland & Garrett firm existed only between 1833 and 1847, and formed part of the continuum of the Spode and Copeland manufacturers (see Copeland 1998: 4-10). The company was previously Spode until bought by Robert Copeland in 1833, who went into partnership with Thomas Garrett, a senior salesman at Spode in London, until 1847. When Copeland bought the company outright he dropped '& Garrett' from the name. Copeland operated until 1966 and was one of the larger and better known ceramic manufacturers of the 19th century.



Figure 5.35: A brown printed Copeland & Garrett mark on a REW fragment.

Copeland & Garrett primarily continued with previous Spode designs and forms, but, according to Coysh & Henrywood (1982: 93), favoured green prints for new patterns, and made particularly good teacups (Goss 2000: 27). They also seem to be a firm that, during their brief existence, exported a number of wares overseas and Copeland and Garrett pieces have been found at sites in Venezuela and New Zealand (Macready & Goodwyn 1990; Rodriguez Y. & Brooks 2012).

5.1.3.4. Joseph Stubbs, Longport

One sherd shows the mark of Joseph Stubbs of Dale Hall, Longport. It is impressed with the text 'JOSEP-' and 'LONGPORT' visible around a stylized six-pointed star (Fig. 5.36). Joseph Stubbs operated from 1790 to either 1829 or 1835, and appears to be known for blue-printed wares produced for the American market in the 1820s (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 352; Bagdade & Bagdade 2004: 295). His earlier ware is unmarked and so the impressed mark probably dates to 1822-1835 (Godden 1990: 601). Other patterns produced by Stubbs are versions of Spode's Italian pattern, sea shells on a blue background, 'Peach and Cherry', and a particular scenic view of 'Jedburgh Abbey' on teawares, all blue-printed (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 352). The marked Werf 1 sherd is undecorated, suggesting that it was on hollowware, and, because Stubbs' only produced blue transfer-printed ware, probably from a vessel of that type.



Figure 5.36: An impressed Joseph Stubbs & Co. mark on a REW fragment.

5.1.3.5. Unidentified Marks

There are a thirteen unidentified marks. Most only show a tiny portion of the mark, but a number show some identifiable features or text.

One sherd shows the initials '-R. & Co.' in a blue printed cursive script on a blue-printed flatware plate (Fig 5.37). This mark could belong to at least six manufacturers who used their initials, all ending in 'R. & Co.', on their marks (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 414-416).



Figure 5.37: A REW flatware fragment with an unidentified '-R. & Co.' mark.

These include:

Godwin, Rowley & Co., Burslem, Staffordshire (1828-1831)

Godwin, Rathbone & Co., Burslem, Staffordshire (ca. 1822)

Thomas Rathbone & Co., Portobello, Scotland (1810-1845)

T. Rathbone & Co., Tunstall, Staffordshire (1898-1923)

John Ridgway & Co., Hanley, Staffordshire (c. 1830-1855)

William Ridgway & Co., Shelton & Hanley, Staffordshire (1834-1854)

Five of these six manufacturers were in operation primarily in the first half of the 19th century and T. Rathbone & Co. operated only at the very end of the 19th century and mainly into the 20th century. It is likely then that regardless of the manufacturer the plate was made in the first half of the 19th century.

One other unidentified mark shows a crown, probably part of the royal coat-of-arms or garter, which was an extremely common mark on 19th century wares. Another five unidentified marks have legible text. Two preserve parts of the word 'Staffordshire' printed in blue, presumably indicating place of manufacture, although a Crown Staffordshire Porcelain Co. did exist at the end of the 19th century (Godden 1990: 182). A third mark has 'N' visible on a scroll below the body of the unicorn on the royal coat-of-arms (Fig. 5.38). The 'N' could be part of the pattern, manufacturer, ware, or town name. A fourth mark shows the text '(BL)UE' above and to the left of 'CHINA' on two separate scrolls with a central fleur-de-lis, forming the bottom half of a larger mark (Fig. 5.39). This mark is on a Willow pattern piece, suggesting that the full text may read 'Blue Willow China'. A final sherd shows '(WI)CKER' in blue within an ovoid cartouche with a lattice like border (Fig. 5.40). 'Wicker' refers to a pattern on blue-printed ware (Fig. 5.1). Printed cartouches around marks did not come into general use until the 1820s (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 293).

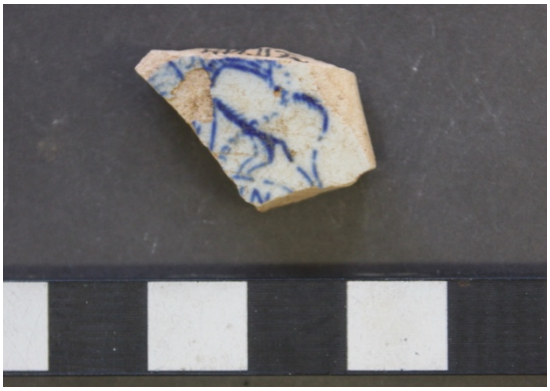


Figure 5.38: An unidentified makers mark on the underside of a blue-printed REW vessel.



Figure 5.39: An unidentified makers mark on the underside of a blue-printed REW vessel.



Figure 5.40: A mark from an unidentified maker. The mark indicates the pattern name 'Wicker'.

None of the incomplete, unidentified marks appear to show the diamond-shaped registration marks or numbers on ware produced between 1842 and 1883. Furthermore, none show any text than might read as 'England', 'Made In England', 'Limited' (or abbreviations thereof), 'Trademark', or 'Royal'. These are all common indicators that a piece was manufactured in the second-half of the 19th century and into the 20th (see Godden 1990: 11-12).

Overall, the marks suggest an early to mid-19th century period. The Copeland & Garrett and Joseph Stubbs' marks provide narrow timeframes: 1833 to 1847 and 1822 to 1835 respectively. The Mann & Co. mark dates to the late 1850s, within the sites' occupation period, and only the ambiguous '-R & Co.' mark may date later, although this seems unlikely. This mark is also the only one that may not come from a Staffordshire based manufacturer.

5.1.4. Werf 1 Ceramic Sequence

Documentary evidence (Chapter 2) suggest that Werf 1 had two primary colonial occupations. The first, Phase 1, was the Zak River mission station from around 1799 to 1806 and the second, Phase 2, a functioning farm from the 1830s to the 1860s. The chronology suggested by the ceramics supports this. However, because the vast majority of the ceramics are not from stratified deposits, and additionally, because British ceramics appear in the Cape sequence towards the end of the 18th century, it is important to closely consider all chronological markers in the assemblage, most of which only provide relative dates. Furthermore, it is important to remember that the second phase of occupation was around 30 years, and consequently, it is also important to assess any change in ceramic use within this occupation. This is a critical first step if we are to elaborate on ceramic use, availability, preference and foodways and change that is specific to different parts of the Werf 1 sequence.

Table 5.9 shows ceramics that were assigned to the earlier mission phase occupation based upon the dates for their peak usage and presence at South African sites. These are referred to as Group 1 and Group 2. Group 1 are wares that generally fell out of popularity in the first

decades of the 19th century. Consequently, there is a degree of confidence that they date to the mission occupation. Group 2 wares are those that started to be produced from the 18th centuries and through the 19th century but while they could date to the mission phase, they could also be linked to the second part of the Werf 1 sequence

Table 5.9. Werf 1 Group 1 and 2 ceramic types.

Group 1	MNV	Group 2	MNV
Asian coarse marketware	3	German salt-glazed mineral water vessels	15
Asian stoneware	4	Polychrome painted vessels	3
Asian export porcelain	3	Blue painted shell-edge	3
Tin-glazed earthenware	1		
English brown stoneware	1		
Rhenish brown stoneware	1		
Total	13		21

As indicated, Group 1 vessels are all common on 18th century Cape sites but decline when the British took over the administration of the colony and opened the market to British produced ceramics. The tin-glazed earthenware and stoneware in Group 1, although coming from Europe, were replaced by technologically newer or superior equivalents in the early decades of the 19th century.

German salt-glazed stoneware mineral water vessels are equivocal and placed in Group 2 because while they first appear at South African sites in the second half of the 18th century they were imported well into the 19th century (Klose 1997: 155). Similarly, 'soft' polychrome painted ware also appears at South African sites in the 1790s, and was gradually replaced by chrome painted ware ca. 1830 (Klose & Malan 2009: 28). Blue painted shell-edge ware also appears at slightly earlier sites and could be integral to Group 1, but does continue in popularity until the 1860s. Some early forms of slipware could also date to the 1790s, however, slipware is also one of the most popular British industrial wares found at Cape sites in the 19th century.

Aside from the Group 2 ceramics, the remainder of the assemblage dates to the second phase (Group 3). While the ca. 30-year period of Phase 2 is relatively short, it is possible to

sub-divide the ceramics into Group 3A that could conceivably come from the early years of the Phase 2 occupation, and some, Group 3B, that could come from the later Werf 1 occupation (Table 5.10). As noted above, this might indicate changes in availability, preference and use through time.

Table 5.10: Werf 1 Group 3A and 3B ceramics from the second Werf 1 occupation, 1830s-1860s.

Group 3A	Date	Group 3B	Date
Polychrome painted	1795-ca.1830	Chrome painted	From ca. 1830
Dot & acanthus	1823 - 1835	Cut/open sponge	From ca. 1845
Sponge/Spatter ware	1820s – 1860s	London-shape banded slipware	From ca. 1820
Slipware w/ green bands at rim	1770 - 1840	Liquid-glazed stoneware	From ca. 1860
'Earthy' tone slipware	NA	Flow blue	From 1840s
Painted sprig	1835 - 1870	Transfer-printed text shop pots	Late 19th c.
Field-dot printed (blue)	Ca. 1816 - 1841	Marked British comm. stoneware	Late 19th c.
Wild rose pattern blue printed	Ca. 1830 - 1850	Marks: Mann & Co.	1858 - 1860
Marks: Davenport, Copeland & Garrett, Joseph Stubbs	Ca. 1805 – ca. 1847	Teapotware/Coloured-bodied teaware	Late 19th c.

Group 3A ceramics (Table 5.10) potentially date between 1830 and 1845. The Group 3B ceramics may date to the final years of occupation, between 1845 and 1860, before the move to Werf 2. Group 3 ceramics are placed in A or B according to the date of first manufacture or appearance at Cape sites. For example, sponge/spatter type spongeware first appeared in the 1820s but continued production until the 1860s, therefore would date from the initial farm occupation into the later occupation period. On the other hand, cut sponge designs only appear in the 1840s, and could not date to the early years of Phase 2.

Other ceramic and decorative types would span the entirety of Phase 2. This includes blue, red, green, black, brown and purple/mulberry transfer printed ware, British commercial stoneware, undecorated whiteware, red-bodied earthenware, clay tobacco pipes, and Asian porcelain ginger jars.

Two of the slipware categories in Table 5.10 cannot be directly dated because most chronological markers in slipware are relative and suggest trends instead of specific start and end dates. Thus, early slipwares are generally earthy in colour, with browns and rusty reds dominant. Brighter colours generally date to after the middle of the 19th century. Additionally, banded slipwares were made from the very beginning of slipware production, but they become more popular and appear in greater numbers at sites in the second half of the century, often in brighter blues and blacks (see Sussman 1997). Marked commercial stoneware and earthenware commercial 'shop pots' are generally signs of a later 19th century occupation, as are teapotwares and coloured-bodied teawares. 'Shop pots' and marked stoneware reflect the expansion of trade and commerce not only in Cape Town, but worldwide in the second half of the 19th century (see Malan & Klose 2003: 205). This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

5.1.4.1. Form and Function of Group 1 and 2 Wares

The form and function discussion to be given below includes all Werf 1 vessels but speaks more of the nature of the Group 3A and 3B wares (Table 5.10). This is because the vessels from these two groups account for 92.4% of the Werf 1 MNV. The sample of Group 1 and 2 vessels potentially date to the first, mission phase of occupation at Werf 1, and because they account for a small proportion of the Werf 1 MNV (7.6%), a brief examination of their form and function can comment on ceramic consumption and foodways in the mission period. The sample, however, is small and consequently only a few qualitative remarks can be made.

In Group 1, twelve of the thirteen vessels are hollowware and their function is split between food and drink consumption (MNV=6) and storage (MNV=6) (Table 5.8). Three Asian porcelain vessels are either cups or bowls and another is a coarse porcelain plate/dish. One hollowware vessel, the tin-glazed earthenware, has an unknown function and may be a toiletware jar, pot or basin, and not related to food consumption or storage.

The Group 2 vessels are dominated by German salt-glazed mineral water stoneware bottles (MNV=15), and witness the appearance of flatware in blue painted shell-edge REW forms

(MNV=3) (Table 5.8). The other vessels are polychrome 'soft' painted REW hollowware forms, one of which is a bowl and the other two are either cups or bowls. The mineral water bottles were used in drink storage, and the shell-edge plates and painted hollowware forms are vessels used in eating and drinking.

Together, the vessels from Groups 1 and 2 speak of food consumption and storage during the first phase at Werf 1. This is unsurprising when the nature of the mission is considered, where food supply and consumption were significant issues.

5.1.5. Ceramic Form and Function at Werf 1

As noted, the form and function discussion below considers the entire ceramic assemblage from Werf 1, the majority of which date to the second phase of occupation. The Werf 1 ceramics are nearly all surface collections and consequently they are fragmented and weathered. This obviously creates uncertainty in the reconstruction of form and vessel profile. While this analysis identifies hollowware and flatware, it is difficult to confidently distinguish different sizes within these basic profiles.

Hollowware forms identified include cups, bowls, pots or jars, bottles, tankards and large bowls/basins. A cup/bowl category was created for vessels that definitely were not any other hollowware forms but may have been either cups *or* bowls. Using this broader scale of profiles meant that only ten hollowware vessels did not match a profile and were unidentified hollowware forms.

Assigning flatware forms was equally challenging. Ultimately, only three forms were identified: large plate or dish, small plate or dish, and saucer. In addition to curvature, size was roughly assigned by the relative thickness of the rim. Thick rimmed vessels were plates or dishes, thinner were small plates and dishes, and the thinnest were saucers, although the distinction between small plate and saucer was not strongly defined. Other forms present in the assemblage are pipestems and lids, and an unidentified vessel category where form could not be identified. These latter vessels still contributed to the MNV count.

In the Werf 1 assemblage, 382 (85.5%) vessels were identified as hollowware and only 47 (10.7%) as flatware (Fig. 5.41). Overall, there is a significant difference in frequency between hollowware and flatware. There are nearly eight times more hollowware vessels than flatware.

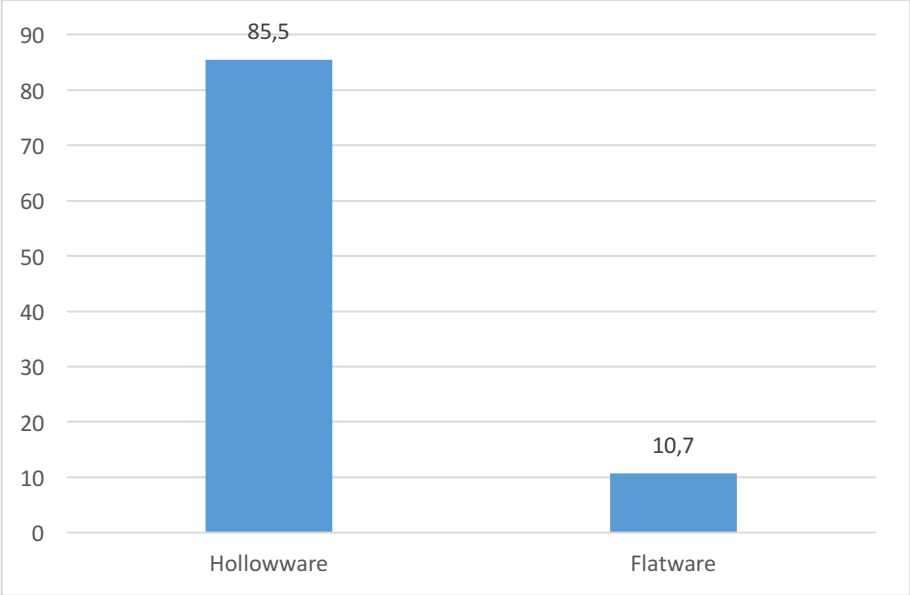


Figure 5.41: Chart showing the % MNV of hollowware and flatware forms at Werf 1 (MNV=445).

Bowls and bowls/cups together make up 63.1% of the vessels, followed by jars/pots and plates/dishes (Fig. 5.42). All other vessel forms combined make up 11% of the vessel count.

To test if the data is perhaps skewed by the presence of utilitarian storage vessels, Figure 5.43 shows a comparison between tableware and teaware hollowware and flatware forms that sharpens the comparison. This assumes that none of the stoneware was re-used as tableware, and that refined earthenware was only used in food serving and consumption.

Even when non-table- and teaware vessels are omitted, there are over six time more hollowware vessels than flatware ones. Furthermore, if the MNV is changed to only those confidently identified as bowls (MNV=147) and small and regular plates and dishes (MNV=41), then the ratio of bowls to plates is still over three to one.

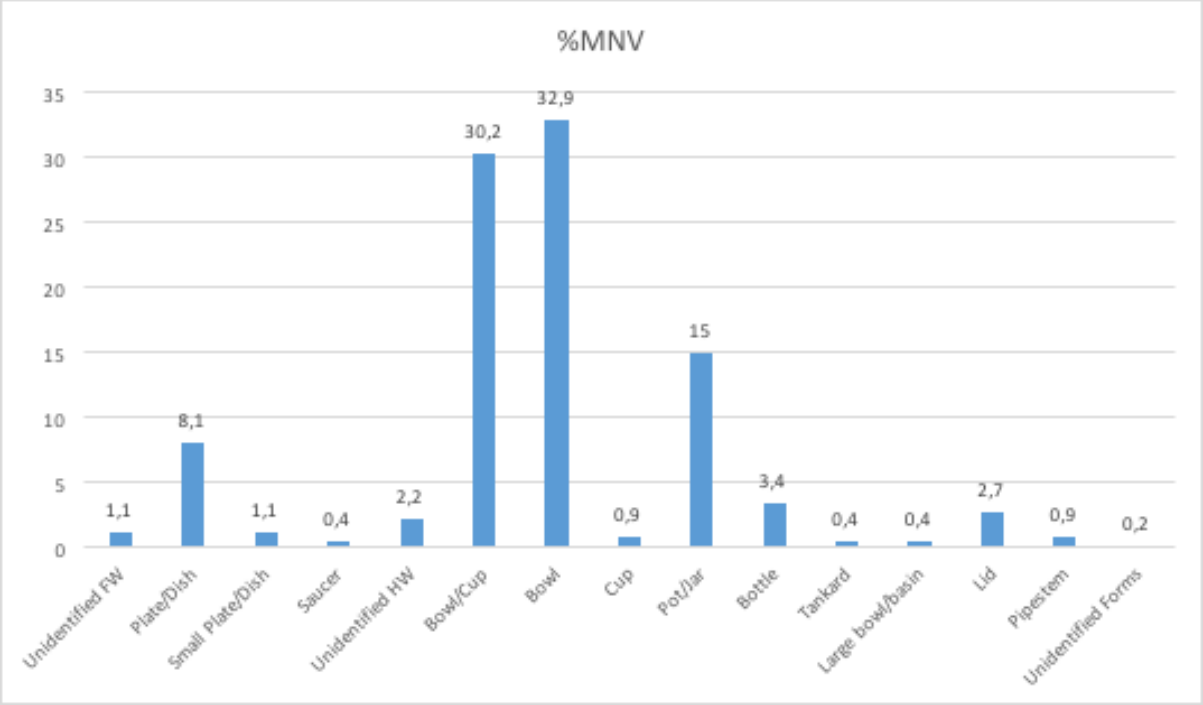


Figure 5.42: Chart showing the % MNV of all ceramic forms from Werf 1 (MNV=445).

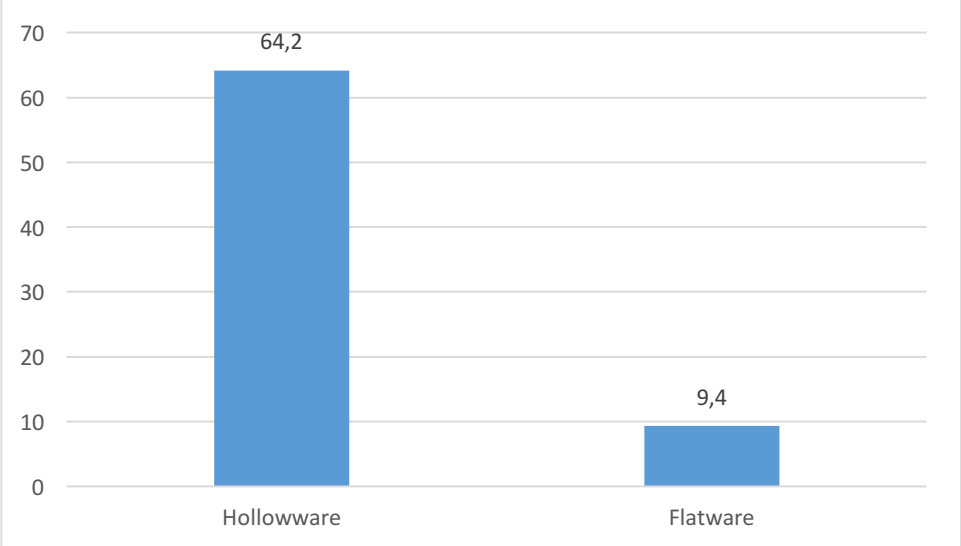


Figure 5.43: Chart showing the % MNV of tableware and teaware HW and FW forms at Werf 1 (MNV=445).

To assess the frequency difference between hollowware and flatware forms, a second MNV count was made based on the circumferences of undecorated hollowware footrings. Undecorated footrings were the least fragmented sherds at Werf 1 because the body is generally thicker at the base and less likely to fragment under foot. None of the footring pieces appeared to belong to fine whiteware teacups.

The number of undecorated fragments of whiteware HW footrings (MNI=338) is substantially greater than the number of undecorated HW footrings (MNI=20). This obviously makes a clear statement about frequency occurrence. This suggested that the majority of the HW footrings come from the decorated bowl sample used in the first MNV count because very few decorated slipware rim and body sherds had associated footrings.

Ten bowl fragments had complete footrings and were measured to calculate an average circumference. For the 10 control vessels, the average footring circumference was 19.44cm. Circumferences ranged from 17.3cm to 23.6cm. Footring diameters averaged 6.2cm and ranged from 5.5cm to 7.5cm. The remaining 273 incomplete or snapped footrings were measured along the outside edge of the visible footring. These circumference fractions were added together and then divided by the complete footring average, giving a rough vessel count (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11: Table of REW HW footring MNV calculated from the diameter of a control sample.

Number of complete footring fragments	10 = *a*
Total circumference complete footrings	194.4cm = *b*
Ave. circumference of complete footrings = *b*/*a*	19.44cm - *c*
Number of incomplete footring fragments	273 = *d*
Total circumference of incomplete footrings	845.4cm = *e*
Number of vessels = *e*/*c*	43.5773

An MNV of 44 (43.5773) was calculated. This is clearly higher than the MNV of undecorated HW taken from rims (=9). Nonetheless, the fact that the second MNV count is higher than the first count using undecorated whiteware MNV rims suggests that the majority of footring fragments belonged to decorated bowls. However, the MNV count based on footring fragments is substantially lower than the overall MNV of bowls using decorated rims and body sherds (=147). A substantial amount of time was given to the first MNV count and the number is reasonable. Additionally, when a bowl broke it is assumed that all fragments would have been thrown out together and consequently, this discrepancy is not due to sampling.

If the discrepancy between the two bowl MNV counts cannot be attributed to method, preservation or sampling, it is reasonable to ask what other factors may be at play. One speculative suggestion is that the robust bowl bases were recycled and discarded elsewhere. Thick wine bottle bases from early 19th century sites in the Pramberg near Victoria West were recycled and knapped to produce abrasive, scraper-like tools (Zachariou 2013) and an Asian porcelain sherd from a stone skerm on the Roggeveld near Sutherland has been knapped into a convex scraper edge (Regensberg 2016). Most relevant is the observation at Scholtzenhof, also near Sutherland, that complete small bowl footrings had been knapped to roughen the footring base over the complete circumference. In these cases, there is enough of the lower vessel body to hold in the hand and use the footring to abrade, roughen, shred or break something up (S. Hall pers. comm.). Whatever the case, the different MNV counts for bowls requires comparative estimates from other contemporary sites.

Hollowware forms at Werf 1 can be sub-divided. Bowls are most predominant (38.5%, MNV=147) (Fig. 5.44) and slipware bowls (94.5%, MNV=139) in turn dominate the bowl assemblage. If vessels in the cup/bowl category are included, then 73.8% of hollowware vessels are bowls. Only four cups were confidently identified, and none appear to be unequivocally teacups and may be rarer unhandled forms or coffee cans (see Goss 2000). No fragments of teacup handles were identified, and the lack of typical handled teacups is notable. Furthermore, only two vessels are classified as saucers.

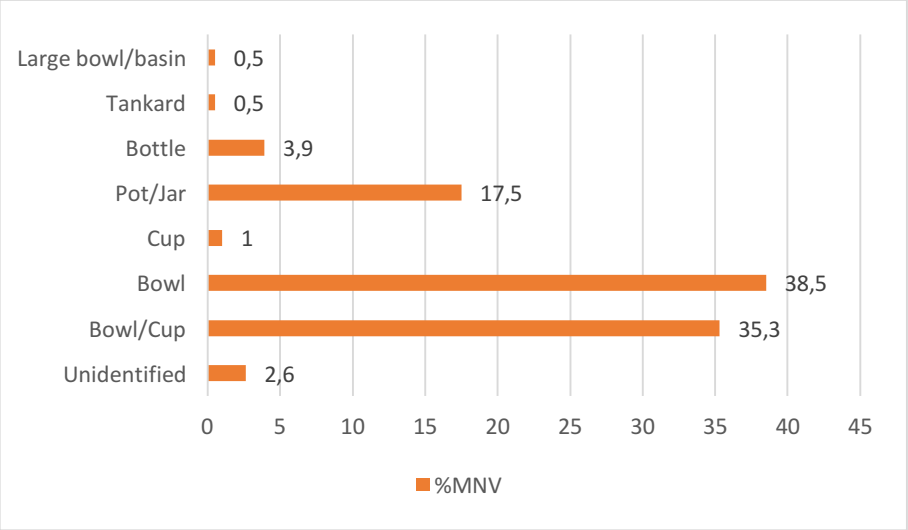


Figure 5.44: Chart of % MNV of hollowware forms at Werf 1 (MNV=382).

Larger plates and dishes dominate the flatware vessels (75%) and the other flatware forms can all be linked to broader tableware categories (Fig. 5.45).

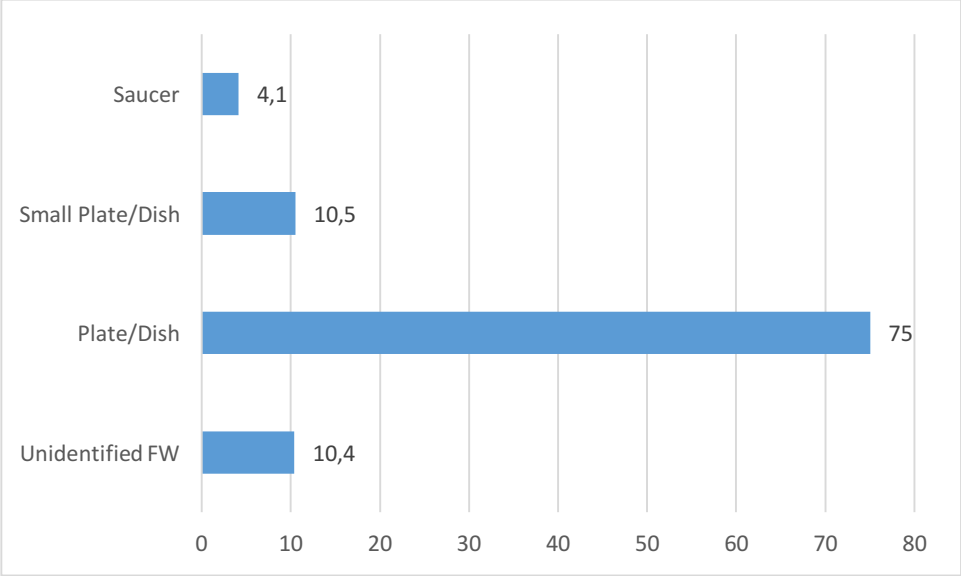


Figure 5.45: Chart of % MNV of flatware forms at Werf 1 (MNV=47).

Table 5.12 summarises the form and function of the Werf 1 vessels. Categories were taken from Klose & Malan (2000). The larger functional categories are self-explanatory. Of note is that no ornamental vessels were identified in the assemblage and so an 'Ornamental' category, included by Klose & Malan (2000), is not featured here. The 'Utilitarian' group includes vessels that do not fit into the defined functional groups, but still have a practical purpose.

Placing vessel forms within higher functional categories was relatively straightforward for all form types. The cup/bowl form category was the only group that did not easily fit the functional categories. This was because, as outlined above, all the vessels here could be either cups *or* bowls, and their functions could be for either food serving, eating or drinking. Combining the two functions was considered, but it was decided that separating food and drink, or tablewares and teawares, was important for later analysis, despite the ambiguities inherent in the cup/bowl category. Additionally, the number of bowls (MNV=147) is a reflection of real frequency in the assemblage, and offsets the large amount of cup/bowl forms.

Table 5.12: Form and function of ceramic vessels at Werf 1.

Form & possible function		Porcelain		Stoneware		Earthen-ware	REW	MNV	% MNV
		Asian	Euro.	Asian	Euro.				
Cooking & food prep.								2	0.4
	Basin/bowl/dish						2		
	Lid								
Food & drink storage								92	20.7
	Jar	10		4	50				
	Bottle				15				
	Comm./shop pot						2		
	Lid	11							
Food serving & consumption								188	42.2
	Plate/dish	2					34		
	Small plate/dish						5		
	Bowl						147		
Drinking								140	31.5
	Cup/bowl	2	2				128		
	Cup						4		
	Saucer		1						
	Tankard						2		
	Teapot lid						1		
Health & hygiene								1	0.2
	Pharmaceutical pot					1			
Utilitarian								6	1.3
	Pipes					4			
	Children's tea set		2						
Unidentified forms								16	3.6
	Hollowware	1				1	8		
	Flatware	1					4		
	Undiagnostic						1		
Totals		27	5	4	65	6	338	445	99.9

Vessels for food serving and consumption account for 42% of the MNV (Table 5.12). Drinking vessels, or teawares, are next most common, followed by food and drink storage. When drinking cup/bowls are combined with food serving and consumption bowls, as they may have done at Werf 1 in the past, then the domination of 'multipurpose' bowls in the assemblage is outright at 61.8% of the MNV. Creating a new form and function category for these vessels was considered to highlight the compartmentalising nature of typical form and function tables, but this was decided against, because, as outlined above, of the equivocality in bowl function.

The remaining four categories make up less than 10% of the MNV (Table 5.12). Bowls are the dominant form in the food serving and consumption group, outnumbering flatware almost four to one. It is notable that only two serving dishes, tureens or large bowls were recovered and that no tableware vessels came from matching sets.

Drinking vessels are the next most common grouping (Table 5.12). This category includes all teawares. Once again, this group has to be treated with some caution, because vessels in the cup/bowl category could be either cups *or* bowls (see above). Only four REW vessels were confidently assigned as cups. One saucer and teapot lid complete this group. As with the food serving and consumption category, there are no matching sets of cups and saucers and no fragments of teacup handles.

Food and drink storage vessels account for 20.6% of the form and function. This category is dominated by European stoneware forms principally used in food storage. While cooking and food preparation, health and hygiene, and utilitarian categories are represented by less than 10 vessels (1.5%).

Having discussed the chronology, form and function of the entire ceramic assemblage at Werf 1, I will now examine the ceramic assemblages recovered from the excavations at KP1, followed by an examination of wares from KP31, KP3 and KP4.

5.1.6. Excavated Ceramics from KP1

At KP1, excavations took place on the southern exterior and interior of Structure 2 and within the *skerm* at KP1 (see Chapter 4). The ceramics from each excavation will be combined together as they were deposited as part of the same process.

A total of 69 ceramic fragments were recovered from the KP1 excavations (Table 5.13). REW was most numerous (82.6%), followed by European stoneware (11.5%) and coarse Asian porcelain (5.8%). Slipware fragments were the most common REW recovered, accounting for just below a third of the total ceramic, followed by undecorated whiteware (20.3%), and transfer-printed REW (14.5%). Transfer-printed ware is limited to eight fragments in blue,

including Willow and Wicker pattern fragments, and flow blue, all of which are from hollowware forms. No spongeware was recovered and there are four fragments of harsh, chrome painted hollowware.

Table 5.13: Ceramic wares from the excavations at KP1.

			MNI	%MNI
REW	Transfer-printed	Blue	8	11.6
		Flow Blue	2	2.9
	Slipware		22	31.9
	Painted		4	5.8
	Undecorated		14	20.3
	Unidentified		7	10.1
Stoneware	European		7	10.1
	Asian		1	1.4
Asian Porcelain	Ginger jar		4	5.8
Total			69	99.9

The excavated ceramic sample is small, and the only ware that suggests an early 19th century mission-period date is a fragment of Asian stoneware from the top spit of a square in the *skerm* (Chapter 4). None of the ceramic recovered from the lowest spits in either excavation indicate a pre-1830 date. Most REW fragments appear to come from HW vessels and the variety of REW decoration is limited to three types. Like the Werf 1 assemblage as a whole, slipware is the dominant ceramic form. Stoneware and Asian porcelain speak of food storage, while the other ware speak of food and drink consumption.

5.1.7. The Ceramic Assemblages from KP3, KP4 and KP31.

The structures at KP3 and KP4 and Structure 6 at KP31 all suggested a non-European presence at Werf 1. Additionally, the date of KP3 and KP4 occupation are unclear and their occupation may possibly pre-date the mission period at Werf 1 (Chapter 3). The ceramics recovered from these sections will be briefly examined in light of this. The aim here is to assess whether specific ceramic types are associated with the structures in these sections, and whether these have any chronological implications. This will not take the form of a direct comparison with KP1, but will rather highlight disparities between the ceramics at KP3, KP and KP31 and the broader assemblage. The ceramic from these areas did not

contribute to the MNV of Werf 1. Subsequently, their ware type, decoration and broad scale form will be discussed.

5.1.7.1. Ceramics at KP3

The ceramic recovered from KP3 included piece-plotted ceramics and ceramic recovered from the surface scrapes in and around features (see chapter 4). The built environment at KP3 spoke of a non-European presence at Werf 1, either before and/or during both the mission period and later occupation at Werf 1. Seventy-one ceramic fragments were found at KP3: 91.5% REW, 7% Asian porcelain and 1.4% European porcelain (Table 5.14).

Table 5.14: Ceramic wares from KP3 (ceramic profile).

Ware			MNI	%MNI
REW	Transfer-printed	Blue	29	40.8
		Flow Blue	1	1.4
	Slipware		22	31
	Painted		1	1.4
	Undecorated		8	11.3
	Teapotware		1	1.4
	Unidentified		3	4.2
Asian porcelain	Ginger Jar		5	7
Euro. porcelain	Undecorated		1	1.4
Total			71	99.9

Blue transfer-printed REW is the most common ceramic recovered at KP3, followed by slipware and undecorated whiteware. The painted REW fragment is in harsh chrome colours. Asian porcelain fragments are only from coarse ginger jars and there is one fragment of undecorated European porcelain from a hollowware vessel. No stoneware was recovered at KP3.

Twenty-three blue-printed REW fragments belong to Willow pattern flatware, and other blue-printed REW fragments also came from flatware forms. The one flow-blue REW fragment belongs to a hollowware vessel, and two undecorated whiteware fragments are hollowware footrings.

Although the sample is small, ceramic was the most common artefact found at KP3 (see Chapter 4) and may be an extension of the KP1 scatter. Yet, the variety of ceramic types at KP3 is limited. No transfer-printed colours other than blue are present and other REW types prevalent in the larger Werf 1 sample are also absent, most notably spongeware. The absence of stoneware is also notable and may speak of a non-domestic context, considering stoneware's primary function of food and drink storage.

In terms of chronology, none of the ceramic types from KP3 fit into the Group 1 or 2 ceramics outlined above and in many respects they match the Group 3B ceramics, suggesting they date from the second half of the ca. 1830-1860 occupation. The ceramics may be associated with the KP3 structures but do not date them. They do suggest, however, that the KP3 structures may have been reused and recycled during the second European occupation at Werf 1, possibly by seasonal or temporary farmworkers.

5.1.7.2. Ceramics at KP4

The ceramic from KP4 were all piece-plotted artefacts (see chapter 4). The built environment at KP4 suggested a non-European presence at Werf 1 and the structures were considered to have been occupied by farmworkers at Werf 1 during the second European occupation (see Chapter 3). As at KP3, they may also pre-date the mission period and were reused and recycled at a later time.

The ceramic assemblage from KP4 is small and only fifty-six ceramic fragments were recovered (Table 5.15). All are European wares. The most numerous is stoneware (33.9%), followed by slipware REW (30.4%) and blue transfer-printed REW (14.3%). The only other decorated forms are painted and sponged REW. During analysis, notes were taken for a preliminary MNV for the area. This avenue was not pursued but a rough outline of vessel counts can be tentatively suggested.

Six blue printed fragments belong to two Wicker pattern flatware forms (Fig. 5.1), and the other two blue-printed fragments also to flatware. No Willow pattern fragments were recovered, which were comparably numerous at KP3. The 17 slipware sherds probably belong to at least three hollowware vessels, and the spongeware and painted fragments to

one hollowware vessel each. The stoneware fragments probably belong to three vessels, at least two of which were salt-glazed on the exterior surface and liquid-glazed inside.

Table 5.15: Ceramic wares from KP4 (ceramic profile).

Ware		MNI	%MNI
REW	Transfer-printed (blue)	8	14.3
	Slipware	17	30.4
	Painted	4	7.1
	Spongeware	4	7.1
	Undecorated	2	3.6
	Unidentified	2	3.6
Stoneware		19	33.9
Total		56	100

The KP4 ceramic assemblage is small, represented by less than 10 vessels, all of which indicate a mid-to-late 19th century date corresponding with the Group 3B wares outlined above. This suggests occupation of the KP4 precinct during the post 1830 phase, and this might include the graves. Despite the small sample, the ceramic is clearly associated with the structures, but this does not mean that the European material dates them. As suggested for KP3, KP4 may have been seasonally or temporarily occupied by itinerant farmworkers.

5.1.7.3. Ceramics at KP31

The built environment at KP31 includes three rectangular structures, one of which is the mission church, and a round structure at the north-eastern end, Structure 6 (see Fig. 3.6). The three rectangular buildings were not seemingly for domestic use. Structure 6, however, had an attached L-shaped *skerm* at its rear associated with a midden and a broadcast scatter of material behind it and to the northeast. The midden was excavated immediately north of the skerm, and the scatter of material collected in a controlled, gridded pickup and through a broader piece-plot (Chapter 4). Ceramic was recovered from the excavation, the gridded pickup and the piece-plots.

Table 5.16 shows the fragments recovered in each spit of the excavation by type and decorative sub-group. REW made up 88.6% of the ceramic, followed by Asian porcelain, 5.6% and European stoneware 4.5%, and there was one (1.1%) pipestem. Over 60% of the

REW is made up of transfer-printed, slipware, and undecorated whiteware. Unidentified REW fragments also made up a large proportion. Stoneware was all salt-glazed British commercial ware. Asian porcelain was primarily coarse ginger jars, and two fragments were finer wares decorated with the *Nanking*/*Canton* border described above. Sixteen of the 18 transfer-printed wares are blue printed and the remaining two are flow blue. No other transfer-printed colours are present. One painted REW fragment showed the earlier softer polychrome colours.

Table 5.16: Ceramic wares recovered from the excavation at KP31.

Squ.	Spit	REW							Stone ware	Asian Porcelain		Pipe Stem	Total
		Trans.	Slip	Paint	Sponge	Undec.	Unid.	Teapot ware		Coarse	Fine		
D17	Surf.												
	1												0
	2		1			1	2						4
	3	5	4			5	2						16
	4		1			3							4
E17	Surf.												0
	1						1						1
	2	1	2		1	1	1		2	1			9
	3	1	5	1		5	3	1					16
	4		2				1						3
F17	Surf.			1									1
	1	6	3	1		2	3			1	2		18
G17	Surf.	2											2
	1												0
	2	2	1	1		1	3		2	1		1	12
	3	1				1	1						3
Total		18	19	4	1	19	17	1	4	3	2	1	89
%MNI		20.3	21.3	4.5	1.1	21.3	19.1	1.1	4.5	3.4	2.2	1.1	99.9

Although the excavated ceramic was not counted in the Werf 1 MNV, some of the fragments suggest specific form and function. The stoneware and coarse Asian porcelain ginger jars are utilitarian wares for food storage. The slipware, spongeware and painted ware are hollowware, as are both fragments of flow blue printed ware. There are two undecorated hollowware footrings and one undecorated flatware footring, probably a plate or dish. The blue printed fragments belong to both hollowware and flatware forms, including at least one Willow pattern plate. None of the fragments suggest forms other than cups/bowls or plates/dishes. Food and drink consumption dominates.

In terms of chronological markers, the soft painted fragment and the fragments of fine Asian porcelain correspond to the Group 2 wares outlined earlier and are the only forms that do not indicate a mid-to-late 19th century date. The other wares recovered from the excavation are consistent with the Group 3A and 3B ceramic forms from the ca. 1830-1860 occupation, probably confirming that Structure 6 is tied to farm labour and that, although the sample size is small, the ceramic used looks similar to those used by the house occupants.

The excavated ceramic will now be combined with ceramic from the gridded pickup and piece-plots to provide a broader ceramic signature for the scatter associated with Structure 6.

Table 5.17 shows the ceramic types and MNI recovered from KP31. REW is the dominant ceramic type (74%), followed by European stoneware (17.6%) and Asian porcelain (8%). Slipware is the most common REW, followed by transfer-printed ware and then undecorated whiteware, and just over a quarter of the ceramic fragments are unidentified REW where weathering has destroyed glaze and decoration. Stoneware is common and dominated by salt-glazed forms and only three fragments were liquid-glazed. Asian porcelain is dominated by coarse ginger jar forms.

The transfer-printed ware is mainly printed in blue. Six fragments came from Willow pattern flatware and three from flatware decorated with the Wicker design. Other blue-printed fragments come from both flatware and hollowware forms. Most of the flow-blue fragments belong to hollowware vessels, as do all the slipware, painted ware and spongeware. The one green transfer-printed fragment belongs to a larger serving dish or platter. Two undecorated whiteware fragments are flatware footrings and six are hollowware footrings.

An observation that is perhaps indicative of the KP31 ceramic assemblage is the relatively high proportion of stoneware fragments (17.6%). These and the coarse Asian porcelain ginger jars are utilitarian ceramic types that indicate food storage and preservation and

make up a quarter of the KP31 ceramic. This is notable in relation to the other ceramic types. There is little variety in the range of REW decoration and in the colour of the transfer-printed ware. This variation in relation to the wares recovered from KP31 suggests a slightly different ceramic character at KP31, perhaps indicative of a farmworker presence. Only three fragments, all from the excavation, suggest an early 19th century date and the rest correspond to the Group 3A and 3B wares at Werf 1.

Table 5.17: All ceramic wares from KP31 (ceramic profile).

Ware			MNI	%MNI
REW	Transfer-printed	Blue	40	12.4
		Flow Blue	5	1.5
		Green	1	0.3
	Slipware		62	19.2
	Painted	Harsh	7	2.2
		Soft	1	0.3
	Spongeware		1	0.3
	Undecorated		40	12.4
	Teapotware		1	0.3
	Unidentified		81	25.1
Stoneware			57	17.6
Asian Porcelain	Coarse	Ginger Jar	24	7.4
	Fine		2	0.6
Pipe Stem			1	0.3
Total			323	99.9

In summary**,** there are identifiable ceramic trends shared by all three areas. At a broader scale, REW is the only ware type that is present at KP3, KP4 and KP31 and it is also the dominant ware in all three. Even so, the variety of REW is limited. Slipware and transfer-printed ware is prevalent, and undecorated whiteware and painted fragments also appear at all three in small amounts. Spongeware fragments are only present at KP4 and KP31 and also in small numbers. Blue transfer-printed ware is common and flow blue fragments appear in small amounts at KP3 and KP31. There is only one fragment of transfer-printed ware that is not blue and most colours that are visible in the larger Werf 1 assemblage are simply not present.

There are no ceramic types present at KP3, KP4 and KP31 that do not appear at KP1 and the larger assemblage. It is what is absent and negligible from KP3, KP4 and KP31 that is perhaps

more telling. Ceramic types absent include red, black, brown, and purple/mulberry transfer-printed REW, edged REW, coarse European earthenware, and tin-glazed ware. While not dominant decorative types overall, the negligible amounts of painted and spongeware is also notable.

Although the sample is small, the absence of variety in REW and other wares in comparison to KP1 and the Werf 1 assemblage is significant and possibly suggests a different identity in these areas. The types of ceramic are all functional with little decorative variety and indicate quotidian, cheap ceramic wares. Whether the groups living in this area received their ceramic from the Krugels at the farmhouse (Structure 1) at KP1 is unclear, although the ceramic similarities to the KP1 and Werf 1 assemblage suggests that this is possible. Additionally, the prevalent REW types in these areas correspond to the prevalent types at KP1 and in the larger assemblage, such as slipware and blue transfer-printed ware. This suggests that only the most common ware types from KP1 are also present at KP3, KP4 and KP31.

The frequency of utilitarian wares such as stoneware and coarse Asian porcelain is also suggestive. It is reasonable to link utilitarian vessels to domestic contexts, as these are forms not necessarily tied to the process of eating and drinking, and indicate the storage and preservation of food and drink at a dwelling. No stoneware was recovered from KP3, but it is present in relatively large amounts at KP4 and KP31. Asian porcelain appears in small frequencies at KP3 and in larger amounts at KP31, but none was recovered from KP4. In this regard, the presence of comparably large amounts of stoneware at KP4 and KP31 indicate that these areas were occupied in the ca. 1830-1860 phase. The absence of stoneware from KP3 possibly suggests that it was not occupied in this phase, and that occupation may have occurred during the mission period, one of Kicherer's 'Kraals of the Unbaptised Hottentots' (see Fig. 3.14) or even earlier. However, the ceramics do not necessarily date the structures at KP3 and KP4. At Structure 6 at KP31, on the other hand, the ceramics may place its construction to the ca. 1830-1860 phase, particularly as Structure 6 is part of a cluster of rectangular buildings that were built or, in the case of the church, recycled during the post-1830 period.

The ceramics from these areas provide little in the way of chronological guidance, but do suggest a different character and context to the larger assemblage, that speaks of a different identity and context present than that of KP1 at Werf 1 in the second ca. 1830-1860 phase. I will now describe and discuss the Werf 2 ceramic assemblage.

5.2. The Ceramic Assemblage at Werf 2

Werf 2 was occupied from the 1860s until 2012. It is unclear if the current farmhouse is the original house built on this *werf*, but there is no evidence of any other equivalent structure at Werf 2. It is clear that a large amount of the material lying on the midden, situated at the rear and southwest of the house, would have a 20th century date (Fig. 5.46). Therefore, the surface collection was selective, targeting fragments that fell into the broad categories already identified at Werf 1. Clearly, this selective sampling means that this assemblage does not represent the complete ceramic signature of Werf 2. The aim was to collect enough material to provide some comparison with Werf 1.



Figure 5.46: Google Earth image of the farmhouse and midden at Werf 2, showing the extent of the midden area, the ash dump, and quartile divisions.

Consequently, all transfer-printed, sponged, slipped, and painted ware was collected. Thinly-potted decorated porcelain was also picked up, as was any stoneware, coarse

earthenware, tin-glazed earthenware and Asian porcelain. Undecorated whiteware was selected if it showed diagnostic features or recognizable impressed or moulded decoration. Any fragment that showed a makers' mark was also collected.

The pick-up occurred in quartiles to preserve context, and potentially isolate 'older' surface scatters (Fig. 5.46). This separation initially continued into the laboratory until a cursory examination of the ceramics revealed little difference between sections. Consequently, they have been combined into a single Werf 2 sample.

Many of the ware types and decorative styles overlap with the Werf 1 ceramics. As a result, descriptions for the Werf 2 assemblage are brief and only elaborated in the comparison with Werf 1.

5.2.1. Methodology

Fragments were cleaned and then sorted by ware. Decoration styles within each ware group were isolated, counted and MNV estimates made. It was apparent early on in this process that vessels appeared to come from matched sets and this was kept in mind when sorting vessels.

5.2.2. Wares

The KP2 midden surface collection yielded 917 sherds representing 214 vessels.

Primary ware types at KP2 are European refined earthenwares, European and Asian porcelain, and European stoneware (Table 5.18).

Refined earthenware is most common and makes up nearly 80% of the assemblage. It is followed by European stoneware, European porcelain and Asian porcelain. No Asian stoneware, African earthenware, Asian earthenware, coarse earthenware or tin-glazed ware was found. European refined earthenware can be divided into white-bodied and coloured-bodied ware.

Table 5.18: Werf 2 ware and MNV frequencies (ceramic profile).

	(MNV)	(% MNV)
- Asian porcelain	7	3.3
- European porcelain	14	6.5
- European stoneware	24	11.2
- European refined earthenware	169	79
Total	214	100
Werf 2 MNV=214		

5.2.2.1. White-Bodied Refined Earthenware

Several decorative types where found in the white-bodied earthenware category (Table 5.19). Transfer-printed ware and lined/banded ware make up nearly half the REW assemblage, while spongeware and undecorated vessels make up nearly a quarter. The other five REW types make up the final quarter.

Table 5.19: Werf 2 white-bodied REW decorative categories.

	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 2)
Transfer printed	62	37.1	29
Band-and-line	36	21.6	16.8
Painted	5	2.9	2.3
Painted + Moulded	1	0.6	0.5
Spongeware	19	11.4	8.9
Slipware	12	7.2	5.6
Decal + enamel	2	1.2	0.9
Impressed/moulded	11	6.6	5.1
Undecorated	19	11.4	8.9
	167	100	78
Site MNV=214			

5.2.2.1.1 Transfer-Printed REW

Seven different colours were present in the transfer-printed category, plus multicolour printing. Blue-printed is the most common, followed by green, black, brown and purple/mulberry (Table 5.20).

Table 5.20: Werf 2 transfer-printed REW decorative categories.

Colour	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (Werf 2)
Blue-printed	25	40.3	11.7
Flow blue-printed	1	1.6	0.5
Black-printed	12	19.4	5.6
Red-printed	6	9.7	2.8
Green-printed	10	16.1	4.7
Brown-printed	3	4.8	1.4
Purple/mulberry-printed	1	1.6	0.5
Grey-printed	3	4.8	1.4
Multicolour	1	1.6	0.5
Total	62	99.9	29.1
Werf 2 MNV=214			

5.2.2.1.1.1. Blue Printed

The blue-printed category can be sub-divided by patterns, but two common 19th century patterns – Willow and Asiatic Pheasants – were dominant and accounted for 68% of the blue-printed vessels (Table 5.21). Other blue-printed patterns were mainly floral designs with linear borders, and only three non-Willow sherds showed scenic views. At least one of these showed a tower or minaret and may have been decorated with an Oriental or exotic central design.

Table 5.21: Werf 2 blue transfer-printed REW patterns.

Pattern	MNI	MNV	% MNV
Willow	59	11	44
Asiatic Pheasants	49	6	24
Other	48	8	32
Total	156	25	100

Three vessels had a slightly darker blue print. Two of these, a cup and saucer, were part of a matching set and showed similar design elements to a black-printed cup and saucer set (Set 1) described below. The third vessel is a large plate or dish showing an Autumn leaves pattern with no border or rim decoration. This item may have been part of a larger matched set, as five other fragments (not counted in the MNV) had matching decorations on slightly thinner or thicker bodies. At least one of these is the footring and marly of a saucer or small plate, and one is hollowware.

Five other blue-printed vessels were identified that were not Willow or Asiatic Pheasants. All of these showed floral designs. Two are small plates or saucers and one is a larger plate or dish. One is an unidentified hollowware and one is a cup.

The Willow pattern was a common, cheap design for white-bodied wares, popular throughout the 19th century (see Appendix B). Nine Willow pattern vessels are plates and dishes, and only two are hollowware, a cup, and a bowl with a scalloped rim, ribbed body and two handles.

The Asiatic Pheasants pattern shows a pheasant or pheasants amongst flowers and foliage, typically in a paler blue print, with an unremarkable floral border. It was the second most popular blue-printed design in the second half of the 19th century, and Coysh & Henrywood (1982: 29) list at least 34 makers who used the pattern prior to 1880. One fragment shows a partial makers mark. All the vessels with Asiatic Pheasant patterns were thicker-bodied flatware. Five are larger plates or dishes, and one is a smaller plate or dish.

5.2.2.1.1.2. Flow Blue Printed

Only one flow-blue printed sherd was recovered. The overall pattern is unclear and it belongs to an unidentified hollowware vessel.

5.2.2.1.1.3. Black Printed

There are twelve black printed vessels, six hollowware and six flatware. Hollowware vessels include four cups, one bowl and one tureen lid. Flatware vessels include four small plates or saucers, and two larger plates or dishes. The patterns on all the vessels are floral or geometric motifs, and one flatware vessel has printed text as part of the decoration.

At least seven black-printed vessels have matching decorations and form part of four different sets.

Set 1: A cup and matching saucer.

Set 2: A large plate and matching saucer.

Set 3: A bowl and matching tureen lid.

Set 4: A cup with a matching flatware base. The base did not form part of the MNV count.

The decoration on Set 1 matches the decoration on a blue-printed cup and saucer described above. There is one teacup handle sherd, possibly belonging to one of the counted cups.

5.2.2.1.1.4. Red Printed

There are five red-printed vessels in the assemblage. One is a cup, and the rest are flatware in the form of two saucers, one plate or dish, one soup dish, and one indeterminate form. The patterns throughout are simple floral or geometric motifs. The plate or dish and soup bowl are both marked 'BALMORAL' in red print on their bases. Balmoral was a floral pattern from the latter half of the century with few contemporary references. Both vessels may have belonged to a large matching dinner set. Furthermore, the cup and one saucer have similar design motifs, and may also have been a matching set purchased together. There is also one teacup handle fragment.

5.2.2.1.1.5. Green Printed

Ten green-printed vessels are present in the assemblage. Three are cups and there is one larger bowl. Six vessels are flatware, including three plates or dishes and three small plates or saucers. All are decorated with floral and/or geometric designs. There is one fragment of a teacup with a snapped handle.

5.2.2.1.1.6. Brown Printed

There are three brown-printed vessels, all of which are flatware. One is a large plate or possibly a platter, and the other is plate or dish. The large platter shows a thistle or thorn pattern with no border or rim motif. All other patterns visible on sherds are floral motifs. The third vessel is also a plate with a thick band of gold lustre or enamel around the border over a brown-printed floral design. There is one fragment of handle from a large tureen or jug.

5.2.2.1.1.7. Purple/Mulberry Printed

There is only one printed purple/mulberry piece, which comes from an indeterminate flatware vessel. The decoration is floral and geometric motifs.

5.2.2.1.1.8. Grey Printed

There are three grey-printed vessels, including one large plate, one tureen lid and one large unidentified hollowware vessel. The last vessel may be decorated with a scenic view, and the tureen lid shows repeating geometric motifs. The large plate is thick-bodied and decorated with the Rhine border pattern. The Rhine pattern refers to a number of romantic patterns produced throughout the Victorian era by a number of potters. The fragment shows the characteristic border pattern that would have framed the central scene of a river, trees, turreted buildings, and often travellers (Macready & Goodwyn 1990: 11).

5.2.2.1.1.9. Multicolour Printed

There is one multicolour printed fragment from the lid of a shop pot. There is text visible but is undecipherable.

5.2.2.1.1.10. Forms

In summary flatware vessels outnumber hollowware vessels by more than two to one in the transfer-printed category (Fig. 5.47). This suggests a preference for transfer-printed plates, platters and dishes over bowls, cups, basins and tureens. Over half the hollowware vessels are tea cups and only three are bowls and two are either cups or bowls.

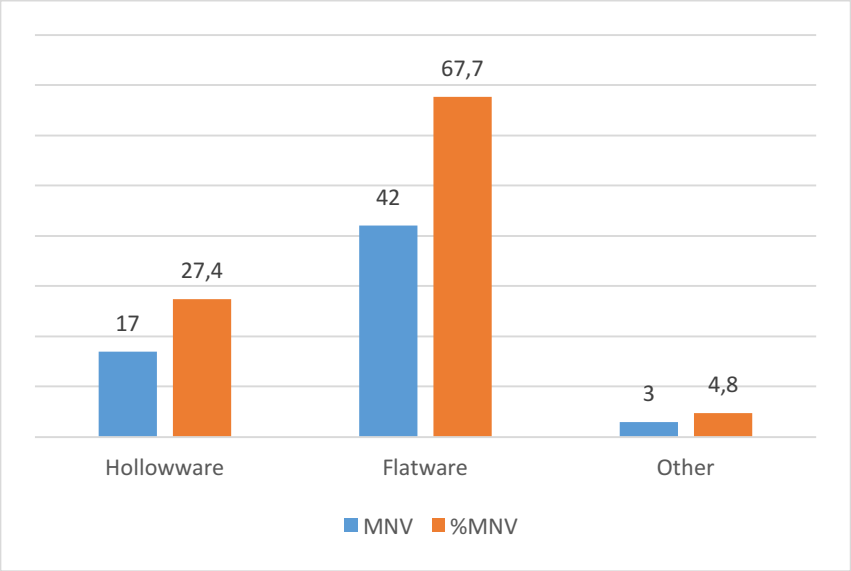


Figure 5.47: Chart showing the % MNV of transfer-printed REW forms at Werf 2 (MNV=62).

In terms of decoration, the transfer-printed category is dominated by floral and geometric motifs with linear borders. Only the blue-printed ware shows some variation, with the presence of Willow and Asiatic Pheasant patterns on 17 vessels. The variety of printed colours perhaps reflects the wider choice available in the second-half of the century, to be discussed in chapter 7.

5.2.2.1.2. Lined/Banded Ware

Lined/banded ware decorative elements come in three colours. Blue is most common, followed by red and green (Table 5.22). One fragment had a blue band at the rim with gold gilding and may date to the 1860s, before the other lined/banded vessels (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 161).

Table 5.22: Werf 2 Lined/banded REW decorative categories.

Colour	MNV	% MNV	% MNV (site)
Blue	28	77.8	13.1
Green	1	2.8	0.5
Red	6	16.7	2.8
Other	1	2.8	0.5
	36	100.1	16.9
Werf 2 MNV=214			

Twenty-eight vessels were decorated with blue band/lines. The majority (MNV=24) are flatware vessels, and only four are hollowware cups. Of the 24 flatware vessels, six are large, thickly potted plates or dishes, 14 are plates or dishes and four are saucers.

The blue band-and-line decorations are present in four styles. The most common is a thick band above a thin line at the rim, with a thin line just above the marly-cavetto edge (MNV=19). The second style, present on one plate/dish, is similar to the first but without the line at the marly-cavetto. The third style, also present on one plate/dish, comprises four thin lines running below the rim. The final style is a single line at the rim, present on only three saucers. Hollowware vessels in this ware type generally had single lines on the rim either in the interior or exterior of the vessel, except for one cup, that had a band and line on the exterior rim and a single line on the inside.

Only two green band-and-line fragments were recovered, representing one vessel, probably a bowl.

Six vessels were decorated with red bands. Four of these had similar band and line styles as the majority of the blue vessels; three are plates or dishes and one is a teacup with a snapped handle. One other vessel had three thin lines on the rim and another had one thin line on the rim. Both are plates or dishes.

Band-and-line ware was a popular decorative style on tea and tablewares towards the end of the 19th century. They are often called hotelware, being associated, at least in American contexts, with institutions such as hotels, trading companies, and shipping liners (Miller 1991: 7). Some vessels, particularly those made specifically for institutions, would have printed hotel or liner emblems or insignia as part of the decoration. Catalogues rarely advertised or sold these wares as individual pieces, instead they came as part of sets or in bulk and purchasers could make up their own sets depending on their need.

5.2.2.1.3. Slipware

There are only 12 slipware vessels in the assemblage, all of which are bowls. The slip decoration is mainly simple banded types; only three vessels showed more complex patterns, including finger-trailing, slip-trailing and speckling. Blue is the dominant colour, appearing on at least eight vessels. Not counted in the MNV, but present in the slipware assemblage, are two fragments of London-style bowl bevels, suggesting that the London-style, carinated shape was still the prevailing form.

5.2.2.1.4. Painted Ware

All the painted ware is in harsh, polychrome colours. Only five vessels were counted, all cups or bowls. One hollowware body fragment showed the snapped attachment of a handle and was a teacup, suggesting that the painted ware may be teaware. One vessel may have been decorated in painted sprig patterns, although this is ambiguous.

5.2.2.1.5. Spongeware

Nineteen spongeware vessels were identified, six flatware and thirteen hollowware. Flatware vessels include two saucers, two larger plates or dishes and two unidentified forms. Eight hollowware vessels are cups, four are bowls and one is an unidentified hollowware. One saucer and cup comes from a matching set, showing a similar black chevron design with multicolour lines, with the cup decorated on the exterior and the saucer on the interior.

All spongeware vessels showed bright cut sponge designs in combination with painted lines. Some of the cut sponge patterns include repeating shells, flowers, suns, chevrons, crosses, dots and circles. At least three hollowware vessels had flat vertical moulded flutes or ribs running down the outside body. These were probably bowls.

5.2.2.1.6. Moulded/Impressed Designs

Eleven vessels had moulded or impressed decorations. It is likely that these vessels are ironstones or white granite. One of these was a cup with a ribbed body. The remainder are six plates or dishes and four are small plates with moulded rim decorations. Several moulded motifs have been identified by Samford (2014: 38-39) on American ironstone or white granite vessels. These are geometric and panelled, harvest, foliage, classical, and ribbed motifs, and plain and rounded forms. The decorations here show a variety of leaves, dots, fleur-de-lis' and shells repeating around the vessels on the marly below the rim and would be considered geometric, foliage and possibly harvest motifs.

Geometric motifs were a common style in the 1840s and 1850s. Harvest motifs appeared in the 1860s and show patterns of wheat, grapes and corn. Foliage motifs appeared in the 1860s, and, like harvest motifs, show flora. Ribbed motifs appear a little later and show thin bands of ribbing encircling hollowware vessels.

It has already been mentioned that plain and decorated ironstone vessels were primarily manufactured for the American market, but may appear in small numbers at Cape sites as part of surplus supplies originally bound for America. Klose & Malan (2000: 50) suggest that South Africa was not a predetermined market for this ware, however, 'ironstone' or 'stone

china' marked vessels are found at mid-19th century urban sites in the Cape, albeit in small numbers (Malan & Klose 2003: 202). None of the vessels here are marked.

5.2.2.1.7. Undecorated Whiteware

This was one of the larger categories collected in terms of recovered sherds (MNI=242). Nineteen vessels were counted, using rims. This included nine large plates or dishes, three small plates, five cups, one large basin and one lid. There are five teacup handles, two of which of the same shape and possibly belong to a matching set. These handles may have been attached to decorated vessels.

5.2.2.1.8. Other REW Types

There is one fragment showing a moulded and painted decoration of a green leaf on a brown background. There are two hollowware vessels decorated with lithograph or decal printed outlines with overglaze enamels. A cup is decorated with a stylized cherry bush and the other unidentified vessel shows a robin.

5.2.2.2. Coloured Bodied Refined Earthenware

There are only two coloured-body REW fragments in the assemblage, representing two flatware vessels. One is blue-bodied and the other is brown-bodied teapotware, probably a saucer.

5.2.2.3. European Porcelain

A total of 14 vessels are European porcelain. Only one vessel is undecorated, a cup. Eight of the decorated vessels are hollowware, including six cups, one handled cup/bowl, and one indeterminate hollowware form (Table 5.23). Six vessels are flatware, most likely small plates or saucers. Decorative techniques include gilding, lustre, moulding, decal printing, lining, printing, and print and paint. All porcelain vessels, except for a Willow pattern handled bowl and possibly a lined unidentified hollowware vessel, are specifically for drinking tea.

Table 5.23: Werf 2 European porcelain decorative categories and vessel forms.

		MNV	Vessel Forms	Comment
Undecorated		1	Cup	
Decorated	Gilded	2	Cup, saucer	Set
	Pink lustre	1	Cup	
	Print + Paint	2	Saucers	
	Printed	3	2 saucers, bowl	Willow bowl
	Decal printed	2	Cups	
	Lined	1	Unknown HW	
	Moulded	2	Cup, saucer	

Most of the porcelain probably dates to the late 19th to early 20th century or later.

5.2.2.4. European Stoneware

The European stoneware category was dominated by British commercial salt-glazed ware (MNV=18). Liquid-glazed ware was next most common (MNV=4) and only one vessel, an ink pot, was unglazed. Six fragments were too damaged or weathered to assign a glaze type. Of the 18 salt-glazed vessels, five are ink pots. The remaining 13 are British commercial storage jars or pots. The four liquid-glazed vessels are also British produced storage jars or pots. No vessels were marked with a manufacturer or product name.

5.2.2.5. Asian Porcelain

There are six Asian porcelain vessels, primarily ginger jars (MNV=4) and two pieces are lids. There is also one undecorated porcelain footring from a handled teacup stamped 'Made in Occupied Japan' on the base (see below). If it were not for the stamp there would be no indication that this porcelain is of Asian origin.

5.2.3. Makers' Marks On REW & Porcelain

A total of 18 fragments showed makers marks, of which only seven could be positively identified. These include from manufacturers in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Finland and Staffordshire, England.

5.2.3.1. R. Cochran & Co., Glasgow

A red-printed saucer bears the printed mark of Robert Cochran & Co., Glasgow. Robert Cochran & Co. produced earthenwares and stonewares from 1846 to ca. 1920 (Godden 1990: 157-158). The company ran two potteries in Glasgow, the Verreville Pottery at Finnieston and the Britannia Pottery at St. Rollox (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 88). The Britannia Pottery only operated until 1896, meaning this vessel, marked 'St. Rollox' (Fig. 5.48), was probably made prior to that date (Godden 1990: 158). The missing section of the mark may show a seated Britannia figure holding a trident. Godden (1990: 158) mentions a printed mark of a seated figure of Britannia occurring on a mark from 1875, potentially narrowing the production date to between 1875 and 1896.



Figure 5.48: A collection of maker's mark on REW vessels from Werf 2. Clockwise from top left: Balmoral pattern mark from an unidentified maker, Doulton impressed mark, Arabia mark, unidentified '-E STREET POTTER-' mark, R. Cochran & Co. mark, unidentified Moselle mark, James F. Wileman mark.

5.2.3.2. Doulton & Co. Ltd., Burslem

Two fragments of a black-printed saucer (MNV=1) have the impressed mark of Doulton & Co. Ltd. The mark shows 'Burslem' as part of the mark, below a circled interlocking D motif (Fig. 5.48). There are very feint, indistinct characters scratched or impressed below the main mark. These characters could either be the date of manufacture, the monogram of the artist

responsible for the piece, or possibly just a fault in the production. Unfortunately, they are too feint to decipher.

Doulton ran works at Burslem in Staffordshire from ca. 1882, and at Lambeth, London, from ca. 1858 (Godden 1990: 213, 214). This particular mark was used from 1882 to 1902. 'England' was added below the mark from 1891, but whether this was always the case is unclear. However, this suggests that this piece may date from between 1882-1891.

5.2.3.3. James F. Wileman, Longton

One large black-printed dish has a printed mark of James F. Wileman of Longton, Staffordshire (see Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 401). The printed marks are 'Floral', a pattern name, 'Foley Potteries', the name of the factory, and 'J.F.W.', the distinguishing initials (Fig. 5.48). James F. Wileman ran the factory from 1869 to 1892, when it subsequently became Wileman & Co. (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 401).

5.2.3.4. Moulin des Loups & Hamage (Orchies), France

One undecorated plate has the mark for Moulin des Loups, a French manufacturer of faience, a type of fine earthenware with a tin glaze, and majolica, a thick-bodied, white glazed earthenware (Fig. 5.48). A plate found on Ebay with a similar windmill mark dates from 1920 to 1940, although the windmill mark may have been used earlier.

5.2.3.5. De Sphinx, Maastricht

An overglaze enamelled, decal/lithograph printed bowl shows the partial mark of De Sphinx or Royal Sphinx of Maastricht, the Netherlands (Fig. 5.49). De Sphinx initially made faience for the local Dutch market from 1836, before expanding their operations into other wares in the 20th century (D'Imperio 1974: 135; Chervenka 2003: 136). The sphinx mark was used from ca. 1880 until the 1950s.

5.2.3.6. Arabia, Finland

One undecorated plate or saucer has the stamped mark of the Arabia firm of Finland. This particular mark dates to the 1932 to 1949 period, and assuming the stamped '37' indicates the manufacturing date, places it at 1937 (Fig. 5.48). Arabia generally made tableware.



Figure 5.49: A fragment of REW HW with the printed mark of De Sphinx, Holland.

5.2.3.7. Other Marks

Another printed mark on an undecorated fragment shows the top half of a Britannia figure with 'MOSELLE' printed above (Fig. 5.48). Moselle is the name of a pattern, or collection, seemingly popular in the first half of the 20th century. *The Reliquary, Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review* of 1873-74 mentions the registering of a Moselle design by Powell & Bishop of Hanley, describing it as a pattern "with festoons and medallions after the French" (*The Reliquary* XIV 1874: 173).

By the 20th century, however, the Moselle pattern appears to have become less 'French', more floral, and was reproduced as such by more pottery firms. Wedgewood and Doulton had their own Moselle patterns or collections, both variants of relatively simple, repetitive floral motifs. A floral pattern called 'Moselle' was also produced by the American pottery firm Homer Laughlin and the Japanese firm Meito in the first half of the 20th century (Frederiksen 2003: 30; Page *et al*. 2003: 472).

According to Godden (1990: 104) a Britannia makers' mark was used by at least four pottery firms. One was only in operation from 1967 to 1987 and can be discounted. Interestingly, another is Cochran & Fleming, the successor of R. Cochran & Co. described above, who used the mark from 1896 to 1920. Post-1920, Cochran & Fleming became the Britannia Pottery

Co. maintaining the seated Britannia figure (Collard 1983: 76; Godden 1990: 105, 158). Finally, the mark could belong to Dudson, Wilcox & Till Ltd. of Hanley, Staffordshire, who were in operation from 1902-1926 (Godden 1990: 223). Both the pattern and the mark suggest an early 20th century date.

Two red-printed saucers are marked with BALMORAL, referring to the floral pattern (Fig. 5.48). Unlike the Balmoral marks from Werf 1, these are not enclosed by a rectangular cartouche and cannot be confidently assigned to Mann & Co., Hanley.

Eight further flatware bases are marked. Four are impressed or stamped with characters probably giving batch or pattern signifiers. There are three unidentified printed marks. One partial mark has '-E STREET POTTER-' printed in a circle, topped with a crown, on an undecorated plate or dish (Fig. 5.48). A second partial mark is from a plate decorated with the Asiatic Pheasants pattern and shows the generic Asiatic Pheasants mark. This was used by many manufacturers but this variability is only indicated by the makers name or initials. A final unidentified printed mark is from a Willow pattern vessel, showing part of the royal crest, possibly with Staffordshire printed above.

Two porcelain cups had stamped makers' marks. One vessel shows a generic mark, probably dating to before 1945, and the Japanese marked piece (Fig. 5.50) dates from 1945 to c. 1955, when Japan was forced to mark her exports as 'Made in Occupied Japan' as part of post-WWII global politics.

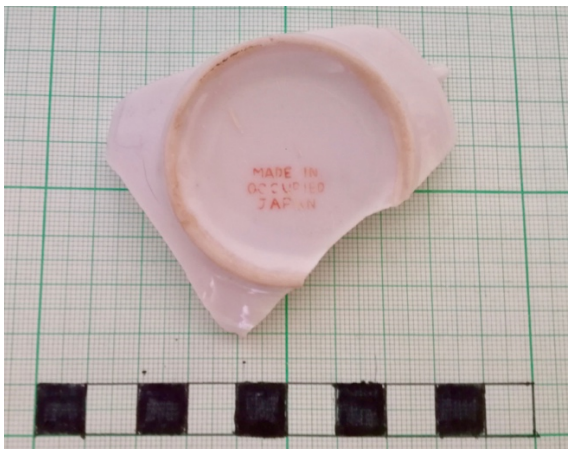


Figure 5.50: A fragment of Asian porcelain with a 'Made In Occupied Japan' mark.

5.2.4. Werf 2 Ceramic Sequence

Establishing a detailed chronology for the Werf 2 midden is not as acute as the need for Werf 1 and the chronological features of the Werf 2 ceramics are not representative of the of the whole assemblage. Rather it is assumed that the ceramics collected represent the earliest ceramic at the modern midden. Despite the fact that most ceramic chronology is at best relative, Malan and Klose (2003: 205) suggest that such wares as moulded/embossed, band-and-line, cut-sponge, bright chrome painted, floral and geometric brown and grey printed, pink lustre, and gilded porcelain are all "significant 'markers' of the later nineteenth century". All of these are present in the Werf 2 assemblage. Other evidence of a later 19th century date are the makers' marks and three identified ceramics produced in the last quarter of the 19th century, and at least three from the 20th century.

Other late 19th century 'markers' include the Asiatic Pheasants pattern, the Rhine pattern, and the popularity of floral decorations over scenic views. The Asiatic Pheasants pattern, as mentioned, entered South Africa around the middle of the century and quickly became one of the most common transfer-printed patterns. The Rhine pattern had a similar trajectory but probably entered the country later than the Asiatic Pheasants pattern. The increasing popularity of floral designs over scenic views perhaps reflects wider trends in pottery manufacture in Britain rather than taste in South Africa. In the second half of the 19th century, less *Chinoiserie* transfer-printed wares were produced as well as pastoral, British, exotic, classical, romantic and Gothic style central motifs (Samford 1997: 16). While floral designs were produced from the beginning of the century, their presence on wares continued until at least the mid 1870s. These later floral motifs were often either sheet patterns or central motifs surrounded by white, undecorated areas. Other popular late century styles either had no central motifs at all or were part of the British fad for Japanese designs. This is reflected in South African assemblages (see Malan & Klose 2003: 205), and in the assemblage here.

5.2.5. Ceramic Form and Function at Werf 2

The same problems were encountered in identifying the form of Werf 2 vessels as at Werf 1 and methodology and assumptions made are the same.

At Werf 2, there is a near parity of hollowware (46.7%) and flatware (50.5%) forms. This ratio changes to over 3 flatware to 1 hollowware vessel when only tableware is counted (including cup/bowl vessels). Plates and dishes clearly dominate at Werf 2 and were common tableware forms. In contrast bowls and cup/bowls account for only 13% (Fig. 5.51).

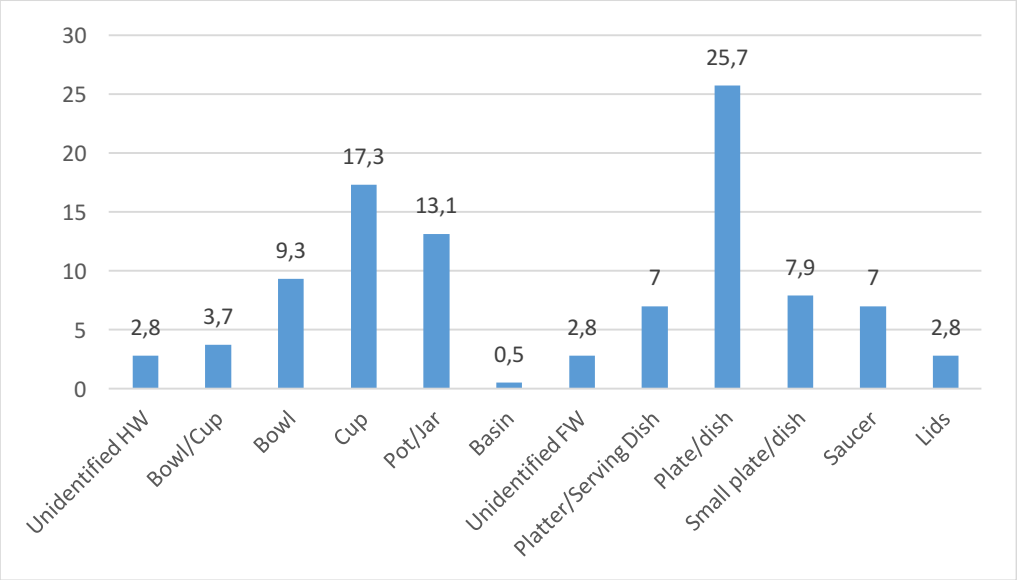


Figure 5.51: Chart showing the % MNV of all ceramic forms from Werf 2 (MNV=214).

A vessel count was taken on undecorated whiteware footrings to test the ratio of hollowware to flatware forms. These were not considered for the assemblage MNV as they may have belonged to decorated vessels. Undecorated whiteware footrings were separated into hollowware and flatware forms, matching footrings grouped, and a vessel count taken. Thirty-three flatware vessels were counted and 22 hollowware, which is consistent with the ratio arrived at when comparing initial MNV vessel counts.

Cups are the next most common form present (MNV=37). Taking into account that there are three teacup vessels with snapped handles and seven unattached handle fragments, it is probable that most of these are teacups. Seven cups are porcelain and thirty refined earthenware. The third most common form are pots/jars, all of which are storage vessels (Fig. 5.51).

A significant feature of the Werf 2 assemblage is the number pieces with matching decoration. These probably formed parts of sets. Eight sets were identified.

Set 1: black-printed cup and saucer.
Set 2: black-printed large plate/dish and saucer.
Set 3: black-printed bowl and tureen lid.
Set 4: black-printed cup and unidentified flatware.
Set 5: blue-printed cup and saucer. These vessels had the same decorative motifs as Set 1.
Set 6: blue-printed large plate/dish with associated matching vessel bases.
Set 7: red-printed flatware bases with identical 'BALMORAL' marks.
Set 8: cut sponge cup and saucer.

Furthermore, there were two undecorated whiteware snapped teacup handles with the same profiles and shape, that may have belonged to either decorated or undecorated cups from a set. Additionally, as mentioned, band-and-line flatware vessels were often purchased as sets or in bulk.

Seven of the eight identified sets are transfer-printed wares. Sets 1, 5 and 8 contain matching cups and saucers, suggesting that these are teaware sets, usually consisting of only a cup and saucer, and, occasionally, a tea bowl. A tea bowl is a collectors term for a tea cup without a handle, and can also mean a slop bowl. The vessels in sets 1 and 5 have the same decorative motif in two different transfer-printed colours. This suggests that these vessels were possibly purchased at the same time and possibly from the same vendor, who had this decorative motif present in a variety of colours. Sets 2 and 4 contain tableware and teaware forms, which may indicate that these sets were particularly large ones.

The remaining sets contain only tableware forms, such as bowls, large plates/dishes, and tureen lids. Set 6 only contains one identified vessel, but five unidentified fragments showed the same decorative motif. At least one is a small plate or saucer and one is an indeterminate hollowware vessel. The Balmoral pattern vessels in Set 7 are indeterminate flatware forms and these sets may have only contained tableware vessels.

In terms of ceramic function, only five categories are present including unidentified forms. Food serving and consumption vessels make up just over 50% of the assemblage, drinking vessels account for just under 29%, and storage vessels 14.5% (Table 5.24). Only one vessel, a large undecorated REW basin with a sloped rim, is possibly related to health and hygiene. Caution is needed, because of the nature of the KP2 sample, in being too categorical about form and function and while the importance of food and drink is to be expected, the most significant comparative attribute is the prominence of matched plate and tea sets.

Table 5.24: Form and function of ceramic vessels at Werf 2.

Form & possible function		Porcelain		Stoneware		Earthen-ware	REW	MNV	% MNV
		Asian	Euro.	Asian	Euro.				
Food & drink storage								31	14.5
	Jar	4			24				
	Comm./shop pot cover						1		
	Lid	2							
Food serving & consumption								109	50.9
	Platter/serving dish						15		
	Plate/dish						55		
	Small plate/dish						17		
	Bowl		1				19		
	Tureen lid						2		
Drinking								61	28.5
	Cup/bowl						8		
	Cup	1	6				30		
	Saucer		6				9		
	Teapot lid						1		
Health & hygiene								1	0.5
	Basin						1		
Unidentified forms									
	Hollowware		1				5	12	5.6
	Flatware						6		
Totals		7	14		24		169	214	100

The flatware vessels in the food serving and consumption category are either transfer-printed, spongeware, moulded/impressed or undecorated. Just under half are transfer-printed vessels (MNV=37), and the next most common are band-and-line wares (MNV=26). The ubiquity of these two types, together account for nearly 80% of flatware in this

functional category and suggests that there was a division between the use of certain decorated wares. Band-and-line plates were commonly bought in bulk from wholesalers at presumably cheaper prices, hence their popularity at institutions such as hotels and liners. Transfer-printed plates were still relatively costly in the second half of the century, and only ironstone forms were more expensive (see Miller 1980: 26). Furthermore, five of the eight identified sets are potentially large transfer-printed ware sets that would have contained a variety of both hollowware and flatware forms.

5.3. Werf 1 and Werf 2 Assemblage Comparison

The Werf 2 ceramic assemblage given above does not represent the complete ceramic signature of Werf 2. As noted, sampling was selective, and certain types and decorations were specifically recovered. The aim was to collect a large enough sample to compare with the assemblage from Werf 1.

Before outlining this comparison, as stated above, caution has to be taken in drawing too much from the form and function of the limited ceramic sample from Werf 2. To provide a measure of control to the Werf 2 assemblage, ceramic forms from Schimmelfontein (SCH1), a late 19th Karoo farm are added to the comparison (see Moffett 2010). Schimmelfontein is situated 22km east of Loxton, Northern Cape, and contains a substantial midden, associated with the main farmhouse, excavated as part of a University of Cape Town Honours project (see Moffett 2010). The site is situated approximately 100km east of Kerkplaats in what was then the Nieuweveld region of the Victoria West division, Beaufort. The SCH1 ceramic assemblage dates from the second half of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th.

5.3.1. Ware Types

Figure 5.52 shows the comparison of ceramic wares at Werf 1, Werf 2 and SCH1 expressed as a percentage of the MNV. REW vessels are dominant at all three, and Asian porcelain and European stoneware vessels are more common at Werf 1. Neither Asian stoneware nor European tin-glazed ware is present at Werf 2 and SCH1, due to these forms disappearing at South African sites through the century (Malan & Klose 2003). European coarse earthenware is present in negligible amounts at Werf 1 and SCH1 but not present at all at

Werf 2. The frequency of European porcelain vessels is greater in the later 19th century assemblages at Werf 2 and SCH1 than at Werf 1.

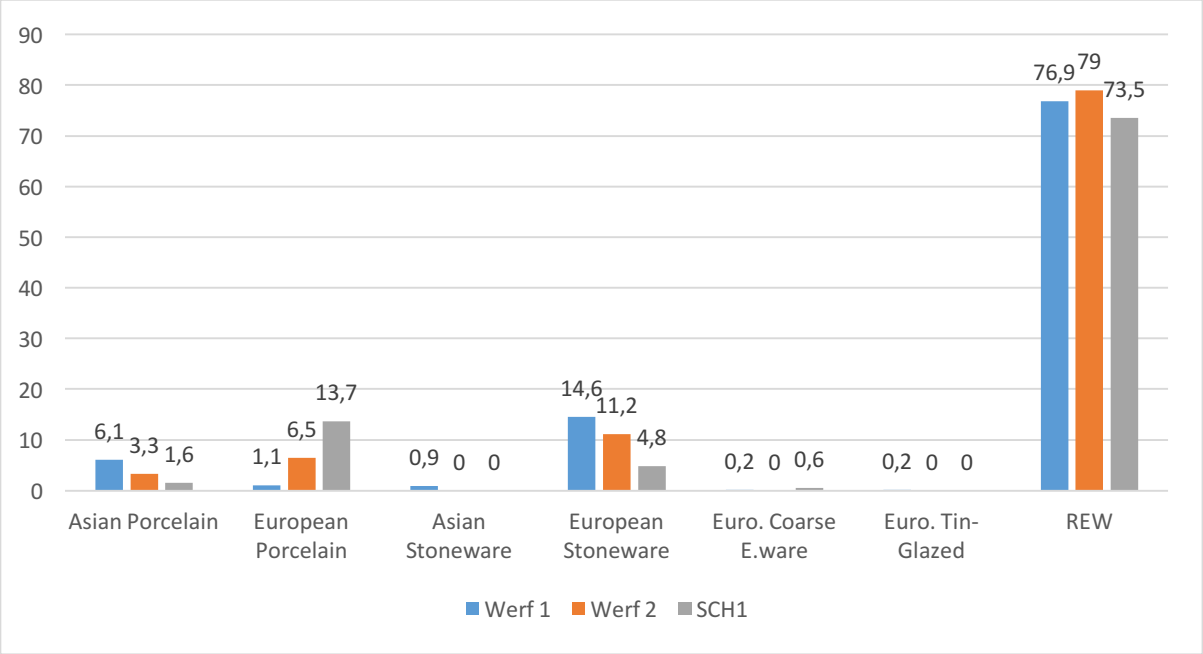


Figure 5.52: Chart showing a comparison of ware types of ceramic at Werf 1 and Werf 2 and SCH1 at Schimmelfontein (% MNV).

Most of the ware discrepancies between the sites are due to changes in the nature of ceramic production through time. The presence of Asian stoneware and European tin-glazed wares in South Africa declined in the first quarter of the 19th century, replaced, loosely, by European stoneware and REW respectively. Other than coarse ginger jars, Asian porcelain also declined in frequency through the century, and saw for a corresponding increase in the frequency of European porcelain forms.

5.3.2. Refined Earthenware

Although the proportion of REW at each assemblage is similar, there a number of differences evident within decorative sub-categories within REW (Fig 5.53). Similar to ceramic wares, the proportion of certain REW types, such as band & line, paint & moulded, moulded, and decal/enamelled, can be accounted for by changes and availability through time. Other types, such as transfer-printed, painted, spongeware, slipware, and undecorated whitewares, were available from the beginning of the 1830 occupation through to the end of the century. Transfer-printed REW, spongeware and undecorated

whiteware are more numerous at the late 19th century Werf 2 and SCH1 assemblages. Yet the quantity of slipware vessels at Werf 1 is disproportionately large. They are clearly the most common vessels at Werf 1, and are nearly six times more numerous there than at Werf 2 and SCH1. The difference is also significant for painted vessels, which are over seven times more common at Werf 1 than Werf 2 and twice as common compared to SCH1.

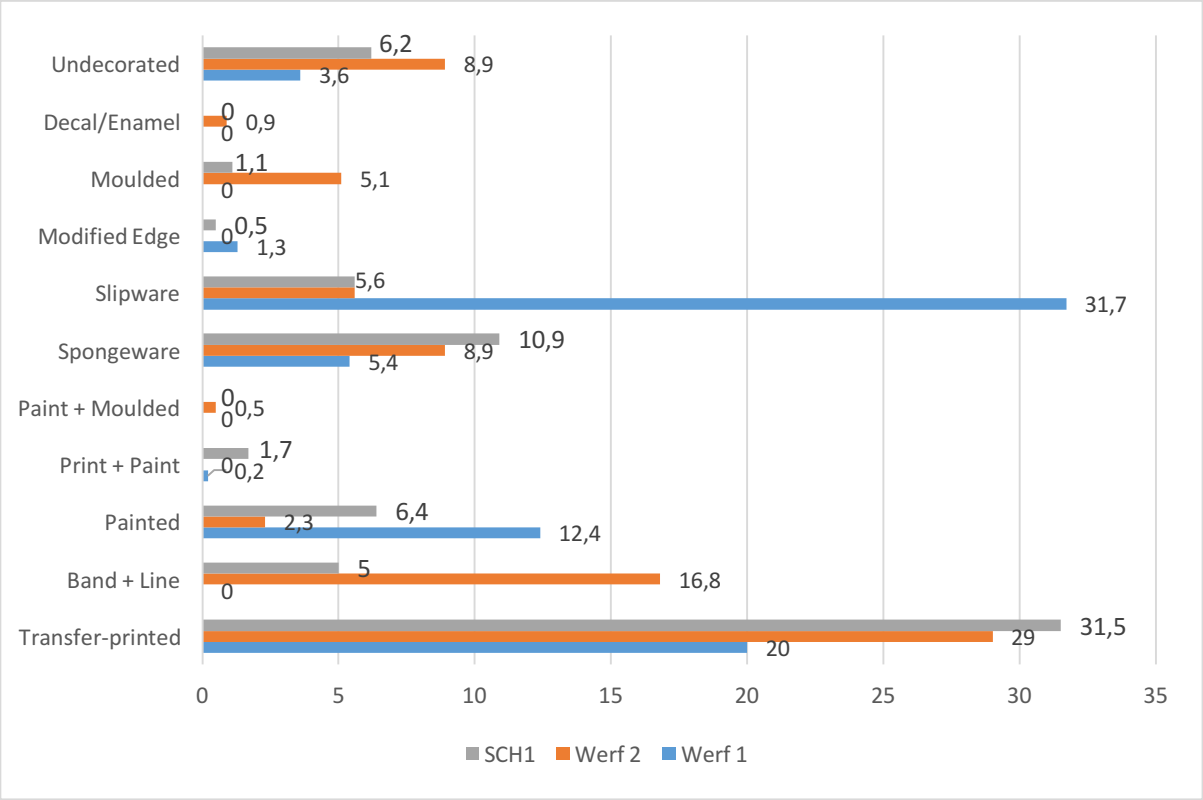


Figure 5.53: Chart showing REW decoration at Werf 1 and Werf 2 at Kerkplaats and SCH1 at Schimmelfontein (% MNV)

5.3.2.1. Decoration

Within each REW decorative category further differences are observed. In spongeware, there is a greater variety of decorative techniques at Werf 1 than at Werf 2 and SCH1. Cut sponge designs are common at all three sites, and open and spatter designs occur more frequently at Werf 1 than Werf 2 and SCH1. The modified edge vessels in each assemblage also differ. No modified edge forms were recovered from Werf 2 and the SCH1 vessels are painted and show no scalloping or moulding along the rims. The modified edge vessels at Werf 1, however, are all moulded and/or scalloped. In the painted ware category, softer chrome colours are absent from SCH1 and Werf 2 but present at Werf 1.

Noticeable differences are visible in the decorative styles of slipware and transfer-printed ware. The slipware at SCH1 and Werf 2 shows less variety in colour and decorative style, limited to bright blues with brown and black bands, and only five vessels at SCH1 and three at Werf 2 show more complex slipware decorative techniques, namely mocha, cabling, rouletting, slip-trailing and speckling (Moffett 2010: 62). At Werf 1, however, the slipware vessels show earthier colours of reds and browns, although blue banding is still common, and at least seven different designs can be identified, as outlined above.

Blue transfer-printed vessels are common at all sites and are the dominant forms at Werf 1 and Werf 2 (Fig. 5.54). Flow-blue is most common at Werf 1, but all other transfer-printed colours are more numerous at either Werf 2 and/or SCH1 than at Werf 1. Again, this is due to an increase in variety, and colour, through time.

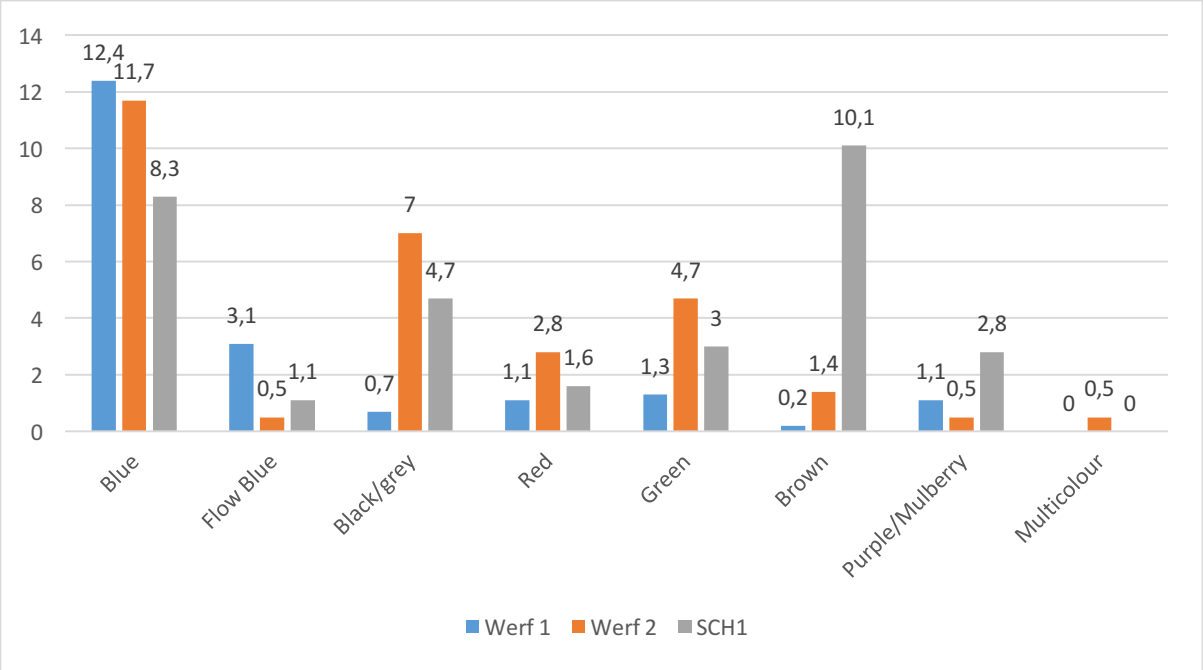


Figure 5.54: Chart showing the colours of transfer-printed REW at Werf 1 and Werf 2 at Kerkplaats and SCH1 at Schimmelfontein (% MNV).

There are also subtle differences in transfer-printed decorative motifs at the sites. At Werf 2 and SCH1, many vessels show decoration at the rims and large spaces of white between the borders and the central designs. Central motifs are primarily floral, although a number show romantic and Gothic revival style images of castles, towers, lakes and rural British scenes

(Moffett 2010: 58). Some patterns are shared by Werf 2 and SCH1 transfer-printed vessels. This includes the Willow pattern - similarly common at Werf 1 - the Rhine pattern and Asiatic Pheasant. The latter two are not identified at Werf 1. Other designs present at Werf 2 and SCH1 include vignette and Greek key border designs, which are absent from the Werf 1 assemblage. At Werf 1, floral motifs are also common, and generally appear as fuller designs with less undecorated white space on the vessel body. Exotic, oriental and rural scenes, such as that of the Wild Rose pattern, are also more common at Werf 1.

5.3.2.2. Form

At the broad scale of hollowware and flatware Werf 2 and SCH1 show similarly equal proportions of each. At Werf 1, however, the percentage of hollowware forms is nearly double that of both Werf 2 and SCH1, and the proportion of flatware at Werf 1 is around four times less than that of the later 19th century sites (Fig. 5.55).

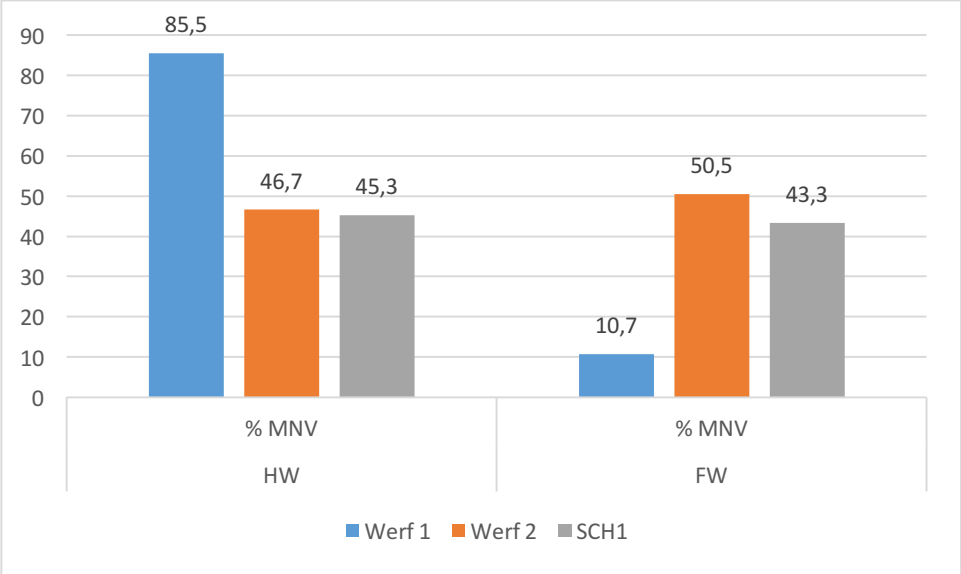


Figure 5.55: Chart showing hollowware and flatware forms at Werf 1 and Werf 2 at Kerkplaats and SCH1 at Schimmelfontein (% MNV).

Figure 5.56 shows the distribution of specific ceramic forms at each site and confirms the dominance of hollowware at Werf 1. Vessels in the bowl and bowl/cup category make up a much greater proportion of vessels at Werf 1 than at Werf 2 and SCH1. There are nearly three times more bowls at Werf 1 than Werf 2 and SCH1. Plate/dishes are numerous at Werf 2 compared to both other sites. Another notable disparity is in the large

basin/bowl/tureen category. Although negligible at Werf 2 and not ubiquitous at SCH1, there are proportionally over eight times more of these vessels at SCH1 than at Werf 1. SCH1 has a large amount of cups, although not as much as the Werf 2 sample, and the most saucers.

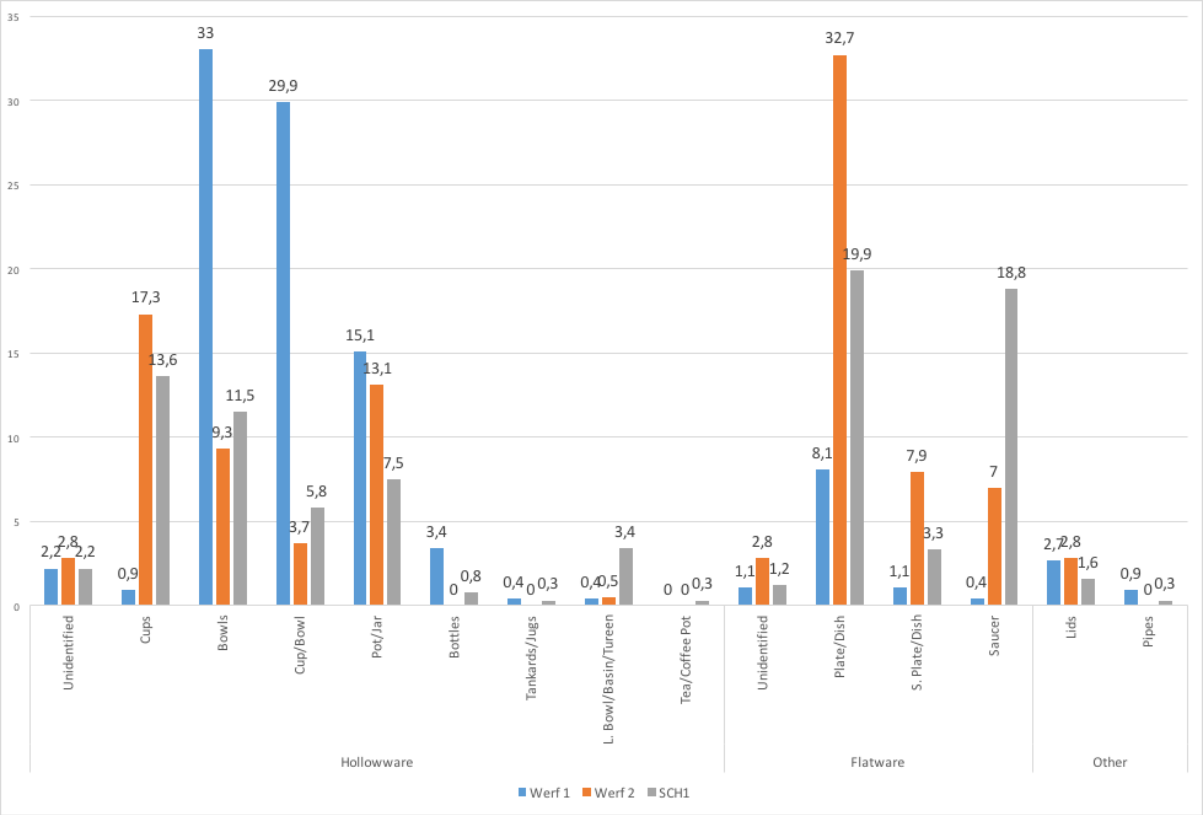


Figure 5.56: Chart showing vessel forms at Werf 1 and Werf 2 at Kerkplaats and SCH1 at Schimmelfontein.

This data suggests a possible difference in form frequency between the middle of the 19th century and its closing decades. Mid-19th century Werf 1 is dominated by hollowware, primarily in the form of bowls, and the late-19th century Werf 2 and SCH1 contain both forms relatively equally, but show a marked increase in the number of flatware and teaware forms.

5.3.2.3. Matching Sets of REW Vessels

Both the Werf 2 and SCH1 assemblages show evidence of matching sets of ceramics. As outlined in the ceramic description above, the Werf 2 assemblage shows evidence of at least eight matching sets of vessels, in blue, black and red transfer-printed designs and in

spongeware. The SCH1 assemblage also contains a large number of sets with matching decorations. This includes transfer-printed cups and saucers, plates, tureens and dishes in blue, black/grey, green and brown prints, cups and saucers in matching print & paint decorations, and matching sponge-decorated cups, saucers and bowls (Moffett 2010: 59-63). Werf 1, on the other hand, shows no evidence of matching sets in either tableware or teaware.

5.3.3. Discussion

Each assemblage shows characteristics typical of 19th century Cape sites - bright, gaudy colours on relatively inexpensive, mass-produced wares. Forms in both assemblages, although more varied at Werf 2 and SCH1, are not specialised and generally conservative. Some dissonance in ware type and decoration is accounted for by differing occupation periods. Other differences, however, speak of a perceptible shift in choice and function from the middle of the century to its later half.

Certainly, the majority of the are chronological. The assemblages at Werf 2 and SCH1 are characteristic of the second half of the 19th century in the Cape (Malan & Klose 2003). There is greater variety in REW decoration, a lack of Asian wares and a greater amount of European porcelain. Werf 2 was occupied earlier in the century and the ceramic shows less variety in REW decoration, more Asian wares, and a near absence of European porcelain.

Many of the variations within REW can be explained by widespread changes in the production and decoration of REW taking place in the second half of the century. The differences in the REW assemblages between the Werf 1 and the other two assemblages in many ways reflects this. After c. 1850 more varieties of these forms were produced and became more easily available in the Cape (see Malan & Klose 2003). A number of the differences between the assemblages, however, go beyond chronology. This includes the discrepancy in the amounts of European porcelain, painted, sponged and slipware, and hollowware and flatware.

European, particularly British, porcelain in the form of teaware was present in the Cape from 1800. However, it appears to have generally been confined to more well-to-do homes

in the first decades of the century (Malan 1993: 137). Formal matching tea sets were particularly expensive in this period and, for the ordinary household, teaware appears to have been Asian porcelain. With the shift from Asian to British ceramics that accompanied British rule at the Cape, REW forms gradually replaced Asian porcelain as the teaware of choice for most ordinary households. In the 1830s, European porcelain begins to appear at urban Cape sites in greater amounts, suggesting that its availability was increasing (see Klose 1997: 136, 148; Klose & Malan 2000: 52). The disparity of porcelain vessels between the compared assemblages, however, suggests that the quantity of European porcelain reaching the Karoo before 1860 is low and only entering the marginal regions of the Karoo in the last quarter of the 19th century. In this period, European porcelain become the second most prevalent ware at SCH1 and at least one other Karoo site, that of Libanon near Victoria West, where the proportion of European porcelain recovered (14.7%) is even larger than that of SCH1 (Cottee 2015: 44). There was clearly a shift in the role and value of European porcelain in rural areas taking place at this time.

The difference in painted ware, slipware and spongeware vessels at the Werf 1 and Werf 2 and SCH1 speaks of ceramic preference. The absence of 'soft' painted colours is certainly due to their replacement by harsh polychrome decorations before the middle of the century. Both spongeware and polychrome painted wares were common in South Africa from ca. 1830 until 1900, and slipware even longer, and the assumption was that all wares would be present in similar amounts at all sites. Yet, painted vessels are far more numerous in the later Werf 2 and SCH1 assemblages than at Werf 1, and the presence of spongeware is greater at Werf 1 than at Werf 2 and SCH1 (Fig. 5.53). This disparity, along with the excessive slipware at Werf 1, suggests painted wares became more popular and widespread in rural areas later in the century.

Looking beyond ware type and decoration, there is a large divergence in ceramic form between mid-century Werf 1 and late-century Werf 2 and SCH1. This is evident at the scale of hollowware and flatware. There is a similar proportion of hollowware and flatware at Werf 2 and SCH1 (Fig. 5.55). At Werf 1, however, the vessels are predominantly hollowware, and specifically bowls (Fig. 5.55, Fig. 5.56). Bowls are multi-functional and can be used for eating *and* drinking. There is a lack of unqualified cups at Werf 1, which supports this and

suggests that bowls were used for both purposes at Werf 1. This, along with the negligible amount of tureens and serving dishes, indicates that there is a lack of vessel function specialisation and/or standardisation at Werf 1.

This stands in contrast to Werf 2 and SCH1 and may be related to the absence of teaware at Werf 1. Cups and saucers, as well as tureens and serving dishes, are more common at Werf 2 and SCH1 in particular. Teaware at both Werf 2 and SCH1 commonly occur in matching sets, as do some flatware tableware forms. These factors speak of a type of 'standardised specialisation' in the post-1860 period. More vessels in more styles were available as the century progressed, but there was standardisation within this variety. Prior to this post-1860 shift, ceramic was more utilitarian and less standardised. This is reflected in the dominance of one form, bowls, at Werf 1, the majority of which are slip decorated. Flatware is also dominated by one type, transfer-printed, that occurs primarily in blue. This will be explored further in Chapter 8.

5.4. Conclusion

The analysis of the ceramic assemblage highlighted the paucity of ceramic material from the mission period. This raises questions about mission-period material culture and how quotidian domestic practice was supported materially. It may suggest that materiality in the domestic sphere was played out in indigenous material culture or through other forms not found in the archaeological record. This invites other sources of comparative data that comments on the paucity of mission period ceramic.

The comparison of the Werf 1 assemblage with those from Werf 2 and SCH1 highlights disparities between assemblages from the middle and latter decades of the 19th century and emphasises unique aspects of the Werf 1 assemblage. This includes differences in ceramic ware, decoration and form, most noticeable in the dominance of slip decorated vessels, the ratio of hollowware to flatware and the disproportionate amounts of the former at Werf 1.

To further explore the nature of this and other aspects of the Werf 1 assemblage, I turn to an examination of rural probates. Probates contain a list of household tea- and tableware that provides another avenue to investigate household ceramic in the 19th century. Probates

have the potential to elaborate on daily domestic materiality in rural households. They are another means in which to examine the shift that occurred between Werf 1 and Werf 2 and SCH1, and to identify the extent in which 'Britishness' is reflected in other materialities.

CHAPTER 6: TEA- AND TABLEWARE IN RURAL PROBATES

Another means to examine the Kerkplaats assemblage is to compare it to probate records. Probates are lists of household inventories drawn up at the death of an individual, describing all their moveable and immoveable possessions, usually done for inheritance purposes. They provide a useful avenue of inquiry into goods owned and used by individuals in households, as well as associated social and economic aspects (see Malan 1990). The focus here will be the Werf 1 tableware. Tableware is generally quantitatively rich and, as Malan (1993: 148) states, loaded with "significance in everyday practical as well as symbolic and status behaviour". Ceramic tableware also generally preserves well in the archaeological record.

Probate inventories were collected by the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC) in the Cape colony from the 17th to 19th centuries. They were compiled in order to ensure the fair division of a deceased's estate at the time of his or her death, particularly when the deceased had no will, had minor children or relatives and/or heirs overseas (see Malan 1993: 26-30). In the VOC era, the Dutch required an inventory only if minors survived, so technically probates do not exist for all members of a family or for every household (Mitchell 2007: 48). However, this is not necessarily the case in the period of British rule and a number of probates were made for deceased individuals who had older married children. Significantly, race and class were not factors in selection and every relevant deceased individual had their possessions listed, resulting in a broad spectrum list of people and their possessions.

Possessions listed were complete lists of all the individual owned. In addition to household items, tools, hardware, slaves, livestock, property, debtors and creditors. There was little reason to hide valuables and/or purposefully misrepresent stock numbers, as probates were not drawn up for taxation purposes. Hiding a valuable item simply meant that it would not legally pass down to an entitled heir. A list of family members was included, as well as witnesses, appraisers and MOOC agents. Not every probate had the item's numerical value included, but possessions were often, but not always, listed from most to least valuable, or vice versa, although items could also be grouped by the rooms or structures in which they were found, or, in the case of smaller households, broadly by type. Sometimes stock and

slaves were listed under separate headings. Furthermore, as Malan (1990: 2) states, probates can be regarded as artefacts in themselves, with their own contexts, discourse and embedded perceptions. This raises some related methodological points to be discussed later.

As indicated, this chapter will examine the tableware and other items of material culture of rural probates. In the first section, I will survey a sample of 15 probates from farms in the northernmost regions of the Colony within relatively close proximity to Kerkplaats. The table- and teaware characteristics will be briefly examined, both in terms of the quantity and frequency of particular forms. The focus will then shift to probates from households in all rural districts of the Colony. The tableware forms in these districts will be examined in terms of quantity, and frequency of forms in order to identify a rural tableware signature. Finally, the focus will shift to probates from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort and Somerset (Fig. 6.1). These districts comprised the northernmost regions of the Colony and Kerkplaats itself was situated in the district of Beaufort (Fig. 6.1). Probates from households in these regions can be used a suitable proxy for a typical northern frontier tableware assemblage and compared against the Kerkplaats assemblage to probe anomalies in the archaeologically recovered material.

Overall, data from probates, operating at different scales, will provide a greater understanding of Kerkplaats' assemblage and related aspects, and comment on material culture not always recovered from archaeological contexts.

Before doing this, I briefly review probate research in the Cape and discuss some methodological issues. This will highlight areas of caution in their use and, consequently, how their data may be interpreted.

6.1. Probate Research in South African Historiography

Most probate research in the Cape has focused on urban households. Malan's (1993) study focused on probates of primarily Table Valley homes and the changes in material culture from 1750 to 1850. Malan (1993) built on earlier work by Woodward (1981, 1982, 1983), who utilized probate records to reconstruct the interior of Cape homes in the 18th century, Cairns

(1974), who examined households at the micro-level, and Scott (1987) who used probates to understand the architecture and material culture of mid-19th century Grahamstown.

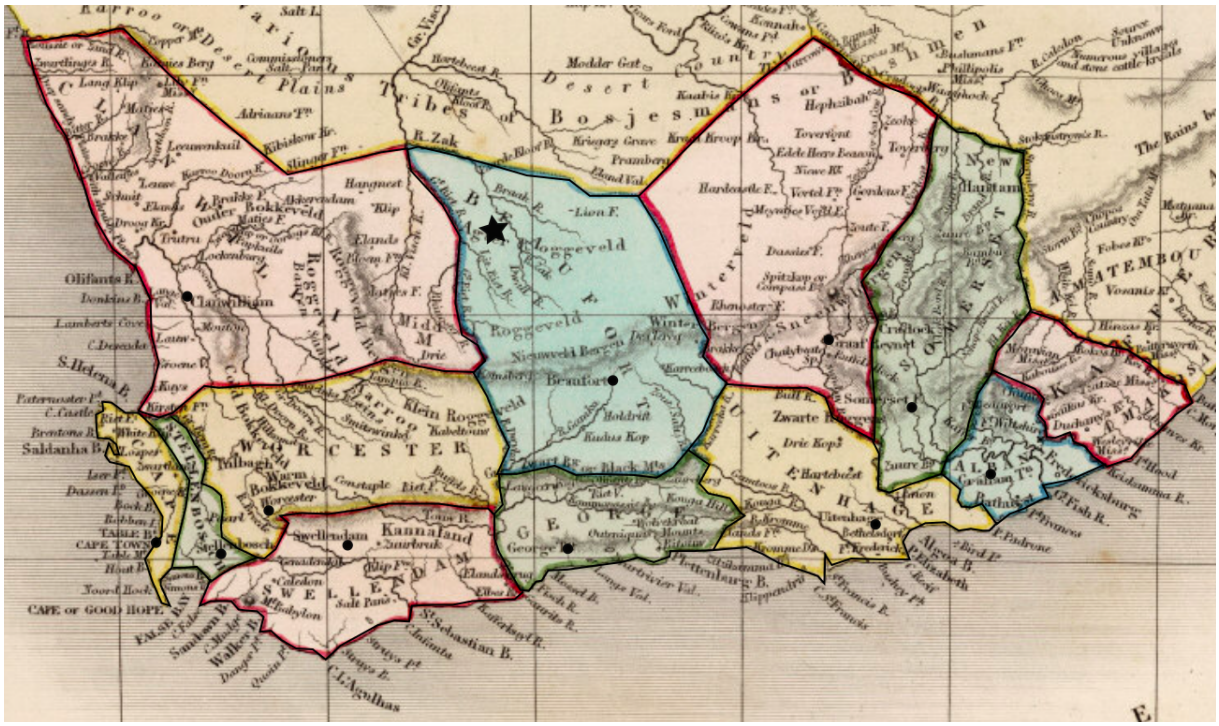


Figure 6.1: Map of the Cape Colony ca. 1832 showing the district boundaries of the time and the position of the principle district towns (marked with black dots). Kerkplaats is marked with a black star (Image: David Rumsey Map Collection).

More recently, Fourie & von Fintel (2010) and Fourie (2012a) used probates in an economic study of inequality in the Cape during the Dutch period, while Fourie (2012b) and Fourie & Uys (2012) used probates to measure wealth and luxury product consumption in the Dutch Cape to propose that the 18th century Cape was more affluent than previously suggested and that even the poorest households contained at least one luxury item. The attention of these studies, however, has been mainly on urban households and urban-based indices of capital within close proximity of Cape Town, such as Huguenot wine-makers in the 18th century (see Fourie & von Fintel 2014). Consequently, where rural households are examined, it is for comparison with urban-based wealth, and the emphasis is therefore on established, elite landowners and the 'landed gentry'.

Research based on rural probates in the Cape are limited but relevant to the study here. Lucas (2006), Mitchell (2007, 2008) and Newton-King (1987) all use rural probates in their studies,

but from different theoretical standpoints. Lucas (2006) uses probates to supplement an examination of architecture, material culture and social relations in the Dwars Valley in the Drakenstein region during the 18th and 19th centuries. Mitchell (2007, 2008) moves away from wealth-based data to look at domesticity in Cape frontier homes in the 18th century. Her (2007, 2008) study focuses on a small number of households in the north-western frontier and is rich in theories of domesticity on the frontier. She focuses on the dichotomy between the desire to conform to colonial norms and to risk life and livelihood beyond the colonial frontier.

Newton-King (1987), on the other hand, is concerned less with domesticity and more on the economic links between the Eastern Cape frontier and Cape Town. By examining probates from Graaff-Reinet in the late 18th century, Newton-King (1987) establishes a link between frontier farmers and the Cape market in order to subsequently challenge Guelke's (1976, 1979) assertion that commodity production was a peripheral part of frontier economic life. Her (1987: 6) monograph explicitly notes "the monotonous regularity" of recurring commodities in rural inventories, commodities that indicate that even the humblest frontier farmer had access to luxuries. Furthermore, she states that frontier farmers were "not immune to the blandishments of civilization", such as coffee grinders, guns, mirrors and copper candlesticks (Newton-King 1987: 7, 9). Newton-King's (1987) focus is not on the nature of the material culture itself but used to measure frontier stock farmer wealth and how they negotiated insolvency, credit and debts.

The majority of past probate research, whether rural or urban, focuses on 18th century households. Indeed, this is when the probate archive is at its richest, and when trade and economy in South Africa was still inextricably linked to the VOC. Subsequently, little work has been done on rural, frontier households and their material culture in the 19th century.

There are a number of reasons for this. The first may be purely methodological or governed by researcher choice, as rural probates often contain less detail than their urban-based counterparts. Many urban households and larger farmsteads were inventoried room-by-room and certainly Malan's (1993) study makes this a requirement. In contrast, only two of the over 200 rural probates examined here provided room-by-room listings. Furthermore, it

appears that the descriptions of individual items are more detailed in urban households compared to their rural counterparts. This may be because poorer, rural households tended to have fewer and cheaper possessions, resulting in less attention given to item descriptions (Malan 1993: 146). Alternately, many of those evaluating possessions were not necessarily trained Orphan agents, and were simply describing goods as they saw them.

The above suggests that rural probates are rich in data on rural materiality. Specifically, the examination of probates here aims to comparatively interrogate the archaeologically visible patterns and trends, particularly in tableware. Before beginning, there are a number of methodological points to consider.

6.2. Methodological Issues

A first methodological issue concerns the nature of the analysis itself, while others are more practical. A key issue lies in the units of comparison and what scale is represented. Probates list possessions at a given point in time at the death of the individual. An archaeological assemblage, on the other hand, often contains material from the entire timespan of a site. Because there is little to no stratigraphy at Kerkplaats, isolated 'pockets' of time, the sequence, are difficult to separate from the larger chronology. The Werf 1 archaeological assemblage is a broad agglomeration of forms from the full site occupation sequence. Naturally, the quantification of tableware in the assemblage far exceeds the numbers listed in probates. Direct comparison of amounts is therefore fatuous. As a result, comparison of tableware has to occur on a broader scale, that of trends and patterns, both in frequency of occurrence and quantity, whereby probates are converted into a sequence to make them roughly compatible with the archaeological scale. Ideally, isolating patterns and trends in the probates can offer indications of the nature of tableware at Kerkplaats at particular points in time.

The dearth of research on probates at 'poorer', rural households also introduces problems of context and interpretation. Using methodologies derived from urban probate research makes assumptions about their rural counterparts that do not necessarily hold true. This is chiefly evident in measuring wealth. It is unclear whether luxury items in Cape Town in the 18th century as listed by Fourie & Uys' (2012: 30), such as gold, silver, mirrors, snuffboxes, wigs

and gloves, were considered luxury items in rural areas. Certainly, gold and silver in any context is a luxury item generally only owned by the wealthy, but other items are more context specific.

Another, more practical, methodological issue concerns language and translation. The choice of names and descriptions given to particular items, and the language in which the probate is written do more than describe the object. Choice of descriptor can also reflect cultural, social and utilitarian value. This value may not necessarily have been vested in the item by its now-deceased owner. Probates from more remote rural areas were often inventoried by neighbours and sometimes local field-cornets, who were essentially other rural-dwellers. It is they who describe and list the possessions, and it is likely that, as impartial as they may have been, some of their own prejudices and ideals found their way into the probates (see Malan 1990: 2).

Particularly in the early 19th century, language was inextricably tied to identity in the Cape. The cultural identity of the appraiser listing the possessions undoubtedly influenced the values given to the items, monetarily and symbolically, as indicated in the choice of words used to describe the item. Put crudely, a battered shovel might appear 'old' or 'worn' to an English appraiser from the nearest village and will be described as such. While to a neighbouring Dutch farmer appraising the items, it is simply a shovel and listed as just that. The same principle applies to tableware, with the added complication of the social values often inherent in these items subject to different levels of scrutiny by different identities, and the implication that foodways is a deeply embedded cultural practice. This issue will be discussed later.

Additionally, the language used in the probate was that of Cape Dutch speakers with a rudimentary grasp of English, if they had any grasp at all. English was the administrative language of the colony after 1815, meaning probates in Dutch were translated into English for official purposes. It is unclear who translated the Dutch probates into English and where this was done. Naturally, some ambiguity in terms is to be expected and is indeed evident, especially where Dutch 'folk' names are given to everyday household items. Furthermore, Cape Dutch was a language without formalized rules of spelling, where words were often

spelt phonetically and some letters were interchangeable, meaning English equivalents do not necessarily capture the full range of nuances or meanings a word might have (see Malan 1999). Consequently, direct translations of terms and descriptors from Dutch to English cannot always be taken at face value.

This disjuncture between translation and meaning was immediately evident when translating Dutch probates into English for this study. The most significant discrepancy noted in meaning was for the Dutch term *kommetje/kommetjie*, a small handle-less bowl or cup. *Kommetjie* is the diminutive of *kom*, Dutch for bowl or basin. As expected, only probates in Dutch contained the term *kommetjie*. In English probates the implicit equivalent term would be 'bowl'. Yet not one English probate contained this term. However, since *kom* could mean either bowl *or* basin, the assumption was made that where 'basin', or more commonly 'bason', appeared in English probates, the intended meaning may have been 'bowl'. Unless, of course, the function of the basin was included in the description, such as 'washhand basin'. Nonetheless, *kommetjie* and bowl/basin have been kept as separate units in the analysis, mainly because 'basin' or 'bason' in a probate may not *always* be referring to a *kommetjie*.

A further issue arises in the terms used to describe tableware. Various forms are described as pewter (*tinne*), tin (*blikke*), porcelain (*porselyn*), earthen (*aarde*), or are left unspecified. Unspecified forms have no further material description given and most tableware listed in probates is left unspecified. It is unclear why this is so. One reason may be that the probate writers simply did not consider it important to list the material, or considered earthen as the default material for plates, dishes, cups, saucers and *kommetjies*. Malan (1990b: 5; 1993: 162) makes the assumption that most unspecified tableware was refined earthenware because similar forms in the same inventories were specified as porcelain or other materials. Yet this does not always hold true. A close reading of a number of probates indicated that some language bias may also be present, particularly in terms of pewter.

The household of Maria Botha and Anthony Erasmus in Somerset district had two probates taken, one on the death of Maria Botha in mid-1833 and one at the request of Anthony Erasmus in October 1834 (MOOC8/74.30a, 1833; MOOC8/74.30b, 1834). The 1834 probate is marked as a copy of the earlier document, and the quantity of the items in both is exactly the

same, indicating that they are not two separate inventories taken over a year apart. The 1833 probate lists 11 tableware forms: seven plates, one dish and three basins, all of which are left unspecified. The 1834 probate also lists 11 tableware forms, but they are described as three pewter plates, one pewter dish, one earthen dish, three earthen plates and three basins. This inconsistency implies that unspecified forms may not have necessarily been earthen, at least not so in rural areas.

Some assumption on material can be made where particular unspecified forms appear with the same specified form in a probate. For example, where '14 earthen plates' are listed with '5 plates', it can be assumed that the five unspecified plates are the binary opposite of 'earthen', either pewter or tin. However, when three different descriptions are used for two or more different forms, this assumption is less certain. For this reason, and for reasons of accuracy, assumption about material in the analysis is made infrequently and items are generally analysed as they are listed in the probate. Pewter and tin are grouped together, as are porcelain and earthen.

Having summarized potential practical and theoretical questions in methodology, I now outline the process and rationale for how the probate sample was selected.

6.3. Rural Probates

6.3.1. Selection

Specificity of time and place governed probate selection. The first was that the probate had to be compiled between 1825 and 1834. The latter date was forced, as the number of probates published after this date is minimal. The former was selected for three reasons. The first being that after 1825, the nature of tableware in Cape Town, as examined by Malan (1993), undergoes a subtle shift in that the frequency of different ceramic forms and types rises, and refined earthenware dominates. Secondly, the ten years from 1825 to 1834 provides a reasonable timespan from which to gauge any changes in the material culture of households. And thirdly, this period includes the second, post-mission occupation of Werf 1 at Kerkplaats.

The second aspect governing selection was that it had to be clear that the probate was from a rural area. Many, but not all, probates explicitly mention where the appraisal took place. Sometimes this was as specific as the name of the farm or loan place. More commonly the sub-district or field-cornetcy was included at the bottom of the probate. For some, however, indication of place was quite broad and/or vague. In this case, the name of the district had to suffice. If the probate was signed at a rural *dorp* or village, there had to be some suggestion that the deceased lived in the countryside. The number of stock listed, for example, was then used as a sign that the individual did not live in a town; a substantial flock of sheep suggested that the individual lived on a farm instead of an urban *erf*. However, this is not an absolute method and some *dorp*-dwellers were undoubtedly included in the sample.

6.3.2. Rural Districts of the Cape Colony

By the 1820s, the Colony was divided into eleven districts: Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Clanwilliam, George, Uitenhage, Albany, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort and Worcester (Fig. 6.1). Probates from the Cape and Stellenbosch districts were not used, as these regions had been settled for longer and were close to Cape Town, therefore would not reflect the same processes as newer, more distant rural districts. It was also assumed that because of their proximity to Cape Town they were more likely to be influenced by prevailing urban fashions and choices and not be representative of a deeper rural 'character'.

In terms of physical distance, the easternmost districts, Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet, are furthest from Cape Town, and the site of the premier colonial frontier, particularly during the early years of British occupation (see Penn 1995). These districts, along with Swellendam, George and Uitenhage, also correspond to the initial forays of *trekboers* and *burghers* out of the Cape in the first half of the 18th century, who initially moved northeast towards the Orange River and eastward on either side of the Great and Little Karoo (Thompson 2001: 46).

By 1798, the extent of European settlement was limited to the Fish River and the Xhosa to the east, the Sneeuwberg mountains to the north-east and the arid Karoo to the north (Fig. 6.1). These areas roughly define the borders of the four districts and illustrate how these areas, although geographically remote, had already been settled for some time by the late

1820s. They are therefore not altogether newly-settled, sparsely inhabited frontier regions. The population densities per square mile from 1841 support this, where Albany, George, Swellendam, Somerset and Uitenhage each have the four highest densities (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Table of Cape Colony district information, including number of probates, formation date, population, population density, significant towns/villages and distance from Cape Town. Data is taken from Blount (1821), Martin (1836) and Chase (1843)

District	# of probates	District formed	Population (Date)	Pop. per sq. mile (1841)	Towns/ villages	Distance from Cape Town (# days return)
Albany	7	1820	10,298 (1833)	11.25	Graham's Town (1815)	872km (12)
Beaufort	16		5,239 (1844)	0.2	Beaufort West (1818)	462km (10)
Clanwilliam	15	1836	6,985 (1833)	0.22	Clanwilliam (1814)	231km
George	26	1811	8,223 (1830)	2.75	George Town (1811)	373km (9)
Graaff-Reinet	53	1786	8,292 (1841)	1.03	Graaff-Reinet (1786)	665km (12)
Somerset	39	1825	6,439 (1841)	1.6	Somerset East (1825), Cradock (1814)	784km (13), 806km (13)
Swellendam	30	1742	15,542 (1833)	2.5	Swellendam (1747)	220km (7)
Uitenhage	19	1804	8,360 (1829)	1.22	Uitenhage (1804), Port Elizabeth (1799)	740km (10) , 754km (11)
Worcester	17	1803	8,900 (1833)	0.2	Worcester (1820), Tulbagh (1795)	113km,, 130km
Total	222					

Underpinning the different settlement emphasis was climate and aridity. The wetter eastern districts along the south coast, while not ideal for cropping, was far more desirable land to the north into the Karoo, where rainfall was minimal and agriculture was limited to pastoralism only. Graaff-Reinet is an anomaly in this regard, with large parts of this district falling within the arid Karoo. Yet Dutch farmers were settled in the region in the last quarter of the 18th century, drawn there by the pools of the Seacow River valley and illicit trade with Khoesan and other pastoralists, as well as the founding of the town of Graaff-Reinet in 1786 (Neville *et al.* 1994: 65). Parts of Worcester, Beaufort and Clanwilliam were also hostile, arid country, where permanent settlement was limited by water supply, and farmers practiced mobile transhumance to manage their stock and make a living (Penn 1986: 64-65; Mitchell 2002). As a result, these regions were more sparsely populated and geographically and socially on the frontier of colonial settlement (Table 6.1).

6.4. Methodology

With these factors in mind, a total of 222 probates were considered suitable and all the tableware entries were counted and tabulated. This included plates, dishes, bowls or *koms/kommetjies*, dishes (*schotels*), soup tureens and basins where their purpose was not specified. The number of cups and saucers, as well as tea and coffee pots, were also listed, as

was the number of sheep and other stock, as well as slaves. The year the probate was taken, the reference number, place, where indicated, and district was noted, as was the language in which the probate was written (Dutch or English).

From these figures, two datasets were formed, specific to the issue under investigation. The first tabulated and quantified all tableware from all districts bar the Cape and Stellenbosch. Tableware forms were listed and sub-divided by material into earthen, pewter or unspecified. This would give a general idea of how much of each was present in each households, expressed as a percentage of the total tableware in the household.

The second dataset aimed to be more particular. Here, probates from Swellendam, used in the above set, were removed, reducing the probate sample to 192. This was because, like in the Cape and Stellenbosch, this region had a long period of occupation and was closer to Cape Town, and households were well established by 1820 and therefore dissimilar from those in more marginal rural areas (see Table 6.1).

6.5. Select Rural Probates from the Northern Frontier

In this section of analysis, I will focus on the probates of 15 households selected from the larger sample of 222. Kerkplaats was first surveyed for William Krugel Jnr. in 1830, and it can be assumed that the farm was occupied not long after (see Chapter 3). Subsequently, suitable probates had to date from around 1829/1830 and after. In terms of geographical position, households north of the Nieuwveldberge, on or north of the Roggeveld, on the Winterveld, and around the Seacow River valley were considered most suitable, as they shared similar economic and social processes, such as livelihood, farming practice and access to market, to Kerkplaats. Nearly all the selected probates contained farm names (Table 6.2). The farms were cross-referenced with surveys and cadastral maps and their exact position established. This was possible with 10 of the 15 farms.

The most northerly farm in the sample is Goeymansburg, situated “beyond the Orange River”, possibly near present-day Fauresmith (MOOC8/45.57, 1830). Seven farms are situated in the Seacow River valley, five in the Winterveld region between the Winterberge and Plettenberg’s Beacon, and five in the Roggeveld. The final farm is in the Nieuweveld (Fig. 6.2).

Table 6.2: Table showing year, reference number, deceased, farm name, area, district and quantity of sheep of 15 sample probates.

	Year	Probate#	Name	Farm	Area	District	# of sheep owned
A	1829	MOOC8/ 45.110	Hercules Venter	Knofell Valey	Lower Seacow River, Graaff-Reinet	Graaff-Reinet	2622
B	1829	MOOC8/ 46.7	Jan Verster	Gansgat (B1) & Paarde Valey (B2)	Lower & Upper Seacow River	Graaff-Reinet	2006
C	1830	MOOC8/ 73.7	Esther de Villiers	Schaap's Kooi (C1) & Matjes Fontein (C2)	Middel Roggeveld, Worcester	Worcester	622
D	1830	MOOC8/ 45.54	Cornelis Davel	Nieuwejaarsfontein (147)	Winterveld	Graaff-Reinet	874
E	1830	MOOC8/ 44.41	Johannes Jacobsz	Spreeuwfontein	Winterveld	Graaff-Reinet	1840
F	1830	MOOC8/ 45.57	Adriaan v.d. Linde	Goeymansburg	"Beyond the Orange River"	NA	448
G	1832	MOOC8/ 74.4	Guilliam Vermeulen	Not given	Roggeveld	Worcester	498
H	1832	MOOC8/ 74.6	Maria Oberholzer	Nieuwejaarsfontein (137)	Winterveld	Graaff-Reinet	410
I	1832	MOOC8/ 74.5	Anna Kruger	Nieuwefontein	Winterveld	Graaff-Reinet	289
J	1832	MOOC8/ 74.8	Johanna Jacobs	Slakfontein	Winterveld	Graaff-Reinet	2140
K	1832	MOOC8/ 48.14	Hercules Visser	Naauwpoort (K1) & Hartebeestefontein (K2)	Upper Seacow River	Graaff-Reinet	2802
L	1833	MOOC8/ 47.31	Anna Smit	Daasjes Fontein	Nieuwveld	Beaufort	395
M	1833	MOOC8/ 74.11	Lodewyk Bothma	Smits Kraal (M1) & Hartebeest Vontyn (M2)	Klein Roggeveld & Moordenaars Karoo	Worcester	1497
N	1833	MOOC8/ 47.44	Dina Brids	Boelhouders Draaij	Upper Seacow River	Graaff-Reinet	1440
O	1834	MOOC8/ 48.29	Elisabeta Viljoen	Camedor	Upper Seacow River	Graaff-Reinet	372

Other than date and position, each of the 15 probates shared other similarities. All deceased left widows or widowers and had at least two children listed as heirs. All listed livestock, primarily sheep, cattle, oxen, goats and horses, and none contained room-by-room inventories. Wealth differences probably existed but these are hard to gauge.

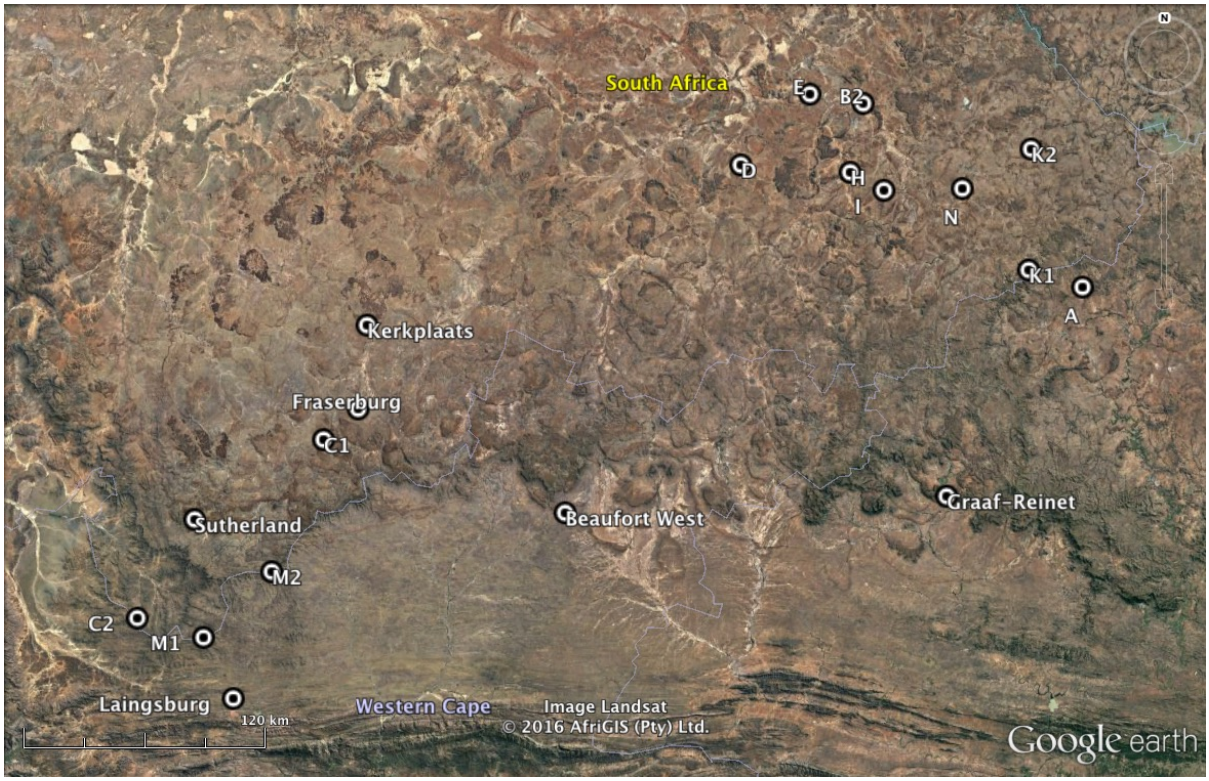


Figure 6.2: Google Earth image showing the position of identified and located farms listed in the probate sample of 15, as well as of Kerkplaats, Fraserburg, Beaufort West, Laingsburg and Graaff-Reinet.

Wealth measurement is not a prerequisite for analysis but instead a means to establish context for the tableware items in each probate. One method is through farm surveys. A survey diagram often contains the applicant's name and suggests a measure of control, ownership or investment in the property, as well as means of establishing permanent settlement. Both Lodewyk Bothma and Hercules Visser's names appear on their farm surveys, while the farms of Anna Kruger, Maria Oberholzer and Johannes Jacobsz had been surveyed by relatives.

Other, more typical, measures of wealth, such as gold and silver, are only contained in Hercules Visser's probate. Visser also owned the most sheep, as well as two silver watches and 12 silver spoons (MOOC8/48.14, 1832). Coincidentally, Visser was the only individual to have possessed slaves at his death. Lodewyk Bothma and Johannes Jacobsz also appear relatively wealthy, as both their farms were surveyed not long after their deaths and both owned comparatively large herds of breeding sheep (Table 6.2).

Finally, the amount of stock listed in each probate gives a relative, but not absolute, idea of wealth. A larger flock implies above-average means, as a man's wealth at the time was often measured by the magnitude of his breeding stock (Smuts 2012: 19). The number of sheep per household ranged between Anna Kruger's 289 to Hercules Visser's 2802 (MOOC8/74.5, 1832; MOOC8/48.14, 1832) (Table 6.2). The average number of sheep per household in the sample is almost 1264. This is small, as wealthy sheep farmer in the Sneeuwberg would own upwards of 13,000 sheep, and Thompson (1827: 325, 328), in the Colony in the early 1820s, recommended 500 sheep for a first time stockfarmer. With these parameters in mind, no household appears incredibly wealthy nor incredibly poor.

6.5.1. Tea- and Tableware

The focus of the comparison will be table- and teaware. As mentioned, each probate lists items by quantity at a given point in time, as opposed to the archaeologically-derived quantity of tableware at Werf 1, which encompasses the entire occupation. Therefore, the quantity of table- and teaware contained in the probates cannot be directly compared to the Werf 1 assemblage. The presence of certain forms is subsequently more telling than their quantities.

Table 6.3 shows the table- and teaware contained in each probate and the material in which they are described. Flatware appears more often than hollowware and is listed in all the probates. Plates are the most frequently occurring flatware form, appearing in 13 of the 15 probates. Dishes are the next most frequent, listed in 12 probates. Hollowware, in the form of bowls/basins, *kommetjies* and tureens, appears in nine probates. Only seven of the sample probates contained cups and saucers, and 12 listed tea or coffee pots.

Although pewter (*tinne/n)*, tin (*blikke*), earthen (*aarde*) and porcelain (*porselyn*) are all mentioned in the sample, the vast majority of listed tableware is of unspecified materials. The tableware in the sample probates suggests that mixing material for forms was common. Eleven probates list unspecified forms *and* either pewter and earthen or both. Only one probate contained one specified material, earthen, although several list only unspecified forms. Teaware shows less variety in material than tableware (Table 6.3). All cups and saucers are left unspecified, as are most tea or coffee pots. When the latter is specified it is as pewter.

Table 6.3: Table showing the table- and teaware contained in the probate sample of 15.

Probate	Material	Plates	Dishes	*Kom-metjies*	Bowls/ basins	Tureens	Cups & Saucers	Tea/coffee pot	Other	Total
Venter (MOOC8/ 45.110)	Earthen									
	P/T									
	Unspec.	7						1		8
Verster (MOOC8/ 46.7)	Earthen	2								2
	P/T	3								3
	Unspec.		1					1		2
de Villiers (MOOC8/ 73.7)	Earthen	5								5
	P/T									
	Unspec.									
Davel (MOOC8/ 45.54)	Earth									
	P/T	11	2							13
	Unspec.				2		3	1	4	10
Jacobsz (MOOC8/ 44.41)	Earthen	24	3							27
	P/T	4	8							12
	Unspec.				4		6	4		14
v.d. Linde (MOOC8/ 45.57)	Earthen									
	P/T									
	Unspec.		2				2	1		5
Vermeulen (MOOC8/ 74.4)	Earthen			2						2
	P/T	6				1				7
	Unspec.									
Oberholzer (MOOC8/ 74.6)	Earthen									
	P/T		1							1
	Unspec.		1							1
Kruger (MOOC8/ 74.5)	Earthen									
	P/T		1							1
	Unspec.	1						1		2
Jacobs (MOOC8/ 74.8)	Earthen									
	P/T	8	2					1		11
	Unspec.	12		4	4	1	7			28
Visser (MOOC8/ 48.14)	Earthen									
	P/T	2	7							9
	Unspec.	20			7	1	4	2	2	36
Smit (MOOC8/ 47.31)	Earthen									
	P/T	4	2		1					7
	Unspec.				3			1		4
Bothma (MOOC8/ 74.11)	Earthen									
	P/T		2							2
	Unspec.	19		7	2			1		29
Brids (MOOC8/ 47.44)	Earthen	15								15
	P/T	8	2					1		11
	Unspec.			10			12	2		24
Viljoen (MOOC8/ 48.29)	Earthen									
	P/T	3	1					1		5
	Unspec.			1			6			7
Total		154	35	24	23	3	40	18	6	

From the data in Table 6.2, a general trend in table- and teaware can be observed. Every probate lists flatware, but not all contain hollowware. The most frequently occurring flatware form is plates, although dishes are nearly as frequent. Plate material is not restricted to one

type and often occurs in both earthen and pewter forms, sometimes in the same household. Where this appears, earthen forms generally outnumber pewter ones. Dishes are more commonly found as pewter and, unlike plates, most households normally do not have these items in two materials. Hollowware in the form of bowls/basins, *kommetjies* and tureens, appear less frequently than flatware and, although often left unspecified, are generally made of one material.

Kommetjies and bowls/basins are by far the most common tableware form at Werf 1. Yet, in the probate sample, nine contained *kommetjies* or bowls/basins, all of these alongside plates and eight of which contained more than ten individual tableware items (Table 6.3). Not one probate contained only *kommetjies* or bowls/basins and no plates or dishes. On the other hand, six contained plates or dishes and no hollowware forms. All of these six had smaller amounts of tableware and less than ten items. On top of this, where hollowware and plates or dishes are present, hollowware never outnumbers plates. This suggests that a household was more likely to have hollowware when it had a relatively large quantity of tableware overall or at least already owned some flatware. *Kommetjies* and bowls/basins appear supplementary to plates in food consumption.

The above implies that plates and dishes were generally preferred to hollowware in rural households and contrasts the nature of the Werf 1 assemblage. At Werf 1, hollowware is substantially the dominant form. Malan (1993: 82) notes that the minimal requirements for meals were dishes, plates and something to drink from, and hollowware forms are multifunctional and could be used for both eating and drinking. For example, Van der Merwe (1995: 176) notes that rural *trekboers* often substituted cups and saucers with round earthenware bowls. Furthermore, more probates contained tea or coffee pots than cups and saucers. The *kommetjies* or bowls in the sample probates, and at Werf 1, could potentially be substitutes for drinking vessels.

Kommetjies were complementary to flatware for eating, yet have a potentially different relationship with drinking vessels. Seven households had cups and saucers (Table 6.2), but these were not the only drinking vessels contained in the sample. Others forms include *graaf* or *grafe* (carafes), cups, beakers, mugs, pints, jugs or tankards, tumblers, bottles, jugs, *vlessen*

and *kanne/n* or *kannetjes*. *Vlessen* are either flagons, flasks or bottles, while *kannen* are jugs, tankards, or, if in pewter, flagons.

Of the four probates in the sample that contained *kommetjies*, all had at least two other drinking vessels. The Vermeulen and Bothma household also had a *graaf* each, the Viljoen's two *graafen*, and the Jacobs household a wide variety of vessels, including glasses, beakers, and stemmed wine glasses. The four other probates that had hollowware forms, but not specifically *kommetjies*, had at least one other drinking vessel listed in the probate. It would appear that in the sample, *kommetjies* were not clearly replacing drinking vessels, but may have also been complementary forms. This may also hold true for the hollowware at Werf 1, especially considering that the Werf 1 assemblage contained few unequivocal ceramic drinking vessels. There is also proportionally little flatware at Werf 1 and hollowware forms may have subsequently become the primary vessels for both drinking and eating at Werf 1.

Another observation is the correlation between the quantity of tableware contained in the probates and the number of stock owned, i.e. wealth. The four probates with the most tableware, those of Brids, Jacobsz, Visser and Bothma, contained more than 30 items in total. These probates also listed more than 1400 sheep, at the upper end of the spectrum in the sample. These probates all contained a mixture of pewter and other forms. Conversely, the four probates with the least amount of tableware, those of de Villiers, van der Linde, Oberholzer and Kruger, listed sheep numbers well below the sample average (n=1264). Essentially, it appears that the more established and wealthier the household, the greater the amount of tableware.

6.5.2. Summary

The investigation of the sample probates highlights two aspects of the Werf 1 assemblage. The first is the discrepancy between flatware and hollowware forms. Flatware, in the form of plates and dishes, accounts for nearly 80% of the tableware items in the sample probates, At Werf 1, flatware makes up under 10% of the Werf 1 tableware. The second is the prevalence of pewter flatware forms in the sample. The sample probates suggest that ceramic was not necessarily the principal material for flatware vessels. The frequency of pewter forms is high in the sample probates, it accounts for all the tableware in one probate, and makes up almost

half the flatware, almost a third of all plates and 80% of dishes. No pewter was recovered from Werf 1. The prevalence of pewter in the sample probates comments on the disparity between flatware and hollowware forms at Werf 1 and suggests that pewter may be a 'missing artefact'. Conceivably, flatware is negligible in the Werf 1 assemblage because flatware was not primarily ceramic.

The prevalence of pewter and flatware in the sample probates can be investigated further by expanding the sample of probates to those from all rural districts. This will interrogate the nature of tableware in the smaller sample and gain a broader understanding of rural patterns.

6.6. Pewter Tableware in Rural Districts

To highlight broader patterns of tableware in rural districts it was decided to assess the probates by the two factors that governed their selections, namely date of recording and geography. To do so would identify whether time or geographical position was influencing the make-up of tableware in the probates. To this end, the sample was sub-divided first by the year in which it was recorded and also by the district in which it was situated. The average number of tableware forms per probate, the proportion of probates that contained pewter, and the average percentage of pewter items per probate was then calculated in each sub-set.

Figure 6.3 shows the patterns of tableware and pewter ownership and frequency from 1825 to 1834. Although the the percentage of pewter-owning households fluctuates from year to year, the average number of tableware items and proportion of pewter per household stays relatively consistent in the ten years covered by the probates. In these ten years, rural households were not increasing the amount of tableware they owned, nor were they significantly altering the amount of pewter they possessed. The indication is that the possession of pewter tableware did not decline over time.

Sub-dividing the probates by district demonstrates which region contained probates with the most tableware and the highest frequency and proportions of pewter. Figure 6.4 shows that the average number of tableware forms stays relatively consistent regardless of district. However, the proportion of probates containing pewter is far less constant from district to district, as is the quantity of pewter in each probate (Fig. 6.4). On average, 52% of all rural

probates contain at least one pewter tableware item, and Clanwilliam, Albany and Worcester roughly sit at this average, while Graaff-Reinet, Somerset and Beaufort sit well above and George and Uitenhage well below.

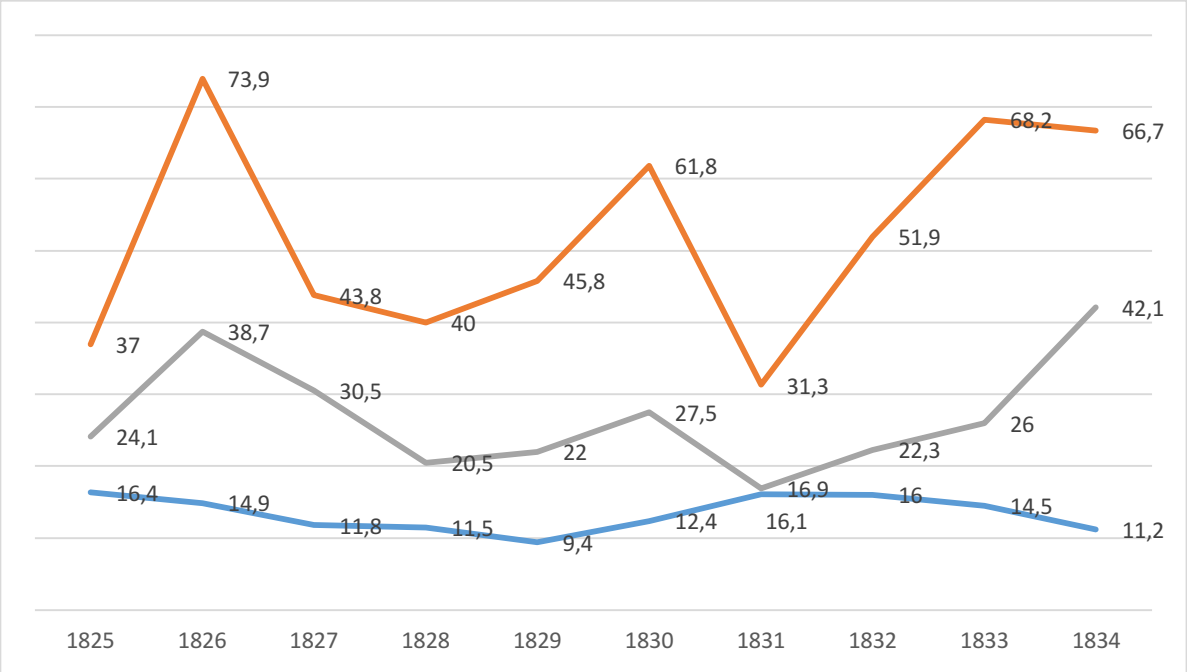


Figure 6.3: Chart showing the average number of tableware items (blue), the frequency of probates containing pewter forms (orange) and average percentage of pewter in each probate (grey) in rural probates for the years 1825 to 1834.

In terms of quantity, the average proportion of pewter items per probate roughly follows the trend of pewter frequency (Fig. 6.4). In Beaufort, pewter items account for just over half the total tableware in the district and the amount is similarly high in Graaff-Reinet (40%). Both the Clanwilliam and Somerset probates have over a quarter of their tableware in pewter. Albany and Worcester are unusual, as around half the probates from each contained pewter, but proportionally pewter items accounted for less than a quarter of the tableware, suggesting that pewter was common in a probate, but then in small quantities.

The three districts with the highest frequency and quantity of pewter tableware, Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, are large territories farm from Cape Town and on the northern frontier of colonial expansion. The colonists in these districts were primarily itinerant *trekboere* and pastoralists operating on the margins of the Colony, and in Beaufort and Graaff-Reinet, in the harsh, semi-desert Karoo. A key point here might be that many households here

were often seasonally *trekking* with their sheep to well-watered areas, perhaps even to an outspan that may have acted as a temporary second home.

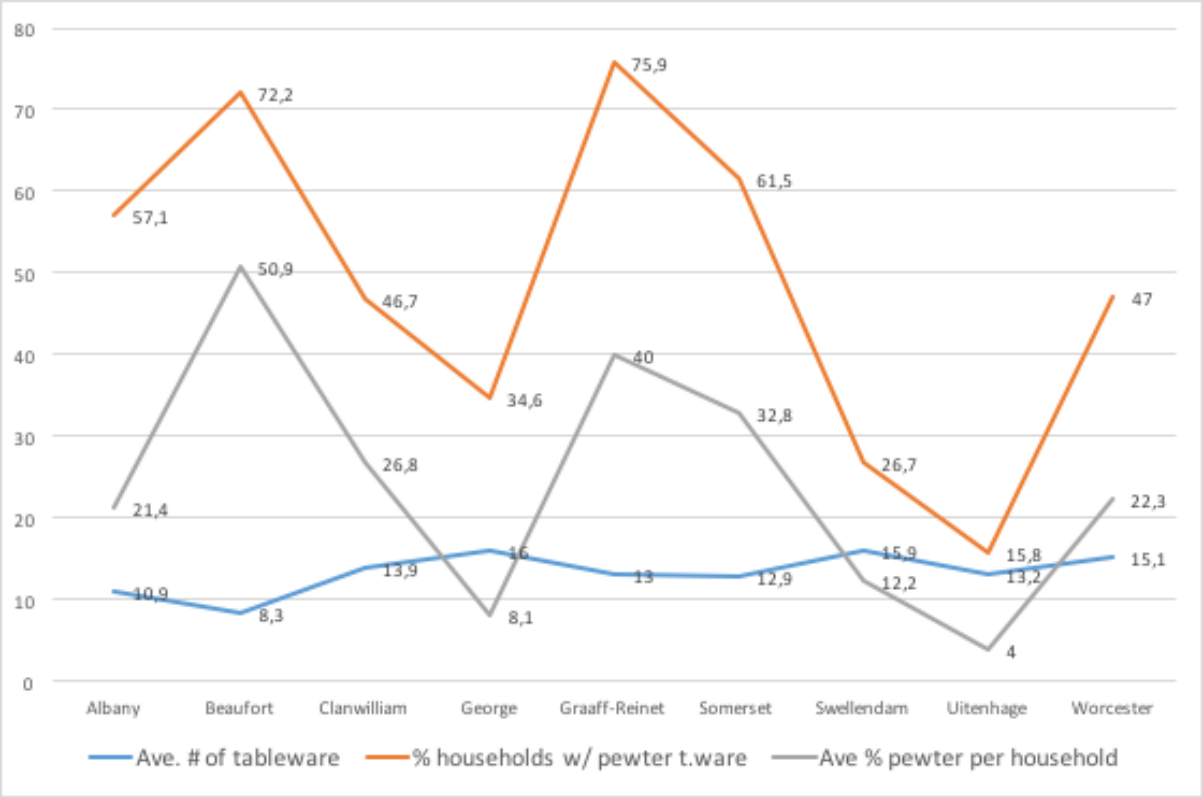


Figure 6.4: Chart showing the average number of tableware items (blue), the frequency of probates containing pewter forms (orange) and average percentage of pewter in each probate (grey) in rural probates in each district.

Also common to all three districts is the prominence of stock farming, particularly sheep. In Graaff-Reinet an average of 840 sheep were listed in each probate, with 650 in Somerset and 480 in Beaufort (Table 6.1). The three districts with the lowest frequency of pewter, Uitenhage, Swellendam and George, averaged 100 sheep, or less, per household, considerably less than Graaff-Reinet, Somerset and Beaufort (Table 6.1). Certainly, frequency of pewter is not a direct correlation with the number of sheep owned, but the correspondence between the datasets suggests that a link exists between owning pewter and the practice of pastoral sheep farming.

Uitenhage, Swellendam and George, the districts with the most negligible pewter frequencies and quantities, had different farming practices and are also the districts that marked the first forays of colonial expansion out of the Cape along the south coast and eastern corridor. These

districts had a longer history of colonial occupation and, compared to districts to the north, were well-established in the second quarter of the 19th century. By the late 1820s, the town of Swellendam had been established for nearly 80 years. Additionally, access to Cape Town from these districts was far simple and less time-consuming, and the 650 miles from Cape Town to Grahamstown was traversed by a well-maintained post road that passed through these districts and the towns of Caledon, Swellendam, George and Uitenhage (Chase 1843: 206). Furthermore, these districts bordered the sea and were accessible by ship.

Geography is the key index in governing patterns of pewter use and possession in rural districts. However, the examination of the 15 sample probates indicates that pewter was not consistently utilised in all tableware forms at the same frequency. The data in Figure 6.4 does not comment on the forms pewter took and whether this was consistent in all rural areas, nor does it elaborate on pewter's relationship with similar forms in different materials. To investigate these aspects, the scale will narrow to focus on general tableware form and the relationships between forms.

6.6.1. Investigating Hollowware and Flatware Forms

It is significant here to differentiate between two subsets within the data. These are quantity and frequency. The interaction between quantity and frequency is informative and relational. For example, if 80% of probates list plates and plates represent 80% of the tableware quantity, then many households have a high number of plates. However, if 80% of probates list plates and 40% of all tableware is plates, then many probates list a relatively small number of plates. If the situation is reversed, and 40% of probates contain plates, and plates account for 80% of the tableware, then few probates have a high number of plates. For this reason, both measurements will be discussed below for each district. The district of Swellendam is not discussed in this section as its proximity to Cape Town and relatively lengthy period of colonial settlement suggested it would not reflect similar processes to more distant, rural districts. Consequently, the sample size is now 192.

The lack of clarity in what material forms actually were when described as unspecified in the probates has been mentioned. As noted, where a certain specified form is listed, the unspecified form in the same probate can be assumed. For simplicity's sake both earthen and

unspecified materials will be considered as earthen below. Since pewter is the focus here, it is the presence of pewter compared to any other material that is significant.

Tableware will first be sub-divided by form into plates, dishes, basins/bowls and tureens. These will be sub-divided further into two categories by their material description. These are 'Pewter Only', where the forms are described only as pewter, and 'Pewter & Other', where the forms are described as pewter and another material. This is because, as illustrated, in many sample probates a specific tableware form is not limited to only one material, and different materials frequently appear in combination in the same form. For example, one probate may list 12 earthen plates *and* six pewter plates, and two pewter dishes *and* three unspecified dishes.

Figure 6.5 shows the percentage of probates from each district that contain each form and material. The probates from Swellendam are not included in this dataset for reasons outlined above. Flatware is clearly the most frequently occurring pewter item in rural districts (Figure 6.5). Probates with pewter-only plates occur particularly often. Nearly 60% of the probates from Beaufort contain plates only in pewter, while 30% of the probates from Graaff-Reinet and just under a quarter from Somerset list only pewter plates. Plates only in pewter occur less frequently in Albany, Clanwilliam, and Worcester and no probate from George and Uitenhage contained only pewter plates. Around a quarter of the probates from Graaff-Reinet (31.5%), Albany (28.6%) and Somerset (23.1%) list plates that are both pewter and another material. Few probates from George and Uitenhage list a combination of pewter and other material plates.

Pewter dishes are also common. Again, Beaufort has the highest frequency of pewter-only dishes (47.1%), while in Albany, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, a third or more of homes had dishes solely in pewter (Fig. 6.5). In these three districts, dishes are also the most commonly occurring pewter form overall. No probates from Uitenhage contained dishes only in pewter, and few probates from George and Worcester listed pewter-only dishes. Pewter dishes in combination with other dishes occur relatively infrequently. Surprisingly, probates from Beaufort rarely list pewter and other dishes, fewer than every other district except Worcester,

where a combination of dishes does not occur at all. Essentially, pewter-only dishes appear in more probates than dishes in pewter and other forms.

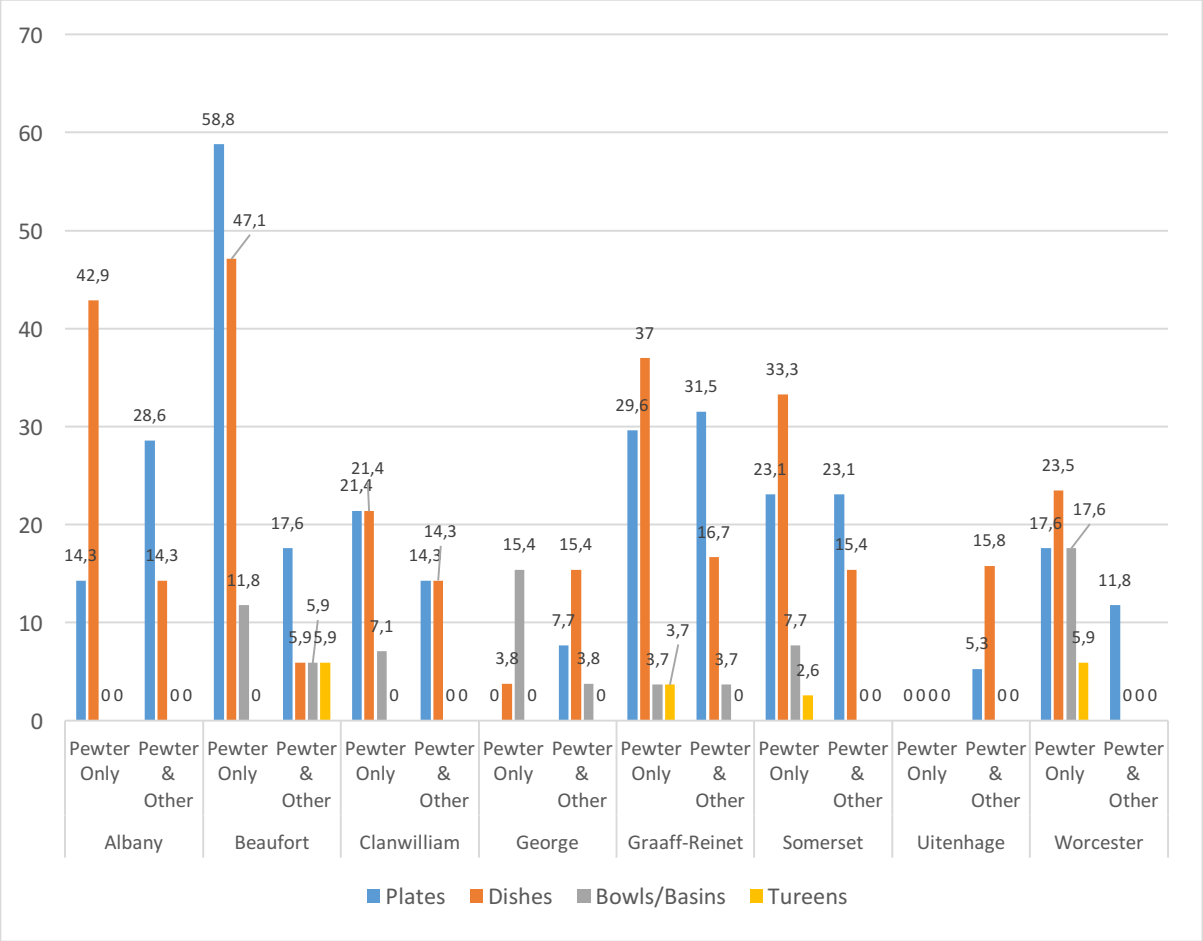


Figure 6.5: Chart showing the frequency of pewter tableware forms and materials in rural probates from each district. 'Pewter & Other' indicates where where a form appears in pewter and another material.

Pewter occurs far less frequently in hollowware forms (Fig. 6.5). Albany and Uitenhage had no pewter hollowware at all. The other districts all contained probates that had some pewter-only hollowware, but the frequency is far less than their flatware counterparts. Probates from Worcester and George contain the most pewter-only bowls/basins, more than any other district. Districts with a large proportion of pewter-only flatware, such as Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, contained comparatively little pewter hollowware, either by itself or in combination with other materials. Few probates contained pewter-only tureens or pewter and other material tureens.

In summary, probates from all the districts are more likely to contain flatware only in pewter or with forms in other materials, than hollowware. Plates most commonly appears in pewter alone, and regularly appear in combination with forms in other materials. Proportionally, dishes appear less frequently than plates, but when listed, dishes are commonly only pewter and also appear in combination with forms in other materials. Just over half the probates contained at least one hollowware item, but the proportion of it in pewter was less than in flatware. When pewter hollowware is listed in a probate, it is mostly as bowls/basins, occasionally as tureens, and sometimes in combination with hollowware in other materials.

The above data indicates the frequency of pewter forms in probates from each district and broader trends of pewter possession and the forms in which pewter took are identified. To further narrow the scale and engage with the relationship between pewter and other materials within specific forms, the tableware in probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset were sub-divided by material instead of form (Table 6.4). These districts share a common quantitative value in the they all had probates where pewter was commonly listed in near proportional amounts. Additionally, they are all geographically remote from Cape Town undergoing similar rural frontier processes and, furthermore, Kerkplaats was in Beaufort district at this time.

Table 6.4: Table showing the number and proportion of tableware by material in rural probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset districts. 'Combination' indicates that the probate contained tableware in pewter and other materials.

	Pewter Only	No Pewter	Combination	Total
No. of probates (%)	19 (17.6)	29 (26.9)	60 (55.6)	108 (100.1)
No. tableware items (%)	72 (5.6)	311 (24.2)	902 (70.2)	1285 (100)
Avg. # of tableware items per probate	3.8	10.7	15	11.9

The average probate from these districts contained nearly 12 items of tableware (Table 6.4). However, the quantity of tableware in each category does not correspond to the number of probates. Thus, 17.6% of the probates contained only pewter tableware, but these only made up 5.6% of the tableware in total. Probates with no pewter contain nearly four times more tableware than those with only pewter, yet there are only 10 more probates in this category. This relationship inverts in probates with a combination of materials. These made up over

half the probates, but account for nearly three quarters of the tableware items. Just over a quarter of the sample listed no pewter tableware whatsoever and contained nearly a quarter of the tableware.

Essentially, this suggests that when a probate only contains pewter tableware the overall amount of tableware listed is small. Where no pewter is listed the overall amount of tableware grows, and when a probate lists a combination of pewter and other forms, that probate contains a disproportionately large amount of tableware. The pewter-only probates contained less than four tableware items each, while the no-pewter homes owned more than double that. Probates with a combination of materials contained nearly 15 items. Clearly, if a household had only pewter forms, they did not have very much of them, and if they had a combination of materials they owned a comparatively abundant amount.

It is reasonable to assume that probates that contained the most tableware were from rural households that were well-established and relatively wealthy, and that households with fewer tableware items were less-established as comparatively less wealthy. A suggestion of this has been observed in the sample of 15 probates outlined above. In this scenario, pewter forms were used as tableware in newer households and as the household settled and wealth grew, tableware forms other than pewter were purchased. This explains the continued presence of pewter in probates of the well-established households with many tableware items. Ceramic, or other materials, did not necessarily replace pewter and the use of pewter forms continued even as a household grew in stature. However, this does not account for probates where pewter does not appear. Those probates may have never owned pewter or saw reason to replace pewter with earthen forms altogether.

With the above in mind, I will now examine what forms tableware took in the categories listed in Table 6.4. This will reveal certain trends in form ownership, such as what forms pewter took in pewter-only probates, and whether the variety of forms increased as the size of tableware collections grew. Figure 6.6 shows the proportional frequency and amount of tableware forms in each category.

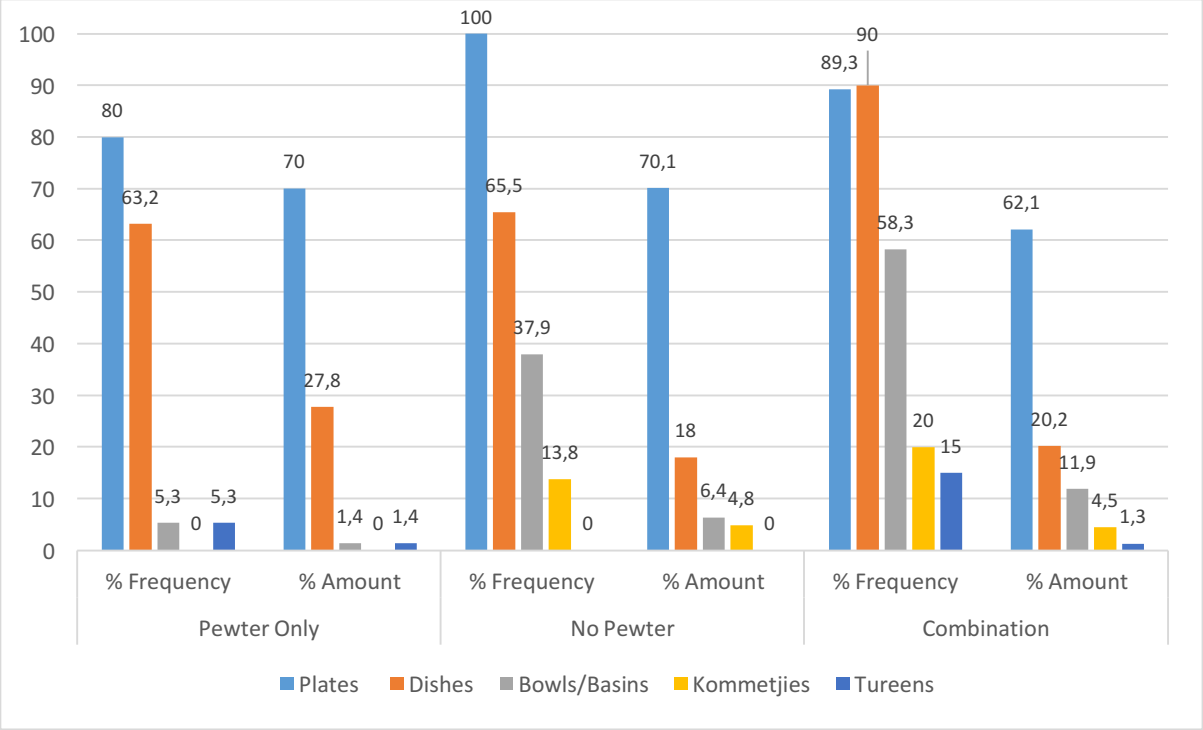


Figure 6.6: Chart showing the proportional frequency and amount of tableware forms in 'Pewter Only', 'No Pewter' and 'Combination' rural probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset districts.

What is noticeable is the precipitous drop in all categories from dishes to hollowware forms. In particular, probates with only pewter tableware contained a high amount of flatware but very little hollowware. The probates with no pewter forms show a consistent decline in frequency from plates to dishes to bowls/basins and so on. In the 'Combination' probates, dishes and plates had a near equal frequency, suggesting that a home rarely had one without the other. Hollowware in general also more commonly occurred in this category.

Figure 6.6 also illustrates the quantity of each form in each grouping. As with frequency, plates are the most popular tableware items, appearing in consistent amounts in a consistent number of probates in all categories. The drop in quantity between plates and dishes, however, is greater than the equivalent drop in frequency. This implies that a similar proportion of probates in each category had dishes, but in smaller quantities than plates.

The frequency of hollowware forms stands in contrast to flatware (Fig. 6.6). Very few 'Pewter Only' probates contained hollowware, implying that in these households, pewter rarely appeared as bowls/basins, *kommetjies* and tureens. Over a third of the 'No Pewter' probates

listed bowls/basins. Few contained *kommetjies* and none listed tureens. Hollowware appears most commonly in 'Combination' probates, most often as bowls/basins and a fifth contained *kommetjies*, albeit in small amounts. Overall, hollowware makes up a relatively small proportion of total tableware in all categories.

Certainly, the amount of hollowware in pewter-only probates is negligible. In the other two categories, however, the variance between frequency and amount is telling. For 'Combination' probates, bowls/basins are present in over half the probates, but only account for 12% of the tableware, meaning that the 12% was spread thinly over a comparatively high number of households (Fig. 6.6). The situation for bowls/basins in 'No Pewter' probates is similar. The proportional amount of *kommetjies* in the 'No Pewter' and 'Combination' categories is alike, but they appear more often in 'Combination' probates than no-pewter ones. Furthermore, probates that listed no pewter tableware did not contain tureens.

In summary, flatware was the dominant or preferred form in all probates, regardless of material. Homes with a combination of materials had a greater variety of tableware forms, and more of them, but in 'No Pewter' probates this variety and quantity dropped, and in 'Pewter Only' probates there was most likely only small amounts of flatware. Comparatively high amounts of plates were common in nearly all homes, regardless of material. Dishes were also common in all categories, both in quantity and frequency, but the variance between the measures suggests they were present in smaller quantities than plates in all households. Hollowware was nearly non-existent in 'Pewter Only' households, and common in combination ones, although in far smaller quantities than flatware. Bearing in mind the average quantity of tableware contained in probates from each category (Table 6.4), the data suggests that hollowware appears in meaningful, yet still minimal, amounts only when the overall quantity of tableware grows.

The data above suggests that hollowware was altogether minimal and that plates and dishes appear together in probates as a 'package' of flatware in all categories, albeit in disproportionate amounts. This is confirmed by Table 6.5, which shows the frequency of form combinations within each category and highlights trends in tableware groupings.

Table 6.5: Table showing frequency of tableware forms and combinations in in 'Pewter Only', 'No Pewter' and 'Combination' rural probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset districts.

Probates	Only Plates (%)	Only Dishes (%)	Only HW (%)	Only FW (%)	Plates + HW (%)	FW + HW (%)	Total
Pewter Only	5 (26.3)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	10 (52.6)	1 (5.3)	0	19
No Pewter	9 (31)	1 (3.4)	0	7 (24.1)	1 (3.4)	11 (37.9)	29
Combination	0	1 (1.7)	0	16 (26.7)	6 (10)	37 (61.7)	60
All	14 (12.9)	4 (3.7)	1 (0.9)	33 (30.6)	8 (7.4)	48 (44.4)	108

In 'Pewter Only' probates, the plates and dishes 'package' is the most common form grouping, and a quarter of the probates contained only plates and no other tableware (Table 6.5). It has already been demonstrated that hollowware is uncommon in this category, and only one probate contained hollowware and no flatware and just a single probate lists flatware *and* hollowware together. In 'No Pewter' probates, the most common grouping of forms is plates and dishes with hollowware, but plates often appear alone and so do the 'package' of plates and dishes (Table 6.5). In this category, no probates contain only hollowware and only one each contains dishes alone and plates with hollowware. In the 'Combination' category, the most frequently occurring grouping is plates, dishes and hollowware forms, followed by the flatware 'package' of plates and dishes (Table 6.5). Other form combinations are rare and no probate contains only plates or only hollowware.

Unsurprisingly, hollowware appears rarely on its own in all three categories (Table 6.5). Conversely, from just under a quarter to a half of the probates in each category contain only plates and dishes, and this is highest in the 'Pewter Only' probates. Furthermore, 'Pewter Only' probates simply do not contain a combination of plates, dishes and hollowware, and the frequency of this form grouping jumps to 37.9% in 'No Pewter' probates and over 60% in 'Combination' probates. Having one form of flatware in a probate occurs very rarely in the 'Combination' category, but relatively frequently in the 'Pewter Only' and 'No Pewter' categories. Plates and dishes appear together in 88% of the 'Combination' probates and, combined, account for 82% of the total amount of tableware in this category.

This data confirms the ubiquity of the plates and dishes 'package' across all categories and demonstrates that variety of forms increased as the quantity of tableware did. It also suggests that new tableware forms entering homes were generally not pewter and most likely ceramics. To investigate this, 53 probates from the 'Combination' category in Beaufort,

Graaff-Reinet and Somerset were selected that specifically described forms as either earthen or pewter.

6.6.2 Earthen and Pewter Forms in Individual Probates

In the examination of the smaller probate sample of 15, it was suggested that earthen forms outnumber pewter ones when they appear together in a single probate. In the sample of 53 'Combination' probates, 29 contained plates in both pewter and another material (i.e. earthen), 16 contained dishes in both pewter and earthen and all 53 contained both dishes *and* plates in pewter and ceramic.

Of the 29 probates with mixed plates, three-quarters of these had more earthen plates than pewter, two had the same amount, and only five had more pewter plates than earthen. When earthen plates outnumber pewter, there are almost 2.5 times more of the latter than the former. On the other hand, where pewter plates outnumber earthen plates, the ratio is 1.8 pewter to every one earthen plate. Earthen plates were the preferred form and pewter plates were secondary. Yet not every probate contained plates in a combination of materials, and 13 probates listed only pewter plates and 11 contained plates exclusively in earthenware or other materials. Around half the 'Combination' probates contained plates in two types and around half did not.

Sixteen households contained a combination of dishes in different materials. Six probates contained more earthen than pewter dishes, four contained more pewter than earthen and six had an equal amount of each. When either is more common in one probate, then the ratio is much the same at nearly 2.5 to one. This suggests that pewter dishes were not necessarily secondary to earthen dishes and had a stronger presence in probates.

If the frequency of various combinations of plates *and* dishes is examined, the relationship between earthen and pewter forms can be illustrated more clearly. All 53 sample probates contained both plates and dishes. Each form has been grouped as pewter, other (i.e. non-pewter), and, when both pewter and another material, mixed. Table 6.6 shows the frequency of the nine possible groupings of plates and dishes that appeared in the sample of 53 'Combination' probates.

Table 6.6: Table showing the frequency of flatware combinations according to their material in a sample of 53 probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset.

Combination	Mixed dishes (%)	Pewter dishes (%)	Other dishes (%)
Mixed plates	10 (18.9)	13 (24.5)	6 (11.3)
Pewter plates	2 (3.8)	9 (17)	2 (3.8)
Other plates	3 (5.7)	7 (13.2)	1 (1.9)

The most frequently occurring combination is mixed plates with pewter dishes which appears in just under a quarter of the sample (Table 6.6). The next most common combination, occurring in just under 20% of the probates, is when both forms are mixed. Nine households (17%) had pewter plates with pewter dishes, and seven (13.2%) had non-pewter plates with pewter dishes. The least common combinations are pewter plates with mixed dishes (3.8%), pewter plates with non-pewter, other dishes (3.8%), and other plates with other dishes (1.9%). Almost three quarters of the the sample probates had pewter dishes, and under 40% had earthen dishes.

A general theme in this category is the prevalence of pewter dishes. Almost three quarters of the the relevant households had dishes in pewter, and a shade under 40% had dishes in earthen. So while plates were preferred in earthenware, dishes were preferred in pewter.

In conclusion, flatware alone or flatware with hollowware is present in almost three quarters of all the sample probates (Table 6.5). Because of this frequency, it is feasible to see plates and dishes as related forms that created a base onto which the amount and variety of tableware within the household could grow. This is reflected in the fact that flatware appears on over half of the 'Pewter Only' probates, and 'Pewter Only' probates contain fewer tableware items overall. This hints that nearly all households owned plates first, then dishes, most likely in pewter initially and then earthen later. Only once a suitable quantity of flatware was owned did one or another type of hollowware enter the tableware collection. The hollowware was commonly earthen and rarely pewter. This is also linked to the overall amount of tableware contained in a probate. If a probate lists only pewter tableware, then the quantity of tableware was small. If it only lists earthenware, then the tableware quantity

more than doubles. A mixture of tableware materials generally means an increase in the quantity of forms, yet the variety of material is limited chiefly to flatware.

6.7. Conclusion

An examination of the table- and teaware of a sample of 15 probates revealed tableware that stood in stark contrast to the ceramic assemblage from Werf 1. The households represented by these probates were situated in close proximity to Kerkplaats and the probates were taken at or near the time that Kerkplaats was re-occupied in the early 1830s. In the Werf 1 assemblage, hollowware bowls far outnumbered flatware plates and dishes, and the quantity of teaware and other drinking vessels was negligible (Chapter 5). Data from the sample probates showed that flatware appeared more often and in greater quantities than hollowware, and that hollowware forms are only tangentially related to drinking. Another aspect that is absent from the Werf 1 assemblage is the frequent occurrence of pewter in tableware forms. To further investigate the role of pewter and the relationship between flatware and hollowware forms, the probate sample was expanded to include all rural districts in the Colony.

A sample 222 probates from rural areas of the Colony showed that a proportion of probates in every district listed pewter tableware. Time, measured from 1825 to 1834, did not appear to effect the presence of pewter tableware in rural areas. To investigate whether geographical position influenced the frequency of pewter, the probate sample was sub-divided by district. In doing so, it became clear that probates from some districts had noticeably more pewter than others, both in terms of the quantity and the frequency.

Pewter flatware was by far the most popular form of pewter in all districts and pewter hollowware was comparatively rare throughout. The districts of Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset contained the overall highest frequency and amounts of pewter, while Swellendam, George and Uitenhage had fewer pewter items in fewer probates. Both the the former and the latter districts shared particular similarities in history, geography, climate and industry. The latter three can be considered more established with closer ties to Cape Town and longer periods of settled European occupation. The former three, on the other hand, are situated on the northern frontier of the Colony, and subsequently more marginal, less densely populated,

at a distance from the Cape, and reliant on stock, primarily sheep, farming in remote, arid environments. More pertinently, Kerkplaats itself was situated in Beaufort district. The probates in these three districts were subsequently seen as suitable proxy for comparison with Kerkplaats, and were examined in more detail.

In terms of the quantity and frequency of certain tableware forms in Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, plates were most widespread, followed by dishes, bowls/basins, *kommetjies* and tureens. Over half the dishes and one third of the plates were pewter, while pewter hollowware was rare. Pewter dishes and plates appeared in over half the households in these regions. Where both earthen and pewter forms appear in the same household, pewter plates were, on average, outnumbered by 2.5 to one, but pewter dishes and earthen dishes had a more equal relationship throughout. When a household had only pewter tableware, the quantities were a lot smaller than those that contained earthen or both materials. Plates and dishes appear to be the primary unit of rural tableware, regardless of material, although there are indications that forms diversified as the number of earthen pieces in each household grew.

The growth of a rural household's tableware is dependent on the relative wealth of the household and the nature of the supply they receive. The majority of 19th century ceramic in South Africa consists of British-made forms. The avenues these forms took to reach the rural consumer were dependent on a number of factors and decisions made not only by the purchaser, but by the manufacturer, importer, merchant and trader. Ceramic forms have rich object biographies that need to be disentangled to isolate the aesthetic, historical and political decisions that caused them to reach the consumer and governed the consumer's response to it. To further understand tableware and investigate issues of choice, selection and supply in rural areas, I will now look at the nature of the ceramic market at the Cape, particularly in terms of ceramic tableware, and the development of rural commerce.

CHAPTER 7: CERAMIC SUPPLY TO RURAL AREAS

In the preceding chapter, an examination of the tea- and tableware data extracted from rural probates showed that the the Werf 1 assemblage was unique in its proportion of hollowware to flatware forms. It also demonstrated that pewter forms persisted in nearly half the rural probates reviewed and, where owned, made up a significant portion of a household's tableware. Additionally, ceramic forms in rural areas were ultimately conservative and the probates suggest that household tableware diversified as more ceramic items were added and household wealth increased. These factors suggest that tableware acquisition and use in rural areas did not follow the same trends as they did in urban areas, and that rural-dwellers subsequently made different choices and decisions in their purchasing that accounts for a localised rural character in tableware. This seemingly did not always imitate, and often worked against, British colonial fashion or taste.

Making decisions that were not dictated by British interests, and, furthermore, acted against the dominance of British taste, fashion and style, was, in many ways, a display of independence that can be considered as a continuation of tradition, such as persisting with pewter forms, or a maintenance of inherent cultural values in specific regions. The rural probates and the archaeology of Werf 1 at Kerkplaats suggest that this was embodied in the prevalence of pewter forms, and the dominance of hollowware over flatware ceramic.

Nonetheless, the content of a rural household's tableware collection was dependent on outside factors, particularly supply. As Lees & Majewski (1993: 2) note, consumers can only purchase what is available to them. It is therefore necessary to investigate sources of supply to understand the selection of goods from which rural consumers could make purchasing decisions. The economic and commercial power of the British Empire increased through the 19th century, concurrent to the Cape Colony's integration into it and the expansion of the global market for British goods. For the early to mid-19th century inhabitants of the Cape, availability of goods and articles was largely controlled by decisions made in the interest of the British economy by British merchants and politicians. Less tangible aspects, such as

fashion, taste and style were, in many respects, embodiments of these decisions and created a British cultural dominance at the Cape through the 19th century.

In this chapter, I will briefly examine the import market of the Cape, its place in British colonial trade networks and the development of Cape merchant houses with distinctive British links. The emphasis will be on ceramics, particularly on their biography and the steps, decisions and choices made by specific entities that resulted in specific wares becoming available to the rural Cape consumer. This will include an examination of the development of rural commerce in the first half of the century, particularly the role played by itinerant *smouse*. *Smouse* often developed personal relationships with rural clients that illustrates the purchasing roles and patterns of rural consumers. It will be argued that rural taste and choice was restricted by factors out of their control that occurred higher up the supply chain, but that they worked within this to exert agency and mediate a 'traditional' identity in their purchasing decisions of predominantly British ceramics.

It is essential to note here, however, that detail on the ceramics imported is lacking. Contemporary sources are rarely specific when noting ceramic types, both in terms of decoration and form. Furthermore, terms used by 19th century manufacturers, agents and so on, when referring to earthenware, are rarely uniform and differ from individual to individual. Nonetheless, certain broad terms can be identified, such as 'common earthenware' or 'fine china', and where these appear they are noted.

7.1. The Nature of Cape Colony Imports

While a rich examination of the export sector of the Cape Colony economy exists, there is surprisingly little data on imports, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. At this point, the Cape Colony was becoming firmly entrenched in the global colonial economy dominated, and overseen, by Britain. As a result, Britain's focus was on cost-effective stimulation of the Colony's economy, namely concessions to South African exports, and economic growth in the Colony that would benefit London. In the first decades of the 19th century, what little British interest there was, was mostly aimed towards the wine industry, and, later, wool production (see Feinstein 2005: 28). Essentially, South African exports at this time was limited to

agricultural produce, that was inextricably tied to imports as adequate production of the former was necessary to facilitate the latter.

During the 18th century, slaves were the major import into the Colony (Ross 1989: 256). Towards the end of the 18th century cottons and textiles from India also made up a major component of imports, as did some consumer goods, such as coffee, tea, sugar, and spices. As the European community of the Cape became more established, a range of European goods was increasingly imported, but specifics are vague. Manufactured commodities always accounted for over 60% of imports between 1822 and 1834 (Rush 1972: 25), but when mentioned in current research, most imports are grouped together as 'Articles of British Manufacture' or 'British Goods' or other similar terms.

Contemporary reports by British visitors to the Cape give some idea of the nature of imports into the Colony. These accounts are often incomplete and have the improvement of British trade opportunities as common agendas. Barrow (1804: 307-308) makes this agenda explicit, and while he devotes a number of pages to the goods produced in the Colony at the end of the 18th century, he also lists "the commodities" imported from England, including,

> *Woollen cloths, from the first sort down to woollen blankets.*
> *Manchester goods of almost every description.*
> *Hosiery, haberdashery, and millinery.*
> *Boots, shoes, and hats.*
> *Cutlery, iron tools, stationary (sic).*
> *Bar and hoop iron.*
> *Smiths' coals.*
> *Household furniture.*
> *Paint and oils.*
> *Earthenware.*
> *Naval stores.*
> *Tongues, ham, cheese, and pickles.*

Barrow (1804: 308-309) also lists imports from other countries, including China, India, America, Denmark, Sweden and Germany. Notably, the ships from these countries exchanged their goods for refreshment and "to defray the charges of repairs and other necessaries", as well as for cash (Barrow 1804: 309). According to Barrow (1804: 309), between 1799 to 1802, over 2,000,000 rixdollars of goods were imported into the Colony from Britain alone.

Other contemporary reports on trade provide less detail, yet still have one eye on improving Britain's economic interests. Martin (1836: 250), for example, spends substantial time discussing Cape exports, but all he notes on imports that is that they "consist of every variety of articles of British manufacture". Evidently, by the late 1820s, when Martin (1836) made his observations, a small but growing market for British manufactured goods in the Colony was appearing.

The extent of this growth is detailed in Chase's (1843: 193-194) list of payable duties on imports into the Colony in 1840 and 1841. Coffee, flour, wheat, gunpowder, pepper, rice, sugar, "spirits of all sorts", tobacco, wood, wine, horses, casks, staves, hoops, cooper's rivets, coins, diamonds, and, vaguely, "General Merchandise" are all listed with accompanying provisos, duties and fees (Chase 1843: 193-194). Presumably earthenware, porcelain, and other household items fall under 'general merchandise'. Chase (1843: 198) also gives the values of all imports consumed in the Colony from 1831 to 1840, which averaged around £582,870 annually.

A key development in colonial imports was the development of Algoa Bay and Port Elizabeth as viable ports of entry (Fig. 2.1). Before 1828, no international shipping passed through Algoa Bay at all (Chase 1843: 202), but the start of the wool boom in the 1830s created a viable export market that stimulated global trade in the Eastern Cape (see Feinstein 2005: 28; Beinart 2008). Lack of infrastructure linking the interior to Cape Town meant that travel was impeded by poor roads and extensive mountain ranges. For a stock farmer in the Beaufort district, although physically closer to Cape Town, transporting his produce to Port Elizabeth was easier and cheaper (Muller 2010: 27). Subsequently, by the middle of the 19th century, Port Elizabeth experienced growth in trade and in 1850, imports into Port Elizabeth were 52 times greater, and the number of inward larger by a factor of 31, compared to 1829, a year after international ships started arriving (Rush 1972: 37-38). This growth was the result of the expansion of the merino wool industry. By the end of the following decade Port Elizabeth was receiving more imports and exports than Cape Town (Muller 2010: 27-28).

Significantly, in the middle of the 19th century Cape Town was still primarily considered a refreshment station for passing ships rather than a destination in its own right. Despite commercial growth and improvements to infrastructure and standards of living, in the middle of the century the Cape was still considered economically remote (Worden *et al.* 1998: 159; Boshoff & Fourie 2010: 469-470; see also Warren 1986: 22-38). For most of the first half of the 19th century, the British government viewed the Cape as a purely strategic colony, an "expensive luxury" that would safeguard the Empire's interests in India and act as a halfway house and refreshment station (Graham 1967: 36, 39-40) (Chapter 2). Because there was no viable, profitable market in the Cape, the British government did not invest in it, and because of this, there was no viable, profitable market.

Evidence suggest that it was not only the British parliament that prolonged the Cape's role as a refreshment station. Many private entities also saw Cape Town as a convenient place of rest and refreshment for ships traveling east. Alexander (1838: 295) noted that foreign whaling ships made regular use of Table Bay and Simonstown for refreshments "of many tons annually". Martin (1836: 252) noted the Cape's role as "the maritime key to the Anglo-Indian empire, and to our South Eastern dominions". Even those with no direct interest in the Colony's fortunes, such as the American MacCulloch (1840: 312), describe Cape Town as "a peculiarly desirable resting place for ships bound to or from India, China, Australia, &c.". Thompson (1827: 431), referring to the Cape's economic worth, noted,

> *"Whatever may be the diversity of opinions entertained as to the capabilities of the Cape for becoming a place of commercial importance, it will at least vindicate the judgment of its first founders, by continuing to be the great half-way house to India."*

The Cape's role as a halfway house or *entrepot* was certainly one that traders latched on to. It caused at least one contemporary commentator to fume "I trust no more need to be stated…to shew that our colony…is not a mere *refreshment station for a few Indiamen!*" (Martin 1835: 155).

Ships stopping for refreshment, however, still involved themselves in trade and commonly increased their "valuable cargoes both outward and homeward" by re-exporting and re-

importing commodities at the Cape (Martin 1836: 255). This accounts for a fair proportion of trade at the Cape from 1830 to 1850. Traders would import coffee, put it into storage for a time, and then re-export it to Britain, for example, reducing duty and tariffs (Rush 1972: 30-32. See Rush 1972: 37 for the value of re-exports in the middle of the century). Thompson (1827: 432) also mentions 'middle freight', cargo that was unloaded at stops between destinations, specifically Australia-bound vessels that were re-supplied at Table Bay.

Data on shipping figures in the early decades and middle of the century, although limited, also suggests the Cape's ephemeral role. In 1818-1819, 80% of the ships calling at the Cape were on their way elsewhere (Wickins 1987: 40). Twenty years later, in 1840, almost a third of the 470 ships that docked at the Cape were *en route* to other destinations, including Australia, New Zealand, Demerara, and Shanghai, and were docking at Table Bay chiefly for refreshment (Worden *et al.* 1998: 165). Rush (1972: 22) also notes that the number of ships docking at Table Bay did not correspond to the value of trade occurring.

Essentially, import figures and prevailing views of the time indicate that the Cape was a relatively minor economic hub for Colonial traders and merchants in the first half of the 19th century. A comparison with Australia illustrates this. In the mid-1820s, the value of exports to Britain from the Cape and Australia both stood at £200,000 (Feinstein 2005: 30). Forty years later, the value of the Colony's exports to Britain were eight times smaller than Australia's, £2,500,000 to Australia's £19,000,000 (Feinstein 2005: 3). To understand how this effected the import of ceramics into the Colony, I will now discuss the market for ceramic at the Cape.

7.2. The Ceramic Market at the Cape

For most of the 19th century, Staffordshire pottery manufacturers were almost entirely geared towards supplying the American market (Booth 1998: 9, 12-13, 23). As the century progressed, other foreign markets became significant. By 1833, MacCulloch (1840: 613) could write that "the United States continues to be by far the best market for British earthenware…next in importance are Brazil, the British North American and West Indian colonies, Cuba, Germany, the Netherlands &c." The markets of South America, India and Australasia also grew consistently in the following years.

The market share of the Cape colony, however, was negligible. In 1837, for example, the Cape made up less than 1% of ceramic exports from Britain, worth £563,238 (Booth 1998: 23(a)). On average, the Cape colony, was not even the largest ceramic market in Africa: in more than half the years between 1831 and 1850 the Cape had a smaller share than even the British African west coast territories (Booth 1998: 379).

The Colony's ceramic supply, and by extension the choice and type of wares imported, was likely influenced by demand in larger markets, primarily those further east, such as Australasia, India and China. This is especially true for Australia during and after its wool and gold boom from the 1820s to mid-century, when Australia had more labour and capital than the Cape, and consequently a larger ceramic market (see Neumark 1957: 166, 173; Keegan 1996: 247). A larger Australian market meant that ceramic manufacturers and exporters were more likely to make decisions that suited that market than significantly smaller markets, such as the Cape's. Additionally, by 1870 around 1,000,000 British immigrants had voluntarily moved to Australia, and probably fewer than 100,000 had immigrated to South Africa (Feinstein 2005: 3). Australia's market for British goods was perpetuated by the large amount of British migrants to the country, British migrants that the Cape Colony simply did not have.

7.3. British Merchants at Cape Town

Nonetheless, a ceramic market did exist at the Cape, and, as with trade in general, it grew throughout the 19th century. This growth was initially stimulated by the appearance of Cape Town merchant houses in the early decades of the 19th century, nearly all of them run by British.

Before Port Elizabeth's boom years in the middle of the 19th century, Cape Town was the major destination for all merchandise coming in to the country and the locus of its spread outward into the Colony's interior (Fig. 2.2). The economic boom at the Cape during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-84) stimulated private mercantile activity, and private traders increasingly became more involved in the import-export business, much to the chagrin of the VOC (Ross 1989: 264). Nonetheless, in 1792 the VOC made the decision to allow Cape burghers and non-VOC members of the public to own their own ships and import from Asia and Europe. In the years immediately after this, however, the Cape suffered from a shortage

of goods, related to the outbreak of the French Revolutionary Wars, forcing the new British administration to suspend restrictive Navigation Acts and open the port to foreign ships (Ross 1989: 264).

As a result, during the years of the First British Occupation, 1795-1802, a considerable amount of goods entered the Colony. Most of these imports came on British ships, as well as those from America, Sweden and Denmark, but their cargo was not controlled by Cape Town merchants. Instead, these goods were being sent to the Cape by speculators (Ross 1989: 265). It was only after the second British occupation that trade stabilised and a mercantile elite formed, some drawn from the old VOC commercial class, but mostly British traders with better access to British business circles and experience of trade in their homeland (Meltzer 1989: 22-23; Ross 1989: 265; Worden *et al*. 1998: 99). After 1806, the growth of the import-export trade, particularly in wine, was primarily associated with the Cape's British merchant community (Worden *et al*. 1998: 99). Dutch merchants were active in internal trade, and established economic or personal relationships with British merchants to further their own interests.

Nonetheless, in the early decades of the century, the British government and British East India Company (BEIC) had influence over nearly all trade aspects at the Colony. This resulted in stringent government control, and, as Meltzer (1989: 23) puts it, "(m)any aspects of trade, which later became matters of private decision by individual traders or firms, at this time required government or Company sanction". The rules and regulations were so intricate, contradictory and severe that even the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, complained to the colonial agent in London that they were dissuading mercantile activity (George 1980: 19). Concessions, strictly regulated, were sometimes given to local merchants to import staples in times of need, such as rice, sugar and coffee, but the import of tea, for example, was controlled at all times.

Between 1810 and 1820 there were positive developments for importers and merchants at the Cape. In 1812, the president of the Loan Bank, set up by the VOC in 1793, noted that there were no more than six merchants in the colony who imported from England (Ross 1989: 265). From 1812 to 1820, however, the number of British merchants grew as the BEIC's monopoly

on Eastern trade, apart from China and tea imports, was relaxed in 1813 and other trade sanctions were also gradually lifted. Trade expanded further in the 1820s with the incorporation of the Cape into the British Empire, and the further relaxation of trade restrictions, which were a result of Britain's own rapid industrialization. A large formal and informal empire meant that British industry had little need for official protection, and moves were made to make Cape Town a free port (Meltzer 1989: 26).

In the 1830s most of the discrimination against foreign shipping was lifted and all remaining BEIC trade privileges were cancelled (see Keegan 1996: 163-167 on economic growth in the 1830s). Additionally, due to the abolition of slavery, the British government was compensating former slave-owners with British government stock. This resulted in a capital boost within the Colony and a further stimulation to imports, as many Cape merchants with London connections shipped imports in exchange for stock, which they would then cash at London (Worden *et al*. 1998: 102).

The Cape-London connection had been cultivated by British merchants since before 1820. Finding their numbers small and frustrated by their lack of political voice, British merchants in the Cape realised a lobby group was needed to represent their interests and pressure the BEIC and British government into alleviating concessions and monopolies (see Meltzer 1989: 31; Keegan 1996: 50; Worden *et al*. 1998: 100-102). In 1817, a Commercial Exchange was founded by British merchants in the Cape, which aimed to strengthen existing ties, and form new ones, with London merchants, who could appeal to parliament and government branches in Britain and give voice to Cape merchants' frustrations.

In 1825, this link was reinforced by the formation of the Cape of Good Hope Society (CGHS) in London. The CGHS was made up of "Merchants, Shipowners, Manufacturers and others interested in the trade of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope (sic)" (Immelman 1955: 58-59 in Meltzer 1989: 31). One of its roles, similar to that of the Commercial Exchange, was to pressure the government into making concessions and stipulations that boosted trade in the Colony and improve mercantile business (see George 1980: 74-78; Meltzer 1989: 32). The close economic ties between the Commercial Exchange and the CGHS meant that, often, more personal relationships formed between merchants in each city. By the 1840s, there

were at least 50 London firms with interests at the Cape, although Cape-based firms with crucial London connections were nearly as common (Meltzer 1989: 106, 110; Keegan 1996: 50).

Cape merchants worked hard to maintain these relationships. As well as providing a voice in London, British partners could also offer credit, financial advice and other services (Keegan 1996: 50). Significantly, attaining a British-based partner or agent meant "purchases from British manufacturers and wholesalers could be made on favourable terms" (Meltzer 1989: 110). This last point implies that London agents and partners had some influence on the type of goods exported to the Cape and this appears relevant to the ceramic trade. British pottery firms could engage in foreign trade through direct contact with foreign markets or through the use of merchant houses, importers and commission agents. The former route was taken by larger firms with larger capital, but smaller firms relied on middle-men between themselves and the overseas consumer.

Smaller pottery firms generally provided more commercial ceramics for the bottom end of the market, similar to the slipware, spongeware and painted REW recovered from Kerkplaats. Entering the foreign market was precarious and risky for smaller pottery firms, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. Gathering information on price, competition, and income levels in overseas markets was costly and time-consuming. This was particularly so in remoter areas, such as the Cape, where market information was limited and the economy small. To gather the requisite information, they needed to rely on either merchant houses with local and overseas representatives or local importers with partners in foreign centres.

The foreign representative communicated market information (prices, competition, demand and income) to their British partner, who then sought the best manufacturer or supplier based on the information they received. The result of this system was that the export of ceramics commonly fell within the purview of the British agent or commissioner and was rarely the direct business of the small pottery manufacturer or the Cape merchant (Booth 1998: 191).

Consequently, much of the ceramic that appeared in the Cape was a direct result of internal market forces. The size of the market influenced the type of pottery the British merchant selected for export. Because the Cape's overall market was limited and its economy small, local merchants had no economic clout to dictate terms to their British partners. This resulted in the selection of ceramic for export that would maximise profit, which, in turn, resulted in the spread of standardised, cheaper wares in the Cape that were produced exclusively for export, such as slipware, spongeware and painted forms, as well as costlier wares, such as transfer-printed REW, that were more standardised in decoration and form and still mass-produced (Barker 2001; Ewins 2008).

Alternatively, evidence suggests that the Cape's ceramic market was so small that traders did not even aim to sell to the Cape exclusively, and were happy to unload excess goods at Cape Town that were bound for larger markets, such as Australia and India. These ships took advantage of freer trade and relaxed sanctions at the Cape and unloaded enough cargo to allow local merchants to increasingly become more specialised in their business. Prior to 1820, independent merchants were general tradesmen, and there was little in the nature of the economy that encouraged commodity specialisation. In the following decade moves were made towards specialisation, and merchants shifted their businesses from private homes to stationary shops, and took advantage, where they could, of growing internal commerce.

Positive developments in British colonial trade at the Cape naturally stimulated the Cape's internal market. A key development was the coastal trading route between Cape Town and the Eastern Cape. As early as 1799 a direct coastal shipping link had existed between Cape Town and Algoa Bay at Fort Fredericks (now part of present-day Port Elizabeth) (Fig. 2.1). Government schooners at Fort Fredericks would be loaded with butter, soap, skins, and dried fish and sail to Cape Town, and return with merchandise unavailable in the eastern parts of the Colony (Muller 2010: 22). By 1820, butter specifically from the Graaff-Reinet district, was being shipped from Algoa Bay to Cape Town in large amounts, and Muller (2010: 22-23) notes that by this date "most of the merchandise sold by traders in the Graaff-Reinet district…came from Cape Town by sea, through the port of Algoa Bay". In 1823, the British firm of Barry & Nephews opened a trading *entrepot* at Fort Beaufort north of Grahamstown by 1823 (Fig 2.1). Two years later they were operating along the eastern coast from the Cape to Algoa Bay.

Other trading companies soon entered into the coastal route looking to supply the newly arrived 1820 settlers at Grahamstown and take advantage of growing contacts with the Xhosa market (Bundy 1979: 74; Meltzer 1989: 27) (Fig. 2.1).

If mercantile activities were primarily under the aegis of British merchants in the Cape, by the 1830s they were receiving competition in local, regional trade from smaller, predominantly Dutch, retailers and traders. Smaller traders were less likely to form partnerships and relationships with London-based partners, and consequently concentrated their business on meeting local demand. For smaller traders and rural-dwellers away from commercial centres, access to market depended on the development of rural commerce.

7.4. *Smouse* and the Growth of Rural Commerce

According to Feinstein (2005: 29), rural market activity in the early decades of the 19th century was "stunted and puny". Frontier farmers, however, were not necessarily restricted by this, nor were they purely self-sufficient, isolated, subsistence groups. Frontier farmers were participants in active trade networks and produced for market in exchange for various commodities (Newton-King 1987; Feinstein 2005). *Trekking* into the interior was not purely for ideological or social reasons, but also economic (see Neumark 1957; Ross 1983, 1986: 62). No doubt subsistence was important in the initial stages of settlement, but it did not take long for even the most peripheral frontier farmers to make some attempt to exploit market opportunities and derive a cash income.

However, entering the larger internal market was not easy. The principal obstacle was physical access to market. In the late 18th and early 19th century, trade within inland, rural districts was limited, and confined to specialist goods, such as brandy, tobacco, dried fruit and grain (van der Merwe 1995: 157). Throughout the 18th century, the remote frontier farmer was lucky to visit Cape Town once a year or less. The trip itself could take up to five months on poorly maintained or non-existent roads, and at great cost of time and money (see Guelke 1976: 36; van der Merwe 1995: 155-157). According to Barrow (1804: 302),

> *This distance is a serious inconvenience to the farmer…if he can contrive to get together a waggon load or two of butter or soap to carry with him to Cape Town*

once a year, or once in two years, in exchange for clothing, brandy, coffee, a little tea and sugar, and a few other luxuries…he is perfectly satisfied.

Arguably, at this early stage of rural commercial development access to market was an impediment that forced farmers to concentrate on subsistence instead of profit. Whatever money was made in Cape Town through the sale of soap or butter - Barrow (1804: 302) mentions the common selling price for both at "sixpence a pound" - was spent in Cape Town and re-circulated into the urban economy. Farmers purchased essential goods unavailable inland, such as clothing, brandy, coffee, tea and sugar, and fabrics, farming equipment, tobacco, powder, and shot, amongst other things. Alternately, as van der Merwe (1995: 159) notes, money made was spent on covering the costs of the trip into Cape Town itself.

As the 18th century progressed, however, rural *dorps* became commercial centres and stimulants for trade networks in the interior. Most times these small villages were founded where a commercial market could eventually exist, itself predicated on the population density and produce of the region. When local agriculture became suitably profitable and produce could be geared towards market instead of purely subsistence, merchants, traders and craftsmen invariably followed (Ross 1986: 65). One such *dorp*, Graaff-Reinet, was one of the earliest inland rural villages and the nearest *dorp* for a number of northern frontier farmers (Fig. 2.1). It soon became a key component in the trade network between the interior and the coast, particularly Port Elizabeth.

In 1812, 16 years after its founding, Burchell (1824: 145) noted 74 houses, three smiths' shops, one wagon maker, "and several shops or houses at which a variety of European goods might be bought" in Graaff-Reinet. The town grew further in the ensuing years; from 1815 to 1820 the number of licensed retailers rose from 20 to 57, and by the end of the 1820s it had become a crucial source of goods and merchandise for nearby farmers in the interior (see Muller 2010: 23). Key in the development of Graaff-Reinet, and other early rural towns, as commercial *entrepots* was the presence of the itinerant trader or *smous*.

7.4.1. *Smouse*, Supply and the Rural Economy

It has already been demonstrated that the nature of the commodities reaching the Cape was subject to a number of external factors. At the scale of the *smous* and his rural customer, it is possible to isolate more acute aspects of this trade and demonstrate the role of social agency in purchasing decisions. Consequently, the nature of the dominance of slip-decorated bowls at Werf 1 and the persistence of pewter forms in rural areas can be interrogated.

Itinerant traders became part of the rural landscape at the beginning of the 19th century. In South African historiography the travelling pedlar (or peddler) is inextricably tied to the Jewish *smouse*, and, as a result of this, studies of *smouse* are nearly always placed within a framework of Jewish social and cultural history. In fact, there is little mention of itinerant traders that were not Jewish. The figure of the Jewish itinerant pedlar or *smous* is so prevalent in select South African historiographies, that it is often romanticised in South African Jewish memory (Schrire 2002: 34; Mendelsohn & Shain 2008: 40-41). Despite this, a comprehensive history of Jewish *smouse* has yet to be written. Nevertheless, research dealing exclusively with *smouse* and itinerant traders in the first half of the 19th century is rare. Few are found outside the strictures of Jewish cultural and social history, and even then, when they are mentioned, it is primarily as as aside in broader studies economic studies (Bundy 1979, 1984; Ross 1986; Newton-King 1987), and cultural (Newton-King 1999) and social (Digby 2005; Mitchell 2007, 2008; Muller 2010) history.

Historical archaeological studies also rarely consider *smouse*, except for brief explanations on how the material culture under study may have arrived at its final destination (see Saitowitz & Sampson 1992; Viljoen 2014). This is primarily due to a dearth of historical era archaeological studies in rural areas in the 19th century, the era of peak *smouse* activity in the Karoo. Both Moffett (2010: 12-18) and Coetzee (2012: 27-33) spend more time on *smous* activity within an archaeological framework, although their research is grounded in late 19th century sites and assemblages.

7.4.2. *Smouse* in the Rural Landscape

During the Dutch period, Jewish presence in the Colony was limited to VOC stakeholders, nearly all of which were based in Europe, and there is little evidence of a Jewish presence in

the Cape from 1652 to 1795 (Kaplan 1986: 30). In 1797-1798, Barrow (1804: 387) notes "a kind of Jew brokers (sic)" acting as "agents for the country boors (sic)", providing lodging for them on their visits to Cape Town, "disposing of their produce, and purchasing for them necessities in return". Barrow (1804: 302) notes that the visiting farmers referred to these "retail dealers" as "*Semaus* or Jews". These *Semaus*, however, do not appear to have been itinerant pedlars, as hawking and peddling had been made more-or-less illegal by the VOC, and instead they relied on the infrequent visits of frontier farmers from the edges of the Colony (see Neumark 1957: 149-150). Covert trade, however, was widespread, frequently spearheaded by powerful Cape Town merchants, and although many did not necessarily rely on independent *smouse* to hawk their wares, they did send their own agents inland and used travellers and visiting *veeboeren* (stock farmers) to carry their merchandise (Newton-King 1987:10).

The period of the celebrated Jewish *smouse* only really began after 1806 with the start of British occupation. It was at this time that Jewish immigrants arrived in the Colony in discernible numbers, primarily from Britain and Europe (Shain 2011: 89). At his arrival, a *smous* would need to establish a reliable and steady contact or supplier, either a shopkeeper, wholesaler or general merchant, who could supply him with merchandise. A mutually beneficial arrangement soon developed between the *smous* and the merchant, where the merchant provided livelihood for the *smouse* and the *smouse* ensured extra business for the merchant. In many cases, the *smouse* not only provided extra transactions, but allowed the merchant to expand his base stock. Being immobile, a shopkeeper's stock was dictated by the customers who could physically visit his premises. But partnering with a traveling *smous* meant the customer base expanded and more stock could be purchased and stored. This in turn allowed for the merchant to expand his operations (Diner 2015: 59).

Despite this, early *smouse* and their trading contacts were often independent entities, and the assumption was that the *smouse* would eventually open their own shop or move on to different livelihoods once enough capital was saved. For his part, the merchant not only supplied merchandise to the *smous*, but also suggested routes to take and what goods prospective customers required in the areas in which the *smouse* would trade. In his specific

area, the *smouse* then became the link between the customer and shopkeeper, and, more broadly, the periphery and the metropole.

Once a relationship formed between a *smous* and a merchant, *smouse* became increasingly familiar sights in rural areas in the early decades of the 19th century. They soon became so ubiquitous that most European travellers in the interior were assumed to be engaged in trade and commerce. Steedman (1835: 146, 163), traveling in the rural north east of the Colony in the early 1830s, was often mistaken for a *smous*, "the class of men who go about the country selling goods to the farmers and taking sheep in exchange", and at the Orange River he was mistaken for a trader by a party of Griqua who wanted to barter their cattle for guns, powder and shot.

William Harris, traveling into the interior in the 1830s, was likewise commonly mistaken for an itinerant pedlar by frontier-dwellers. Harris (1844: 53) describes *smouse* as collecting ivory and pelts for the Cape markets, while "availing themselves of the opportunity of supplying the farmers and missionaries lying in their outward route, with the portable luxuries of life." Harris (1844: 53) notes, however, that "the field for traffic is extremely limited, and that fortunes are rarely made" unless *smouse* were particularly astute and managed to smuggle gunpowder across the Colony border or were the first to visit "the chief of some new tribe among the northern nations." James Backhouse (1844: 503), who held strong opinions on itinerant traders (see below) was himself also mistaken for one at the Riet Rivier in 1839, where "some Hottentots…brought Ostrich-feathers to the wagon to exchange for tobacco". Cumming (1856: 360), near the Vaal River in 1849, also encountered an itinerant trader "of French extraction" from Paarl, "with his two waggons laden with merchandise (sic)".

Both Steedman (1835) and Harris (1844) describe *smouse* rather ambivalently. The same cannot be said for other contemporary travellers. Barrow (1804: 387) while not speaking of s*mouse* directly, comments that the Jewish agents in the town made their living "entirely by defrauding the simple boors (sic)". Thompson (1827: 383-384) indirectly describes *smouse* as avaricious, mean and sordid, while Backhouse (1844: 433) tells his readers that the term '*Smous'* "literally means, a Cheat". Backhouse (1844: 533, 597), however, was a man of the

church, and his main grievance and accusation towards *smouse* was their role in supplying liquor to potential converts and to gain advantage over customers.

Many *smouse* successfully inserted themselves into the network of small country shopkeepers and traders who were themselves stimulated by the growth of commercial activity in the Cape. Trade fairs and regular markets in rural *dorps* became key measures of *smouse* activity. The trade fairs initiated at Beaufort West in 1819, primarily aimed at the Griqua populations living further north, drew a wide range of colonial traders, including *smouse* (Ross 1989: 267) (Fig. 2.1). Commercial interactions with Xhosa groups along the eastern frontier undoubtedly also drew itinerant pedlars (see Bundy 1979: 30-31), while Coetzee (2012: 28) notes *smouse* planning their visits to rural towns to coincide with '*Nachtmaal*', when many isolated farming families were visiting *dorps en masse* (see also Jowell & Folb 2004: 77). Steedman (1835: 298) describes a market in Grahamstown in the early 1830s, where "the enterprising settler" sold his cargo of hides, ivory, and "the rich fur dresses or cloaks of the natives of distant regions" that he had amassed "from a six months' trading journey to the interior" (Fig. 2.1).

By the 1820s and 1830s, *smouse* were clearly active agents in rural trade, established enough to open stalls in fairs and markets at rural *dorps* and take advantage of new market opportunities. An important aspect of this is to understand what the goods and articles *smouse* stocked and sold. Knowing this is critical for comparison with the archaeology because it would comment on the goods rural consumers received and the purchasing decisions they made.

7.4.3. *Smouse* Merchandise

The merchandise a *smous* carried and sold was subject to a number of factors. For newer *smouse* starting out in the business, the selection of their merchandise was often made by the urban-based wholesaler, who had a better idea of the internal market and had his or her own economic needs to satisfy. As *smouse* became more established, however, it is likely that this relationship changed. A successful *smous* with direct contact with the rural consumer would have the authority and influence to make suggestions to his supplier regarding what goods were desired and were selling well. Once a relationship with a rural-dweller had been

established, *smouse* were able to take requests and receive specific orders from the purchaser. Additionally, as Diner (2015: 63) points out, established, successful *smouse* carried some clout within the Jewish economic network and had the ability to pick and choose his supplier and the goods he knew would sell. Doubtless it was in the *smouse*'s best interests to know what his customers wanted and to supply this.

In nearly all descriptions of *smous* merchandise, the emphasis is on clothing and clothing manufacture or repair and there is little mention of ceramic and other forms of tableware. The dominance of clothing items amongst *smouse* merchandise is because clothing rarely lasted and few, if any, frontier farmers could manufacture their own linen or cloth. Additionally, new *smouse* carried their merchandise on their back and this limited his turnover. One of the few references to *smouse* goods from the first half of the 19th century emphasises clothes, cloth and sewing materials (Neville 1996: 197). Starting out on foot meant that merchandise size was limited to small necessities and the odd luxury item. This included cloth, needles, buttons, hooks and eyes, thimbles, matches, pipes, tobacco, knives and Dutch medicines, that were exchanged with farmers for skins, soap and other produce, who had trouble disposing of produce in small amounts and suffered from a shortage of cash (Jowell & Folb 2004: 12).

An established *smouse* with a mule or wagon could transport more and larger items. Once this was acquired, the range of merchandise could expand and Van der Merwe (1995: 159-160) notes that "itinerant traders could usually supply nearly everything the farmers needed", loaded on two or three wagons or carts. Backhouse (1844: 538), much to his chagrin, mentions the trade of guns and liquor by itinerant pedlars, while Digby (2005: 444) notes the trade of patent medicines by itinerant pedlars in the Colony. A reproduction of a section of a *smouse* inventory, undated but presumably from the late 19th century, lists flutes, buttons, thimbles, packs of needles, hooks and eyes, pins, cotton reels, a bundle of trousers, jackets, women's stockings, men's socks, handkerchiefs, clothes, towels, frocks, waistcoats, shawls, aprons, table clothes, men's shirts and blankets (Jowell & Folb 2004: 35).

Nonetheless, *smouse* merchandise was also influenced by what was available from his supplier, and there is little mention of ceramic or other forms of tableware and toiletware.

Presumably, *smouse* did have these in supply. Certainly we know that at least one recognised *smous* supplier, the Mosenthal's of Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet, imported these items from Britain (Kaplan 1986: 36), and that Steedman (1835) noted the presence of British goods, possibly earthenware and porcelain, at a market in Colesberg. Nonetheless, it is curious that they do not more frequently appear in references and descriptions of *smouse* merchandise.

One reason could simply be that some forms of tableware, such as ceramic and porcelain, were too delicate to transport on a mule or cart. Van der Merwe (1995: 175-176) is not directly referring to *smouse*, but notes that "by the time porcelain reached the frontier districts, it was for the most part already broken and cracked". For *smouse,* the risk of breakage outweighed any economic benefit. Alternatively, tableware items may have not been a regular demand, and *smouse* could not justify a permanent travelling stock of ceramics because household orders were brought on their next visit.

The case of the Mosenthal's supply business is illustrative of the nature of goods imported and then redistributed by *smouse*. In 1842, the Mosenthal's imported an assortment of goods from England and Germany. For the well-to-do urban-dwellers of Port Elizabeth and, to a lesser extent, Graaff-Reinet they imported muslin, mirrors, stockings, lavender water and *eau-de-cologne*, toys and dolls, pictures, feather-beds and champagne. For *trekboere* and farmers specifically, they imported heavy canvas, clay and 'Dutch Farmer' pipes, accordions, muskets, tinderboxes, crockery, iron pots and pans, saddlery, and Dutch school books (Kaplan 1986: 36). This last item demonstrates some foresight, as it was imported with the knowledge that families *trekking* into the interior had to teach their own children. Furthermore, the variety the goods the Mosenthal's imported suggests that the *smouse* in the eastern districts were well established by the early 1840s, with carts and wagons to carry their goods.

Significantly, it appears that the Mosenthal's had a robust idea of what their customers wanted and where and to whom the items would sell. Undoubtedly, they received this information from *smouse* and demonstrates their unique position, where the personal nature of their transactions with the rural consumer provided feedback on rural wants, needs and desires.

7.4.4. *Smous* and Customer Relations

In the first half of the century the relationship between *smouse* and customers was good and any hostility was between competitors and from anti-Semitic lobbies linked to economic factors, which increased towards the end of the 19th century (see Saron & Hotz 1955: 129-130; Shain 1987, 1990). Before this, as Vecchio (2012: 107) puts it, "the occasional visit by a peddler injected a measure of excitement into the relatively monotonous lives of rural farm people". Oral histories from America compare the visiting pedlar as "like having Santa Claus come" with "all the riches of Araby" (Coleman 1962 & Crews 1983 in Vecchio 2012: 107). The *smous*, along with his merchandise, also brought mail and news of the wider world to isolated farmsteads, discussing politics, religion and current affairs.

Farmers, for their part, would often accommodate *smouse*, providing food and shelter for the trader and water for the mules or oxen. Some farmers even respected the religious views of the *smouse* and catered to their kosher dietary requirements, preparing eggs instead of meat or allowing the *smous* to use his own cooking utensils (Goldstein 2002: 11). Others constructed specific outhouses for the *smous* to spend the night.

Sherman (1952: 526) describes the ritual of the transaction between the farmer and the *smous* in some detail:

> *The housewife had already prepared a list of items and articles that she wanted to purchase. In the morning, immediately after breakfast, everyone gathered on the veranda of the house: the farmer, his wife, children, neighbors, in-laws, daughter-in-law, son-in-law (if there were any), and asked the peddler to display his merchandise. The black man who traveled with him carries in two sacks with merchandise, takes the merchandise out of the sacks, and displays it on the floor of the veranda. Then the choosing and bargaining begins and lasts a couple of hours. In the end they purchase hammers, stockings, pants, linen, canvas, fabric for dresses, knives, spoons, and toys for children and grandchildren.*

Other descriptions of interactions and transactions are broadly similar, albeit taken from later in the century. A description by a German Jewish country shopkeeper in the Northern Cape notes the "infinite variety of merchandise" loaded onto the *smous'* cart and that at each farm

"he unpacked, displayed his ware in front of the homestead – usually on the *stoep* – did his business, collected his sheep, which travelled with him until he reached his original destination" (Mendelsohn & Shain 2008: 40). Van der Merwe (1995: 160) describes a meeting between *smouse* and customers slightly differently:

> *The itinerant trader normally let the farmers know beforehand that he was coming and also what route he was planning to follow. And while the news spread in every direction that he was approaching, he slowly moved from one place to another, frequently staying over a few days at a centrally located site. This gave the farmers in the neighbourhood the opportunity to come and do their shopping. At such a stand buck sails were stretched between the wagons, chairs were put out for the buyers, and the itinerant trader unpacked his goods.*

For the farmer, bartering with *smouse* held many attractions, not all of them economic. The most obvious was that itinerant pedlars brought products to the farmers saving them from travel to the nearest town or Cape Town and *smouse* subsequently saved them much time and effort. Furthermore, the growth of rural *dorps* and *smouse* activity meant farmers could afford to settle further in the interior without necessarily distancing themselves from access to market (Neumark 1957: 150).

Other advantages were economic as some itinerant pedlars also sold their goods at lower prices than town merchants (Diner 2015: 103). Additionally, *smouse* were willing to barter and exchange goods for farm produce and skins and not only cash. For a rural dweller, buying items at urban shops meant having a ready cash supply, something many farmers did not have. *Smouse* also took orders, letting the farmers know their return date, and brought mail from Cape Town or the nearest village when they did (Neumark 1957: 145-146). Some pedlars, having established good relationships with their clients, were also willing to part with their merchandise on credit or as part of an instalment plan. *Smouse* visiting Cape Town also sometimes cashed in promissory notes farmers received from traveling butchers (Ross 1989: 262).

In deep rural areas, the value of items was rarely understood and, consequently, *smouse* had some hand in spreading practical means of commerce and economy (see Backhouse 1844:

463). On the other hand, this often meant that *smouse* could also manipulate prices. Newton-King (1999: 170), notes the "monopolistic premiums" charged by *smouse,* and that often the profit they received through barter was greater than if they had received cash. Presumably, rural-dwellers were unaware or simply had to accept pricing. Peires (1989: 476), for one, notes the discrepancies in values between what the farmers were willing to give – "good livestock" – for what they were willing to receive – "such minor items as watches, used clothing and Sheffield knives".

This last point raises considerations regarding the purchasing decisions made by rural dwellers. It suggests that in some cases farmers were desperate enough for some goods that they were willing to enter unequal exchange. This not only comments on issues of rural supply, but also on the value systems inherent in rural households. Farmers had livestock, for example, in adequate supply, but not the most basic of consumer goods that were valued because of their scarcity. The description of the goods *smouse* supplied speaks of necessity and the needs of rural consumers, that could not be met from the land. Without question, tableware falls within this category and the archaeology of Werf 1 and Werf 2, and the probates tableware, raises the critical question of influence and choice within the domestic sphere and the type and style of ceramic that was being selected and used. Who was expressing the rural value system and making the purchasing decisions?

In the excerpt given by Sherman (1952: 526) above, the entire family was involved in the ritual of the transaction with the *smous*, but it was the housewife that ultimately knew, both practically and personally, what items were required and had prepared the list of items needed. The other family members were passive participants in an exchange where many purchasing decisions had already been made. Other contemporary evidence also indicates that women were the primary purchasers for the household. Harris (1844: 63) traveling through the frontier in the 1830s notes that he and his party were commonly mistaken for *smouse* - "the tea and snuff-loving *vrouws* never failing to rush out as we passed their houses to inquire what we had in the waggon." Significantly, it was the farm women that were expecting itinerant traders and seeking merchandise, and not the men. Steedman (1835: 163) was also mistaken for a trader by a widow, who having recently lost her husband, "required some articles of mourning for herself, and family".

Further evidence of the significance of women in rural commerce is provided by Steedman's (1835: 169) description of the "African Fair" in 1830 at the new town of Colesberg in 1830 (Fig. 2.1). After the laying of the cornerstone of the new church, and the attendant ceremonies,

> *…the boors' wives and daughters were busily engaged in what the English ladies call* shopping*; the traders from Graaff-Reinet having brought a fine assortment of "*Mooie Gooderen*" for the "*Jonge Juffrouws*," with an abundant supply of tea, coffee and sugar…Great varieties of British manufactured goods were displayed on stalls, presenting altogether very much the appearance of a country fair in England (*sic*)…*

Once more it is evidently women doing the buying. Additionally, the merchants themselves had selected goods that specifically appealed to wives and daughters and would catch their eye. Traders were probably well aware that women had purchasing power and made these decisions.

One reason for this may be that many of the items offered by *smouse*, and the vendors at the "African Fair", were outside of male traditional expertise; needles, thread, linen, stockings and children's toys speak of a more female domestic sphere. In America, spouses in rural homes generally had distinct responsibilities: husbands were 'abroad' in the field or town, and women were active in the home and *werf* (Witkowski 1999: 107). As a result, consumer decision-making "was particularly subject to female influence because, as a domestic matter, it was nominally within the sphere of women's competence" (Witkowski 1999: 109).

In 19th century America, husbands were instructed by their wives what to purchase before they travelled to the nearest urban or country stores, places that were in the public realm and socially "bastions of male customs and habits" (Jones 2000: 304-305). Needless to say, intra-household relationships varied and male opposition to female purchasing-power certainly existed in some households (see Jones 2000: 301-303). However, there is evidence from early 19th century America that husbands often sought the advice of their wives when making household purchases, and that females rarely deferred their consumer decision-

making to their husbands (Witkowski 1999: 109). We can imagine that the same applied in the rural Northern Cape in the 19th century.

At home and in dealing with itinerant traders, it was almost always women who did business, and after some time became discerning purchasers and skilful hagglers (Klein 1991: 78; Jones 2000: 297; Vecchio 2012: 107). The stock the *smouse* carried gave women autonomy in an otherwise male-dominated world. In trading with pedlars, women could weigh choices in private, and shape the space where goods were purchased, kept and displayed (Jones 2000: 307). Furthermore, women could potentially barter for items without the knowledge of their husbands, absent elsewhere on the farm.

In comparison, in 19th century Cape Town, the role of women and men in the domestic sphere was more complex and strongly linked to status, location and cultural identity (Malan 1993: 185). In larger elite households each sex had a different space within the home, and although a women's role in the domestic domain was never ephemeral, it was possibly of a different nature than in the poorer, rural household (see also Klein 1991: 79-85). For the elite household, the woman herself often became the symbol of status, her ability to visit and receive guests, for example, showing that she had the capacity to forgo her involvement in household production and labour (see Malan 1993: 185). Additionally, luxury purchases amongst the elite in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were often part of the male domain, acting as expressions of self-identity and individualisation (Malan 1993: 184), and it is in the Werf 2 assemblage that perhaps some of this dynamic is expressed and has filtered through.

Essentially, domestic consumption within the rural household was situated in the female sphere and this in itself stood in contrast to a woman's domestic role in urban homes. By extension, localised expressions of tableware, be it the slipware bowls at Werf 1 or the more generalised pewter forms in rural areas, were given substance by rural women and in their choice, purchase and use became means to display their agency within the household. While supply of goods was regulated and subject to British manufacturers, British merchants and male wholesalers and *smouse*, choice and selection of items within the range on offer to rural consumers, primarily women, was unfettered and commonly within her realm. The vendors at Colesberg were aware that it was women who had purchasing power and, as evident by

the list of goods imported by the Mosenthal's, they and *smouse* tailored supply to suit the desires and wants of women consumers and rural customers (Kaplan 1986: 36).

Undoubtedly, the unique tableware forms, the slipware bowls and pewter flatware, are the results of rural purchasing patterns. These patterns are the remnants of everyday practice that considered the functionality of the form, as in pewter, and style and taste, as in the the specific selection of slipware bowls, in a domestic context that was not subject to outside influence and commonly a manifestation of female autonomy. Indirect interaction with British pottery producers meant that the gaudy colours, mass production and cheapness of slipware bowls was potentially lost along the trade routes from Staffordshire to the Karoo, and became instead a means of expressing autonomy and personalised preference.

7.5.4. The Decline of the *Smouse* and Shifting Rural Markets

Market-driven changes to the rural economy, such as the growth of rural banking institutions in the 1830s and the wool boom of the mid-19th century, stimulated commercial development inland, and subsequently improved interior transportation networks. Rural consumers became less and less remote from the Cape and global colonial markets. Growing access to market and increased trade with permanent rural merchants fundamentally altered the nature of country regions. The deep isolation and remoteness of rural landholders began to recede and the intrinsic economic equality, at least among white farmers, that was prevalent in the *platteland* in the early years of interior penetration slowly disappeared (Ross 1986: 66).

Competition between *smouse* and *dorps* shopkeepers had been a feature of rural commerce since at least 1813. In that year, merchants in Graaff-Reinet complained that itinerant pedlars did not pay license fees to trade, a fee town-based merchants were compelled to pay to legally conduct business (Ross 1989: 268). By 1820, enough 'hawkers' were in Graaff-Reinet for John Campbell (1822: 326) to note their ubiquity with alarm and warn that there was a distinct possibility that their increasing presence would stymy the commercial growth of the village. Certainly, on a broader scale, Neumark (1957: 148) notes that by the late 1820s *smousen* were able to break the meat monopoly of Cape Town butchers.

Mostly, this competition stimulated commercial growth in the rural north east of the Colony (Ross 1983: 214-215). However, the growth of regulated, immobile trade also eroded the activity of *smousen*, particularly in areas of greater commercial endeavour. By the end of the 1830s, at least one successful merchant in the eastern districts was able to put *smousen* in the region out of business (Ross 1989: 269). This pattern would eventually repeat itself throughout the Colony through the second half of the 19th century and into the 20th. Overall, economic growth, and concomitant infrastructure development and market evolution, despite being partially facilitated by *smouse*, would ultimately lead to their diminishing presence and finally obsolescence.

Simultaneously, at around 1860, the growth of the Cape's exports repeatedly exceeded that of its imports for the first time (Ross 1989: 257). The reason for this was the growth and development of the merino wool industry in the Colony, starting in the 1830s. The partial replacement of indigenous fat-tailed sheep by wool-bearing merinos was a gradual one (Ross 1983: 252). Most wool farming along the northern frontier occurred in the well-watered eastern districts around Graaff-Reinet. Wool production in the eastern districts exceeded that of the northern and western parts of the Colony (Beinart 1998: 176; Muller 2010: 27).

Wool farming was slow to catch on in these areas not only because of the aridity of the environment but because of the role fat-tailed sheep had in the subsistence economy. Sheep fat provided a number of domestic products and some that could be commodified, such as soap, tallow and grease. Fat-tailed sheep's persistence in the north-west spoke of a less commercialised economy and one that was prejudicial against new sheep breeds (see Tamarkin 2009). Additionally, merino sheep farming meant "a more commoditized approach [to farming] that prioritized export rather than multi-purpose local consumption" (Beinart 2008: 53). Furthermore, for rural Dutch farmers it meant active participation in a market where capital and innovation was controlled by English speakers.

Nonetheless, developments in the textile industry in Britain, and the collapse of the rural soap industry in the 1830s (Wickins 1987: 42), stimulated the shift to merinos and the Colony soon had a viable export product. The quantity of exported wool grew exponentially from 20,000lb in 1822 to 26,000,000lb forty years later (Feinstein 2005: 28). Production on this scale

required increased investment in technology and infrastructure, which resulted in a growing rural population and the effective closing of the frontier in which Kerkplaats was situated. By 1860, 5,000 people lived in Graaff-Reinet and by 1865 nearly a third of the Colony's inhabitants lived in remote rural districts (Beinart 2008: 10).

Increased exports resulted in larger capital within the Colony's economy which meant greater spending power and, subsequently, a growth in imports. This was coupled with an even greater British economic presence at the Cape and the cementing of the link between the South African periphery and British metropole that reinforced British cultural and social values (see Trapido 1971; Atmore & Marks 1974; Lester 2000). Coincidentally, it is from 1866 that the size of the Cape ceramic market consistently eclipsed those of other African territories for the first time. This period was a critical cusp in the economic and social character of the region, as well as in the nature of expressed colonialism**,** and is fundamentally communicated in the character of the ceramic assemblage from Werf 2. It is this contrast with the character of Werf 1 that forms parts of the concluding discussion.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION – FROM MISSION TO MERINO

The first section of this discussion will focus on the mission-period at Kerkplaats. The London Missionary Society's goal in founding the Zak River mission was to spread the Gospel and in doing so elevate non-Christians, particularly San, to a 'higher' religious plane. However, the Zak River mission did not exist in a cultural and social vacuum and its efforts to convert inevitably became entangled with political machinations. As soon as this occurred, the spiritual and physical Christian mission became linked to the advancement of the colonial enterprise. Kicherer and the Zak River's role in this entanglement was critical but ultimately ineffective, both spiritually and politically. Kicherer's personal politics focused on his own self-advancement and widespread recognition by his peers. He could not balance the divine and the secular in way that left any lasting impression, neither on the San subjects of his spiritual ambitions nor on the politics of the northern frontier.

The authority of the mission was manifest in religious and secular activities and vested in the thoughts and actions of Kicherer. It was he that tutored with a naïve European revivalism set on saving savage souls, that charted the course of preaching, teaching and conversion, that selected where the station was situated, and outlined the daily activities, routine and diet. While he was a missionary, colonial dominance**,** if it can be called that, over San, Khoe, Griqua and all non-European inhabitants of the mission was bestowed upon him. However, Kicherer saw himself as a Christian first and European second, and certainly not as a colonial agent. This latter role was conferred on him by the colonial government in Cape Town, who gave the mission a political role before it had even been established when it ordered that information on the frontier situation be regularly reported back to them.

The instability along the northern frontier was the reason for this directive. Certainly, the support the mission received from European frontier farmers was based on their opinion that the presence of a mission in their vicinity would alleviate San depredations and bring a measure of stability to the frontier. The mission did what it knew in this regard, and that was to create a Christian settlement, install daily order and regulation in its internal affairs and go about converting and baptising non-Christians. At least initially, it had some success, but,

significantly, San did not succumb to conversion and baptism, but Korana, Khoe and mixed groups, who had already been exposed to Christianity and western values, did. The mission soon lost Kicherer to Europe, as well as the interest of San groups. As far as both the Cape administration and local farmers were concerned, the mission was by 1804 no longer fulfilling its mandate.

Nonetheless, the Zak River mission formed part of the opening of the northern frontier and created an entangled space that Europeans and non-Europeans were made to share. The very concept of the Zak River mission situated in a marginal area, beyond the legislated boundary of the Cape, where spiritual power was weak and administrative power equally so, provided a space for interaction, intermingling and, if not full conversion, subtle cultural deflections and shifts. Boundaries existed and of course, in Kicherer's mind, the very process of proselytising implied an absolute ideological binary between the Christian missionary and the non-Christian non-Europeans. Boundaries could of course be crossed, and a discourse created between the mission and its inhabitants, between the 'dominator' and the 'dominated', where interaction proceeded through

> *the intimacies of physical contact and everyday conversations; in routine exchanges and interpersonal dramas; in ritual speech, religious argument, and symbolic gesture; in the spiraling flow and counterflow of signs and objects, means and ends, that drew indigenous communities into an expansive imperial economy; in the countless interactions and transactions that shaped the formal institutions of colonial society and its governance* (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997: 5).

There is little doubt that such interaction occurred at the Zak River. Lichtenstein's sketch (Fig. 3.17) makes this clear and illustrates shared space and close contact through the arrangement of different forms of dwellings, and, by implication the social discourse of households. The architectural mix suggest material and social exchange where the margins of cultural proprietary were warped and punctured. This is vividly evident in Lichtenstein's (1812: 235) description of the station's inhabitants in late 1805,

> *"Men, as well as women, were clothed in garments of tanned antelope-skins, made in the same form as the clothes worn by the colonists; the women had besides dirty linen caps or*

handkerchiefs tied around their heads. A few of the women were employed in making these garments; some were weaving rush mats for covering the huts."

Lichtenstein describes blurred cultural boundaries where the seeming straightjacket of meanings that separates a springbok hide and European clothes dissolve and reform. This quotidian reinterpretation and recontextualisation was beyond the model for the mission that Kicherer portrayed in his written representations. Lichtenstein, in pulling back Kicherer's protective cloak to expose the material mix in daily practice, offers a tantalising glimpse of the archaeological potential of the Zak River mission station.

Yet none of what Lichtenstein's image and text suggests can be drawn explicitly out of the archaeology at Kerkplaats. Little material culture was recovered that can be unequivocally tied to the mission period, and the structures from the mission period are ambiguous and difficult to isolate. Lichtenstein's written and drawn image, however, describes women weaving the mats of *matjieshuise* he illustrates clustered around a gabled European-style stone building. The archaeology of the mission period shows that there was no dominance of European materiality. This is insubstantial and the extensive recovery of material shows that it is not there to be found. Most practicalities of daily life were probably supported by indigenous things.

Lichtenstein's image is in stark contrast to Kicherer's own schematic of the station (Fig. 3.17). Kicherer's image shows order and regulation, where the chapel and house are the central and largest structures and other, lesser, buildings radiate outwards to the margins and peripheries of the 'Kraals of the Unbaptized Hottentots'. The 'Houses of the Baptized Hottentots' are rectangular structures in a neat, L-shaped row, next to the mission house and church, in contrast to distance and roundness of the huts and *kraals* of the non-Christian inhabitants. Furthermore, each structure is in its specific place in relation to the central church and there is no sign of entanglement of dwellings or shared space. Additionally, the image reflects not only the order Kicherer sought to impose on the mission's inhabitants, but also the order imposed on the landscape. 'Mr. Kicherer's Garden' and the 'Cattle Yard' are square structures that enclose and tame flora and fauna and direct it towards the sustenance and maintenance of the mission. The roads to Cape Town, the Orange River and the Roggeveld that Kicherer

sketches, further impose on the landscape and involves it, and the mission, in a network that extends into the civilized colonial world of Cape Town. The roads also stress the permanence of the station in 1804 and the its transition from provisional to established. This is also done by emphasising the size and centrality of the church. A large church is indicative of permanence.

In his image, Kicherer depicts the mission as he wanted it to be. The ideal mission, after all, often only existed in the mind of the missionary (see Boshoff 2007: 115). The order Kicherer wanted imposed, that was inherent in the daily routines he describes and his emphasis on proper clothing for converts, reflects in the organisational principles manifested in the spatial arrangement that Kicherer presents. However, this existed only as an ideal in his head and in the schematic he presented to the LMS and public, and is not reflected either in Lichtenstein's image nor the existing built environment at Kerkplaats. The archaeology debunks Kicherer's exaggeration of the church that could contain eight hundred people and questions the presence of a mission house at all. Visits by Lichtenstein in 1805 and, after the mission was abandoned, by Hamilton (1818) and mentioned in Tindall (1856) do not describe any stone structure other than the church.

The material 'silence' of the archaeology speaks volumes about the mission period and is suggestive in itself. At the broadest levels, it implies that supply to peripheral areas and the northern frontier was poor and undeveloped in this stage of colonial development. This is also evident in the documents and the persistent struggle to procure adequate food supplies and help from local Dutch farmers. Kicherer's recurring trips to Cape Town also suggests that the means of acquiring European material culture was limited and Kicherer had no choice but to return to Cape Town to buy clothes and other articles. Kicherer's references to these specific items is vague and there is little indication of them in the archaeology.

The absence of archaeological material also raises the question as to the nature of culture contact at the Zak River. The limited supply of European goods received and the negligible amounts of archaeologically recovered mission-period material suggests that the missionaries were set in local indigenous material culture reproduction because there was little alternative. Simultaneously, they imposed European forms of dress, foodways, labour,

time management and religious practice. Additionally, it begs the questions of what European material culture could be reconceptualised if so little of it was present, and whether this ultimately rendered Kicherer, and the civilizing process, less powerful. As Lichtenstein shows above, indigenous groups reconceptualised their own materialities to construct a version of European dress. The implication is that cultural influence was not unidirectional and that European items of material culture were not necessarily the dominant forms at the station nor active constituents in the civilising process. Cultural hegemony at this stage was a hodgepodge of mundane practice, select material culture and desperate religious appeal.

As for Kicherer himself, his attempts to elevate non-Christians contained elements of domination. His efforts to preach the Gospel were inherently coupled with attempts to civilise. "According to my ideas", Kicherer wrote to the LMS in 1803, "Christianity requires propriety, cleanliness and decency of dress" (CWM/LMS/Incoming 2/3/B). Bringing European concepts of dress, diet, household, cleanliness, and language to non-Europeans were essential parts of the proselytising and conversion process, but Kicherer saw them not in terms of civilisation but in terms of proper Christian practice. In Kicherer's frequent trips to Cape Town, regardless of his own personal motivations, there is further evidence that Kicherer recognised, at some level, that the maintenance of the mission, and, by extension, the 'taming' of the 'wild Hotentotten', relied on his instilling Western concepts of 'civilization' on his flock. This would be done, in Kicherer's opinion, through the use of 'correct', i.e. European, material culture, such as the "variety of articles…clothing, and needful utensils" that he sought in Cape Town and Europe (Kicherer 1804: 36). Certainly, Kicherer's lack of power and the mission's faint expression of colonial hegemony was effected by the difficulty in procuring European material culture. Yet, Kicherer's own nature, and the LMS' faltering attempts at support, also played their part.

Nonetheless, the missionary enterprise certainly saw itself as benevolent and philanthropic and not authoritarian or dominant over indigenous groups. "The very mention of Africa," the LMS wrote in December 1796, "produces in every breast the pang of sympathy, and the mingled sentiments of pity and indignation" (Lovett 1899: 477). However, some of the preparatory training texts given to the missions illustrate how the civilizing process was, to a certain extent, unknowingly built into the mission system by its architects. This is doubtless

axiomatic of the mission enterprise, but it is suggestive to note that these texts come from religious authorities, rather than dyed-in-the-wool colonialists, for example, and were being intimated prior to the formal start of overseas missionary enterprise. Horne's (1795) shrewd perception that civilization might beget trade is significant because it was written by a chaplain, not an industrialist, trader or politician. The same applies to Horne's desire to see the spiritual and secular working together at a mission station.

An important point here is the selection and practical training of missionaries. The LMS relied on the temperaments and character of the missionary to aid in their objective. Education, skill and experience was deemed vital for a mission's success. However, Lovett (1899: 46) suggests that the directors "had [the] most erroneous views, first as to what heathen life was like and secondly as to the type of man best fitted to deal with it". As is evident at the Zak River, the LMS rather rather naively placed too much trust in the ability, piety, humility, self-sacrifice, and determination of the missionaries to ensure success. Additionally, the South African missionaries did not present a united front and each had his own agendas, methods and abilities that meant, despite the LMS recommendations, clashes between missionaries.

The LMS certainly put much faith in the abilities of Van der Kemp. Elbourne (2002: 102) suggests that Van der Kemp and Kicherer, as Dutchmen, were likely to know more about the Cape than the LMS did, and Van der Kemp, in suggesting the specific groups he wanted to work among, definitely had some knowledge of the Cape Colony. Kicherer, and the other missionaries, Edmonds and Edwards, on the other hand, were younger, less experienced, and in Kicherer's case, fresh out of university. It is difficult to discern what articles and equipment were given to the missionaries to aid in their undertaking. It may have been assumed that Cape Town, being a colonial city under British administration in 1798-1799, would have most of the articles they would require.

The LMS did provide some guidance to the missionaries on how best to survive and prosper in a foreign land, and offered practical advice that they hoped would make the missionaries' lives easier. These broader texts have been discussed in Chapter 3, as has the rush to transport missionaries to their respective fields, and advice specific to South Africa was also given, although it is unclear when, or how, it was received. A letter from the LMS, written in

November 1798, a month prior to their departure, offers some specific advice to the South African missionaries and is indicative of the nature of the LMS' handling of mission preparation and training. Ultimately, the LMS left information-gathering in the hands of the missionaries themselves: "We are well convinced," the directors wrote, "that your zeal to carry the light of divine truth…has been accompanied by a diligent research into the present state of Caffraria" (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 137).

The LMS passed responsibility for information-sharing and preparation to local Dutch colonists. The local farmers could "be made useful in facilitating your entrance" into non-European territory, and, furthermore, acquaint the missionaries on "the manners, customs, dispositions, and religion of their *Caffre* neighbours" (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 134). Once in the Cape, and shortly before their departure into the interior, the missionaries were still looking for more information on their potential converts. Among the requests to the LMS for dictionaries, spelling books, New Testaments and bibles, is a request for a copy of Francois Levaillant's *Travels* (*Evangelical Magazine* VII 1799: 429). In many respects, the missionaries were being sent to work amongst a people about whom they knew very little, most of which would have been general stereotypes, and would only learn more concrete facts once they were on the ground. Given the preparation that Kicherer received, it is little wonder that the Zak River mission lasted as long as it did, and success was expected through faith and zeal rather than informed practicalities. The archaeology hints at the absence of European material practicality and Lichtenstein hints that this gap was filled by indigenous material practicalities.

Furthermore, Kicherer's description of San's cultural practices, contained in his 'Narrative', is one that perpetuates stereotypical views of the San and suggests that the information on the 'manners, customs, dispositions, and religion' of non-Europeans that he received from the Dutch colonists was information loaded with their own stereotypes. He describes the San as dirty, perverse, "like pigs in a sty" and "extremely lazy" (Kicherer 1804: 7). They eat only when close to starvation, and then will suffer to eat "snakes, mice, and the most detestable creatures they can find…total strangers to domestic happiness" (Kicherer 1804: 8). Kicherer (1804: 8) ensures that the ill-treatment of their children is emphasised, insisting that children are neglected and seldom corrected except in a fit of rage. Sometimes, he asserts, they are

even killed “without remorse” for myriad reasons and many methods including strangling, smothering, chasing, burying alive, and/or throwing to wild beasts (Kicherer 1804: 8). The elderly are also not spared brutality, and are left to starve and die when resources are scarce. “They have no idea whatever of the Supreme Being” Kicherer (1804: 7, 8) writes, and are “on the level with the brute creation (sic)”.

Needless to say, Kicherer’s description is a prejudiced, cruel distortion of San practices and cultural beliefs and one that is clearly measured against Kicherer’s own perceptions of foodways, family, domesticity, and religion. Kicherer’s description was perpetuating the narrative that already existed among colonial frontiersmen and most other Europeans (see also Guenther 1980; Pratt 1985, 1992; Elbourne 2002: 105-108). The description constructed knowledge of a different society, which could be used at a later, stronger stage of colonialism (see JanMohamed 1985; Johnston 1999). Kicherer’s early ethnography over and above its role of knowledge construction, had several other purposes. The first was to consciously titillate his audience and appeal to their sense of moral outrage, the second was to illustrate the enormity of his task, and the third was to perpetuate the San as the ‘other’ and the fundamental opposite of Christian enlightenment and Western civilisation. The last point also perpetuates colonial dominance, but in the version of colonialism that Kicherer was within, there was little power to dominate.

The San were the ‘other’, their inherent darkness standing in stark contrast to the light of mission endeavour, religion and colonial civilising authority embodied by Kicherer. The description illustrates the extent to which San people needed salvation, deliverance and redemption, and, in doing so, simultaneously indicated the enormity of Kicherer’s task in introducing these concepts. It is unsurprising that Kicherer immediately follows this description with an outline of his daily attempts at educating, converting and enlightening.

Kicherer returns to the godlessness and ‘brute creation’ of the San when, in a visit to Cape Town with three San, he describes their reaction to men hung in chains and a public execution (Kicherer 1804: 14). The San were terrified by what they saw, but not because of the brutal loss of life, but, according to Kicherer (1804: 14), because “the Boschemen were conscious of having deserved the same punishment”, Kicherer unknowingly lets the missionary mask slip

and instead of pacifying the San through religion, stresses "the nature and excellence of of European Justice" (Kicherer 1804: 14). The San group, placated, then indicate to Kicherer "that it would be happy for our settlement…if a similar order of things could be established there" (Kicherer 1804: 14). As before, Kicherer emphasises the sin of the San and then shows that it can be quelled. This time, however, it is not through divine salvation but secular punishment.

The twin pillars of the divine and the secular are clearly apparent in Kicherer's writings and he sought to emphasis both in the daily regime of the station. There was a prayer meeting at sunrise for all inhabitants, after which school commenced for the children, who were taught to spell and read Dutch, while the adults, including the missionaries, proceeded "to our manual labour, such as gardening, building, &c." (Kicherer 1804: 9). In the evening there was occasion for more prayers and hymns, and the missionaries, "in the plainest manner", preached to the non-Christians (Kicherer 1804: 9). Converts were sometimes allowed to dine with the missionaries, although attempts to introduce the San to cooked vegetables were unsuccessful (Kicherer 1804: 13).

These quotidian activities were prescribed by Kicherer to civilise the San who, as he demonstrates, were the most in need of Christianity. From its inception, the mission's aim was to proselytize to 'Boschemen'. The San, however, never settled at the station in any great number, left it when it longer served them, were overall unreceptive to Christianisation and were soon preying on the mission's inhabitants and stock (see also Guenther 1999). Instead, pastoral Khoe, Bastaard, Korana and Griqua groups became the sole inhabitants of the station, and were far more open to Christianity and all it entailed. Consequently, the mission soon shifted its focus from the San to other groups (see Schoeman 1996: 78-90 for detail on the various non-San members of the Zak River congregation).

Kicherer did not discourage this shift, but neither did he actively advertise it. In February 1801 the SAMS asked Kicherer who lived at the station and who did he spend most time preaching to. His answers were vague and ambiguous: 'Boschesmen' lived at Zak River, he answered, and took up most of the funds and financing, but the influx of 'Bastaard-Hottentotten' was so great that he was running out of room at his house, after all 80 of them had travelled with

him from Blydevooruitzicht to the Zak River in 1800 (Schoeman 1996: 72). These were 'tame Hottentots', who Kicherer had previously met and described at Baviaanskloof (Genadendal). They were unafraid of Europeans and carried some semblance, in his eyes, of civilization. Kicherer does not make this clear, but nearly all of his first baptised converts were 'Bastard Hottentots'.

The shift of focus from San to Khoe and mixed groups also fundamentally altered the nature of the Kicherer's authority. The 'wild' San were suitably 'other' and acted as a foil for the components of the Christianising process that Kicherer enforced. The Christianised mixed groups that ultimately accounted for the majority of the stations inhabitants, however, were 'tame' and not through any responsibility of the Zak River. Lichtenstein (1812: 233) describes them as "Bastaard-Hottentots: several of them were entirely white; and the greater part had been baptized before they came hither; some were even born of Christian parents". There were 'tame', as opposed to 'wild', and already exposed to European habits and ideologies. This dichotomy was one recognised by the missionary societies. The "superior number & improved State of Civilization" of the Korana, Griqua and 'Bastaard-Hottentotten', "give increased advantages for their exertions", the LMS wrote to the SAMS in October 1801 (CWM/LMS/Incoming 1/4/D). This comment demonstrates that in the dual nature of the missionary enterprise, religion came first and did not need to be permanently tied to the civilising process.

Nonetheless, this did not mean that the mixed groups of 'tame Hottentots' residing at the Zak River had adapted all aspects of Christianity or colonial civilisation. The Christian work ethic, mentioned by Kicherer, had clearly not made an impression on them. In 1805, Lichtenstein (1812: 233) describes the 'Bastaard-Hottentotten' at Zak River as "pursuing…lives wholly useless, and abandoned to sloth. Their indolence was indeed absolutely insupportable…they passed the whole day in their huts in complete idleness." He concludes that they would be better off working for local colonists (Lichtenstein 1812: 233). Lichtenstein may have been biased against the mission, but his remarks are a neat encapsulation of the failure of the dominator over the dominated. I have emphasised that the archaeology fully supports the mission endeavour as a failure.

Lichtenstein (1812) blames the inactivity and torpor of the station's inhabitants to the missionaries and the nature of the mission enterprise. The emphasis should have been more on the secular and less on the religious. Yet Lichtenstein does not give credence to the agency of the inhabitants themselves. The idleness in their day-to-day activities may have been their own conscious reaction to authority, the unstructured and unprompted re/actions of the 'dominated' (see Voss 2008: 21). Lichtenstein (1812: 234) later describes the frustration of Christiaan Bothma, the supervisor at the station at the time of his visit: "He lamented to us, with tears, that all his endeavours to rouse them to some degree of industry and activity had hitherto been fruitless".

Prior to Lichtenstein's visit in 1805, however, numerous recommendations considered most significant in maintaining a mission by Spangenberg (1784) and the LMS' 'Counsels' were absent at the Zak River. Unity and 'brotherly love' was dispelled by the departure of Edwards in 1800. Financial frugality was ever present as the station could never support itself. The mission was involved in political affairs as soon as Edwards was instructed to inform the governor from the northern borders. Kicherer actively used bribes and gifts to ensure followers and maintain his flock, and employed some as servants to tend his garden and his house.

Essentially, the Zak River mission was a fatuous and impractical manifestation of colonialism that had little lasting effect. The San were interested in the station only when it suited them and lost interest when it was no longer able to provide them with regular access to food and supplies. Even when they were at the station, efforts to civilise and Christianise came to nothing. Other events on the frontier overtook the station's usefulness, and it soon became a focus of San depredation instead of support.

As an expression of colonial power the mission was basically ineffective. While interaction and cross-cultural contact certainly took place, the lack of immutable archaeological material from the mission period means that any investigation into the practice of quotidian, mundane aspects of everyday life is limited. Negotiation of identity and colonialism is restricted to examples in contemporary documentary sources. These documents provide examples of agency and practice, but are often tainted by the ideologies and aims of the writers. Kicherer's

schematic of the station and his *Narrative* can be viewed as how he wanted the mission to be as opposed to how it was. This latter representation is given by Lichtenstein.

Nonetheless, the dearth of mission-period material in the archaeology is still informative, in that it demonstrates that the peripheral areas of the Colony were experiencing issues of limited supply in the early years of the 19th century. It also suggests that hegemony was not necessarily articulated or recontextualised through British material culture, but rather through changes in lifestyle and routine suggested by Kicherer and influenced by civilising processes built into the mission enterprise. The inhabitants of the station were undoubtedly entangled with this expression of colonial authority, but reacted against it by either moving away from the station, as the San did, or by rejecting aspects of the mission that did not suit them. For the mixed groups of Griqua, Korana and Khoe, Christianity was a colonial concept they could accept, but industriousness geared towards maintenance and/or a wage was not.

After its abandonment in 1806, the Zak River site was only reoccupied around 25 years later. The station's land had been gifted to William Krugel Snr., a Dutch farmer from the eastern Cape, and his son and family moved to the Zak River site at a point in the early 1830s. The surviving built environment of the mission was elaborated and built around to become part of the Krugel farm. This phase at Kerkplaats represents the second manifestation of colonial power and will form the next part of the discussion. While there is continuity of place and the physical structure of the mission clearly set the pattern for the Krugel's *werf*, the purpose of the farm and the relationship between colonial authority and the Krugels community, however, were vastly different from that of the mission period.

The Krugels were a rural *trekboer* family of Dutch and German descent on a frontier farm that was increasingly under the influence of colonial British materiality and ideology. The 'Britishness' of the Cape increased through the century, governed by the growth of the Colony's market. British material culture was an expression of British ideology and manifested colonial practice in its types, forms and foodways and in how it was utilised. In this phase at Kerkplaats, the farm's inhabitants were reinstating identity and difference within this. Coming out of the Eastern Cape, as well as being involved in the Slagter's Nek rebellion (see Chapter 2), meant that the Krugels identity was already well formed by the politics of the land and

conflict there. Willem Krugel Snr. no doubt harboured political and cultural antipathy towards Britishness. In Krugel's case, identity needed to be reasserted and retained in his new role as an indigenous (i.e. Afrikaner) person, as he no doubt saw himself, who was in the position of being increasingly colonised. The archaeologically recovered ceramic from Werf 1 speaks of a British materiality that had increased through the first half of the 19th century, but was expressed and conceptualised differently in rural areas. It is from this perspective that I approached the archaeology at Werf 1, especially the ceramics.

Additionally, I incorporate probates into the methodological mix. An analysis of the Werf 1 ceramic assemblage revealed specific patterns of ceramic form and decoration. This included the dominance of hollowware forms over flatware, an absence of teaware, and disproportionately large amount of slip-decorated bowls. To better understand the Werf 1 assemblage, the tableware data extracted from rural farm probates was examined, first at the scale of northern frontier farms in a similar geographical position as Kerkplaats and, therefore, subject to some of the same rural processes, and second as a larger sample that included probates from all the rural areas of the Cape, subject to certain criteria (chapter 6) (Fig. 6.1). In this context, the probates are new lines of evidence to examine rural tableware and a discussion of the Werf 1 assemblage would be incomplete without it. The probate data illustrated aspects of rural tableware that contrast with the Werf 1 archaeology. Unlike the Werf 1 archaeological sample, the frequency and quantity of flatware forms in the probates nearly always exceeded that of hollowware, and tea drinking vessels occurred in more probates compared to their absence at Werf 1, despite differences in scale between the two sources of data.

The absence of tea-drinking forms at Werf 1 is notable. As a rural *trekboer* family, the Krugels were likely avid tea consumers (see below). The materiality of their tea-drinking and consumption gives an interpretive entry into the rural sphere. One explanation for the paucity of teacups is that they may have been without handles, as many handle-free teacups and coffee cans were produced in the early 19th century (Miller 1991: 15; Goss 2000). Additionally, handled teacups were always more expensive than unhandled ones in all decorative styles. For the price of an undecorated cup with a handle, the consumer could purchase a painted

cup without a handle (Miller 1991: 16). If so, then some of the forms ascribed as ambiguous cups or bowls at Werf 1 may have been teacups without handles.

Certainly, documentary sources suggest that tea and/or coffee were fundamental aspects of frontier life. Newton-King (1987: 7) quotes Mentzel's observation that "no one…leaves the breakfast table before he has drunk half a dozen cups of tea", and despite her suggestion that consumption may have been lower in more distant parts of the colony, the high frequency of teapots and/or kettles contained in rural probates implies otherwise. Many traveller accounts from the first half of the 19th century also reveal a liberal amount of tea and coffee being drunk throughout the remoter regions of the colony. Thompson (1827: 47), in the Sneeuwberg in the early 1820s, notes that a traveller "is always presented with a cup of tea" when arriving at a farmer's home (Fig 2.1). Steedman (1835: 115) tells of carrying a package of tea from Beaufort village to a remote farmer in 1830. Upon arrival:

> *"…after the usual salutation of 'Dag Mynheer', accompanied by a hearty shake of the hand, I gave him the parcel. He took it, and weighing it in his palm, while he looked rather suspiciously at me, said, that he had written to Beaufort for two pounds of tea, but it was sure there could not be more than one in the paper… he delivered it to his wife, who appeared as much disconcerted as himself at the small size of the packet, and calling a slave to bring the scale, to our mutual satisfaction it was found to be the full weight. The cloud which had hung on their countenances at once disappeared…" (Steedman 1835: 115).*

The supply of tea was evidently of great significance to frontier farmers. Steedman's anecdote also demonstrates that farmer's ordered tea from the nearest village or *dorp* and often relied on travellers and people passing through the region to transport it to them. Whether merchants and traders in towns like Beaufort or Graaff-Reinet continuously had a steady supply of tea and coffee to sell is unlikely but unclear. Thompson (1827: 48) implies not, noting that exhausted supplies of tea or coffee meant frontier farmers often had to make do with substitutes of roasted grain, "not very palatable" but "nevertheless a refreshment". Indeed, Steedman (1835: 169), traveling in the northern frontier, described tea, coffee and sugar as "indispensable articles of comfort in a boor's family (sic)".

That the Krugels did not have access to tea or did not choose to consume it would appear unlikely, judging from evidence in the probates and traveller accounts. Additionally, in the large sample of 222 probates, more households had tea and coffee pots (n=123) than cups and saucers (n=69) in rural areas. Not every household that had a teapot had cups and saucers. Tea or coffee consumption presumably then occurred in different drinking vessels. This is likely, as five probates in the sample of 15 that contained teapots but no cups and saucers did have other drinking vessels, namely pints, cups, mugs and *kanne* (either jugs or tankards). All are general purpose drinking vessels that could have been used for a variety of beverages. The Krugels may have then drunk their tea from drinking vessels other than teacups, but the large amount of slipware bowls present in the assemblage suggests that these may have been used for drinking too.

Bowls are multipurpose vessels that can be used for eating or drinking or both, and Van der Merwe (1995: 182) notes that frontier farmers often used round earthenware bowls instead of cups and saucers at the end of the 18th century and into the 19th. At Werf 1, bowls are predominantly slipware, which form part of a class of cheaper REW, including painted and spongeware, that was often specifically manufactured for export. An examination of Miller's (1991) revised pricing index shows that in 1836 a London-shaped slipware bowl cost less than an unhandled painted teacup and only slightly more than a handled undecorated one. Of the 12 years between 1830 and 1860 that Miller (1991: 22) was able to formulate indices, slipware bowls were the cheapest decorated bowls available.[1] Painted bowls were next cheapest, and transfer-printed the most expensive, more than double the price of slipware. It therefore made economic sense to purchase multi-purpose slipware bowls over both cups and plates. However, the relationship between *kommetjies*/bowls and drinking vessels in the probates is tenuous and there is no direct correlation between the quantity of bowls/basins and the quantity of drinking vessels. This suggests that the former were not necessarily selected for drinking.

The absence of definite teacups and saucers at Werf 1, however, also suggests an ideological rejections of the social ritual associated with tea-drinking. Certainly, tea was drunk by all

[1] The years are 1832, 1833, 1836, 1838, 1842, 1846, 1848, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1858, and 1859.

social strata in both urban and rural homes but it retained certain inherent high-status British associations (Brooks 2002: 53). Teaware as a set of many forms or simply as matching cups and saucers reflected British concepts of refinement, order and ritual. Tea-drinking was also a highly sociable activity in rural areas, as the travellers' accounts recognise, and subject to culturally specific concepts of order and ritual that were not necessarily enacted in the same way as British order and ritual. The high status connotations of teaware had been somewhat watered down in the early 19th century by the increasing production and availability of tea drinking forms. Nonetheless, teaware persisted as a culturally loaded ceramic and tea drinking a culturally loaded activity. By not drinking tea in sets of cups and saucers, the Krugels at Werf 1 may have been persisting with entrenched tea-drinking practices that expressed identity, and that stood in contrast with the British way of consuming tea. The persistence of this practice necessarily constrained change and displays agency that is perhaps not conscious or deliberate but a sign of embeddedness. Social and cultural status in teaware was indelibly associated with Britishness in the Colony, as Lester (1998) demonstrates through the maintenance of tea-drinking rituals in the Eastern Cape.

The absence of teaware therefore speaks of the formation of a cultural identity that worked against the Anglicisation of urban areas that was becoming the dominant cultural value in the Colony through the first half of the 19th century. The use of slipware bowls also may be relevant to this. Hollowware forms reflect a diet rich in soups and stews and soups and these are traditionally associated with rural homes (Brooks 2002: 55), and at Werf 1 suggest the continuation of traditional Dutch foodways well into the 19th century. This is also hinted at in three probates in the sample of 15 that contain tureens, forms generally used to serve soup. The three that listed tureens also listed *kommetjies* or bowls/basins, forms that were not prevalent in the sample. In the Werf 1 assemblage, there are only two possible tureens or large serving bowls/dishes, but stews and soups may have also been served directly from iron cooking pots.

The fact that the majority of bowls from Werf 1 were slip-decorated is also meaningful. Slipware bowls were certainly cheap, but the Werf 1 assemblage also contained significant amounts of transfer-printed hollowware and flatware, a decoration that was the most expensive REW at the time (Chapter 5). Issues of supply were evidently not in play, suggesting

that the selection of slip-decorated bowls over other types of decoration, such as transfer-printed, was perhaps a personal choice made by the purchaser. Furthermore, bright, multi-coloured forms are consistent with traditions of communal life and shared space, which stands in contrast to Georgian British ideals of order and privacy and represented by more restricted colour palettes (see Winer & Deetz 1990). As with teaware, the Krugels were perhaps displaying their autonomy as a deeply embedded practice through the maintenance of traditional foodways, such as soups and stews, served in bowls that were decorated in organic, gaudy and bright colours.

With this in mind, it would be reasonable to assume that the pattern of hollowware dominance would be repeated in the sample of 15 probates. However, as mentioned, flatware forms appear more frequently and in greater quantities than hollowware in the sample of 15 probates and, when the sample is enlarged, the quantity and frequency of hollowware forms in rural probates is eclipsed by that of flatware. Hollowware in probates from the most northern districts is minimal and accounts for less than 15% of the tableware and occurs in less than half the probates. The amount and frequency of the multi-purpose *kommetjie* is small, especially considering its ubiquity at Werf 1.

One explanation conceivably lies in the differences in scales of time between probates and the archaeological record and, additionally, potential curation. The listed items in a probate are captured at a singular point in time, while the archaeological assemblage represents a broader scale. At any one moment a rural household had more flatware than hollowware, but when these moments are combined over 20 or 30 years, the total quantities of each form changes.

Another explanation may be related to frequency of use within each home, predicated on decoration and price, where flatware is curated and hollowware forms used more often. Plates may have been reserved for use at special occasions and consequently used irregularly, as, perhaps, were tea sets. Bowls, on the other hand, were everyday forms, and therefore more likely to break and be discarded. The plates listed in a probate on a certain date may have been possessed for several years, while the bowls or *kommetjies* may only have been purchased months before.

Furthermore, none of the sample rural probates described ceramic decoration. At Werf 1, the price difference between common transfer-printed plates and slipware bowls would mean that bowls were cheaper to replace than plates. Subsequently, because of their price, transfer-printed plates received social value and were used for special occasions. Slipware bowls were cheaper to buy and replace, and subsequently used for everyday eating and broken more often as a result. Plates may have been less common in the Werf 1 assemblage simply because they were curated for longer and were discarded infrequently.

However, a key finding in the examination of the 15 probates was that ceramic was not the only material for tableware, and that a surprisingly high proportion of probates contained pewter tableware as various quantities of plates, dishes and other forms. Pewter speaks to a rural conservatism that is not necessarily expressed as explicit resistance but as embedded practice. The continuity of pewter underpins the deeper history of the *trekboere* Krugels that had long been pre-formed before they arrived at Kerkplaats.

Expanding the sample to probates from all rural districts in the Colony allowed an examination of the role of pewter and how it may be related to flatware and hollowware forms. The data showed that flatware continued to be the dominant ceramic form in all rural districts, and that pewter frequency and amounts had unique values in rural areas that was not based on change through time but on change in geographical position in terms of distance from Cape Town, climate, and the nature of agriculture. Probates from districts furthest from Cape Town and at the northern frontier of the Colony, such as Beaufort, Somerset and Graaff-Reinet, manifested a different tableware signature that displayed limited ceramic forms and a preponderance of pewter tableware (Fig. 6.1). The northern district probates indicated that the average household had more plates than dishes, of which half the former and two-thirds of latter were pewter. An average home had only one or two items of hollowware and it is likely that these forms were earthen rather than pewter. Altogether, pewter forms appear far more common than the archaeological record would suggest, and its presence comments on the relationship between flatware and hollowware forms in rural areas.

The absence of pewter in archaeological records and manuscripts is notable, particularly in South Africa. This is particularly so in the case of tableware. At worst, as Martin (1989) notes, this results in ceramics becoming a proxy for all tableware. At best, it results in ceramic over-emphasis in terms of tableware analysis, or, at least, having more meaning attached to ceramics than there perhaps should be. Put simply, without the examination of the sample probates, any other material, let alone pewter, for tableware, was not considered.

This is primarily due to archaeological constraints rather than, perhaps, wilful neglect of pewter forms. Pewter is rarely recovered from archaeological contexts. Its durability meant pewter rarely broke or became unusable. If it did become bent or dented it could be recast to appear new. Furthermore, pewter items could be resold at a reasonably good price – broken or damaged-beyond-repair items could be discarded through resale rather than in a midden. The presence of pewter in Cape households is attested to by historical records in the Cape prior to the 1830s and the history of tableware, and, to a certain extent, its use and social value, are well described by Malan (1993). A brief history of pewter's role in Cape homes is worth elaboration nonetheless.

From the very beginning of VOC settlement, pewter was present at the Cape. Porcelain was available, but appears supplementary to pewter forms for VOC officers. While VOC servants ate off coarse earthenware and communal wooden trenchers, officers were eating from imported porcelains and matching sets of pewter imported from Europe (Jordan 2000: 138). From 1740 to 1780, however, Asian porcelain became the primary ceramic, particularly for tableware, in the Cape, often accompanied by smaller numbers of earthen and pewter, and, in wealthier households, silver, plates and dishes. The primary value difference between forms was concerned with display and storage. In Table Valley households, for example, pewter was confined to the kitchen, while porcelain and silver were more likely to be displayed in front rooms (Malan 1993: 153). The situation was slightly different in rural areas outside Cape Town, where pewter was kept in the *voorhuis* at the front of the house.

In rural Table Valley homes, this continued into the latter years of the 18th century and into the first two decades of the 19th (Malan 1993: 153). In the more progressive urban areas, however, dishes and plates of all types were moved from the *voorhuis* to either the *galdery*,

pantry or kitchen after 1782 (Malan 1993: 88; 153). The only pewter on display was confined to non-tableware forms, such as coffee pots, teapots, butter bowls, water flasks and kettles and warmers (Malan 1993: 155). Coincidentally, and most likely related to the shifting of tableware from the front of the house to the pantry, pewter tableware in urban areas was generally becoming less popular (Malan 1993: 59).

Nonetheless, by the 1820s, is appears pewter still played a role in urban households. An early 19th century list of household articles recommended for newcomers to the Cape prominently mentions pewter plates, and a number of even wealthier Cape Town residences had a few pewter tableware forms in the 1820s (Malan 1993: 169, 171-172). Some Cape Town shops, were still selling pewter tableware in the late 1820s and early 1830s. One store in Loop street had 22 pewter plates and 68 pewter dishes for sale in 1829, plus a further 145 unspecified tableware items (MOOC8/46.93, 1829). In 1830, a shop on Zieke Dwars street had "two doz: and four puter plates (sic)" for sale, but "194 other plates" (MOOC8/45.45, 1830). The large quantity of other plates on offer suggests demand was greater for ceramic forms than for pewter. Indeed, a Cape Town store in 1831 lists 'blue and white' and 'white' plates, dishes and basins, but no pewter items other than 'measures' (MOOC8/46.43, 1831).

In the years between 1820 and 1830 there are signs that there was a significant shift in the presence and role of pewter in urban settings in the Cape. In a sample of 44 probates from the Table Valley area between 1825 and 1834, less than 10% had pewter tableware, limited solely to dishes and substantially dwarfed by the number of earthen items. Generally, by 1825 it appears that pewter tableware had fallen out of fashion in urban households and the homes of the rural elite in the Cape, and replaced by English REW. Pewter teapots, however, were still common. At a quantitative level, the mass import of REW that followed the start of British administration at the Cape can perhaps account for the decline in pewter. Yet pewter's decline is also tied to more qualitative aspects related to aesthetics, social factors, choice, fashion, function and foodways.

At the aesthetic level, pewter manufacturers and suppliers could not compete with their ceramic counterparts, stymied, as they were, by the variety of type, form and decoration available in refined earthenware. In comparison, pewter wares were limited in design and

decoration, and, additionally, their durability limited a replacement market. Furthermore, by the 1830s, ceramic production had entered mass production and the volume of ceramic produced was fertile ground for elaborated design and a variety of forms. In contrast, the scale and rate of pewter production could not keep up.

Refined earthenware was also subject to widespread, expansive marketing techniques, based substantially on social emulation, and emphasizing the range and delicacy of REW. Markets in the Cape were becoming more competitive by the middle of the century, a result of British market influence. This meant that increasing the selection of goods for sale attracted customers and repeated business. The quality, decoration, price (REW was generally cheaper than pewter in South Africa), and forms of REW were all marketed in ways that highlighted their social value.

However, pewter and REW had different social meanings and roles in the average urban household, and these were by no means static. Despite its widespread availability at the beginning of the 19th century, it is significant that REW did not necessarily compete with pewter as a status symbol. As in the Cape, rural-dwellers in late 18th century Virginia displayed both REW and pewter on their cabinets and shelves (Martin 1989: 19-20). Others preferred pewter to REW for eating, while some took pewter off the table and relegated it to the kitchen or passed it on to servants and slaves. This process may have also occurred in urbanised Table Valley homes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Malan (1993) notes the shift from the front to the back, but does not discuss the implications for change in the use or role of pewter, or whether pewter became a form solely used by servants or slaves. However, the significant decline in post-1825 urban probates supports the idea that pewter tableware was eventually discarded altogether.

However, it is the continued presence of pewter that is significant, particularly its presence in rural households, often alongside equivalent earthen forms. The trend in urban areas, as mentioned, is for the presence of pewter to decrease after 1825, but this is not the case in rural regions. Pewter in rural areas did not decline in the years immediately following 1825, and just over half the rural probates examined contained at least one pewter tableware item. With this in mind, aspects of choice, wealth and purchasing can be introduced. Were

wealthier households gradually replacing pewter with earthenware and poorer households continuing with pewter forms? Or does this speak of a cultural or sociological divide, where conservative homes retained pewter forms while more progressive households replaced pewter with ceramic?

Recognising indices of establishment and wealth in the probates is difficult. Stock numbers were used, as was the presence of slaves, and typical luxury items such as gold and silver. However, none of these consistently indicate wealth. Considering luxury items, even silver and gold, raises an issue regarding quality vs. quantity in the probates. Malan (1993: 59) suggests that status, and presumably wealth, depended on the quantity rather than the quality of items in urban households. Yet this is not evident in rural areas. In a random sample of eight probates containing over 30 tableware items, a comparatively large collection, in Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset districts, all but one contained pewter tableware and sheep flock sizes varied from 357 to 2802. In early 19th century colonial Virginia, ceramic plates outnumbered pewter ones only in the homes of the wealthiest families from the top tiers of society (Martin 1989: 12).

Whether the households with the most ceramic in the rural areas of the Colony were indeed the most socially privileged and wealthy is unclear. Furthermore, surplus income for even the wealthiest Graaff-Reinet farmers at the end of the 18th century was more likely to be invested in producer goods, such as guns, wagons and basic furniture, or consumables, such as rice and tea, than typical urban luxury goods such as gold watches, mirrors, snuffboxes, wigs and gloves (Newton-King 1987: 9). There is no reason to assume this trend did not continue into the early decades of the 19th century.

Tableware forms in rural areas were inherently conservative. Variety is limited to plates, dishes, *kommetjies*, bowls or basins, and tureens. Some hollowware forms, such as tureens, were given a specific purpose, such as for soup. One household in Somerset had a 'blue vegetable dish' and 'blue pie dish', and another had a '*tartpan*' (MOOC8/41.20, 1825; MOOC8/47.40, 1831). Bread plates were presents in two homes in Graaff-Reinet (MOOC8/48.14, 1832, MOOC8/46.95, 1832). This is the extent of other forms listed. In rural areas of the Colony, new REW forms were less likely to attract households than in urban areas.

This may be due to item utility. The spread of a particular tableware form, be it pewter or ceramic, is defined by its functional or social value. If only functional importance was attached to an item by the consumer, then its popularity or spread would be defined by functional requirements. Purchasing decisions would be made on functional or economic value, of which pewter surpassed ceramic. However, when social value is attached to an item, such as ceramic forms, then its spread would occur more quickly (Martin 1989: 18). Ceramic in the early 19th century Cape had social value attached to it through marketing techniques and through consumption patterns. Pewter had a more functional value than ceramic, but the social value of ceramic explains its rapid spread in the Colony in the first half of the century, and hints at the divide between 'modern' urban and 'conservative' rural spheres. For households in marginalized rural areas with limited access to suppliers, when 'unbreakable' pewter was already owned "the purchase of a dozen creamware plates…was unnecessary, even frivolous" (Martin 1989: 18).

Functional value would be important to mobile frontier stock farmers. For them, delicate earthen plates were impractical and unbreakable pewter forms more suitable for a household on the move. Pewter was less likely to crack and break than earthenware, and could be repaired or remade when it did. Significantly, it also had resale value. Pewter had more economic capital in rural areas with scarce supply than urban ones. For households relying on the occasional *smous* or infrequent visits to Cape Town to access goods, and were potentially highly mobile, pewter's characteristics were ideal.

Furthermore, pewter was a form recommended for settlers who planned to establish their households in more remote, marginal regions of the colonies. *Tegg's Handbook for Emigrants* was published in London in 1839 and was "intended for the use of Colonists who, living at a distance from a settlement, must be more or less dependent upon themselves" (Tegg 1839: v). In it, Tegg (1839: 6) advocates for "pewter plates, dishes, basins, and mugs", which "will save breakage and inconvenience", and to "substitute tin, copper and pewter for crockery-ware in every possible case". Pewter's durability was certainly recognised as was its suitability for groups living away from larger settlements. Additionally, Tegg's pamphlet was published

in 1839, long after pewter had lost its popularity in urban areas. The only ceramic Tegg (1839: 6) recommends is coarse earthenware for pickling pans, jugs and jars.

Nevertheless, both pewter and earthen tableware forms commonly occur together in rural probates. This could be an indication that, as in urban areas, earthenware was gradually replacing pewter forms. The ratio of earthen to pewter forms in rural probates shows the rate of this development. This supposes that all newly established rural households owned primarily pewter tableware due to its functional value. The data from rural probates suggests this is likely, as pewter-only probates contained less tableware overall and listed fewer stock. As the household became more established it gained more ceramic forms that replaced or shifted pewter tableware either into different roles or out of the home altogether. Those households with probates that contained both earthen and pewter tableware forms were either in the midst of this process or had reached a point in the establishment of household where the quantity of both forms was suitable to their needs, wants or desires.

Where they appear together, earthen and pewter forms may have been used for different occasions. Because of their delicacy and aesthetics, earthen plates were reserved for guests and social gatherings, and pewter forms, more sturdy but less glamourous, were used for every day meals. Alternately, all forms may have been used together at the table in a mish-mash of material, forms and types. In urban Cape Town in the second half of the 18th century, households were using a mixture of pewter, silver and porcelain when dining (Malan 1993: 152). Items were conceived of, made and decorated as separate entities, and remained as such once in use (Malan 1993: 153). It is possible that in rural areas this continued well into the 19th century. Indeed, George Thompson ate a lunch of stewed meats with a wealthy landowner near Swellendam in 1822 and found silver spoons, pewter tureens and 'china' and 'delft' plates on the table (Thompson 1827: 329) (Fig. 2.1).

The social value of ceramic was gaining traction in urban areas, and formed part of deliberate attempts at Anglicisation as a statement of modernity and acculturation (Malan 1993: 181). Suggesting that these were necessarily repeated in rural areas does a disservice to new, localised particularities and patterns. Martin's (1989) proposal that new REW forms may have had less appeal to more rural, traditional households than their urban equivalents, is feasible,

and the inherent conservativeness of rural-dwellers would lead to the assumption that whatever trends were prevalent in urban areas would take time to catch on in rural ones. This is most manifest in groups with tenuous relations to British commercialization and empire, such as rural, frontier farmers. After all, the bowls at Werf 1 suggest traditional, Dutch, foodways continued into the 19th century despite the spread of British tableware. The presence of pewter forms in almost half of the rural probates, and *kommetjies* at Werf 1, is also evidence of this.

Arguably, the reinforcing of social status was simply less important in rural and remote areas. As Malan (1993: 181) notes, in periods of strong social stratification objects reflect given social hierarchies and signifies social status simply. While the rural farmstead may have existed in a period of strong social stratification in Cape Town, reinforced or perpetuated by increasing Anglicisation, social stratification did not automatically extend to rural areas. Farmers remote from Cape Town manifested progressively distinct households in the probates that is linked to the development of an increasingly Afrikaner identity (see also Malan 1993: 186). If this identity was developing as a contrast to an English one, then, put simply, it is feasible that social status was less important to self-identifying Afrikaners precisely because it was important for those with an English identity. That is not to say that Afrikaner rural households did not actively participate in the economy or were not lured by the innovations of industry, but simply that displays of wealth and status were less significant.

This is manifest in many of the probates, as discussed, and in accounts of travellers passing through the northern-most districts at the time. George Thompson (1827: 315) attended a public sale near Caledon in 1822 with a "party of farmers" and was alarmed by the "rustic and even barbarous" meal of boiled ox, "heaped upon the table in huge pewter-plates". "Such scenes are, I believe, not infrequent among the ruder class of boors", he noted, before implying that the "wandering graziers of the northern frontier (sic)" were particularly rude and immoral (Thompson 1827: 316, 318). Yet when Thompson visited an "old and settled" farmer in the Sneeuwberg, he marvelled at the farmers' wealth, praised the well-cooked stewed meats and noted the tableware of silver spoons, "capacious tureens of well-burnished pewter", and China and "English delf (sic)" plates (Thompson 1827: 327-329).

Thompson, however, was an Englishman and observing through a lens that was aware of class and social status. Yet this does not detract from his observations. The very fact that he noted porcelain and Earthen plates on the table of the rich Sneeuwberg farmer speaks directly to the 'English' recognition of objects as markers of social status. Without doubt, Cape society was one that emphasized class and economic distinction, perhaps a holdover from the hierarchical structure of the VOC era, or a by-product of British occupancy. In colonial Virginia, Martin (1989: 9) mentions REW acting as a social symbol in class demarcation, particularly in the early years of the 19th century when REW was flooding the US ceramic market. This may have been the case in the Cape too, where urban Cape households, more influenced by British colonial fashion and trends, purchased REW in large amounts as soon as it was available.

An inventory of a Somerset shop from 1834 offers indications that the supply of pewter to rural areas is also significant. Among the textiles, clothing, stationery, hardware, and accessories are '34 doz: and 10 white plates' and '3 doz: and 2 blue edged plates', as well as 11 basins, and '2 sets and 4 cups and saucers' (MOOC8/74.26b, 1834). All of these forms are ceramic and no pewter items appear in the inventory at all. This is only one shop in one district, but it indicates that by 1834 pewter tableware was perhaps not commonly sold in rural *dorps*. This implies that pewter forms in rural probates may not have been newly purchased items. Their durability and hardiness, instead of creating fresh demand, was simply ensuring they remained in use for long periods of time. If this is the case, then it gives weight to the process of 'modernisation' occurring where earthen forms were replacing pewter ones in rural homes. For these households, pewter was a 'holdover' from previous or earlier domestic material culture.

Certainly, supply is a key concept in a discussion of rural households. The nature of the supply of goods and the developments of the rural market are significant components of the colonial sphere. Frontier farmers relied on imported goods more than previously assumed and were not isolated, entirely self-sufficient entities (Newton-King 1987). Furthermore, frontier farmers were not averse to 'civilised', British commodities. These decisions were made within a rural market that was governed by external factors generally set within the colonial British and urban spheres.

The onset of British colonial rule at the start of the 19th century saw for an increasing British presence in the Cape market. As with other colonies in the Empire, the Cape became part of the machinations of the colonial economy and a convenient, albeit relatively small, market for British-produced goods. This was harnessed by British merchants in both London and Cape Town. A wealthy British mercantile class developed in the Cape through the early decades of the 19th century, who increasingly worked with the British Home Office to make economic and market decisions that best served the interests of Empire and ensured that the Cape was integrating itself into British colonial trade networks. The result of this was the increasing Anglicisation of Cape Town, as British fashion and taste became embodiments of these market decisions. Nonetheless, frontier-dwellers were removed from the British empire in a way that urban dwellers, or even those closer to Cape Town, were not. Despite some evidence of homogeneity, the rural probates and Kerkplaats assemblages suggest that marginal households had agency in their purchasing decisions that was enacted through embedded cultural practice and was often contrary to Anglicised Cape taste. The continuation of pewter forms in rural farms is one expression of this as is the dominance of slip-decorated hollowware in the Werf 1 assemblage.

Frontier farmers were physically removed from the Cape market and relied on itinerant *smouse* and, later in the century, rural traders and shops to act as intermediaries between themselves and the Cape market. This is not to suggest that an intra-rural economy did not exist and that frontier farmers did not have internal trade networks. This market, however, was generally confined to locally-produced goods. Most ceramic was imported from Britain and it is within the British ceramic market that the Cape needs to be placed.

Most historical documents stress the size and development of the Cape's export trade. Yet the Colony's imports were much larger than its exports in most years through to 1860. Globally, however, the Cape's ceramic imports were negligible, dwarfed by the United States, Australia, New Zealand and even West Africa. This was naturally a product of comparatively limited demand, but also because of Cape Town's position in the global colonial economy, where its position as a refreshment station was perpetuated and the local market never deemed fruitful enough to exploit by international traders.

The development of British mercantile firms in Cape Town and, to a lesser extent, Port Elizabeth, grew despite the limited size of the market and the Cape's peripheral position in the global Colonial economy. Merchant specialisation grew after 1820 as stringent import-export regulations and tariffs were relaxed and, as a result, the Cape became further engaged in global trade networks. Merchant institutions such as the Commercial Exchange facilitated this process. The cooperation between merchants at Cape Town and concomitant merchant specialisation meant that stronger relationships developed between Cape-based merchants and British-based agents and manufacturers.

British pottery manufacturers looking to export their wares overseas relied on agents active in colonial markets. The agents fed market information back to the producers who acted accordingly. The Cape ceramic market was too small before the end of the century for British pottery manufacturers to produce ware specifically tailored to suit demand in the Cape, as they did for the larger markets in the United States. Nonetheless, they were aware of a generalised colonial 'taste' for specific ware that was common to South Africa, Australia and New Zealand and results in a homogeneity of ceramic types and forms in these colonies in the 19th century (see Lawrence 2003; Malan & Klose 2003). By exporting these wares into the Cape, British pottery manufacturers and their agents both created taste and perpetuated it, as the insignificance of the Cape market meant that the wares it received was influenced by larger markets. Nonetheless, despite the limitations in ceramic imports, there existed a growing internal economy within the Cape throughout the 19th century that was partly caused by the the development of the rural market

The new levels of organisation and regulation of urban-based merchants resulted in consistent forays into rural trade and the growth of the rural economy. Initial ventures were small-scale, localised interactions that occurred through itinerant *smouse* and allowed for personal relationships to develop between the buyer and seller. Because of this, these interactions reveal the nature of purchasing and consumer influence in marginal areas and reveal the agency of the consumer. It also comments on factors of supply and demand in rural households.

Itinerant *smouse* became a feature of the rural landscape only after 1806 and the start of British rule at the Cape. Travelling through the more remote regions of the Colony, *smouse* became the key suppliers of goods to remote frontier farms and households. *Smouse* needed to established a relationship with urban-based merchants and wholesalers in order to receive and replenish their own stock of goods, and in this sense were subject to larger market influences. Yet their one-on-one interactions with consumers meant they were able to establish close relationships with households and were able to supply the unique, localised needs of rural communities.

Evidence suggests that it was women in the rural household that were buying goods from the *smous* and oversaw the demands and desires of the rural domestic sphere. Information on the stock *smouse* carried is limited. Undoubtedly, a large proportion of the ceramic at Werf 1 was bought from *smouse* and it is reasonable to assume that the forms and types of ceramic and other wares at Werf 1 was selected by the female head of the household. The interaction with the *smous* gave rural women autonomy in a traditionally male-dominated sphere.

This in itself comments on the development of the rural household in the Colony. Mitchell (2007) examined several generations of frontier farmers on the Cedarberg frontier in the 18th century through the lens of the family widows. Although rarely referring to *how* the households received their goods, Mitchell (2007: 66) notes that conspicuous consumption, or at least something close to it, only occurred after the family were well-established in the region. This is unsurprising, as the first consideration for most families was the maintenance of their livelihood and income (Yentsch 1991: 132). Mitchell (2007: 66), however, links this to European customs and values, noting that stock-farming families did not arrive at the frontier "with a homogenous bundle of European norms that they fought to impose in a hostile environment".

If, as van Heyningen (1993: 21) points out, the aim of the woman in the home was to create the ideal domestic environment, and, in doing do, impose middle class notions of order and discipline, then, for aspirant rural households, this often included material culture (see also Dagut 2000). European orthodoxy was selected, or at least appeared, only after some time. If this is the case, then the role of the female in consumer choice is perhaps more significant

than it appears. The shift from a desire for tools and livestock to a desire for domestic items may have only occurred after a period of settlement, but the suggestion that it manifested a change from male-controlled purchasing to female-controlled purchasing in rural areas, is compelling.

Put simply, for the first several years of occupation, a frontier farm's material culture was arguably selected by male members and emphasised subsistence, economy and production. Only once the household was stable enough economically did purchases move from the outside male sphere to the inside female domestic sphere. And only then did all the accoutrements of civilization, the tableware, furniture and other 'rough comforts', arrive at the remote farm. Which, of course, is not to suggest that subsistence and production was no longer important or ignored when purchasing, but that these 'rough comforts' grew in significance. After all, early *smouse* carried at least one 'luxury' item amongst their stock of necessities.

This accounts for the shift from pewter to ceramic suggested by the rural probates and arguably occurring in rural regions in the middle of the 19th century. Continuation of 'traditional' forms such as pewter and slip-decorated hollowware suggests delayed 'modernisation' and the weak influence of British colonial power, manifest in ideology and economy, in rural areas. This is also evident in the absence of any forms resembling matching tableware sets in pre-1834 rural probates, as was becoming common in middle-class homes in Cape Town in the late 1820s (Malan 1993).

Arguably, the independence and autonomy that women received through their control of purchasing was not only allied against male domination. Rural households, as has been argued, were not beholden to urbanised trends, fashions and taste. In the Cape Colony, urban trends were increasingly British trends, and since females were perceptibly the primary purchasers in rural areas, it is in them that the patterns of rural consumption are vested. Thus, at Kerkplaats, it was likely the female head of the household who was selecting the ceramic forms recovered in the archaeology, who was choosing slip-decorated bowls over plates, and, at the broader scale, was persisting with pewter at the expense of ceramic.

That this speaks of a unique rural pattern of purchasing is evident. This pattern is arguably emblematic of an inherent rural conservativeness that reacted against modern British trends and fashions. These trends and fashions were created by factors allied to the increase of the British colonial economy, and visible in the higher levels of the supply scale, in the size of the Cape import market, the nature of the Cape merchant houses and their London agents, and in the actions of British manufacturers. British materiality may have been dominant, but embedded meaning tied to this was not so. Instead, material goods were reconceptualised and reimagined by the rural consumer as a way to continue, 'go on', or reassert their identity.

By choosing bowls over plates, pewter over ceramic, and even in preferring the gaudy, bright colours of cheaper earthenware over the latest transfer-printed and porcelain forms, the rural consumer was exercising her agency and creating an identity separate from British colonial dominance. The materials may have been British in origin, but their selection and the ways in which they were used speaks of taste and practice - the quotidian, practical aspects of everyday life. It is through this, how the objects were selected and used, that they gained meaning and expressed identity (see Silliman 2009: 216).

The shift from Werf 1 to Werf 2 in the early 1860s at Kerkplaats demonstrates the weakening of an isolated rural identity and the consequent immersion into British colonial practice. This is evident in changes in the Werf 2 ceramics and the physical shift of the household from Werf 1 to Werf 2. The Werf 2 assemblage, although smaller than Werf 1's, stands in stark relief to it. At Werf 2 there is more European porcelain, more flatware than hollowware, more variety in REW forms and decoration, and evidence of matching tea- and tableware sets. There is a cohesion and standardisation within the assemblage that is reflected in at least one other late 19th century Karoo site, that of Schimmelfontein near Victoria West (Moffett 2010). This standardisation is situated within a global ceramic market of the late 19th century that was demonstrating increasing variability in forms and types of ceramic available, but was being expressed in increasing homogeneity in the forms Cape homes were purchasing.

A large reason for this is the rise of larger department stores in urban areas and growth of interior trade networks that saw for the obsolescence of *smouse* and the ability for rural purchasers to order ceramic and other items directly from the retailer in Cape Town or even

further afield. After the 1860s, an increase in local newspaper advertisements and the spread of mail-order catalogues through the colonies meant that the variety of British ceramics now available became widely known (see Meltzer 1989; Kwasitsu 2004; Hayes 2007, 2014). This development led rural consumers, now ordering from a limited number of catalogues, to increasingly buy the same items and become more susceptible to advertisements and marketing. As the one-on-one interaction with the *smous* decreased, purchasing became an anonymous activity and it became harder for the consumer to express identity or taste through purchasing choices.

At Kerkplaats, this was concomitant with the establishment of the town of Fraserburg in 1851, only 40km away, and an important factor in the shift from Werf 1 to Werf 2. Fraserburg quickly became a prototypical rural *dorp* and by the following decade had a post office and a Jewish merchant store. The inhabitants of Kerkplaats could travel to Fraserburg to place orders for goods, and in doing so gain direct access to global British colonial markets via established British merchants in Cape Town. Ceramic forms could be ordered in sets advertised in department store catalogues and come in forms and varieties that were previously unavailable or uncommon. It would also now be possible to make follow-up purchases of vessels in the same pattern at a later date. With more goods came fashion, standardisation and sets of assumptions about the proper ways of ordering life (Isaac 1982: 16).

Clearly, with the growth of the rural economy more purchasing options and opportunities became available to rural dwellers. This is true at Kerkplaats, but the decision by the Krugels or van Schalkwyks to buy into the variety of ceramic now available speaks of more than access and ability. The physical shift from Werf 1 to Werf 2 was physically a small geographic move but a significant one in terms of repositioning the household towards the wider market economy and the commercial sphere. This move expressed a social and economic shedding of relative domestic isolation and conservative self-sufficiency. This was based on changing farming practices in the Karoo, and at Kerkplaats, that was influenced by the shift from fat-tailed sheep to wool-bearing merinos. The old *werf* in turn became physically entangled in new technologies of managing merino and controlling ostrich. The whole economic horizon of farm production expanded outwards towards global fashion and global needs.

Chapter 7 illustrated the change in the Cape's economy and in rural areas that took place because of the rise of rural wool production. Merino farming had started earlier in the Eastern Cape than in the Karoo for reasons related to conservative Afrikaner rural values, loyalty to the traditional fat-tailed sheep and suspicion of merinos that had been introduced from the more English-speaking eastern districts. While merino flocks had become a mainstay of rural agriculture in the Eastern Cape from as early as the 1830s, it took some time for merino wool sheep to become a presence in the Karoo. Nonetheless, the effects that wool exports had on the Cape economy still reached marginal Karoo areas, so that by the late 1850s and early 1860s enough capital had entered the Karoo that Fraserburg, and other Karoo *dorps*, could grow, and the transport network, whether through railways or dirt roads, could link these growing *dorps* to urban metropoles.

It is likely that Krugels or van Schalkwyks at Kerkplaats recognised this shift and involved themselves in merino wool production. Farmers need capital to alter or rebuild farms, and the move from Werf 1 to Werf 2 indicates that the inhabitants of Werf 1 had received enough in capital in early 1860s to build an entirely new *werf* closer to the road that lead to Fraserburg and Williston. This move signals a significant shift in the attitude and ideology of the van Schalkwyks that is expressed in the ceramic assemblage.

As mentioned, the move represents the shift from domestic to commercial production. This shift subsequently altered the nature of the domestic sphere in a rural household. Prior to it, women were involved in domestic production roles, maintaining the household and making small-scale commodities for market, such as soap, tallow and grease, that were sometimes sold in rural *dorps* or even, on occasion, in Cape Town (Barrow 1804: 301, 402). Yet with the shift to merinos, production for market entered the male sphere of sheep-shearing, large scale production, and bulk transportation. Additionally, *smouse* had often accepted the products of women's labour in trade, but with the growth of infrastructure and developments in the rural market, *smouse* no longer visited farms and were no longer the primary means of receiving outside commodities.

Consequently, a woman's role in the rural household changed and she was no longer the pivot in household production or autonomous in consumption, but instead, involved in the growth of the 'cult of domesticity' (see Klein 1991: 79; Wall 2000: 104). At Werf 2, this is evident in the sets of matching cups and saucers as well as the presence of porcelain teaware forms. In contrast, at Werf 1, tea-drinking had an altogether different order and 'ritual' using slipware bowls. Soups and stews were eaten at Werf 1, but the variety of flatware and presence of matching band-and-line plates suggests a change in foodways and the social structure of eating. Pewter forms at Werf 1 likely disappeared from the tableware collection, as the household was now suitably established and had the ability to access, and afford, sets of cheaper plates and dishes.

Capital, wealth and personal involvement in a global wool market, controlled predominantly by English-speakers, meant that the Krugel or van Schalkwyk families inserted themselves into the larger British colonial sphere and the materiality and ideology that this entailed. There was an abiding complicity with the dominant flow of British material goods entering the rural market, and a shift in practice and taste inherent in it, that stands in contrast the practices and identity forged while at Werf 1. Participation in the growing market saw for a change in how objects were used and what they represented. Essentially, accepting merino sheep, and the mechanisms behind its growth, meant a shift away from small-scale, domestic farming of fat-tailed sheep and the entrance into the commercialised and commodified global market of merino wool.

The growth of the merino wool market and other economic developments in the Colony, such as the advent of diamond mining in Kimberley and copper mining along the west coast, and the concurrent growth of the railway network, effectively closed the frontier around Kerkplaats. British colonial authority had been established through economic and political means, and the shift at Kerkplaats from Werf 1 to Werf 2 indicates that ideological influence soon followed. The inhabitants of Kerkplaats no longer made purchasing decisions and choices that forged their own individuality against increasing British colonial hegemony, but instead chose for the remainder of the 19th century and, for the time being at least, to 'fit in'.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

Formal British colonialism in the Cape began in 1797 with the first occupation of the Colony, was briefly interrupted for three years in 1803, and continued from 1806 until 1910, when South Africa became a union. In that period, colonialism took many political, economic, and ideological forms that both non-European and European Cape-dwellers were subject to.

The nature of British colonialism was to create a systematic 'Us vs. Them' dichotomy that is manifest in a colonised-coloniser, or dominated-dominating structure, such as the Colony's Scab act legislation in the late 19th century, that pitted traditional stock management against the growing science of veterinary practice (see Tamarkin 2009). At Kerkplaats, the broader social agents in these roles were, at first, non-Europeans and Christian missionaries, and later Dutch-identifying farmers and British economic and ideological forces.

The mission period at Kerkplaats stands as one of the earliest, and one of the weakest, of these colonial hegemonies. In a tangle of the divine and the secular, and with aims both spiritual and political, the Zak River mission was never able to gain traction or make any type of long-lasting impact on the people under its watch or the political sphere in which it was forced to be involved.

The archaeology of the mission period at Kerkplaats reflects this. Contemporary sources, each with their own agendas, illustrate either a model early 19th century mission station where British concepts of order, regulation and civilisation were imposed on the 'heathens' of the northern frontier, or a place of interaction, where both missionary and non-European crossed boundaries of materiality and cultural space. The archaeology, however, is silent in terms of recognising acculturation but speaks volumes about the ability to exercise power through materiality. This silence is, in itself, significant and suggests that the cross-cultural interaction that was expressed was not done so in the materiality of day-to-day quotidian practice and cannot, as yet, be recognised in the paucity of archaeological remains from the mission period.

This material silence from the mission period also comments on the mission's ineffectiveness. Kicherer wanted to enforce European concepts of order and routine on his 'heathen' flock, and this clearly involved the use of material culture (see, for example, Gonzalez-Ruibal 2015: 422-423). Yet Kicherer's attempts to gain European clothing and utensils for the mission's inhabitants was often stymied, primarily through pecuniary reasons, and, arguably, Kicherer could not assert the influence and dominance he felt he needed to because of this.

Later in the century, as the social agents changed and the reach and intensity of British colonial domination increased, the focus at Kerkplaats shifted to Dutch *trekboer* frontier farmers looking to defend and forge an identity and place themselves within the growing economic and political power of British administration and a much more interventionist colonialism. I have suggested that this is reflected in the ceramic assemblage recovered from Werf 1 at Kerkplaats and data provided by rural probates from before the middle of the 19th century. Unique patterns in the ceramic assemblage, such as the absence of teaware, the prevalence of hollowware over flatware forms, and the dominance of slip-decorated bowls, speak of specific choice and selection, as well as attempts to persist with 'traditional' forms that worked against the increasing Anglicisation of style and practice in the wider Cape (see Gosden 2005 on the role of objects in this process).

Data from the probates illustrates this further by highlighting the significant role played by pewter forms in rural tableware long after they had all but disappeared from urban areas. Pewter plates and dishes were a significant feature of rural probates that speak of different values expressed through tableware in rural areas, as well as the manner in which new ceramic forms were adopted and, in turn, given value. As the quantity of tableware items grew, more ceramic forms appeared which indicated changing values as well as the developing role of rural trade and increasing access to British manufacturing dominance.

The probates also demonstrated that, unlike at Werf 1, flatware forms generally outnumbered hollowware forms both in frequency and quantity in rural areas. This highlighted the disparity at Werf 1 and raised issues of tableware use and the curation of tableware that was based not only on form but also on decoration.

Choice, selection and curation in the rural household played out against a backdrop of expanding rural commerce that moved from the small-scale itinerant *smouse* to village shops and wholesalers who could order items directly from Cape Town and sometimes even London. The scale of the rural market grew as the Colony's did, so while *smouse* could operate when the Cape's economy was small, they became obsolete and replaced by a network of country stores when the economy and commercial networks grew. With this growth, the Colony became more deeply entrenched in Empire and global colonial trade networks and British goods could now regularly reach even the most marginal of rural farmer. This development paralleled the growth of the merino wool industry that injected impetus and capital into the rural economy, but also drew it further into networks controlled by British merchants and businessmen.

Pertinent here is an archaeology of capitalism and the forms, systems and manners in which it interacts with colonialism (see Leone 1995; Mullins 2008; Croucher & Weiss 2011; Mrozowski 2014; Leone & Knauf 2015). The reconceptualization of material forms to bolster, confirm or perpetuate a separate, non-British, identity in the second phase of Werf 1 does not necessarily speak of colonial power relations in the same way that the (absence of) material culture in the mission period does. Kicherer, as the dominator, was conscious of his attempts to instil 'civilization' through 'proper dress', routine and space. British institutions and ideology in the Cape in the second half of the 19th century formed part of a growing mercantile capitalism that did not necessarily consciously impose British forms of material culture on a colonised class, but did provide means to homogenize differing cultural identities (see also Lester 2000).

In the ceramic at Kerkplaats, this is signalled in the differences between the assemblages from Werf 1 and Werf 2. After 1860, the family at Kerkplaats could order their tea- and tableware in sets from large department stores through agents with shops in the nearby town of Fraserburg, and treat visitors to tea in the latest, newly-purchased porcelain tea sets. From denying Britishness, select parts of it were now embraced.

The shift from a more Dutch materiality to a more British one can be further explored in marginalised, rural areas. One method is to identify rural farmers, through probates and other

documents, who might have been rabidly anti-British and excavate their *werfs* and homes to compare with contexts where a farming household had a more liberal public attitude, as known from the documents.

The probates are rich in information that extends beyond goods and household items. Because they also list stock, farms, slaves, debts, credits, and family members, they provide an opportunity to explore historical aspects that fall outside the realm of archaeologically recovered material. This can include patterns of slave-ownership and land use, stock numbers, financial networks, genealogies, and much more. They are also significant in understanding materiality, as a variety of archaeologically recovered material culture forms can be utilised in tandem with probates to paint a more complete picture of a household's goods. Probates, after all, list all items in a household and can thus comment on artefacts other than tableware.

Future research will also need to expand the sample of excavated historical era sites in rural areas and the Karoo in particular. This includes research on the archaeology of mission stations, such as the later 19th century San missions at Ramah (Wilson 1975; Schoeman 1993a), Konnah (Schoeman 1993a), and Hephzibah (Forbes 1970; Schoeman 1993b) in the Northern Cape and Free State (see also McDonald 2009). Regarding documentary evidence, the informal and formal written invoices and inventories of rural *smouse* would indicate what the precise goods were that *smouse* were carrying and distributing. Few have been identified in archives and repositories, and it is likely that if they exist they are either sitting in the libraries and museums of small rural *dorps* or in private collections.

One of the difficulties in analysing the mid-19th century ceramic assemblage from Werf 1 was the absence of later, earlier, and contemporary ceramic assemblages to compare it to. Quantities of material from rural sites can provide a framework for comparison which can identify other, localised, trends in rural materiality, and further explore changing identities in the 18th and 19th centuries. This study is based on the biography and sequence of one farm, and its archaeology sets up questions and establishes patterns that need to be tested and examined at other historical era, frontier sites. Additionally, expanding the sample to include more rural farms would compare the local to the macro-scale. Additionally, the material

record and issues of identity undoubtedly vary at the micro-scale and need to be interpreted in relation to equivalent scale farm histories. This can expand beyond ceramic to other material culture forms, as well as the shifting nature of rural land use and the built environment through the 19th century, particularly from the ca. 1860 cusp and the shift from domestic to commercial production.

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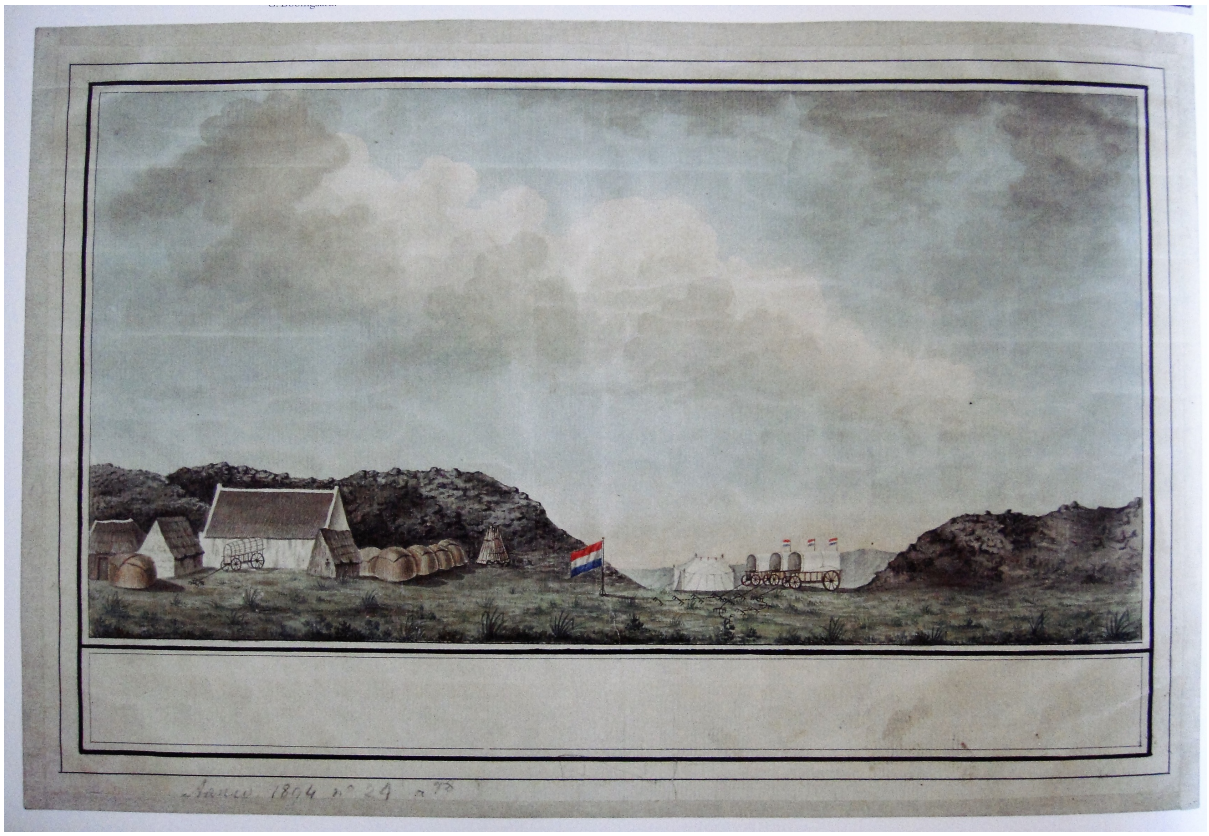
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Appendix A[1]



'The Military Encampment on the Liesbeek' (1804) by Josephus Jones, taken from Brommer's '*Grote Atlas van Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*' (With thanks to Antonia Malan)

[1] Raw data is digitally recorded at the University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, and is available on request. This includes data on recovered ceramics, glass, metal, OES, OES beads, and glass beads, as well as probate analysis.

Appendix B

Ceramic Ware Types

Primary wares present in the Kerkplaats assemblages are earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. Earthenware is a relatively soft, porous ceramic, that can be either coarse or fine-grained (refined earthenware) but glazed to make it watertight. Stoneware is a harder, non-porous ceramic, commonly stone-coloured and coarsely textured. Porcelain is a hard, non-porous ceramic with a fine-textured body. In post-18th century assemblages, such as at Kerkplaats, it is difficult to classify all ceramics on ware alone, therefore a decoration-based typology is preferred (Miller 1980: 1-2). Nonetheless, each primary ware group has sub-categories that can be applied to Cape sites. For earthenware, these are refined, tin-glazed and coarse earthenwares. Stoneware can be sub-divided by provenance, either European or Asian, and then by the type of glaze used. Porcelain can also be sub-divided by country of origin, then by body type, and finally by decoration. Earthenware is the largest, most prominent group at Kerkplaats and are discussed first. European porcelain, stoneware and clay tobacco pipes will follow, and lastly, Asian porcelain and stoneware.

Earthenwares

Refined Earthenwares

Refined earthenwares (REW) are those produced by British Staffordshire potters for tea, table, kitchen and toilet wares. These are white-bodied and coloured-bodied wares, often called industrial wares, produced from the second quarter of the 18th century. They were the most widely manufactured of all wares, particularly when ceramic production became factory-based towards the end of the 18th century. The first white-bodied ware produced was creamware in the 1740s, a light, cream-coloured ware often left undecorated. This was followed by pearlware, that was produced from ca. 1775 and covered in a blueish lead glaze and nearly always decorated. Whitewares appeared from 1800 and are the largest category of white-bodied refined earthenwares, and come in a variety of types and decorations. It is important to note here that each refined ware type did not necessarily replace the previous, and that it is more useful to view each as part of a continuum (Miller 1980: 2; Majewski &

O'Brien 1987: 119). In 19th century assemblages then, differentiating between cream, pearl and whiteware is difficult, subject to the approach of the researcher, and not always reliable (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 99, 104-107; Klose & Malan 2009: 22).

Whiteware is most commonly classified by the type of decoration that is applied. At Kerkplaats, these include undecorated, transfer-printed, band-and-line, painted, sponged, slipped, modified edge, moulded, and a combination of techniques (i.e. printed and painted or sponged and painted).

Transfer-printed Ware

Transfer-printed whitewares have printed decoration, usually all over the vessel body, sealed by a watertight glaze. This facilitated complex decoration to be applied to ceramic vessels quickly and cheaply (see Samford 1997 for printing techniques). Printed designs came in a variety of colours and patterns, each with a corresponding chronological range. They are the most widely-found decorated whiteware of the 19th century.

Band-and-line Ware

Band and line vessels are decorated with either individual or a combination of painted or printed bands (wide) and lines (thin) along the rim and, often, on the marly, the inside edge of the rim, and before the cavetto, the bowl or depression in the centre of a plate or dish. Early creamware plates often showed lined decoration, but this band-and-line style is more common on whitewares, particularly in blue but also in red and green.

Painted Ware

Painted ware is whiteware decorated with underglaze, hand-painted decorations, patterns or motifs. The earliest examples, dating to the end of the 18th century, are cobalt blue Chinese-style patterns. The increase in use of other agents to form different colours that 'stuck' to the vessels and were not affected by the glaze, began around the beginning of the 19th century. There was also a shift from Chinese-influenced designs to floral motifs, specifically on teaware. The colours in the earliest examples of these polychrome vessels appear relatively 'soft', with olive greens, browns and yellow mustards common and little cobalt blue used (Miller 1991: 8). The floral motifs on these vessels are sometimes referred to as thin-line.

Later in the century, chrome derived paints became more dominant, allowing for a greater variety of colours, particularly thick-line red or pink for the flowers and black for the stems (Samford 2014: 34).

One other painted ware style, sprig, developed a little after the introduction of chrome colours. Sprig painted ware is a simplification of painted patterns, in that the painted designs were smaller and simpler floral motifs that required less skilled labour to complete. A large portion of the vessel was left undecorated and the floral motif generally consisted of a thin, hairline black stem with small green leaves and red, blue or pink flowers or berries.

Spongeware

Closely related to painted ware is spongeware. Sponged vessels were decorated with a sponge dipped into a brightly coloured paint and then dabbed onto the vessel body beneath the glaze. Sponged decoration can be sub-divided into three categories: sponge, cut sponge, and open sponge. A sponge decoration is a dense area of dabbed paint with no specific shape or design that leaves little open, undecorated space on the vessel. It is often referred to as spatter ware, and is applied by having the colour powdered on as opposed to sponged (see Miller 1991: 6). Cut sponge decorations, on the other hand, do show a specific shape or design, often flowers, scrolls, diamonds, stars and geometric designs. Open sponge decorated vessels have more undecorated space and less dense decoration without the sharper outlines offered by the cut sponge.

Slipware

Slipware, also known as annular or banded ware, is a ware primarily decorated by brightly coloured clays or dyes known as slips. The dye could be applied either by dipping the vessel into a coloured solution or defined by turning the vessel on a lathe during manufacture. Both methods result in characteristic horizontal bands and lines, or repeating motifs on the vessel surface. Removing the slip in cut designs, in order to expose the white ceramic beneath, created other styles, and patterns. Given the method of applying decoration means that slipware is nearly always hollowware (HW). Sussman (1997: 6-43) identifies sixteen all-over slip decoration styles, including banding, slip-trailing, cat's eye, cabling, mocha, speckling and engine-turning/dicing/rouletting. There are also specific rim decorations on slipware that do

not extend all over the vessel. These include rouletting, rilling and coloured bands around the rim, normally in shades of green.

Modified Edge

Edged ware (often called shell-edge) is a form of refined industrial ware consisting of modified and decorated rims and edges on otherwise plain vessels. The rim motifs are often moulded or impressed and usually simply painted in blue or green. There are variations in moulded motifs and other rim or edge decoration types that can provide chronological information.

Moulded/Impressed Designs

Moulded or impressed vessels are similar to edged ware except that the moulded decoration is larger and nearly always left unpainted. Samford (2014: 38-39) identifies six moulded decorative styles. These include, geometric and panelled, harvest, foliage, classical, and ribbed motifs, and plain and rounded forms.

It is a decorative style more common on post-1850 ironstone whitewares, particularly in the United States, where they replaced many decorated whitewares. Ironstones have denser, heavier, grey bodies, are highly-vitrified, and are often minimally decorated with moulded relief patterns. It was first manufactured in the early 19th century as a cheaper replacement for Chinese porcelains. By the 1840s it was being specially produced by British firms for the American market, where there was a taste for undecorated wares in moulded shapes (Barker 2001: 300). These later ironstones were given the name 'White Granite' to differentiate them from earlier forms, and they became the most significant ceramic export to North America from 1850 to 1880 (Barker 2001: 300).

Ironstone has been the subject of much debate and confusion in ceramic studies, particularly in non-American contexts (see Brooks 2002: 55-56). Technically, it is a European refined earthenware and shows little difference from regular whiteware (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 120). It has been grouped under whiteware here, mainly because the ubiquity of late 19th century whitewares makes separation meaningless, and because ironstone is not a major component of non-American ceramic assemblages (see Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 120; Lawrence 2003: 26; Klose & Malan 2009: 22).

Undecorated Whiteware

Some whiteware vessels were purposefully left undecorated. However, this is generally quite rare, particularly in the first half of the century, and it is only in the second half that entirely undecorated wares appear at archaeological sites (Klose & Malan 2009: 22). The earlier ware types, creamware and pearlware, however, were often left undecorated where they appear in 19th century contexts (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 118). They were generally utilitarian ware for the kitchen or table.

Tin Glazed Earthenware

Tin glazed earthenware has a relatively thick all-over lead glaze, applied to a lighter buff body. The glaze is thick and fragile, easily separating from the vessel body. English and Dutch tin-glazed ware is often known as Delftware, while other names for this ware include Majolica and Faience. Terminology for tin-glazed ware, however, is problematic and potentially confusing and here it will be referred to as tin-glazed ware.

Coloured Bodied Refined Earthenware

Coloured bodied REW vessels are characterized by a coloured paste and glaze such as red-bodied earthenware (or Staffordshire coarseware), teapot ware, and tinted-bodied ware.

Yellowware

Yellowware is a denser earthenware than whiteware, made from a buff clay and the name alludes to the paste or body colour that ranges from mustard to light yellow. It was commonly decorated with slipware decorative styles, particularly mocha and banded designs. Yellowware vessels were not normally for tableware, primarily being used in food preparation and storage or for toilet ware (Sussman 1997: 77). In the ceramic analysis above, yellowware has been included as part of the slipware section.

European Coarse Earthenware

Coarse earthenwares are generally thicker than refined wares, with larger grains in the body and more crudely formed and decorated bodies, either partially or fully glazed. In South Africa, European-manufactured coarse earthenware is rare, and was locally made red-bodied

VOC pottery, rough versions of contemporary European forms, used for cooking and other simple kitchen and tablewares (Klose & Malan 2009: 15).

European Porcelain

Bone china, or English porcelain, the standard British-produced porcelain body, was developed at the end of the 18th century, although both soft and hard-paste was in production earlier (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 127). In the 19th century porcelain was used primarily for teaware and ornamental vessels. Most porcelain vessels before 1880 were decorated under the glaze, mainly in cobalt blue. After 1880, the variety of decorative techniques for porcelain appears to have increased, mostly over the glaze. Some decorations are shared with whiteware, such as painting, printing and enamelling, while lustre, gilding and decal-printing were more commonly used only on porcelain.

There are variations of lustre decoration, the most common being an overglaze solid or a painted metallic decoration in pink, purple, copper and silver lustre. Towards the end of the 19th century a development in lustre decoration produced a mother-of-pearl like shimmer over the vessel body. Lustre decoration was also used in combination with other decorative techniques, most commonly moulding. Gilding, as an overglaze application of gold to the porcelain surface is somewhat similar to lustre, and when introduced in about 1810, it was used as the primary decoration for bands and lines to highlight other decoration on the vessel.

Decal-printing or lithograph printing was a development of the second half of the 19th century. In decal-printing, porcelains are decorated by attaching complete, pre-shaped decorations onto an already-glazed surface. When compared to transfer-printed decoration, decal-printing gives sharper lines and clearer colours as well as a greater variety of multi-coloured printed decorations on single vessels.

European Stoneware

Stoneware is a high-fired ware, stain-free, water-tight, and odourless, making it suitable for the storage of food and drink. It is a primarily a utilitarian ware and therefore subject to less variety in decoration and vessel form, and classification is generally done by provenance and glaze type. Most European stonewares are from either Germany or England. German

stoneware has a slightly longer history, being developed in the 16th century, but both English and German stoneware are common at Cape sites from the end of the 17th century (Jordan 2015).

The type of glaze used is significant when discussing stoneware. Salt-glaze was obtained by throwing salt into the kiln when the fire was at its hottest. This resulted in the characteristic pitted or orange peel-like surface. Liquid glazed, or Bristol glaze, stoneware was a post-1835 development, where the glaze was applied as a liquid and then absorbed by the body, leaving the glaze-forming materials on the surface to fuse in the kiln. Liquid glazed stoneware has a shiny, smooth surface (Klose & Malan 2009) .

European Clay Pipes

From tobacco's 16th century introduction to Europe and up to until 1788, European tobacco clay pipe production centres made pipes with shapes and decoration that were unique to each region. After 1788, there was some standardisation of bowl shape and foot-rest. These pipes were generally made of fine white clays, often left unglazed except for the mouth-end (Schrire *et al*. 1990; Gojak & Stuart 1999). Nineteenth-century pipes, although conforming to the basic shape, were sometimes decorated, particularly on the bowl. Decoration could be commemorative or personal, advertorial, or consist of more symbolic designs, such as a basket-weave, or other geometric or linear patterns. Manufacturers' names were often stamped along the stem. Most pipes were utilitarian and lasted from several days to two weeks (Gojak & Stuart 1999: 39). Clay pipes were used by all classes, although generally associated with labourers and those of low socio-economic status (Gojak & Stuart 1999: 40).

Asian Porcelain

Asian porcelain recovered from South African sites can be sub-divided into fine or coarse wares. The fine ware is classed as Chinese export porcelain (for the European market), while the coarser ware is classed as provincial ware or Asian market ware (see Klose & Malan 2009: 18, 19). Nearly all Chinese export porcelain is glazed and has a bluish tint to the exposed body.

Asian provincial or market ware types include Asian ginger jars, and painted plates, dishes and bowls. At the Cape there are a number of decorative styles, the most relevant here being

underglaze blue and overglaze red. Underglaze blue was a cheap ceramic made mainly for Asian markets, considered too crude for European tastes but imported into the Cape and other smaller stations by the VOC (Klose & Schrire 2015: 104).

Asian ginger jars are utilitarian jars and pots that held imported ginger, a popular addition to cooking at the Cape, and likely reused as storage jars for locally made produce. The decoration was rough under glaze blue painted designs, sometimes of landscapes but more commonly of abstract motifs. The decorations extend over most of the body, and body colour ranges from shades of blue to grey. Footrings, and frequently whole bases, were unglazed.

There are several simple decorative motifs. The *Nanking* border consists of a blue band with a heavier or darker blue cross-hatched lattice shape within, while the *Canton* variation is slightly simpler and cruder, often simply a blue band around the vessel edge. The visibility and detail of the interior lattice on Nanking vessels is clearer and more delicate on earlier high quality products, becoming cruder through time as production increased and prices dropped (Hume 1961: 261). The central patterns of both *Nanking* and *Canton* border vessels often depicted a landscape scene with pagodas, boats, and trees, and is considered a forerunner of the more famous Willow Pattern (Bates 2014: 40).

The *Shou* pattern is not a pattern per se but a representation of the Chinese word or character for longevity and prosperity and normally appears as the central motif on the vessel, often called longevity dishes by collectors (see Kang 2013: 5). It is often accompanied by sacred Sanskrit marks, or other motifs, symbolizing similar positive attributes. It commonly appears with a specific border pattern, stylized short vertical lines or pairs of lines adjacent to each other in a repeating pattern.

Asian Stoneware

Asian stoneware primarily took the form of Chinese utilitarian glazed and unglazed storage pots and jars, called '*martevans'* or '*martebans'* in the Cape, finer Chinese 'red' stoneware, known as *Yixing* ware, and Japanese *donabe* cooking pots. 'Martevans' were used as storage vessels.