

**PLAATBERG ON THE CALEDON BASTAARDS: HUNTERS, RAIDERS
AND TRADERS OR PIOUS CONVERTS OF THE WESLEYAN
MISSIONARY SOCIETY?**

University of Cape Town

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Department of Archaeology

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DECLARATION

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

Shelona Jean Klatzow

February 2023

ABSTRACT

Plaatberg mission station was established in 1833 by the Wesleyan Missionary Society specifically to minister to a group of people known as Bastards, under the leadership of Carolus Baatje. As new arrivals in Transorangia who had crossed the boundary from the Cape Colony, the Plaatberg Bastards came equipped with wagons, horses, guns and ammunition. They showed great skill in adapting to the volatile frontier world in the way that they negotiated the move from colonial farm workers, servants, slaves or disposed Bastards in the colony to successful traders, raiders and farmers in the Caledon River Valley.

Using both written and archaeological evidence, this thesis examines the way that the creolized Plaatberg Bastards, as inhabitants of the Plaatberg mission station, responded to the Christianising efforts of the Wesleyan Missionaries. The Wesleyans main objective was to transform the Plaatberg Bastards from “heathen” inhabitants into “civilized” Christian converts, by the imposition of a variety of rules and regulations to achieve this aim. I consider how the very nature of being a creolized mobile group may have influenced the Plaatberg Bastards responses to the Wesleyan missionaries. These responses may be reflected in the material culture and their use of private and public spaces within the mission as well as in the wider landscape beyond the mission station boundaries. As “heathen” inhabitants of the Wesleyan mission station, the Plaatberg Bastards had to negotiate their way between and through the aspirations of the missionaries for Christian converts, and the continuity of their own frontier way of life and belief systems. I examine the missionary aspirations for order and control as physically expressed in the public grid-like layout of the mission village itself, being the centre of colonial and religious power. At a finer scale, I address the archaeology of a single domestic precinct and assess the material evidence of dwelling forms, layout and the artefactual mix. At this scale, the order and control desired of the Plaatberg Bastards by the missionaries was clearly inflected by the layout and utilization of domestic space and hinted at in the use of traded British goods. Additionally, evidence from a rock shelter

outside the immediate boundary of the mission, and of hunting, raiding and trading further afield, indicates the private continuity of frontier practice and belief. Selective resistance by the Plaatberg Bastards to missionary control was strategic and reflected the economic benefits of prior practice, but also the advantages of new practical skills for life within the rapidly changing political landscape of the Northern Cape frontier.

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The seeds for this research were sown whilst sitting on a rock in De Hoop Cave, munching on a lunchtime sandwich with Joanna Behrens, whilst gazing over the expansive and spectacular eastern Free State landscape beneath us, discussing the possible influence the neighbouring Plaatberg Mission station would have had on the inhabitants of the cave. It took 16 years for the seeds to germinate and in 2014, with the encouragement, help and support of Amanda Esterhuysen (University of the Witwatersrand) and Joanna Behrens (UNISA) we embarked on the mammoth task of investigating the mission station, forming the Plaatberg Collective, a collaboration between Wits, Unisa and UCT. Their encouragement and advice were invaluable as were the evening discussions over a restorative glass or two of red wine to ward off the winter chill.

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CONTENTS	Page Number
Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Contents	vii
List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xvi
Abbreviations	xvii
Glossary	xviii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Mission Station Archaeology in Southern Africa	13
1.2. Terminology	20
Chapter 2: Sources of Evidence: a Multi-Source Approach	24
2.1. Official Texts	26
2.1.1. Inventories	27
2.2. Missionary Texts	28
2.3. Backhouse's Woodcut	34
2.4. Newspaper Reports	34
2.5. Material Cultural Record	35
Chapter 3: History of the Plaatberg Bastards in Transorangia	37
3.1. Exodus to the Willow Tree River	37
3.2. The establishment of Plaatberg	41
3.3. The Captaincy and the Division of Sacred and Secular Authority	43
3.4. Captain Baatje's Bastards	48
3.5. Situating Plaatberg in the Greater Political Landscape	50
3.6. Decline of the Plaatberg Mission Station	55
3.7. Demise of the Plaatberg Mission Station	59

Chapter 4: Plaatberg within the Caledon River Valley Landscape, Mission Station Layout and Structures	66
4.1. Plaatberg within the Caledon River Valley Landscape	66
4.2. Mission Station Layout	68
4.3. The Issue of Landownership	83
4.4. Structures at Plaatberg	86
Chapter 5: Excavation of Plaatberg	94
5.1. V's Complex	96
5.1.1. Hartebeeshuis	98
5.1.2. Kookhuis	100
5.1.3. V's Midden	102
5.1.4. V's House	100
5.1.5. VH Yard	110
5.1.6. V's Workshop	116
5.2. Discussion	123
5.2.1. Kookhuis	124
5.2.2. V's Workshop	126
5.2.3. Conclusion	129
Chapter 6: The Plaatberg Excavated Assemblage	132
6.1. The Imported Ceramic Assemblage	132
6.1.1. White Bodied Refined Industrial Earthenware	133
6.1.1.1. Transfer Printed Ware	134
6.1.1.2. Hand Painted Earthenware	138
6.1.1.3. Industrial Slipware	139
6.1.1.4. Sponged Ware	141
6.1.1.5. Lustre Ware	141
6.1.2. Coloured-Bodied Earthenware	142
6.1.3.1. German Stoneware	144
6.1.3.2. Salt-Glazed British Stoneware	144
6.1.3.3. Liquid-Glazed Stoneware	147

6.1.4.	Asian Porcelain	148
6.1.5.	Makers Mark	148
6.1.6.	Surface Collection 2014	148
6.1.7.	Modified	152
6.1.8.	Form and Function	154
6.2.	Tobacco Pipes	157
6.2.1.	Clay Tobacco Pipes	157
6.2.2.	Stone Pipes	162
6.3.	Local Ceramics	163
6.3.1.	Vm	164
6.3.2.	Vhy	164
6.3.3.	Vh	166
6.3.4.	Vbw	167
6.4.	Glass	173
6.4.1.	Alcohol Bottles	174
6.4.2.	Food/Sauce Bottles	176
6.4.3.	Medicine Bottles	177
6.4.4.	Flat Glass	178
6.4.5.	Glass Beads	178
6.5.	Metal	179
6.5.1.	Ammunition	181
6.5.2.	Household Items	182
6.5.3.	Personal Items	185
6.5.4.	Miscellaneous Metal Objects	186
6.5.5.	Construction	187
6.5.6.	Metal from Vbw	188
6.6.	Buttons	190
6.7.	Slate	193
6.8.	Worked Bone	195

6.9.	Ostrich Eggshell	195
6.10.	Ochre	195
6.11.	Stone	196
6.12.	Fauna	196
6.13.	Discussion	197
6.14.	Conclusion	216
Chapter 7: An Agricultural, Hunting, Raiding and Trading Economy		219
7.1.	Farming	219
7.2.	Hunting	225
7.3.	Trading	227
7.4.	Raiding	235
7.5.	Discussion	239
Chapter 8: The Hidden Landscape of Plaatberg		241
8.1.	De Hoop Rock Shelter	244
8.2.	The Excavation	246
8.3.	De Hoop Rock Paintings	248
Chapter 9 : Conversion, Coercion and Covert Raiding: Beyond the Mission Boundary		255
9.1.	Material and cultural expression within the household	255
9.2.	The Materiality of Mobility	263
Chapter 10: A Christian Mission: “Signs of Incipient Civilisation”		271
10.1.	The Missionary Effort in South Africa	274
10.2.	Education	276
10.3.	Christianisation of the People of Plaatberg	278
References		288
Appendix A. Alphabetical List of People mentioned in the text		306
Appendix B. The Excavation of Plaatberg		308
Appendix C. Plaatberg Time Line		309

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

- Figure 1.1: Map showing the position of Plaatberg on the Vaal mission station and the new mission stations in the Caledon River Valley. 13

Chapter 2

- Figure 2.1: Page from the Plaatberg Baptism Register, Cory Library, Grahams Town 31

- Figure 2.2: Pages from Rev Cameron's Letter Book, Free State Archives 32

Chapter 3

- Figure 3.1: Rev Freeman's 1851 map of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River 40

- Figure 3.2: Extracts from the Friend of the Free State 1865 61

Chapter 4

- Figure 4.1: Map produced by the PEMS in 1837 67

- Figure 4.2: Rev Freeman's map of the Orange River Sovereignty 68

- Figure 4.3: Plan of Plaatberg 70

- Figure 4.4: Woodcut of Plaatberg mission station. J. Backhouse. 1844 71

- Figure 4.5: Woodcut of Merametsu mission station. J. Backhouse.1844 72

- Figure 4.6: Woodcut of Umpukane mission station. J. Backhouse.1844 72

- Figure 4.7: Comparison of Backhouse's woodcut and photograph of Plaatberg 73

- Figure 4.8: Google Earth Satellite image of Plaatberg Mission 77

- Figure 4.9: Google Earth satellite image of Plaatberg 79

- Figure 4.10: View across the chapel towards the west 80

- Figure 4.11: View from the rear of the chapel looking at the Mission House mound 81

- Figure 4.12: Korana village on the Riet River, J. Backhouse.1844 87

- Figure 4.13: Hartebeeshuis at Beersheba mission station. J. Backhouse. 1844 87

- Figure 4.14: James Cameron's plan of a WMMS catechist house at Meremetsu. Letter book. Free State Archives.1845 92

Chapter 5	
Figure 5.1:	Plan of Plaatberg Mission Station 95
Figure 5.2:	Plan of V's Complex 96
Figure 5.3:	Photograph of the orchard wall stone foundations 98
Figure 5.4:	Photograph of Vhb wall footings 99
Figure 5.5:	Photograph of the position of Vkh in relation to Vhb 100
Figure 5.6:	Photograph of the Vkh excavation 101
Figure 5.7:	Section drawing of Vkh 102
Figure 5.8:	Plan of Vm excavation grid 103
Figure 5.9:	Photograph of Vm excavation 103
Figure 5.10:	Section drawing of Vm I101 106
Figure 5.11:	Photograph of the base of the excavation in Vm G103 106
Figure 5.12:	Plan of Vh and Vhy 108
Figure 5.13:	Photograph of Vh north wall 109
Figure 5.14:	Photograph of Vh north wall 109
Figure 5.15:	Section drawing of Vh north wall 110
Figure 5.16:	Photograph of western boundary wall 111
Figure 5.17:	Plan of western boundary wall 112
Figure 5.18:	Section drawing of inner Vhy wall 112
Figure 5.19:	Photograph of western garden/orchard wall 113
Figure 5.20:	Plan of Vhy excavation grid 114
Figure 2.21:	Photograph of Vhy excavation 114
Figure 2.22:	Section drawing of VHY K67 116
Figure 2.23:	Photograph of Vbw STP's 117
Figure 5.24:	Photograph of local earthenware pot Vbw 117
Figure 5.25:	Photograph of hearth stones and mud brick Vbw 118
Figure 5.26:	Section drawing of the east wall Vbw 119
Figure 5.27:	Plan of the hearth in Vbw 119
Figure 5.28:	Photograph of the hearth Vbw 120
Figure 5.29:	Plan of Vbw 121
Figure 5.30:	Photograph of cobbled floor south Vbw 121
Figure 5.31:	Photograph of threshold stone Vbw 122
Figure 5.32:	Painting by Charles Bell, Matjeshuis in Namaqualand 125

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1: Willow pattern moulded sherd	134
Figure 6.2: Broseley pattern rim sherd	134
Figure 6.3: Romantic style sherds farm scene	136
Figure 6.4: Romantic landscape	136
Figure 6.5: Rhine pattern cup/bowl rims	136
Figure 6.6: Transfer-printed geometric pattern border motif	137
Figure 6.7: Transfer printed range of colours	137
Figure 6.8: Flow blue chinoiserie design cup/bowls	138
Figure 6.9: Hand painted rims in harsh chrome colours	139
Figure 6.10: Blue hand painted sherd with a floral design	139
Figure 6.11: Industrial slipware carinated bowls.	140
Figure 6.12: Industrial slipware decoration	140
Figure 6.13: Sponged ware	141
Figure 6.14: Lustre decoration on a carinated cup/bowl	142
Figure 6.15: Lustre decoration on a carinated cup/bowl	142
Figure 6.16: Yellow ware	143
Figure 6.17: Red-bodied earthenware	143
Figure 6.18: Westerwald stoneware	144
Figure 6.19: Salt-glazed stoneware	145
Figure 6.20: Salt-glazed stoneware	145
Figure 6.21: Salt-glazed stoneware with lettering	145
Figure 6.22: Exterior and interior views of salt-glazed sherd	146
Figure 6.23: Salt-glazed stoneware ink pot	146
Figure 6.24: Stoneware liquid-glazed rim	147
Figure 6.25: Stoneware liquid-glazed lid	147
Figure 6.26: Makers mark	148
Figure 6.27: Ginger jar sherd	149
Figure 6.28: Smear-glazed stoneware	150
Figure 6.29: Exterior view of tureen lid sherd – Canova pattern	151
Figure 6.30: View of modified tureen lid sherd – Canova pattern	151
Figure 6.31: Spongeware	152

Figure 6.32: Victorian majolica sherd	152
Figure 6.33: Knapped transfer printed foot ring	153
Figure 6.34: Knapped flow blue body sherd	153
Figure 6.35: Knapped yellow ware	153
Figure 6.36: Ochre covered foot ring	154
Figure 6.37: Transfer printed rim covered in ochre	154
Figure 6.38: Varnished clay pipe stem	158
Figure 6.39: Peter Dorni clay pipe stem	159
Figure 6.40: Red clay pipe bowl	160
Figure 6.41: Polished clay pipe bowl and stem	160
Figure 6.42: Clay pipe bowl with incised line decoration	161
Figure 6.43: Peter Dorni clay pipe stem	162
Figure 6.44: Peter Dorni clay pipe stem	162
Figure 6.45: Stone pipe stem	162
Figure 6.46: Local earthenware with chevron decoration	165
Figure 6.47: Local earthenware undecorated rims	165
Figure 6.48: Local earthenware with line impressed decoration	165
Figure 6.49: Local earthenware comb stamped body sherd	165
Figure 6.50: Local earthenware ochre burnished rim with notched decoration	166
Figure 6.51: Local earthenware with dragged wavy line decoration	166
Figure 6.52: Local earthenware soot encrusted sherd Vbw	167
Figure 6.53: Local earthenware flat base Vbw	167
Figure 6.54: Local earthenware decorated rim and neck sherd Vbw	168
Figure 6.55: Base of glass wine bottle, exterior view	170
Figure 6.56: Interior view of glass wine bottle base showing the push up	170
Figure 6.57: Glass bottle string rim	170
Figure 6.58: Base of case gine bottle	171
Figure 6.59: Glass food or sauce bottle rims	172
Figure 6.60: Glass bottle flanged lip and neck	172
Figure 6.61: Glass pill bottle base	173
Figure 6.62: Glass pill bottle base	173
Figure 6.63: Glass bottle stopper	173
Figure 6.64: Hexagonal, white heart and red can bead	177

Figure 6.65:	Blue and white striped bead and white heart beads	177
Figure 6.66:	Wound floral spray bead	178
Figure 6.67:	White heart bead	179
Figure 6.68:	Blue and white striped bead	179
Figure 6.69:	Top hat percussion caps	181
Figure 6.70:	Flattened lead	181
Figure 6.71:	Musket balls	181
Figure 6.72:	Pot hand attachment	183
Figure 6.73:	Cast iron pot lid	183
Figure 6.74:	Metal fork	184
Figure 6.75:	Metal knife blade	184
Figure 6.76:	Metal knife handle	184
Figure 6.77:	Knife blade/shears	185
Figure 6.78:	Moulded metal sheet with an acorn design	186
Figure 6.79:	Moulded metal sheet	186
Figure 6.80:	Metal horse bit	187
Figure 6.81:	Metal rivet	188
Figure 6.82:	A selection of metal nails	188
Figure 6.83:	Square headed nail	189
Figure 6.84:	Brass pestle	189
Figure 6.85:	Metal buckle	190
Figure 6.86:	Unidentified metal implement	190
Figure 6.87:	Porcelain sew-through buttons	191
Figure 6.88:	Glass ball button	191
Figure 6.89:	Metal sew-through button	192
Figure 6.90:	Mother of pearl button	192
Figure 6.91:	Slate tablets and pencils	194
Figure 6.92:	Bone awl	195
 Chapter 7		
Figure 7.1:	Advertisement from the Graham's Town Journal 6 March 1858	225
Figure 7.1:	Advertisement from the Graham's Town Journal 6 March 1858	227

Chapter 8

Figure 8.1: Google Earth image showing the position of Plaatberg mission station and De Hoop rock shelter	244
Figure 8.2: External view of De Hoop rock shelter	245
Figure 8.3: View of stone walling in De Hoop rock shelter	245
Figure 8.4: View from De Hoop rock shelter of Tennis Kop	247
Figure 8.5: Tracing of De Hoop rock shelter painting depicting armed and mounted rider	250
Figure 8.6: Tracing of De Hoop rock shelter finger painting of a caped human figure	251

Chapter 10

Figure 10.1: Drawing of a “Bastard”, Arbousset & Daumas, 1968	280
Figure 10.2: Painting by Charles Bell of Lishuane chapel, 1834	282

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 6

Table 6.1: Imported ceramics	133
Table 6.2: Transfer printed RIW	135
Table 6.3: White bodied RIW decorative categories	142
Table 6.4: Stoneware categories	147
Table 6.5: Hollowware and flatware forms	156
Table 6.6: Bar chart showing MNV of hollowware and flatware	157
Table 6.7: Tobacco pipes	158
Table 6.8: Local ceramics	163
Table 6.9: Diagnostic glass	169
Table 6.10: Glass beads by area	174
Table 6.11: Glass beads method of manufacture, size, structure & shape	175
Table 6.12: Metal	180
Table 6.13: Button forms and frequencies	193
Table 6.14: Slate tablets and pencils	194

ABBREVIATIONS

BMS : Berlin Missionary Society

BR : Basutoland Records

LMS: London Missionary Society

MOOC : Master of the Orphan Chamber

PEMS : Paris Evangelical Missionary Society

RIW : Refined Industrial ware

SOAS : School of Oriental and African Studies

STP : Shovel Test pits

WMMS : Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

WMN : Wesleyan Missionary Notices

GLOSSARY

Bergenaars: A splinter group of Bastards/Griqua who were feared as raiders from the mountains (berge)

Biltong: In this context, hunted meat which was cut into strips and air dried for preservation.

Blikke: tin

Boer: Farmers living in the Cape Colony of Dutch descent, many of whom moved beyond the colonial frontier.

Doek: Fabric covering tied around the head

Griqua: A group of people with a Khoekhoe core (the name Griqua is derived from a Khoekhoe group called either Chariguriqua or Grigriqua), but which also included escaped slaves, Bastards and other displaced people who were united under economically and politically strong leadership of the Kok family.

Hartbeeshuis: reed structure, plastered with clay and cow dung, roughly rectangular in shape

Kaptein: captain

Kaross: a cloak made from the skin of either cattle, sheep or jackal

Khoekhoe: Nomadic pastoral herders (sheep, goats and cattle) in southern Africa, who also practised hunting and gathering.

Knobkerrie: fighting stick

Kommetjie: earthenware bowls

Kookhuis: a small mat hut in which the kitchen/hearth was situated for cooking purposes.

Kookpot: cooking pot

Kookskerm: A wind break or screen around a hearth which offered protection from the wind

Korana: People descended from Khoe groups but were composed of other members as well, who hunted and traded from their base along the Orange River.

Kraal: An enclosure to house cattle or sheep

Landdrost: Magistrate

Lepel: spoon

Matjieshuis: Hemispherical houses constructed of bent sapling framework covered with woven reed mats which are attached to the sapling framework.

Mes: knife

Platpot: flat based cast iron cooking pot

Raad: council

Raadhuis: council house

Riem/riempies: long narrow thongs of leather used in the construction of structures for example to attach reed mats to a sapling framework and tying saplings together to form a framework.

Rondavels: a circular mud brick structure with a thatched cone shape roof.

Smouse: Itinerant peddler or trader

Sny mes: cutting knife

Tinne: pewter

Veldschoenen: shoes/boots made from animal skin adopted by Bastaards, white pastoralists and Boers from KhoeKhoe style of footwear

Vuurken: forks

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Concerning this completely Dutch station there is nothing much to be said: its people are the Griquas who formerly lived at Old Bootschap. Lange, Schmidt and Gebel of the Berlin Missionary society (Schoeman, 2003:86).

The nineteenth century Wesleyan mission station of Plaatberg was situated in the turbulent frontier zone of the Caledon River Valley, which by the mid 1830s was home to a number of Wesleyan and Paris Evangelical Mission Stations. My research focuses on the Plaatberg Bastards¹, under the captaincy of Carolus Baatje, during the 33-year period (1833 to 1865) that they resided at Plaatberg on the Caledon mission station. Plaatberg was established by the Wesleyan Missionary Society with the stated aim of permanently converting the Bastards away from the depths of heathenism to a Christian and civilised morality that was underpinned by a western lifestyle and the use of its associated materiality.

The arrival of Europeans in southern Africa gave rise to new social and political interactions with indigenous societies. This led to significant cultural and social collapse and impoverishment but in some cases also resulted in the formation of new identities (Behrens & Swanepoel, 2018:10). The Bastards are a good example of a group who straddled the coloniser and colonised divide to become a hybrid people. They embraced European goods (clothes, guns, ammunition, and horses) to create new social and political identities which were underwritten and embedded within indigenous values and beliefs and symbolically expressed in rock art (Ouzman, 2005). The formation of this cultural hybridity and adoption of western goods and ostensibly the adoption of a singularly western lifestyle, was already deeply inculcated in the Plaatberg Bastards in the Cape Colony, prior to crossing the colonial frontier into Transorangia. The use of the Dutch language, Dutch names, and style of dress by the Plaatberg Bastards is an expression of their long and closely interconnected relationship with Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony,

¹ My use of this term will be explained on page 14.

despite being one of master and slave or master and servant/labourer. The movement across the colonial frontier was initiated when they were dispossessed of rights and land in the Cape Colony. They arrived in Transorangia with an economic package, focussed on hunting, trading, and raiding and an associated mobile lifestyle well established, successfully relocating their economy and subsequently adding farming to their repertoire.

Several theoretical approaches have been used in this thesis, these are identity formation on frontiers, and the nature of creolization and hybridisation with reference to mission stations, the latter is closely connected with the former in Transorangia. The theoretical framework makes use of studies of the missionisation of indigenous populations including the missionisation of creolized inhabitants on the frontier. This encompasses studies in southern Africa as well as those in North America, for example Panich & Schneider (2015), Lightfoot (2006) and Graham (1998) and those from Australasia include Flexner & Spriggs (2015), Lydon (2009) and Smith, Middleton, Garland & Woods (2012).

Kopytoff's model of an internal frontier emphasises "ethnically ambiguous societies" which occurs when small groups move beyond the boundaries of a settlement for a variety of reasons into local frontier areas settling between larger polities. These groups attract people (who for example, may have been dispossessed of land) which over time results in ethnically ambiguous societies that indicates the fluid nature of ethnic identity in Africa (Kopytoff, 1987:6, 7, 29). This process he argues is not static, as new societies appear others disappear, and the population of those disappearing attach themselves to newly emerging societies (Kopytoff, 1987:12). These ambiguous societies are not looked on with favour by administrators, whether they were African or colonial (Kopytoff, 1987:5). Frontiers were therefore dynamic areas which were characterised by contact with diverse groups and multiple cross cutting social networks, during which new groups and group identities could be created (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995:483; Challis, 2012:271). Lightfoot noted that beyond the colonial frontier in North America, people from diverse nations (runaway slaves, European outlaws, disenfranchised people, and members of various indigenous groups) who had close social interaction over many years (including marriage), formed multi-ethnic groups and established refuge settlements in inaccessible places, from which some of the more diverse groups launched raids (Lightfoot, 1995:201).

Within the context of frontier mission stations, multi-ethnic indigenous people constructed new identities “based on their shared experience of living at a mission station” (Panich, Allen & Galvan, 2018:11; Challis, 2015:270). In addition, Challis argues that within such groups, mutually understood culture and shared beliefs and symbols helped to create group cohesion, which Challis refers to as the “ideological process of creolization” (Challis 2015:270). However, notwithstanding such group cohesion, the membership of such groups was characteristically fluid (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995:480).

Stuart Hall argues that creolization is always unequal as it involves the domination by a more powerful group and the subjugation of a weaker (Hall, 2015:15). However, this process was probably more nuanced and in the context of a frontier, there was a great diversity of both colonizers and indigenous populations and this diversity affected the colonization process and the reaction of the indigenous population to the colonizing process (Lightfoot & Martinez, 1995:483; Lydon & Ash, 2010:9). In the case of the Plaatberg Bastards, this process took place in the Cape Colony prior to their movement across the colonial frontier, between colonising Dutch/European settlers and the slave/servant population, which I discuss in more detail on page 20. In the context of Transorangia, the Bastard groups who were already creolized, were joined by diverse people, for example displaced Bantu speaking people, Khoe, San, runaway slaves, and European criminals escaping the colonial arm of the law. Challis quotes Spitzer (2003) in defining cultural creolization as being “the development of new traditions, aesthetics, and group identities out of combinations of formerly separate peoples and cultures” (Challis, 2012,2017:6). Intermarriage and shared goals (for example economic freedom and survival) between these groups of people led to the formation of new identities (Challis, 2012:271). Notwithstanding the formation of a new creolized culture, earlier traditional practices and symbols were often retained and at times emphasised (Panich et al, 2018:11; Challis, 2012, 2017). Challis points out that there is evidence of interaction between Bantu speaking farmers, Khoe, and San over a long period of time, which allowed for a mutual understanding of customs and belief systems (Challis, 2014:248). Such

contact was recorded in the Caledon River Valley (Stow, 1905). Lydon and Ash refer to the application of “creolization theory” which focusses on the use of traditional and new social practices by indigenous people on missions. For example, indigenous groups may have taken part in Christian rituals whilst continuing to construct traditional structures and partaking in both traditional and new rituals or practices in secret (Lydon & Ash, 2010;9).

An archaeological investigation into the material culture of the indigenous inhabitants of a mission, can provide new and different perspectives on their lived experience of mission life that can challenge dominance of colonial texts (official and missionary). Furthermore, it can provide new insights into the relationship between the missionaries and the colonized as has been demonstrated in the work of Panich & Schneider (2015), Lightfoot (2006) Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) Siliman (2010) and Graham (1998) in North America, Flexner & Spriggs (2015), Lydon (2009), Lydon & Ash (2010) and Smith, Middleton, Garland & Woods (2012) in Australasia and King (2014, 2017, 2018,2019), Challis, (2012, 2014, 2017), Swanepoel (2018), Ashley (2018) and Crossland (2013) in southern Africa. Lightfoot and Martinez consider the difficulty of identifying discrete material culture spatial patterns in frontier settlements and conclude that discrete boundaries between shared material culture artefacts may not be visible as result of cultural entanglement and the appropriation of artefacts (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995:480). This sentiment is echoed by Siliman who concluded that within spaces shared by indigenous people and colonial settlers, clear divisions in activities and artefacts do not often occur as the objects and activities may have been shared (Siliman, 2010:32). From this it becomes clear that the rigid categorisation and identification of artefacts as belonging to one group or another hides the diverse and complex relationships at play within a shared space, erasing the presence of indigenous people and hiding the complex and entangled relationships that may have existed (Siliman, 2010:33). For example, where indigenous ceramics are found in both settler and indigenous areas suggesting a relationship that included the exchange of goods (Siliman, 2010:44). This can clearly be seen at Plaatberg where locally made ceramics are found in all areas of the station, including the mission complex.

Loren suggests that if hybridity is used in an investigative manner in which the nuances of colonial life, the possibility of identity formation, social and material cultural

entanglements and changes in quotidian life are considered, this can have greater interpretive potential than theories that do not move beyond an investigation of the binary view of coloniser and colonised. She applies a nuanced approach to her interpretation of colonised Native Americans who copied European style of dress. She viewed this through the lens of mimicry, which is usually followed by mockery (Loren, 2013:151,155). Native Americans did not only mimic European style of clothing, but they combined it with glass beads and indigenous clothing and jewellery, embodying the whole with new meanings that transformed their social identity, in a way that the colonising Puritans did not understand and found confusing, even threatening (Loren, 2013:155). Material culture in a frontier context could be transformed and reinterpreted which allowed people to renegotiate their identity (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995:480). The creation and modification of material objects as symbols of a persons or a groups identity allows for an archaeological investigation of creolization (ibid, 482, 485; Challis, 2016). These symbols may be emphasised in the context of the frontier as an outward display of group identity (Challis, 2016).

The presence of creolized groups as inhabitants of mission stations in a frontier context allows for the investigation of both shared spaces and identity creation.

The nature of the relationship between the missionaries and the indigenous inhabitants influenced the use of space within and without the mission. Within the mission the missionary as the colonial representative had a certain amount of control of the use of public spaces, however indigenous people made use of the wider landscape beyond the control of the missionary (Panich and Schneider, 2015:48). The use of the landscape is clearly illustrated in King's work (2014, 2018, 2019) and will be explored in this thesis. According to Challis, socio-economic factors on the frontier created conditions favourable for multi-ethnic groups to form raiding bands (Challis, 2012:270). These factors include trade across the frontier, the introduction of horses and guns and restricted access to land (ibid). Further factors to be taken into account would include the northward expansion of the colonial frontier and colonial authority which followed on from the presence of colonial settlers (both Boers and English) as well as the growing strength of polities such

as the BaSotho. It is clear that my research focuses on creolization on a frontier mission, combining frontier research and creolization.

The aim of this research was to investigate the Plaatberg Bastards response to and manipulation of the imposition of Christianity and all that entailed by the Wesleyan missionaries in the context of a frontier mission station in the Caledon River Valley. This leads to a consideration of how the creolised nature of the Plaatberg Bastards influenced their responses to the Christianising efforts of the Wesleyan missionaries at Plaatberg mission station and how this may be reflected in the material culture and their use of private and public spaces. Their ability to navigate shifting political, social, and economic contexts in the Caledon River Valley and more generally in Transorangia during the nineteenth century will be explored. The unstable political hierarchy amongst the Bastards, their inherently mobile lifestyle and their resistance to a settled lifestyle was dictated to a large extent by their economic strategies of hunting, raiding, and trading. Their alliances with other raiding groups in the area (Bastards of Barend Barends, Kei Korana etc) and raiding activities coupled with their religious background suggest that non-Christian rituals may have taken place (ie rain making) whilst still attending church services in the chapel at Plaatberg. The creole converts strategically selected Christian rituals and beliefs whilst retaining many aspects of their traditional belief systems which resulted in a blended belief system.

Mission stations can be seen as places of cross-cultural contact, between colonizer and those colonized, however, a binary view of this contact tends to mask the nuances of the responses of both (Lydon & Ash, 2010:9). Beaudoin points out that both colonizer and colonized were actively involved in this process (Beaudoin, 2013:47) and therefore the flow of influence, knowledge and material culture travelled both ways, it can rather be seen as an exchange of material culture. Although the different mission societies shared the same overarching aim of Christianizing and civilising indigenous populations, their approaches to achieve this aim were dependent on each societies strategy which contributed to the varied nature of these cross-cultural encounters. In addition, Lydon and Ash point out that it should not be forgotten that indigenous responses to the

Christianising mission was as diverse as the indigenous populations that the missionaries encountered (Lydon & Ash, 2010:9).

The mission station was surrounded by larger polities in a turbulent frontier zone and therefore needs to be seen within the context of the shifting political landscape of Transorangia during the nineteenth century. Although the Wesleyan missions in the Caledon River Valley were initially established in Moshesh's territory, this situation changed over time as a result of colonial interference and general upheaval, became the Sovereignty of the Free State until it was finally incorporated into the Boer republic of the Free State resulting in the expulsion of the Plaatbergers and most of the Wesleyan missionaries and the destruction of their mission station. These events had long and short term effects on the quotidian lives as of the Plaatberg Bastards. The organisation (this includes the layout of the station and the placement of the mission complex in relation to the residential structures of the Plaatbergers) and use of space within the mission station is an indication of the economic, social, and political relationships between the Plaatberg Bastards and the missionary as well as between the Plaatbergers themselves. This is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4. This differed greatly, for example the Plaatbergers residences were clustered in close proximity to the mission complex. At the other end of the scale, in Botswana, Ceri Ashley has investigated the LMS Lake Ngami mission station in the Kwebe Hills, which operated for a mere three years in the late nineteenth century, from 1893 until its unsuccessful demise in 1896. Ashley argues that attempts on the part of the LMS missionary, Reverend Wookey, to reshape the natural landscape and his location choice into a replica of a utopian English village, failed because of its extreme isolation. The selection of the mission site and the internal division of the mission houses of the Lake Ngami mission, represented the material expression of Rev Wookey's Protestant ideals of order, morality, and cleanliness (Ashley, 2018:718). Wookey was preoccupied with notions of a healthy environment and viewed the lower ground around the lakes as wild, unhealthy, disease ridden and an overpopulated, swampy environment, that was morally corrupt (Ashley, 2018:709-710). His insistence, however, on placing the mission house in a dry hillside landscape, which incidentally gave him a view of the surrounding plains high above the lake landscape, cemented his isolation from his

potential converts and their world. This gave the Batswana chief, Sekgoma Letsholathebe, the opportunity to exploit the physical isolation of the LMS missionary situated far from his settlement and thus most of the population, thus he was able to keep the “destabilising threat” of Christianity at bay (Ashley, 2018:722). At the same time, he made use of Wookey and the LMS as political allies against the threat of intrusion by the British South Africa Company (*ibid* 722).

Returning to Plaatberg mission station, I consider the use of space beyond the confines of the station and the economic social and political relationships of the Plaatbergers with groups in the wider landscape of the Caledon River Valley and Transorangia. This will also involve looking at the frontier landscape in which the mission was situated. The Plaatbergers, for example, had economic and social ties with the Griquas at Phillipolis, the Korana of Haip at Ratabani (close to Thaba Nchu), as well as the Roggeveld in the Colony, and undertook trading visits to Grahamstown and Colesberg, which resulted in them traversing the landscape of Transorangia and beyond. Rachel King suggests using archival sources and historical perspectives of landscape, the way in which people viewed, used, and traversed the landscape, in conjunction with an archaeological perspective on land and mobility. King investigates how the missionaries used and controlled land within the Wittebergen Native Reserve (situated between the Orange and Kraai Rivers in the Cape Colony), to create a settled Christian pool of farmers and agricultural labourers. This multi-ethnic reserve was established jointly by the Wesleyan missionary society and the administration of the Cape Colony in 1850 (King, 2018:661). The inhabitants were settled spatially according to the Reserve’s view of ethnic affiliation. King points out that all the players involved with the reserve (missionaries, colonial officials, and African communities) had views on the use of and beliefs about the nature of space, mobility, and identity (*ibid* 662). But Wittebergen was settled by people who were viewed as disorderly and disruptive by the authorities, whose land use consisted of raiding parties moving cattle through the landscape and taking refuge at various specific points within that landscape. Utilising archaeological survey, mapping and the excavation of sites that can be connected to groups on the landscape, allows for the gathering of further detail, and also provides challenges to the documentary sources (King, 2018:671). A good example of

this can be seen in King's investigation into Moorosi, chief of the BaPhuti, (see Appendix II) use of landscape. This included establishing hilltop settlements, making use of rock shelters as campsites, occupying areas within the rugged terrain of the Maloti-Drakensberg which could be occupied in succession as a refuge to hide stolen livestock after a raid or during periods of rest (King, 2019:161). Their knowledge of how to move through and utilise this rugged and seemingly impenetrable landscape is what made the BaPhuti so distinctive as "disorderly" raiders (King, 2019:54). According to King, the BaPhuti considered Wittenbergen as "a node in a mobile network of settlements and raiding locales" (King, 2018:673). Once Moorosi was expelled from Witenbergen, he merely reshaped his use of the landscape by focusing his raiding activities on the reserve itself and areas to the east (King, 2018:677). By using this archaeological perspective to examine and interpret places in the landscape, she was able to examine and decipher landscape use patterns by both the missionaries and the African communities (*ibid*). The issues of mobility, control, and the use of the landscape, that King tackles, resonates with my research undertaken at Plaatberg.

An economy based upon mobility was difficult for colonial authorities to apprehend and control. Rachel King points out that both colonial authorities and missionaries struggled to understand the physical and cultural fluidity of mixed raiding group membership. Their inability to fit members into neat colonially decipherable categories, saw them labelling hybrid raiding groups as disorderly, taking part in, and fomenting illegal activities (King, 2014). Bastaard group membership fluctuated with the ebb and flow of circumstances as they gained and lost members regularly. Cohesion amongst such groups was often transitory and fragile as was long-term allegiance to a leader or Captain (Ouzman, 2005). Beyond the prescribed colonial border, where the colonial administrations laws could not be enforced, the inhabitants of the frontier had the freedom to constitute themselves and practice economic activities deemed illegal in the Cape Colony. Raiding for livestock and people, for example, was one of the illegal activities practiced by most people living in the interior of the country (Ouzman, 2005:102). Raiding within this setting was considered by the raiding groups to be a socially acceptable pursuit, which allowed frontier groups to ignore colonially imposed laws and pursue the economic activities best suited to their

mobile lifestyle. It was this freedom, coupled with their skills as mounted and armed horsemen that enabled some Bastaard and Griqua groups (for example the Koks and Barends) to become economically and politically strong in Transorangia during the nineteenth century (King, 2019). Even though the Koks, Barends and Bloems had evoked fear and terror as raiders (Etherington, 2001:54), it was these wealthier groups who eventually settled down to a safer more sedentary and colonially acceptable lifestyle to concentrate on livestock farming, hunting, and trading by the mid-nineteenth century (Wright, 2012:215). Not all of these trans-frontier raiders chose to settle into mission station life and many retained an independent mobile hunting and raiding lifestyle and avoided both the missionaries and colonial authorities (Ross, 1975:562).

Given the above, King suggests that we consider how these colonial frontiers-people were political actors in their own right and did not merely survive colonial authority and power but relied on a suite of economic and political options to resist and improve their material status (King, 2014:20). The Plaatberg Bastards for example, forged raiding alliances with other groups, such as the BaRolong and AmaFengo and possibly the Griqua from Philipolis with whom they had ties of friendship. The Plaatberg Bastards also had kinship ties and alliances stretching across Transorangia and as distant as the Roggeveld in the Colony to the south. In addition to maintaining old alliances they forged new relationships, one of which was the relationship with the Wesleyan missionaries in Transorangia who they hoped would give them links to the colonial markets, access to arms and ammunition, connections to colonial officials, security, land and status as upright moral British citizens. For example, the missionaries did have the ear of the British authorities in the Orange River Sovereignty (1848 to 1854), prior to British withdrawal from the area in 1854. Unfortunately, the Wesleyans were powerless against the threats made by the newly created Boer republic (1854) against the safety, security and continuance of the mission station, its Bastaard inhabitants and its lands. Alliances forged in the frontier zone were fragile and fractured easily, depending on the situation pertaining at any one time. The Bastards relationship with the Wesleyans was, like other alliances, also fragile and at times fraught, no-less so because like other raiding groups in Transorangia, (for example the Korana and Bergenaars) Bastaard raiders were themselves strategically active in contributing to the volatility of the frontier world in which they lived. This political

volatility and fluidity were present over the entire life of the Plaatberg Wesleyan mission, and it is against this background that aspects of the material record can be read.

The archaeology allows for the analyses of the material culture used and owned by Bastards, but how it may be interpreted as a signature of their specific identity in relation, especially to a continuity of Khoe/San beliefs and values (Ouzman, 2005) is difficult. Some of the art in a nearby rock shelter is relevant in this interpretation and will be discussed in chapter 8. Although material culture is an integral component of identity, an interpretation of their material culture in terms of European culture on the one hand and Bastard indigenous values on the other is not feasible if approached from the perspective of these binaries. Matthew Beaudouin's research amongst the Metis, Inuit and Europeans in nineteenth century Labrador highlights the problems with assigning specific artefacts or architecture to ethnic groups, as all these groups took an active part in the local market economy and had access to similar goods on offer. It rather allows for an investigation of the differential choices that people made (Beaudoin, 2013:53-54). Artefacts and spaces in such a colonial setting may be modified for specific purposes, they may also have had many different uses and alternative functions to those recognised by the manufacturers or colonizers (Siliman, 2010:32). Loren points out that artefacts classified as European or indigenous do not give any indication as to the way that people used them (quoted in Siliman, 2010). Within the setting of the mission station, with a Bastard, European, Khoe, San and BaSotho population, all such material objects will have entangled uses and meanings and therefore assigning objects to one group or the other is a fruitless exercise. We therefore cannot simply read Plaatberg material culture as a binary opposition of European/missionary on one hand and Bastard on the other. Missionaries, English residents and Bastards at Plaatberg had the same access to merchandise transported from Grahamstown by itinerant traders to the station. The ceramic and glass surface collections across Plaatberg has amply demonstrated this but it may well be that the manner in which it was used was different to the original manufacturer's intention. From a theoretical perspective the use of material culture, especially architecture and the use of things in domestic spaces, blends and entangles different values and practices, and the Plaatbergers, given their historical background and context would have been no exception. More specifically, and as noted above, Plaatberg

Bastaards had been, and to a certain extent still were, armed, mounted, and mobile. The material signs of ceramics, bridles, guns, ammunition, and wagon furniture for example could quite naturally be found in Bastaard households as in European households but the meanings and values could also be very different from those found in the context of a Wesleyan yard and home.

As new inhabitants of a Wesleyan Mission station, they also had to strategically balance the aspirations of the missionaries for Christian converts, with their desire for economic and political freedom and access to land. The missionaries considered the enactment of Christian rituals, beliefs and dress to reflect the Plaatberg Bastaards conversion to Christianity, but although they may have acted out the expected Christian role (dress, regular church attendance, modest and moral behaviour) there was always room for them to manoeuvre within and manipulate colonial and missionary authority. Therefore, reading Bastaard material culture simply as an acceptance or rejection of the Christianisation process is obviously too simplistic an approach. Continuing with theoretical perspectives, we can assume the Bastaards carefully selected aspects of the Christianising endeavour, a selection which was not static and may well have changed over time, transforming both Plaatbergers and missionaries alike.

While the Plaatbergers life on the mission station is the focus of this research, the theoretical perspectives briefly raised above, requires that they need to be situated within the greater Caledon Valley landscape in order to tease out the economic, political, and social threads that linked them to other groups and other mission stations in Transorangia over time. Plaatberg Bastaards, Korana, Griqua and Kora inhabited a shifting frontier first along the Orange River and subsequently in the Caledon River Valley.

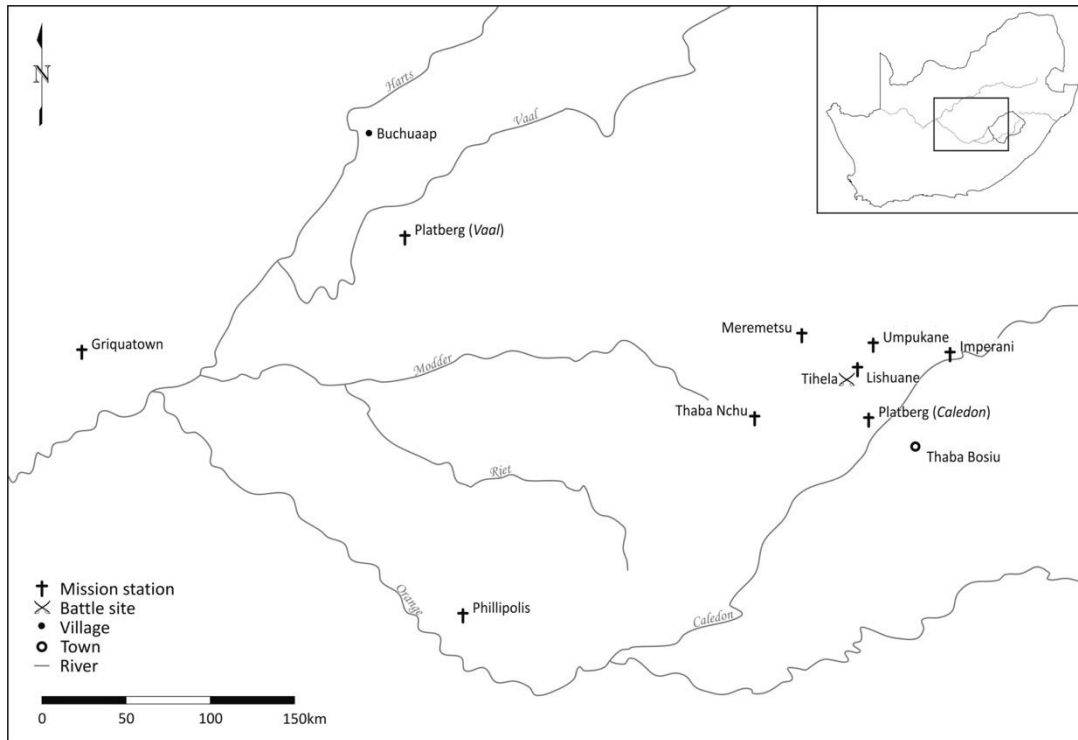


Figure 1.1: Map showing the position of Plaatberg on Vaal and Buchuaap on the Harts River and the new mission stations in the Caledon River Valley.

As noted, colonial frontiers were fluid, (Lightfoot, 2006:285) with people traversing the frontier between the colony and the interior depending on their requirements. The Griqua from Phillipolis and the Bastards from Plaatberg are good examples of this dynamic. They moved back and forth across the porous colonial frontier for trade, moving into the depths of the southern Tswana landscape where colonial laws and norms could not be applied. This is where they engaged with each other and new groups of people, where alliances were made and broken, and where they plied their trade over both old and new networks. As this thesis outlines, the Plaatberg mission, like the wider frontier, was an area of “cultural confrontation” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:272). The Plaatberg Bastards made use of the mission and wider landscape, the more rugged areas of the Plaatberg range with hidden streams, crevices, gorges, and De Hoop rock shelter for a range of activities and associations.

1.1. Mission Station Archaeology in Southern Africa

This broad introduction highlights a central perspective and challenge for an archaeology geared towards generating insight into the dynamics of missionary activity and the daily

life of the converts and prospective converts. This focus is certainly one of 'cultural confrontation' and what follows is a brief review of how the fledging field of missionary archaeology has addressed this issue and other questions.

A wide variety of European mission societies and some from the United States were dispatched around the world, including southern Africa, during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century (Swanepoel, 2022) . They all had the same overarching aim which was to Christianise and civilise indigenous populations, however, they had different methods and views as to how this should be achieved. (Lydon & Ash, 2010:1). Japha et al point out that the South African landscape is dotted with roughly 600 mission stations and 4000 outstations from over 25 missionary societies, mostly starting in the 19th century and some currently still operating (Japha, et al, 1993; King & McGranaghan, 2018:629). Swanepoel points out that mission stations in southern Africa were extremely diversified, for example, some missions were established within the colonial border whilst others were attached to an African settlement, beyond the colonial border (Swanepoel, 2022).

Notwithstanding this significant number, mission settlement archaeology is still a largely understudied area in southern African archaeology (Behrens & Swanepoel, 2018:15), certainly compared to the mission research carried out in North America by Panich & Schneider (2015), Lightfoot (2006) and Graham (1998) in North America and Flexner & Spriggs (2015), Lydon (2009) and Smith, Middleton, Garland & Woods (2012) in Australasia. Closer to home, historians have given significant research attention to the history of missions in South Africa. Robert Ross (2014), for example, has produced a detailed study of the Kat River settlement and Japha et al produced a report on mission settlements (mission stations and outposts) in South Africa, that includes those still functioning like Genadendal and those which have been abandoned (Japha *et al*, 1993). Other volumes have collated papers of the history of Christianity in South Africa and the effect of conversion on the African population, for example Etherington (2005), Elphick (2012) and Ross (2009,2014). Social anthropologists have also contributed significantly to the study of the impact that the missionary endeavour had on the lives of the southern Tswana during the nineteenth century, especially John and Jean Comaroff (Comaroff & Comaroff 1988,1991,1997). Their voluminous study focuses on how missionaries

attempted to reshape the daily lives of the Tswana and the impact that new materiality's had on architecture, settlement layout, attitudes to male and female work, daily routines, and dress amongst others. Obviously of importance for my research, are the mission archaeology studies conducted over the last decade in southern Africa, on sites dating from the early 1800s through to the 21st century.

Zachariou's D. Phil research focused on the Zak River mission, one of the oldest mission stations in the Cape, which was established in 1799 by JJ Kircherer of the LMS for the San on the northern frontier of the colony. They proved difficult to convert and the focus of the mission shifted to the semi-nomadic Khoe, Basters and Griqua amongst other people living on the northern frontier (Zachariou, 2017:14). Due to a variety of reasons the mission only lasted seven years before being abandoned by its inhabitants and the LMS missionaries, without making a lasting impact on the people it was there to convert (*ibid* :301). Zachariou harnesses three theoretical lines of inquiry, the nature of colonialism, the nature of frontiers and the theory of practice in order to unravel the contextual sequence of Kerkplaats (Zachariou, 2017: 5-7). The mission component of werf 1 is but a small part of the archaeological sequence of Kerkplaats, with successive building episodes over time, possibly dating from when a farm was established in the 1830s (Zachariou, 2017:47,54). The meagreness of the material culture from the mission period made it very difficult for him to recognise indigenous versus missionary acculturation (*ibid* 301). The lack of European cultural material suggests, that at this stage, the supply of such goods from the Cape was poorly developed and both missionaries and inhabitants of the station were forced to rely on local indigenous items (*ibid* 270). This contrasts with the wealth of British material on the site post 1830 when it was a working farm. He concludes that based on the analysis of historical documentation and the archaeological research, the mission was a failure in not only its Christianising aims but also as an outpost of colonial power on the northern frontier (*ibid* 277).

Like King, Natalie Swanepoel draws on documentary research, mapping and surveys, using them in conjunction with archaeological excavation of specific areas to investigate and reconstruct a chronology of the site of Botshabelo mission station and the changes that took place there from 1865 to 2015. Botshabelo mission station was established in 1865 by the Berlin missionary society in what became the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR). The

aim of her greater research project is to gain an understanding as to how the political economy of this mission station operated and interconnected economically and socially within the ZAR in the nineteenth century, thus achieving a better understanding of the pattern of land use over time (Swanepoel, 2018:687). Botshabelo has a history that spans 150 years and many generations, which allows for the investigation of the long-term processes and the material cultural accumulation over that time period (*ibid* 683). Swanepoel plans to integrate material retrieved from the archaeology deposits and the architectural footprint of buildings with documentary sources which will enable her to reconstruct architectural and land use changes in the mission landscape over time (*ibid*). The focus of this research to date, has been on the historic nucleus of the mission station which includes houses for the missionaries and teachers, school buildings, an African mission village and fortifications, that show a concern with security from the early years of the mission. The missionary, Alexander Merensky, considered himself to fulfil the role of head chief, and he had the final authority about the distribution of land, which he granted on a right to use basis (*ibid* 687). The power struggles that ensued are evident in the layout of the station where the chiefly area was situated away from the missionary area, which allowed the chief a small measure of authority (*ibid* 701).

The lengthy occupation of the site has resulted in a superimposition of successive occupations where structures (both houses and schools) were broken down, rebuilt and later reworked (*ibid* 689). This allows Swanepoel to draw conclusions about changing household and institutional activity and consumption patterns over time (*ibid* 700). These changes she feels, can be linked to the regional and national socio-cultural and political forces over this period (*ibid* 702). Swanepoel effectively uses the archaeological and material cultural data to reconstruct the mission stations chronology and changing role over its 150 year history (*ibid* 687).

Zoe Crossland, also working in Botswana, looked at the effect that the European and missionary encounter had on Tswana townscapes (see also Reid et al, 1997). Her particular research interest focuses on the architectural changes in Tswana architecture and landscapes, and how the missionaries attempted to recreate the layout of British villages and towns in the Tswana landscape (Crossland, 2013 :88,91). She focuses on two towns, one under Khama III and the other under of Sechele 1. In both cases she noticed

the persistence of local architectural building forms and Tswana village and town layout, notwithstanding missionary influence. Khama III for example, although he converted, he carefully monitored and controlled LMS influence, and the complex of mission buildings was not only controlled by him but also spatially marginalised and set well away from the chief's area (*ibid* 99). In this way he extended his authority through his control of the LMS churches into previously independent areas, incorporating them as a political strategy (*ibid* 94). In the same way, Sechele 1 positioned the mission area 2 miles away from the Kwena settlement and selectively incorporated Christian beliefs and practices with Tswana practices (*ibid* 99).

A general theme is that missionaries in southern Africa initially struggled to fully impose their European ideals on town/village layout and general and proper behaviour on the more powerful polities mentioned above. The BaRolong, first under chief Sefunelo and then his son Moroka are another case in point. Thaba Nchu, situated in the eastern Free State, has a long period of occupation, from 1833, when the Wesleyan missionaries became active until the present. Chief Moroka although he had a constant Wesleyan presence at Thaba Nchu, never converted. The British novelist, Anthony Trollope, visited Thaba Nchu in 1877 and commented that the majority of the BaRolong were unmoved by missionary attempts to Christianise them but in contrast the medical skill of the missionary was highly valued (Trollope, 1878:284). Once again, the lengthy occupation period of Thaba Nchu, like Botshabelo, potentially provides a fruitful sequence over which this ideological struggle can be viewed against the architecture, the spatial layouts of domestic dwellings and the material record of consumption.

Where the Plaatberg mission station differs from several of the above-mentioned examples is that it was the only one thus far to focus on a Bastard, creole population at a relatively long-lived mission. In addition, the Bastards did not have the same political, economic and military clout possessed by the much larger Bantu-speaking BaRolong, Tswana or BaSotho groups and initially therefore, were unable to keep the missionaries at arm's length to the same extent. Additionally, their hybridity, already the result of frontier processes, meant that traditional beliefs and values were already inflected with European lifestyles as underpinned by horses, guns and clothes. It might therefore be expected that the conversion rate amongst them might be much higher. It is relevant that

this prediction, however, was not met and the possible reasons will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8 and 10.

The rest of this thesis unfolds as follows. In chapter 2 I discuss my multi-source approach, which draws on a variety of historical texts including official documents and reports, missionary letters and reports, historical records, traveller accounts, oral histories, artistic representations, rock art and finally the archaeology of the mission which includes mapping and surveys. These evidential strands of inquiry need to be woven together in a critical way in order to build a more comprehensive and nuanced history of the Plaatberg mission station and its inhabitants.

In Chapter 3, I consider the history of the Plaatberg Bastards in Transorangia, their move from Plaatberg on the Vaal to the Caledon River Valley under the auspices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the establishment of their new mission station, Plaatberg on the Caledon, in 1833. I discuss this turbulent frontier area and the various alliances that the Plaatberg Bastards formed and broke with a variety of groups in the area. Part of this history also considers the dissolution of the station and its final abandonment at some stage in 1865, by both the Wesleyan missionaries and the Plaatberg Bastards.

Chapter 4 examines the natural and built landscape, how the missionaries manipulated the natural landscape to construct an enclosed, orderly grid-like mission layout and how this changed over the 33 years that it functioned as a Wesleyan mission station. Pertinent to this discussion is to consider how the Plaatberg Bastards effortlessly moved between the mission station and the surrounding landscape beyond the borders of the station.

Chapter 5 describes the archaeological excavation of a particular area within the station named V's complex which consists of a midden and possibly five associated structures, three of which were excavated. The archaeological excavation of Plaatberg mission was conducted over a five-year period by three universities, University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), University of South Africa (Unisa) and the University of Cape Town. There was some overlap initially when everyone assisted with the excavation of the chapel, Unisa concentrated on the midden behind the chapel, I assisted Tamsin Hunt excavating the

small structure BH and she assisted with the exposure of the boundary wall in V's Complex. However, the division of the excavation of the mission was as follows; the mission complex was excavated by Wits, the Kitchen midden and associated structures by Unisa and I excavated V's Complex with some assistance from Unisa students. A more detailed explanation of the division of the excavation can be found in Appendix 1. This chapter also provides the results of the careful and extensive mapping program, the archaeological investigation of a few selected areas and the research into documentary and archival sources used to explore the relationship between the Plaatberg Bastards and the Wesleyan missionaries over the 33 years of its existence.

Chapter 6 is an analysis and discussion of the artefact assemblage from V's Complex. This includes imported ceramics, locally produced ceramics, glassware, metalware, buttons, slate and the faunal analysis amongst other artefacts. This assemblage is compared with the artefacts excavated from the other excavations at Plaatberg, namely the mission complex and BH, a small structure and yard in the south of the station. The selection, use, and reuse of material cultural artefacts is discussed and considered in conjunction with availability as indicated in merchant advertisements and probate records.

Against this material record, in Chapter 7, I discuss the four different but interlinked economic activities undertaken by the Plaatberg Bastards whilst living at the station, being farming, hunting, raiding, and trading. Tensions over conversion reside in these activities. While farming was actively encouraged by the missionaries in order to create a self-sufficient station, missionaries were less sanguine about hunting and raiding activities that were based on Bastard training in the commando system of the Cape colony, and which contradicted the missionary desire for a settled agricultural life.

In Chapter 8 I investigate the use of De Hoop rock shelter by the Plaatberg Bastards as a secluded and private place where alternative religious ceremonies and rituals could take place outside of the mission station and away from the watchful eye of the missionary.

In Chapter 9, I will discuss the excavated material culture, the built environment and the Plaatberg Bastards manipulation of the Christianisation pressure and authority, set within the larger Caledon River Valley.

Chapter 10 is a summary of the process of boundary crossing that reviews some of the successes (education which the Bastards saw as an advantage beyond the mission) and failures (negligible conversions and a determinedly semi-mobile community).

1.2. A Note on the Terminology of Bastards/Basters/Bastaards

We need to be aware of the historic use of ethnic terminologies that create static categories and straitjackets groups of people in southern Africa, a process which ignores intergroup marriage and the constant and probably historic movement of groups of people on the landscape. That the current descriptions of the ethnic mix of Korana, Griqua, Oorlam, Kora and Bastard groups are strikingly similar is a case in point. The term Korana originated in the late eighteenth century to refer to groups with a predominantly Khoekhoe core but also included Bastards, escaped slaves and other displaced people, who after obtaining horses and guns, became raiders on the Orange River (King, 2014:49). According to Ross, the term Korana referred to groups who had chosen a mobile hunting and raiding lifestyle irrespective of their ethnicity (Ross, 1975:562). Mounted and armed raiders were referred to by a variety of terms such as Griqua, Korana, Kora, Oorlams and Bastards (Etherington, 2001) it is therefore easy to see how the early travellers and colonial officials became so confused.

Bearing that in mind, a discussion on the terminology used in this work is required. The term Bastard originally referred to the offspring of European fathers and slave or Khoekhoe mothers in the Cape colony. Bastard-Hottentots was the term given to the children of slaves and Khoekhoe. The Dutch speaking Bastards, had a status superior to that of the slaves and Khoekhoe. The Dutch speaking Bastards, had a status superior to that of the slaves and Khoekhoe and usually filled more skilled jobs in the colony (Penn, 2005:20,167; Ross, 2012:197). Those who were baptised could acquire farms and loan farms, but by the late eighteenth century it became increasingly harder for them to acquire loan farms or to hold onto existing farms. At the same time all Bastards and Bastard-Hottentots were forced to do compulsory commando duty for the colonial

authorities (Penn, 2005:165), in other words they had very few rights and were burdened with more and more obligations.

These issues resulted in large numbers of them leaving the colony from the 1770s onwards, initially settling in Namaqualand, then along the Orange River and eventually into Transorangia (Penn, 1999:149). Ironically, their hated commando duties had equipped them with valuable skills in horsemanship, marksmanship, and the commando system itself (Penn, 2005), which proved to be of critical importance to their survival and their adaptation to life in the new frontier zone. As their situation in the colony deteriorated in the early nineteenth century, new arrivals of Bastard groups in Transorangia became a regular occurrence in the 1820s and 1830s (Legassick, 2010:162,173). They usually arrived well equipped with horses, guns and ammunition and the more prosperous had wagons, an essential possession in carrying out the business of trade. In addition to this, many of them had substantial herds of livestock (Keegan, 1996:170), usually cattle and sheep. Not only were they well equipped with guns and ammunition, but their firearms were also more advanced than those at the disposal of the Bantu-speakers (Storey, 2008:90). They had, even more importantly acquired contacts among white frontier farmers from whom they traded for further supplies in ammunition. Bastards thus acted as middlemen in the important gun and ammunition trade between the colonists in the south and the Bantu-speaking groups to the north (Storey, 2008:91). It is estimated that by the early 1820s, the Griqua (who were also a Bastard group) had around 500 muskets in an area where other groups had very little in the way of firearms (Ross, 2009:16). Trade was a very important part of the Bastard economy beyond the borders of the colony and coupled with raiding underpinned the Bastard economy (Penn, 2005:281). The Griqua had extensive trade networks in the interior beyond the colonial boundary prior to the arrival of the missionaries (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1988:17). They moved with ease between the interior and the colony within these trade networks. The Bastards from Namaqualand, who migrated to the better watered areas north of the Orange River (Gariiep) utilised these trade networks and subsequent wealth to form a hegemony in this area, which went on to become the Griqua states (Ross, 2012:206).

According to Petrus Borchers, who travelled into the interior in 1801, Bastards were very similar to Boer pastoralists in “dress, manners and habits... as also in their pursuits of

cattle breeding and their addiction to hunting excursions” (Borcherds, 1861:117). They spoke Dutch and executed raiding expeditions as did the Boers. This is not too surprising considering the close contact and servant/slave/master relationship that existed between the Bastards and Boers in the Cape colony, as well as their enforced commando training and duties. Living beyond the colonial boundary in the new context of the frontier, were those without territory in the Colony who combined to form “statelets” with access to water and land (Keegan, 1996:170). Families who managed to accumulate wealth could attract followers to swell their ranks, such as the Koks, Barends and the Afrikaaners. Those who built up relationships with the missionaries and “converted” to Christianity had better access to markets in the Cape Colony (King, 2014:51-52).

The Dutch speaking Bastards under Carolus Baatje are recorded as being one of the groups, who had recently migrated across the Orange River with their “flocks and herds” (Mears, 1970:22) in the early 1830s. To put this into a time perspective, Burchell, who visited Klarwater in 1811 was told that Kok and Barends had left the colony 40 years prior to his visit (Burchell, 1953:252:1). Mears describes the Plaatberg Bastards as a more “progressive group” as compared to the Griqua of Barend Barend’s who resided at Lishuani (they previously lived in Boetsap/Buchuaap on the Vaal), although what exactly he meant by this statement is unclear, but Bastard groups who had converted were seen as being more civilised than those who had not. Early travellers and missionaries appear to have been unaware as to the fluid nature of group membership when they tried to pin down and categorize the people that they met. There is some confusion as to where exactly the core group hailed from, but the northern area of the Cape colony is the most likely area (BR², I:xvi).

Because of the derogatory nature of the word “bastard” in the European worldview, the missionary, John Campbell of the London Missionary Society (LMS), successfully changed the name Bastard to Griqua amongst the LMS flock at Griquatown (Legassick, 2010:95; Campbell, 1974:252). Most Bastard groups, although they left the colony due to increasing colonial discrimination, were apparently proud to call themselves “Bastards” because of their Dutch bloodline (Coplan, 2000:123), thus attempts to change the name

² The Basutoland Records, referenced within text as BR, the volume number in Roman numerals, followed by the page number (King:2014:15).

were not always well received. Legassick suggests that the Bastards of the Orange River saw themselves as “swarthy Hollanders” and their perceived superiority often took the form of good-natured ostentatious behaviour (Legassick, 1989:370). Carolus Baatje referred to his group of people as “Bastards” and “the Bastards of Platberg” (BR I:341). The missionaries loathed the name and in a Plaatberg council meeting in 1839, efforts were made to change the designation to Newlanders (Ambrose, 2009:22; Mears, 1970:22), but the Wesleyans appear to have been less than successful going by the existing literature.

By the time that they were living beyond the borders of the colony in the early nineteenth century, the term Bastard had expanded to include San, Khoe, runaway slaves, fugitives from the law, white deserters and various destitute Bantu speaking farmers. A good example of this is the description of the people under the leadership of Adam Kok II in 1827, which included Tswana, Sotho, Kora in addition to the Bastards who formed the original core group of the Griqua (Ross, 2009:24). In other words, the term Bastard eventually encompassed people from a wide range of social status’s, wealth and cultural backgrounds. What they all appear to have had in common was a raiding and trading economy which was the glue that bound these disparate groups together. Thus, it can be seen that the term Bastard describes much more than social status, it had strong economic implications as well (Legassick, 1989:370).

The creole nature of Bastards in Transorangia in the nineteenth century was highlighted during interviews with the descendants of Plaatberg Bastards now living in Thaba Phatswa, undertaken by Professor Erasmus of the University of the Free State, in 2013 and 2014. They described themselves as “well-mixed coloureds”, “ons is goed-gebasterde kleurlinge” and identified themselves variously as either Bastards, Griqua, coloured or Korana (Erasmus, 2019:67).

CHAPTER 2

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE: A MULTI-SOURCE APPROACH

Documentary Archaeologists make use of an archive which includes written, oral, and material records, which can all be seen as artefacts (Wilke, 2006:14) and consequently are all products of the same cultural context and should not be seen as separate bodies of evidence (*ibid*). In undertaking research on the Plaatberg Bastards while living at Plaatberg mission station, a multi-source approach was adopted, drawing on diverse historical texts, for example, official documents, missionary texts, traveller accounts, oral histories, artistic representations, rock art and the archaeology of the Plaatberg mission station, which can be seen as another text. These lines of evidence, or different texts, need to be woven together in a critical way in order to build more comprehensive histories (Wilke, 2006:25) in this case, the history of the inhabitants of the Plaatberg station. This multi-source approach is critical because social interactions within this station was more complicated than merely a dichotomy between Christian and heathen or missionary and Bastard. Within the Bastard, BaSotho, servant and European sections of the station there were subtle and not so subtle gradations in wealth, power, influence and social standing.

Additionally, Graham makes the point that historical documentation naturally places importance on the narrative and views of the European colonisers, whereas archaeology with its focus on the material culture of all the inhabitants of a mission station allows the voices of the flock to be heard. The conventional colonial voices drown out all others, and the dominant voices naturally offer their own view on recorded events (Graham, 1998:27,54). The approach here is that the archaeological record, used in conjunction with missionary and traveller accounts, will hopefully counterbalance the bias in official texts. In conducting such a research project, it is also essential for the researcher to carefully investigate how historical documents are constructed, who has constructed them, the motivation behind their creation and the audience they were created for. One must bear in mind that many of the visitors to Plaatberg were either fellow missionaries (Backhouse, 1844; Arbousset and Daumas, 1968/1846; Freeman, 1851) or members of

the colonial institutions/ government for example Lieutenant St John, an officer in the Royal Artillery (Schoeman, 1988) and the British agent, doctor and explorer, Andrew Smith (Kirby, 1939; Etherington, 2001:223), both of whom reported on the mission station and its people from their particular world view and their official position within that world. The texts produced by those in a position of authority and who controlled resources (official and missionary texts) are what Hall calls public transcripts, in contrast to hidden transcripts that were produced by ordinary people, often reflecting daily resistance to those in control. It is the conversation and interaction between these two types of transcripts, that creates history (Hall, 2000:17). These multiple strands of evidence need to be interrogated in new ways to find the dissonances between them that gives rise to new questions and avenues of research but which at the same time highlights biases and discrepancies in the creation of the record (Swanepoel, 2008:90; King, 2017a:14). The archaeological evidence can provide a valuable contrast to documentary and oral sources which will allow alternative views of historically recorded events (*ibid*).

An inter-disciplinary approach is therefore required, using historical, social anthropological and archaeological texts in order to recover the “subaltern voices” or as Rachel King describes it, looking for the “people in the margins of historical documents” (King, 2017a:24), carefully searching within the gaps of bureaucratic reports for the hidden people, in this case the ordinary women, children, men and servants who inhabited Plaatberg mission station. A study of the material cultural remains will, potentially allow the voices of people on the margins to be heard and will allow for a more complete discussion on the nature of the relationship between the Plaatberg Bastards and the Wesleyan missionaries and the Plaatbergers responses to the Christianising efforts of the Wesleyans. The issue here of course is that the archaeological text is not merely used in a corroborative manner. To avoid this, the investigation at Plaatberg will attempt to show how the material culture can shed light on the quotidian lives of the Bastards, together with a nuanced reading of missionary texts, (which are often surprisingly silent about the human aspect of the people under their pastoral care). This approach will give us a more comprehensive and inclusive view of the Plaatberg Bastards. It must also be remembered that historical texts deal with specific clearly dated episodes,

whilst archaeological work deals with periods of time that can span decades or centuries. Archaeologists deal with groups of people rather than individuals and general processes rather than specific events, and in other words, historians and archaeologists work with different time and spatial scales (King, 2017a:6).

In summary, all these threads of inquiry need to be woven together in order to build a clearer picture of the fragmented and biased records of the rather elusive Plaatberg Bastards, in which archaeological evidence may enable a more detailed and nuanced interpretation of their lives at this station, the nature of the relationship between the Plaatberg Bastards and the missionaries and the Plaatbergers responses to the Christianising efforts of the Wesleyans. The multisource approach holds out the potential to explore the intersection of religious, economic, and political life within the diverse sections of the Plaatberg community and importantly, the wider community living beyond the physical and ideological boundaries of the station. I now turn to outlining the nature of these evidential threads.

2.1. Official Texts

Official texts of the Colonial Government and their agents include reports, a great many letters from the British Resident and administrators in the Sovereignty to Chiefs, missionaries, the British governor in Cape Town and a lone census. The census was taken by James Cameron, the Wesleyan missionary at Plaatberg at the request of the Civil Commissioner in Colesburg, as to the number of people, houses and wagons at Plaatberg in 1842. Carolus Baatje, Captain of the Plaatberg Bastards, informed the British authorities through the missionary, that he was able to muster 70 armed and mounted men (Cameron, 1842b:86). This last line of the census report is rather telling as it was of some interest to the British authorities in their ongoing attempts to control the unsettled frontier, to know the armed strength that the various, and it was hoped, allied groups, could bring to any prospective battle ground. The turbulent frontier will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. Official texts generally deal with broad sweeping events such as warfare, control over people and land, and were certainly not interested in the Bastards of Plaatberg as a group of people other than as an armed force of men who could either

help or hinder them in their attempts to keep peace in Transorangia. Theal compiled numerous official reports, letters, and traveller accounts in a series of volumes called the “Basutoland Records”, and from these volumes we can monitor changes in the official attitude to the Plaatberg Bastards as well as to the Wesleyan missionaries over the period of the mission station.

2.1.1. Inventories

Probate inventories were drawn up on the orders of the Master of the Orphan Chamber in the Cape Colony from the 17th to 19th centuries (Malan, 1990:1; Zachariou, 2017:208) and they therefore also fall within the category of official text. Inventories were drawn up to list the assets of an estate after the death of the householder. These lists were not used for taxation purposes but for the authorities to work out an equitable division of the estate amongst the heirs. They list the name of the deceased and spouse, heirs, the name and place of the house or farm, items in outbuildings, livestock, slaves, and contents of the house, often listed room by room (Cornell & Malan, 2005:9). They are immensely useful in that they provide a layout of the house and the contents of each room which can be used in conjunction with the archaeological record of a house (for example see Malan, 1990:1). The inventories produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth century are extremely detailed, but by the nineteenth century they become less so, especially in the deeper rural areas of the colony and the practice of listing items by room largely ceases. I have concentrated on the probates of rural farms and villages in the Albany, Somerset and Graaff-Reinet areas (at this stage from 1828 to 1834) as I felt that these more isolated areas would mirror that of the Caledon River Valley and act as a general comparison to Plaatberg as opposed to those from Cape Town and Graham’s Town metropolises, even although they end as Plaatberg commences so there is a time difference. The inventories decreased in number after 1830 with the final volume dated to 1834 due to changes in the bureaucratic structures at the Cape (Malan, 1993:106).

The inventories that I have used form part of the Cape Archives TEPC Project, who transcribed household inventories from the 1600s to the mid 1800s (Cornell & Malan 2005:5). These are referenced as MOOC 8 which stands for Master of the Orphan

Chamber, housed in the Cape Archives Repository in Cape Town. One of the salient issues in using probates in conjunction with an archaeological assemblage, as Zachariou points out, are the units of comparison and the time scale of a probate, compared to an archaeological assemblage. Probates list the assets of the deceased at the time of death, whereas an archaeological assemblage can span the entire lifespan of a house or village (Zachariou, 2017:212). However, as Zachariou has shown using multiple inventories of different dates indicates patterns and trends as indications of, for example, the tableware, that allowed him to more accurately interpret the frequencies of plates in the 1830 to 1860 phase of the Kerkplaats sequence (*ibid*).

2.2. Missionary Texts

The Wesleyan missionary archive is vast, filled with letters and reports that the missionaries sent back to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereafter WMMS) headquarters in London. These semi-official documents were edited and eventually reproduced in the monthly periodical called the Wesleyan Missionary Notices (WMN) and to a lesser extent, the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. The motivation behind these periodicals was not only to inform Wesleyan members in general as to missionary endeavours in the far-flung corners of the world, but also to attract recruits and to keep fellow missionaries informed. Possibly the most important motivation was to generate essential financial support from their donors, based on their worldwide successes in converting heathen populations to Christianity.

Wesleyan missionaries, prior to embarkation, were issued with a book in which they were to keep a journal of their missionary work in the field. Not everything in a missionary's journal would have been sent back to the Society for dissemination. Excerpts, no doubt carefully edited by the missionary, would have been forwarded to the WMMS for publication. They painted an overall positive picture of missionary endeavours. These are invaluable but as with all texts/sources they need to be interrogated with due care. The missionary texts in particular were produced within the ongoing dialogue between the Bastaard and BaSotho inhabitants of Plaatberg. These encounters were influenced by the missionary's background as well as Wesleyan philosophy and the interpretation thereof,

in combination with the specific Bastaard and BaSotho communities he interacted with. Their perceptions of their mission and their flock would have resulted in entangled texts over time, which were often very different from their early descriptions of what they described as “the dark continent” (Moister 1883:62), portraying themselves and their fellow missionaries as heroic soldiers going into battle on behalf of Christ, in comparison to their despairing texts a few years later. Rev Edwards for example, described the Free State as “a vast extent of country, inhabited by nothing but Bushmen and wild animals” (Edwards, 1886:79), and Hodgson comments “The dangers and difficulties of commencing a mission amongst barbarous tribes, have been already well described” (Shaw & Hodgson, 2009:161). They emphasize the wasteland that awaited cultivation and civilisation, of both people and the land itself (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1988:10). Although missionary texts do give an insight into the people and movement of groups in the interior of Southern Africa it was always through the “moralizing lens focused on the distance between savagery and civilisation (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1988:11). However, as Schoeman points out, even with the limitations of missionary texts (their bias, negativity, omissions, and distortions) they remain an important record of eyewitness accounts about affairs in the interior during the nineteenth century (Schoeman, 1991:8). More importantly the voices of the converts and potential converts were not silenced but can be heard and read through missionary texts in a “counter discourse” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1988:24).

The most important of the missionary texts utilised in this research is the journal of the Rev James Cameron, mainly because it is the only missionary journal that I have been able to trace. James Cameron’s journal consists of four volumes which are housed in the Cory Library, Grahamstown. When and who deposited them is not known (van Heerden, 1993:x). The volumes relevant to Cameron’s time at Plaatberg are covered in volumes two and three. Volume two has unfortunately suffered water damage, rendering some pages and paragraphs illegible and certain pages are torn. In addition, it looks as though some pages have been torn out of the journal, thus the handwritten page numbers do not always follow sequentially. He usually records the first day of the month with the date and the month and thereafter he only writes the date (i.e., 10th), without the month,

which makes pinpointing exact dates rather tricky. His musings are often highly personal and range from discussions on world affairs, theological treaties, missionary affairs in the Bechuana District, family affairs, the difficulties of converting the “heathen” Bastards to Christianity, squabbles between members of the station, squabbles between missionary wives and disagreements between the various missionaries working in the Bechuana District. Unfortunately, other than mentioning Captain Carolus Baatje and the schoolteacher and interpreter Daniel Baatje by name, he usually neglects to refer to the person’s name for example “Towards evening I visited a poor Bush woman servant to a Bastard family on the place” (Cameron, 1840a:360) which is frustrating for the researcher wanting to know more about individuals at Plaatberg as opposed to an amorphous group ripe for conversion. This appears to be a feature of missionary writing. Johnson points out that the missionary emphasis on the “wilderness” in which the “heathens” lived, was a narrative conveniently constructed to emphasize and highlight their Christian labours (Johnson, 1996:93). The Wesleyans in the Bechuana District certainly made use of this narrative in their letters and excerpts of journals sent to head office, many of which were reproduced in the Wesleyan Missionary monthly magazine.

As alluded to above, one of the biggest issues historians and historical archaeologists have to deal with is the one-sided nature of missionary texts. As the missionaries were initially at least the only literate members of the station, all available published and unpublished texts that have surfaced thus far have been written from their point of view. They wrote from what they believed was a position of power, the power of having both the British Empire and the Christian church behind them. However, there is one document where we catch a glimpse of the Plaatberg Bastards and certainly the only time that so many are mentioned by name, being the combined Baptism and Marriage Register, housed in the Cory Library, Grahamstown. This register was started by the Rev Cameron in 1840 and finally petered out in 1856 when Rev Giddy was the resident missionary. The Baptism Register (Fig. 2.1) also lists the full names, date, parents, and witnesses of children born to Christian parents as well as the inhabitants of the station who had converted to Christianity and had become members of the WMMS.

Thus, we can see when, for example the Captain, Carolus Baatje and his family became members of the WMMS. The page (illustrated in Fig. 2.1), dated 11 October 1840, lists a Korolus Baatje (presumably Captain Carolus Baatje), Sara Baatje and Piet Baatje amongst those baptized. Only current members of the Society who were in good standing, could be married in the Plaatberg Chapel by the missionary and have their names inscribed in the marriage section of this volume. It also hints at the origin of a few of them, for example it lists a woman by the name of Sara Ceylon, who married Baatje Baatje in 1843. Both were literate as they signed their names in the register. A Betsy Catrina Ceylon married Daniel Baatje, and a David Ceylon married Maria Mey. The surname Ceylon (although without the “van” in front of it) suggests a former slave ancestry in the Cape Colony.

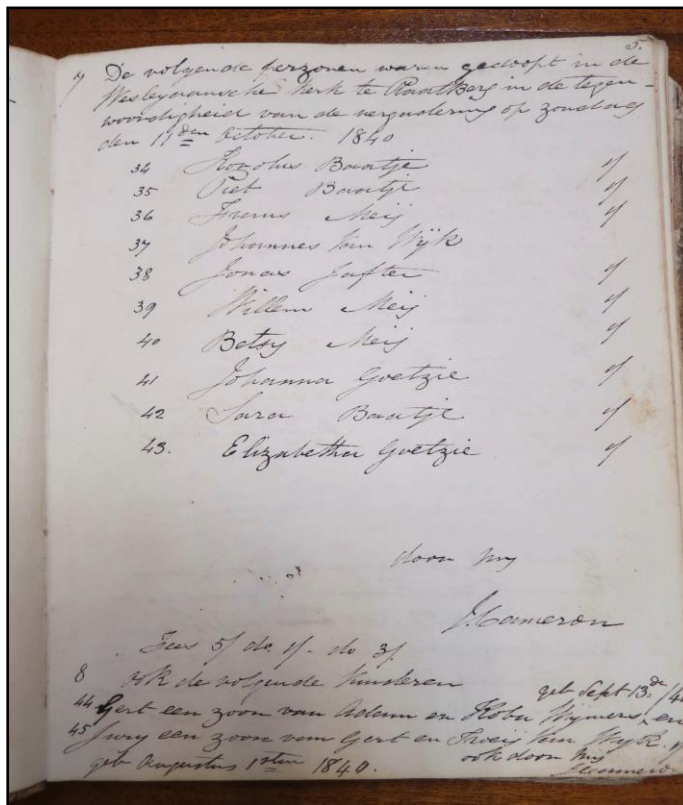


Figure 2.1: Page from the Plaatberg Baptism Register, Cory Library, Grahamstown.

Letters between missionaries and superintendents in Africa as well as letters from missionaries to the Society's head office in London also form part of the missionary text and can be found in SOAS, the institution that houses the vast missionary archive in London. Unfortunately, all the missionary letters are on very old microfiche machines and

proved difficult to read, but a selection of them were published in the WMN. These letters like their reports, would no doubt have been carefully edited by the missionary prior to being posted. Once at the WMMS headquarters, they would have been edited once again by the editor of the WMN in order to control the content and the message being conveyed (Finaughty, 2016:133). Finaughty points out that the content in missionary periodicals was often biased, and perhaps enforced common stereotypes (ibid 136), such as the myth of the “Dark Continent” being flooded with the light of Victorian missionaries and travellers; dark, equating to heathen inhabitants of Africa as opposed to the light of Christianity (Finaughty, 2016:141,142; Victor, 1931; Moister, 1883:62). These stereotypes are apparent in the writings of the Wesleyan missionaries.

On a more personal note, is the Reverend James Cameron’s letter book which can be found in the Free State Archives in Bloemfontein. He wrote a copy of all his correspondence in a letter book before penning the original to the recipient (Fig. 2.2).

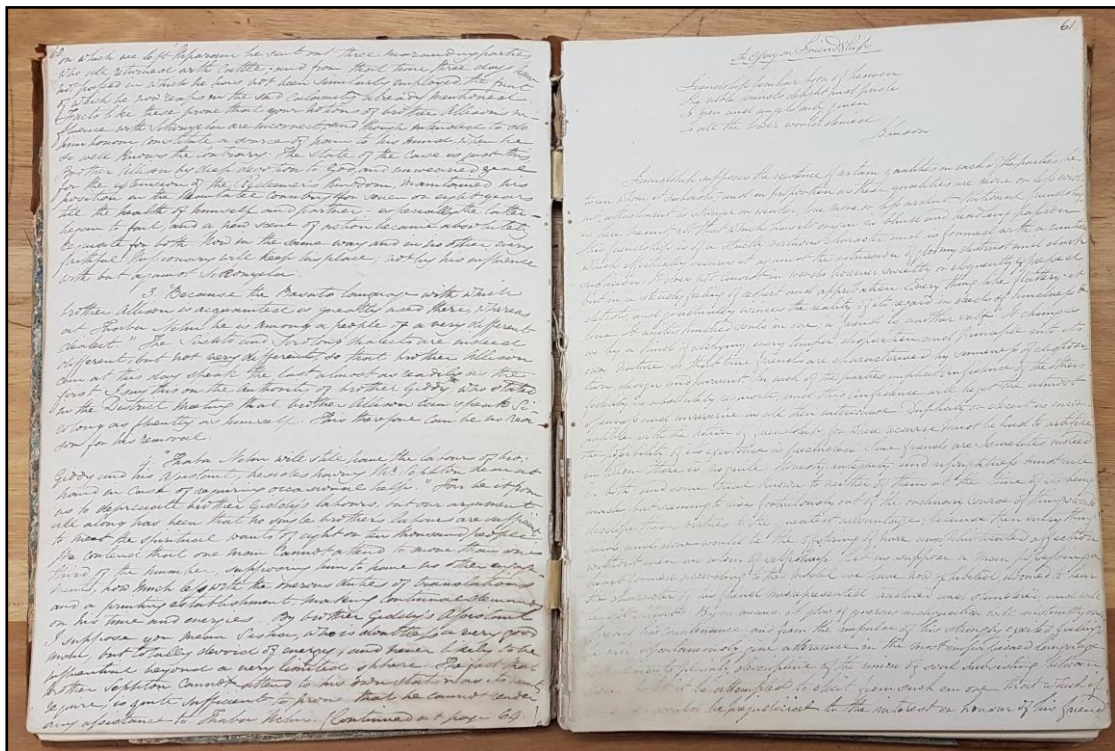


Figure 2.2: Pages from Reverend James Cameron’s Letter Book, Free State Archives. Bloemfontein

He annotated certain letters as to whether he had changed paragraphs, what he left out and whether he in fact sent it at all. From these letters and journals, we can start to see the tensions between Cameron and the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in South Africa, Reverend William Shaw as well as fellow missionaries. Even more interesting are the hints of tensions with the Plaatberg executive council, (the secular arm of the station headed by Captain Carolus Baatje) and Rev Cameron, in charge of the sacred affairs of the station. No doubt, if we were so fortunate as to have oral or written histories from the Bastards, we would find they would present a conflicting version of the events at the mission station.

Other sources include an unpublished oral history of missionary wife, Sarah Jane Giddy, nee Sephton. The Sephtons' were an 1820 settler family who had worshipped at the Great Queen Street Wesleyan chapel in London (Nash, 1987:114). Her life story, related to her daughter, was eventually documented by her granddaughter under the title "Agnes' Tales". It concerns the quotidian life of a missionary daughter and later wife in the interior of the country beyond the colonial frontier. She relates in some detail how to make soap and candles but unfortunately, she had very little to say about the Bastard women and children that she taught to read, write and sew. The oral histories of Martha Jane Kirk (Schoeman, 1989) and Agnes' Tales, represent the more personal or emic documents at our disposal and can be offset against the formality of official reports written by both civil servants, representatives of the colonial government and the missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary society.

Coplan laments the lack of an oral tradition in the eastern Free State, compared to Lesotho. He investigated the destruction of the Beersheba and Plaatberg communities and concludes that this absence was as a result of "erasing a location by relocation" (Coplan, 2009:514). This community became fragmented from the 1850s onwards which presents some difficulties locating oral histories, but Murray discovered some descendants living in Thaba Phatshwa, one of whom was a "zealous guardian of the history" of the Plaatberg Bastards (Murray, 1992:260). During his interviews with the descendants of the Plaatberg Bastards in 2013 and 2014, Erasmus found that although

they knew their ancestors lived on the Plaatberg mission station under the leadership of Captain Carolus Baatje, they had no knowledge of the final days of the mission station or why, when, and how their ancestors left the station (Erasmus, 2019).

2.3. Backhouse's woodcut

The only depiction of Plaatberg that I have been able to find thus far is the woodcut produced in James Backhouse's 1844 travelogue detailing his journey throughout southern Africa. Backhouse, a quaker missionary, visited the Plaatberg mission station in 1839. His depiction shows a mission complex nestled at the base of the slope of the Plaatberg mountain range with rectangular houses and the odd matjieshuis (mat hut) spreading downslope towards the west. Most other descriptions of the station, certainly prior to Cameron's arrival and probably throughout the lifespan of the settlement, suggest that hartebeesthuise and matjieshuise were the dominant dwelling form. A further discrepancy can be seen in the inverted mountain backdrop, either because it was executed from memory (Esterhuysen *et al*, 2019:6) or he felt that the inversion gave a better view of the station artistically. This highlights the danger of placing too much dependence on the veracity of the artistic representations (much like reports and letters) which were created to convey specific messages to a particular audience that may have very little bearing on the appearance of the mission or the reality of life for the Plaatbergers themselves. That being said, Backhouse, rather unusually, does not depict a single ox waggon at Plaatberg. In most of his depictions of mission station settlements in Transorangia, a few ox waggons are to be seen scattered around the relevant station. But at the time of his visit to Plaatberg all the men and available ox wagons were away on a hunting trip, so this particular detail was correct. This woodcut will be discussed more fully in chapter 4.

2.4. Newspaper Reports

The Graham's Town Journal was a weekly newspaper which was published from 1831. The long-time editor, Robert Godlonton, an 1820 settler himself and a member of Graham's Towns wealthy merchant elite (Marshall, 2008:23), was a jingoist, who published highly biased reports and editorial comments in favour of the British Government and the white

settlers (British and Boers) as well as taking part in an acrimonious exchange of letters with James Cameron, who as a Scot, had very little time for the British Government or the Boers. Although it can be seen as the “mouthpiece of the mercantile elite” (Marshall, 2008:12), *The Graham’s Town Journal*, like the *Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette* remain valuable sources of information, that needs to be read and interpreted with caution as is the case with most historical texts.

2.4.1. Newspaper Advertisements

A further documentary resource that was utilised are the advertisements merchants posted in local newspapers, for example the *Graham’s Town Journal* and *Eastern Cape Herald*. The advertisements in these publications list a wonderful array of goods which were being stocked in the closest mercantile towns to the Bechuana District, namely *Graham’s Town*, *Port Elizabeth* and eventually *Graaff-Reinet*. Stores such as *AT Caldecott* and *WR Thompson* list items from thimbles and pins to rifles, pistols, tobacco, carpets, crockery, iron pots, books and Boers’ Brandy. Although they give a good general idea of the range of goods on offer, they do not generally list the details, for example “crockery” covers a very wide range of goods produced in England and exported to the colonies.

2.5. The Material cultural record

As noted above, the archaeological examination of the *Bastaard* areas of the station, being the spatial layout of these areas, the artefacts utilised, where they were used and how they were used as well as the use of the landscape outside of the station, give the *Plaatbergers* a history and a voice. A further important source of indigenous text which does not occur within the station itself, is the rock art in *De Hoop* rock shelter, situated just 2km southeast of the mission station. The motivation for the excavation of *Plaatberg* mission station started in 1995 whilst I was excavating *De Hoop* (Klatzow, 2000; Klatzow, 2010), which prompted the need to place *De Hoop* into the larger landscape and to consider the diversity of groups who peopled the area. The examination of the nineteenth century mission station entailed a shift in focus from rock shelters and *BaSotho* settlements to the greater movement of people in the *Caledon River* landscape, and a hybrid community of 600 people living in a thriving mission station who, as it turns out, had an unexpected connection with the rock shelter. This will be explored in chapter 8

and 10. Both threads contribute to balancing the domination of official and missionary textual evidence of Plaatberg on the Caledon mission station.

This multi-source approach, harnessing a variety of sources as discussed above contributes immensely to piecing together the fragmentary history of the elusive Plaatberg Bastards. The importance of this approach will become apparent in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF CAROLUS BAATJE AND HIS BASTAARDS IN TRANSORANGIA

3.1. The Exodus to the Willow Tree River or the Caledon River Valley

Altogether there were nearly twelve thousand souls-men, women and children. It was like the Israelites going out of Egypt. The journey was long and tedious, as it occupied much time for the natives to pack up and pack off every morning and evening. (Rev. John Edwards, 1886:89).

Carolus Baatje and his “Bastaards” move wraithlike in and out of the historical records. Their name is first mentioned in the Wesleyan missionary accounts of 1833 when the Bastaards of Carolus Baatje formed part of a large group who set off on a reconnaissance to the Caledon River valley.

The Wesleyan missionaries Hodgson and Broadbent after following in the wake of the Seleka-Rolong and various refugee groups who joined the Seleka-Rolong for safety and succour in the 1820s (Landau, 2010:27) under Chief Sefunelo, finally settled with him on the Vaal River and established the Plaatberg on the Vaal Mission Station in 1826 (Whiteside, 1906; Fig.1.1). Also forming part of the Seleka-Rolong group were gun owning Bastaards who were contracted by Chief Sefunelo, presumably to protect his people from outside attacks, which came from various quarters but especially from Moletsane (Landau, 2010:28). Not far from the Seleka-Rolong settlement and the fledgling mission station, the missionaries discovered the settlements of the Bastaards of Barend Barends at Boetsap, the Bastaards of Baatje and the Kei-Koranna of Jan Kaptein Taaibosch (Whiteside, 1906:332). The missionaries quickly made use of the alliances that Sefunelo had forged with these groups, to expand their mission station holdings and founded new stations to bring them under the WMS umbrella (Etherington, 2001:203).

Frustratingly, in their writings, the Wesleyan missionaries tend focus on the chiefs and captains (Kaptein in Dutch) of groups that they had identified as important and powerful and thus worthy of their religious attention, whilst lumping the “lesser” chiefs together, for example Mr Hodgson wrote of “Sifonella and five other chiefs” (Broadbent, 2017/1865:175). When they do occasionally list the “lesser” chiefs or captains, the missionary accounts appear to be ambiguous and conflicting as to whether Carolus Baatje

and his people resided at Plaatberg on the Vaal, or whether they stayed closer to or at Buchuaap, (now called Boetsap), the residence of Captain Barend Barends and his people (Schoeman, 1991:15). Backhouse in his travelogue wrote that the Bastards of Plaatberg previously lived at “Old Plaatberg” (Backhouse, 1844:383). Certainly, the name of their new mission in the Caledon River Valley suggests that this may well have been the case but the Berlin missionary, August Gebel who visited Plaatberg in 1836, stated that they had previously resided at “Old Boetschap” (Schoeman, 2003:86) although his grasp of the different groups of people in Transorangia or where they came from, seems to be tenuous.

According to the journal of the Rev John Edwards, the various chiefs held a meeting, initiated by Chief Moroka (Sefunelo’s son), at which they took a decision to send out a reconnaissance party to investigate the Willow Tree River valley (*Mohokare*), as the Caledon was then called, in order to escape from ever present threat of attacks by Moletsane and Mzilikazi (Landau, 2010:110). The reason for the relocation given in missionary writings was that a rapid influx of people to the settlement placed too great a strain on the water supply which became insufficient to cater adequately to their needs (Whiteside, 1906:334; Schoeman, 1991:17) and the needs of their crops (Broadbent, 2017/1865:180; Schoeman, 2003:124). Moroka’s decision to move was apparently also influenced by the belief that he would have easier access to guns and ammunition in the Caledon River Valley (Etherington 2001:205).

The reconnaissance party of which Carolus Baatje and his people formed part, left Plaatberg and Boetsap and travelled east to the Caledon River Valley in search of a new home. The Reverends Archbell and Edwards accompanied them as spiritual leaders, preaching *en route* there and back (Schoeman, 1991:17,18; Edwards, 1886:78,79). They found the Caledon River Valley to be a well-watered, fertile land and negotiations duly took place between the expeditionary force on one hand and Chief Moshoeshoe of the BaSotho and Chief Sekonyela of the BaTlokwa on the other. The misunderstanding surrounding these negotiations and the documents which the missionaries drew up would later cause considerable trouble in Moshoeshoe’s life. According to subsequent correspondence, Moshoeshoe felt that he had given the Wesleyans the use of the land to establish mission stations, for which they gifted him livestock “Eight head of horned

Cattle, 34 Sheep and Five Goats” (BR I:4). All the land on which the Wesleyan stations were located was BaSotho territory and fell under Moshoeshoe’s jurisdiction, although Murray points out that the boundaries of his sovereignty “ebbed and flowed” in different circumstances (Murray, 1992:15). Moshoeshoe wrote a letter to the British Secretary of Government in 1845 explaining that as Chief he was unable to forfeit, cede or alienate any part of his territory without the agreement and consent of his people, furthermore the Sotho as a people did not and would not have sold or rented their lands, as these were foreign concepts to them. He goes on to explain that the foreigners whom he allowed to settle in his country only owed allegiance to him in recognising his general sovereignty over the country (BR I:84-86). Moshoeshoe was more than happy to see mission station settlements on his land as he believed they would form a barrier which would protect his land and people from Korana and Griqua raiders, as well as preventing the trek Boers from settling in his country (Coplan, 2009:508). Negotiations were concluded amicably with misunderstandings on all sides, whereby four areas were pinpointed as suitable for the establishment of the new mission stations.

The move took place with all speed due to the eagerness of the various groups to move prior to the spring sowing season and all together an estimated 12 000 people relocated from the Vaal and Harts Rivers to the Caledon River Valley in 1833 (Schoeman, 1991:24). The movement of whole towns and villages, people with their possessions and livestock involved a major undertaking and resulted in what Edwards described as a long and tedious journey, although it was in reality an eight day journey, the travelling time extended no doubt as they wished to travel in very large groups for safety. Edwards predictably likened it to the Israelites exodus from Egypt (Edwards, 1886:89,90).

On their arrival in the Caledon River Valley, they immediately divided themselves into four different mission stations as follows: The BaRolong which by then consisted of three different BaRolong groups and a Khoe-speaking group with Dutch surnames (Landau, 2010:114) under the leadership of the Seleka-Rolong Chief Moroka at Thaba Nchu; Barend Barends and his Bastaards settled at Lishuane or new Boetsap; Jan Taaibosch and the Kei-Korana at Umpukane and Carolus Baatje and his Bastaards at Plaatberg on the Caledon (Schoeman, 1991; BR I). This mission station was known variously as Platberg or Plaatberg on the Caledon, New Plaat-Berg, Platberg II and the Nieuweland of the Baster people

(Schoeman, 1991:90). The missionaries referred to this cluster of new mission station settlements as the Bechuana Mission and later the Bechuana District.

The Rev Freeman published his travelogue in 1851, which included a map titled “Sketch of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River and a Supplementary map of South Africa” which illustrates the division of land in the Sovereignty, but his sources and the accuracy of the boundaries is unknown. This map indicates the boundaries of the lands of the BaRolong under “Moroka”, the BaTaung under Moletsane the “Corannas” under Taaibosch, the “Mantatees” (BaTlokwa) under Sikonyela and the Bastards under Carolus Baatje (Fig. 3.1). All the relevant mission stations are also depicted in the areas allocated to them in 1833 (Freeman, 1851:1). This map was clearly drawn after the British Resident, Major Warden, had redrawn the territorial boundaries in Transorangia in 1849, creating the Warden line which effectively decreased Moshoeshoe’s territory, completely ignoring his territorial claims to land that he had allowed Boers and Wesleyan missions to settle on and at the same time cutting him off from several thousands of his people (Sanders, 1975:160).

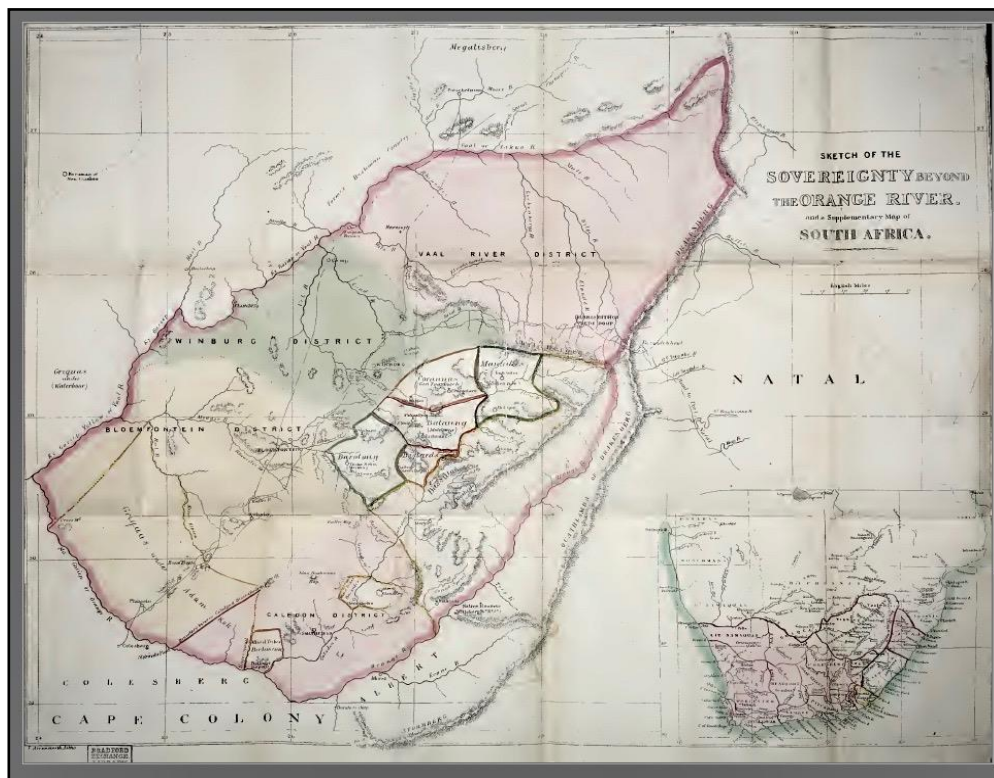


Figure 3.1: Rev Freeman’s map of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River, published in ‘A Tour in South Africa’, 1851.

On their arrival at Plaatberg on the Caledon, Carolus Baatje and his people, with an attendant missionary, found not an empty landscape but a well populated area with at least eleven Sotho villages close to their chosen site, although the site of Plaatberg itself was apparently unoccupied. Backhouse on travelling from Thaba Bosiu to Plaatberg in 1839 commented that “the slopes of the hills abound with Basuto villages” (Backhouse, 1844:383).

Later on his way from Mequatling, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) mission station for the BaTaung, to Merumetsu, the Wesleyan station ministering to the Kei-Korana of Captain Jan Taaibosch, Backhouse records passing occupied hilltop villages, deserted villages and a recently occupied “Bushmen” kraal (Backhouse, 1844:392). Arbousset and Daumas travelling between Thaba Nchu and Mekuatleng came across “Lighoya, Matebeles and Basutu” as well as a few San (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968/1846:22, 235). In writing about the Bushmen of the Platberg on the Caledon, Stow suggests that the “Bushmen” congregated in these mountains area until the last Basuto/Boer war when the Boers drove them out (Stow, 1905:191,192). Even although the missionaries, travellers and early historiographers tended to get confused by the plethora of villages and people they came across and attempted to slot them into well-defined groups, it still gives us some idea as to the busyness of this area and far from being depopulated, it was a hive of activity.

3.2. The establishment of Plaatberg on the Caledon Mission

Plaatberg mission station was specifically established to convert the Bastaards under Carolus Baatje to Christianity. Unlike Farmerfield mission station established in 1838 on the specific request by African converts, who approached William Shaw asking him to establish a Wesleyan mission settlement which would allow them access to land, whereupon he purchased a farm for that purpose (Vernal, 2012:84,98). Shaw insisted that prospective residents should be Christian or those who were planning to be baptised, meet his criteria of property ownership and wealth, as well as paying rent of £1 per annum for residential plots and access to farming and grazing lands (Vernal, 2012:103). The majority of Carolus Baatje’s Bastaards who settled at Plaatberg on the Caledon were not

Christian, nor it appears, was a promise to convert extracted from them in order to gain admittance to the Plaatberg mission when it was established in 1833. Nonetheless, the Plaatbergers were aware that by moving to a Wesleyan mission station, they would have to fulfil certain obligations to the missionary as the representative of the WMMS in return for access to land and security. The Plaatberg Bastards did not have to qualify in terms of material wealth for admittance to the mission, but Shaw's rationale behind the establishment of the Farmerfield Mission was the creation of a skilled farming labour reserve which could be used by the white farmers surrounding the station (Vernal, 2012:119). This was very different to the WMMS reasons for the establishment of Plaatberg.

The first description of the newly created mission station comes from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society missionaries, Thomas Arbousset and Francois Daumas, who visited Plaatberg in 1836, three years after its inception. They described the station and were especially struck by the grandeur of the surrounding landscape "On the brow of the ridge stand the chapel and the parsonage; walled in by an immense bank of rocks, the towering and deeply indented crest of which commands the whole plain" (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968/1846:8). The ruggedness and grandeur of the African landscape made an impression on most European travellers to the interior. They estimated that there were 200 Bastard residents at the time of their visit. The PEMS missionaries observed that Plaatberg Bastard men reared cattle and cultivated a narrow strip of corn and perhaps a small vegetable garden but added that they, like most Bastards, were frequently to be found socialising or hunting, "If he can procure milk, some heads of Indian corn, a sheep for slaughter from time to time and occasionally an antelope and moreover an ox to exchange with some travelling merchant from the colony for tea or tobacco or a piece of damaged cotton print, all his desires are satisfied. He has no further ambition" (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968/1846:11). The female inhabitants fared no better under the pen of the PEMS missionaries,

"The bastaard female devolves the whole of these (meaning household duties and taking care of the vegetable garden) upon her bushman servants who occupy a middle station betwixt that of slaves and that of domestics; she never leaves the house and rarely quits

the chair in which she lolls the live-long day” she is “indolent in the extreme” (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968/1846:12).

In other words, they were not fulfilling the good protestant work ethic so admired by the missionaries, but here the Plaatberg housewife was probably displaying the general Bastaard view of their superiority over other races. For the missionaries and European travellers, the Bastaards hunting, trading and raiding economy was not recognised or understood as an economic strategy necessary for their survival, it was generally viewed as an idle hobby or sport. Naturally the Wesleyans paint a more positive picture of a busy little station with industrious inhabitants, this aspect will be discussed more fully in chapter 4.

By 1840s, it had become a thriving mission station, with itinerant traders and their wagons lumbering into the main street, laden with goods from Graham’s Town, including items “newly arrived from England” as well as Brandy barrels, visitors and family from Philipolis, Boers from the Vet and Modder rivers who came to trade livestock for Plaatberg grain, Plaatberg hunters leaving and returning with wagon loads of hunted flesh which was then busily converted into biltong, Moshoeshoe and his entourage arriving for meetings, fellow missionaries visiting the resident missionary, busy sounds of the construction of houses, horses going around threshing floors, pigs on the loose rooting through kitchen gardens and drunken inhabitants stretched out next to the Brandy wagon, not quite the orderly English village scenes that the missionary wanted to recreate. In fact, their letters to the society usually stressed how neat, orderly and clean southern African mission stations were.

3.3. The Captaincy and the division of sacred and secular authority

The missionaries after years of what they called political discord, finally persuaded the Bastaards to elect a leader annually in 1839/1840. Carolus Baatje was elected as Captain with his unsuccessful opponent, Cornelius Van Wyk, serving as his deputy (Schoeman, 1991:71). Thus, although Baatje was one of the “deserving chiefs or captains” that Andrew Smith was authorised to present with a medal on a chain, as an acknowledgement that the colonial government recognised his right as the captain of his group (Kirby, 1939:39)

this did not necessarily reflect how the group themselves viewed the captaincy. For example, amongst the KhoeKhoe, a Captain had authority over a group as long as he was supported by his council, which kept any autocratic tendencies under control when dealing with civil disputes and punishment (Barnard, 1992:160). In any event these trinkets were not so much the acknowledgement of the chief or captain as ruler, but rather a way of buying, not only the goodwill of important chiefs (Kirby, 1939:39) but potential allies in future conflicts.

Returning to the Plaatberg Bastards view of the captaincy, they appear to fit in with the general description of Bastard cohorts from the colony as loosely knit groups without hereditary chiefs or captains, whose leaders authority extended only as far as the people would permit. This authority was usually only activated in coordinating the group to repel attacks. The Plaatberg Bastards were not as wealthy as some of the other Bastard groups such as the Koks and Barend Barends whose wealth could attract and hold such disparate groups together. Coplan suggests that the Griqua/Bastards were only a unified “people” in the eyes of the missionaries (Coplan, 2000:124). This is borne out by subsequent event when a group of Plaatbergers departed from the station and settled permanently on the Riet River. There was a challenge to Carolus Baatje’s leadership in 1837 or 1838 when Cornelius van Wyk was chosen as captain for the year. In 1840 Moshoeshoe summoned Captain Kok from Philipolis and Captain Carolus Baatje and his council for a meeting at Thaba Bosiu. It appears that the ex-Captain, Cornelius van Wyk and Adam Kok tried to persuade Moshoeshoe to accept them as the pre-eminent Captains in the area. Moshoeshoe astutely recognized the power play for what it was and settled the matter by inviting the Plaatberg council to a meeting to sort things out (Cameron, 1840a:350,351).

According to Cameron, annual elections had not helped but rather made the situation worse as the election gave those who were “lawless” the opportunity to ferment division and discord within the mission station due to rival electioneering campaigns. Cameron, not wanting the mission community to disintegrate suggested that they discontinue annual elections and if they could reach a consensus, a Captain should be elected for life. In this way, on 1 January 1841, Carolus Baatje was elected as lifetime Captain of the Plaatberg Bastards until he either wanted to resign or transgressed the regulations of the

Plaatberg Mission Station (Cameron, 1841a:375; Cameron,1845c:84). He was supported by a group of councillors, Jacob van Wyk is listed as a commandant and Baatje van Wyk is listed as a councillor in official documents pertaining to a meeting in 1846 (BR I:119,120). These two men could be related to Carolus Baatje's erstwhile opponent from 1839/40. Two other names that appear in an official capacity at one of the many meetings prior to the Battle of Viervoet, are two of Carolus Baatje's sons, Baatje Baatje and Christian Baatje (BR I:119,120 & 194). His position as Captain for life, consolidated his leadership and gave Carolus Baatje the opportunity to involve himself in the politics of Transorangia especially regarding issues relating to the well-being of the mission and its people, for example, maintaining Plaatberg's territorial boundaries and repelling constant incursions onto Plaatberg lands by raiders which affected the general prosperity of the area.

At the same assembly convened by the missionaries in 1841, it was resolved that the name of Bastard henceforth be changed to Newlanders. More importantly the people and the missionaries also agreed that the missionaries would be in charge of all sacred affairs of the station including the establishment of schools, without interference or hindrance from the people. The Captain and his Council would be responsible for the civil and municipal governance of the station without interference from the missionary (Mears, 1970:22). The sting in the tail of this agreement was that this would hold only as long as the Captain and his Council recognized that Plaatberg was a Wesleyan mission station with all the obligations that entailed and continued to govern within the Christian guidelines set and monitored by the resident missionary. This was a sword that the missionaries held over the heads of the Bastards whenever they felt that the settlement was veering into heathenish ways.

There is a question of how far the lines between sacred and secular matters met and blurred. Certainly, Cameron appears to have wanted to guide the Plaatbergers in matters both sacred and secular, for example, he encouraged the building of rectangular mud brick houses with internal divisions (this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4) and an orderly layout of the mission. Bastard control over secular affairs of the station suggests that the Plaatbergers had almost complete control over the organisation and management of their households as well as their economic lives. This affects the way that

we view and interpret the material record and the Bastards role in guiding the purchase and use of material goods and their control over the layout of their houses and yards.

There were determined efforts on the part of the Bastards to keep the missionary from interfering in the governance of the settlement. Cameron mentions somewhat aggrievedly that all the male inhabitants of the settlement had convened in the Raadhuis (which was in earshot of the mission house) for a day long impassioned meeting from which he must have been excluded for he says that he was “ignorant of the purpose” of the meeting (Cameron, 1842b:17) and later unconvincingly commented that he was not really interested. On another occasion he was once again piqued at being excluded, his disparaging remarks gave him away “The Captain and his council have been busy all this day in consultation upon the affairs of their little state” (Cameron, 1842b:63). Earlier in 1842, Cameron observed that if the captain and his council passed a law allowing them to hire any workmen that they choose, “I could easily throw him out of his Captainship, I dread anything like collision with him. This however will be my only alternative should he foolishly try to deprive me of a right which I can never consent under present circumstances to relinquish, that of receiving or rejecting comers upon the station. Here British jurisdiction extended over this land and wholesome civil laws properly enforced” (Cameron, 1842b:15). Four days later Captain Baatje went to see Cameron and assured him that Plaatberg would continue to be governed along Wesleyan guidelines (Cameron, 1842b:19). This suggests that Carolus Baatje felt that it was worthwhile appeasing the missionary in this instance. Quite why Cameron felt that Plaatberg and its lands fell under British jurisdiction as early as 1842 is difficult to ascertain, other than the Britishness of the Wesleyan missionaries there is no reason for this belief. Plaatberg at this stage fell under Moshoeshoe’s control as it was situated on land that he had granted to them. There is no doubt that Cameron found it extremely difficult to refrain from interfering in secular affairs of the station, but officially he opined that the involvement of missionaries in the political affairs of Plaatberg made matters far worse (Cameron, 1845c:84). He was also strongly of the view that the Plaatberg station and its inhabitants were under the benevolent control and authority of the WMMS.

Cameron contradicted his statement that he had the right to vet newcomers to the station on several occasions. Barend Lubbe, whom Cameron described as being “a vile man” had

been given a parcel of land (thus gaining access to the Plaatberg mission) a Plaatberg veld cornet, without consulting either the captain or the missionary (Cameron, 1842b:41). Subsequently Carolus Baatje expressed a wish to banish Mr Lubbe, whom he accused of insubordination, from Plaatberg mission. However, Cameron doubted that the captain would enforce the banishment (Cameron, 1842b:29). In a further incident, Cameron requested that the captain expel a newcomer to the station, a young English labourer, whom Cameron described as a "delinquent". The captain was unwilling to comply, and Cameron noted that he as missionary "could not prevail upon him to follow my advice and banish him from the station" (Cameron, 1842b:9,10,15 & 36). Cameron's ability to banish people from the mission seems to have only gone as far as suggesting to the Captain that they should be banished, however as illustrated, the Captain did not always agree. This is a further example of his powerlessness in this regard. Power in the matter of acceptance or banishment from the station lay with the Captain and his council, although the captain's willingness or effectiveness in banishing people was questionable. Cameron recorded an incident between the Captain and his brother "He and his brother have fallen out to such a degree that he yesterday ordered the latter to leave the place" (Cameron, 1842b:58). Whether his brother complied with this order was not mentioned. Cameron's power appears to have been limited to expelling converts from the WMMS for transgression against the Christian code of conduct, for example polygamy, the use of spirits, assault, and theft (Cameron, Baptism Register, 1841:95; Cameron, 1842b:17; Cameron, 1842b:103).

The layout of the station in a grid pattern was planned and effected by Cameron, with the agreement of the captain and the people (Cameron, 1841:406). In addition, it is likely that Cameron proposed the position and extent of the mission complex, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4. The Wesleyan missionaries belief of their ownership and control of Plaatberg land is made clear in their letters, journals and WMN articles. However, with regard to the allocation of land, as opposed to the ownership of land, it seems clear that once the basic layout was in place, Captain Baatje and his council had the authority to allocate residential plots, kitchen gardens and access to farming and grazing land to residents (Cameron, 1842b:41,44). They also had the authority to alienate land

from Plaatbergers who were absent for more than a year (Cameron, 1841a:420). This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4. Some of these decisions appear to have been discussed with the missionary, but whether he was sounded out for his views or whether he was informed after the fact, is not clear.

3.4. Captain Baatje's Bastards

We are not certain of the exact composition of the inhabitants of Plaatberg and as mentioned, Cameron rarely mentions the inhabitants by name but many of the Bastards who are recorded in the Baptism and Marriage Register from 1840 to 1855 had Dutch names, for example Jacobus van Wyk, Maria Magdalena van Wyk, Lientje de Vries, Willem Schalkwyk, Koba Weymers, Phillipus Meyer and Barend Lubbe. This Dutch legacy is not surprising and is reinforced by frequent comments from travellers and missionaries that the inhabitants of Plaatberg were Dutch speakers. Other names, such as Katje Kiviedo, Rosslyn Afrikander, Kiviedo Titus, Phillipus Mey and Sara Plytjies have different origins. Kivido/Kievido was a name associated with the Koranna (Engelbrecht, 1936:62). Plyties/Platje was a Khoekhoe name associated with raiders (Ross, 2014:267; Penn, 2015:110). Engelbrecht mentions that the surname of Mei/Mey was generally found amongst the Links Korana (Engelbrecht, 1936:235). The surname Baatje, meaning "jacket" is a word that originated in the far east and was incorporated into the Afrikaans language (Liebenberg, 2005:37). This might suggest that his name owes its origin to vernacular introductions by slaves to the Cape.

There are other "slave" names, for example, Daniel Ceylon, Betsy Catrina Ceylon, Sara Ceylon and David Ceylon, who were presumably siblings as David married Maria Mey, Betsy Catrina married Daniel Baatje and Sara married Baatje Baatje in 1843. A further ex-slave is mentioned by Cameron, who arrived at the Cape from Bengal as a boy and was sold many times eventually ending up in the Roggeveld where he married a "Hottentot" woman and had a large family, who were all born free but Cameron in recording his story wrote that they were "virtually slaves to the Boers" (Cameron, 1842c:55). In about 1837, six of his children, and their families left the Roggeveld and trekked to Plaatberg having been told by visiting Plaatbergers about the mission station. Although the by now old man from Bengal visited his children at Plaatberg he remained with his wife in the Roggeveld

until his Plaatberg children went to fetch the rest of their family in the Roggeveld. Although a one-way waggon journey took the father a month, it was over a year before they all returned to Plaatberg (Cameron, 1843b:182). Cameron records baptising the father in a letter to the WMM society in June 1842 (Cameron, 1842c:55). The Baptism Register reflects this occasion giving the name of the father as Mey Bengal, baptised on 3 April 1842. This biography highlights why people who had been dispossessed of their rights and land at the Cape and were “virtually slaves to the Boers” (*ibid*), were attracted to life on mission stations, notwithstanding the onerous religious and lifestyle obligations. It is also a reminder that the Plaatberg Bastards had kin and friendship ties well beyond the borders of Plaatberg mission station, not only with people living at Philipolis mission station and the Korana of Haip at Ratabani (which was an outstation of Thaba Nchu; Fig.3.1) but as far away as the Roggeveld. The names and surnames listed in this volume also highlights the creole nature of the Plaatberg Bastards as a group.

As noticed by Arbousset and Daumas, the composition of the station was even more diverse, when they expressed their Protestant displeasure that the Bastard housewife was “indolent” allowing her Bush servants to clean the house and to take care of the garden (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968/1846:10). Cameron also records visiting a sick “Bushwoman”, who was the servant of a Plaatberg Bastard family (Cameron, 1840a:360). Reverend Cameron employed a BaSotho man as his herder and his wife was employed to work in the mission house, no doubt as a domestic servant. This Sotho couple presumably lived on the station. Cameron also mentions a few resident English families who lived on the station, for example a Mr Leslie who was also a builder/handyman and Mr Bertram who was a trader. Whilst Reverend Giddy was the resident missionary, a British trading family, Martha Jane Kirk, her husband and her father set up a trading store within their house which was loaned to them by Captain Baatje. Cameron’s lack of naming the inhabitants of the station in his letters and journal extends to some of the English and Dutch residents as well, for example “An English man who resides on the station called on me this evening to say that he intended marrying a Bastard girl” (Cameron, 1842b:94). Rev Casalis whilst on a visit to Plaatberg preached to large congregation of “Bastard Hottentots, African Boers and Englishmen” (Cameron, 1841a:387). Cameron’s comments that there were larger numbers of the latter two groups, suggested that some may have

been visitors to Plaatberg and that the diversity of the station ebbed and flowed. This gives us a general idea of the mix of people living and socialising at Plaatberg. Furthermore, while the identity terms used by the missionaries underpins historical legacies, where status was asserted (“bush servant”) other racial boundaries were crossed. Consequently, while the documents might formally classify this diversity, interaction ‘on the ground’ was complex and the archaeology across the mission station can contribute to understanding this issue.

3.5. Situating Plaatberg in the greater Political Landscape in the 1830s to 1850s

As it is clear from the discussion above, Transorangia in the 1820s and 1830s was filled with a diverse melange of people, attributable in part to the interactions along the length and breadth of the Cape frontier. Processes included the raiding depredations by the Bergenaars and other Kora groups, on settled Sotho and southern Tswana groups and these are well documented (Maggs, 1976; Eldredge, 1993; Etherington, 2001; Schoeman, 1991; Landau, 2010). The incessant raiding activities of the Korana and certain groups of Bastards against the Sotho for cattle and children started in the mid 1820s and continued until the late 1830s (Eldredge, 1993:26). Additionally, Mzilikazi stormed through the area and laid unsuccessful siege to Thaba Bosiu in 1831 and the frontier ferment was exacerbated by white pastoralists crossing the colonial frontier in greater numbers following in the wake of the non-white Bastaard pastoralists. Competition over land and the defence of territorial boundaries as well as the need for larger herds of cattle (to increase ties of kinship and friendship) were the most important factors giving rise to the incessant raiding activities in Transorangia.

The period between 1848 to 1853 was one of constant conflict between the BaTlokwa and their Kei-Korana allies and the BaSotho who in turn were allied to the BaTaung. There were also skirmishes and tensions between the BaSotho allied to the Links Korana and their former allies the BaRolong who were in league with the Kei Korana. The Links Korana and the Kei Korana had previously been allies but by the late 1830s they supported opposing groups (Schoeman, 1991:124, Maggs, 1976:228). Clearly, alliances on the

frontier were extremely fluid, where allies became enemies and former foes joined forces, as and when the political and economic situation demanded.

According to the Wesleyan missionaries, the inhabitants of the Wesleyan Mission stations in the Caledon River Valley had close ties of friendship and alliance. The BaRolong, Kei Korana, Barend Barends' Griqua and the Plaatberg Bastards, all of whom had a resident Wesleyan Missionary, certainly had a loose alliance, which opposed the alliance of Moshoeshoe, and his Moletsane (BaTaung) and their Links Korana allies. Landau suggests that Moroka, Sekonyela, Barend Barends and Taaibosch had an alliance based on their shared Christianity and Methodism against Moshoeshoe (Landau, 2010:133). It would be easy to see these alliances as being orchestrated by the missionaries themselves and indeed, while they may have been reinforced by them, they may well have predated the missionary's arrival in Transorangia having been formed when these groups were trying to survive in the turmoil of the frontier area in the 1820s. Moroka's father, Sefunelo is said to have employed "gunmen" who were composed of Bastards, Korana, (including Jan Taaibosch and his Kei Korana), and others like them who made a living on the frontier, as early as 1823, supplying chiefs in need with well-armed and mounted private armed forces (Landau, 2010:28). On reading the Basutoland records, (a set of reports and letters spanning a period of 86 years between Chiefs, Captains, the colonial Government officials, and various missionaries), it becomes clear that the area was characterised by incessant raids and skirmishes involving numerous groups, all protesting their innocence and blaming the next group. The situation was exacerbated by the influx of what the missionaries referred to as "hostile Boers" into the area.

As a result of the influx of Boer settlers on BaSotho land, in 1842 Moshoeshoe sought an alliance with the British. The Napier Treaty of 1843 was the outcome of these negotiations, which outlined the boundaries of the BaSotho land and included the area settled by the Wesleyan mission stations west of the Caledon River (Gill, 1993:88-89). The Wesleyan missionaries protested against these boundaries, claiming that the people settled on their missions were independent and did not fall under the overlordship of Moshoeshoe (*ibid*). Following the signing of this treaty, Rev Shaw wrote to the Colonial government on behalf of Chief Moroka, Captains Davids, Taaibosch and Baatje requesting

that they be allowed to enter into a treaty of peace with the British as Chief Moshoeshoe had done. In July 1845 Captain Baatje once again requested the Government representative to enter into a treaty with him, which entailed paying him a “small salary” in return for supplying the Colonial authorities with 40 to 50 men should they need extra fighting power. Captain Baatje either needed the salary or more likely, he wanted the protection of the British as an ally against hostile forces in the turbulent Caledon River Valley. His suggestion may have been accepted. In June 1846 the Colonial authorities called on the assistance of Chief Moroka and Captains Davids, Taaibosch and Baatje for assistance in dispersing emigrant Boers under Jan Kok (BR I:120-124). Later in 1848, Rev Shaw consulted with Chiefs Moroka, Sekonyela and “Karolus Baatze” because they were alarmed by the movement into the area by Dutch farmers who appeared to have acquisitive designs on their lands, wanted to fall under the protection of the British Government (Shaw & Boyce, 2011:195).

Sir Maitland, Governor of the Cape, entered into further treaties (The Maitland treaties) in 1845 with Moshoeshoe and Adam Kok which stated that a portion of their lands would be allocated to Boer settlers on a lease system (Keegan, 1996:253). None of these measures had the hoped for results and in 1848, the British Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Harry Smith, in an attempt to control the turmoil in Transorangia and acquire further British territory, proclaimed the area as the Orange River Sovereignty, thus creating British subjects of the Plaatberg Bastaards (Esterhuysen *et al*, 2019:10). Esterhuysen *et al* point out that in a short space of time, Plaatberg, which had been under Moshoeshoe’s authority, then fell under the governance of Britain (Esterhuysen *et al*, 2019:11). This was a further diminishment of Moshoeshoe’s land, with the formal drawing of boundary’s between the BaSotho and the Orange River Sovereignty in 1849, known as the Warden Line. Being British subjects might have afforded a small measure of protection for the Plaatbergers against the Boers and Moshoeshoe, but it also gave rise to obligations, one of which was to undertake military service on behalf of the Crown (*ibid*). As early as 1842 the British were already concerned about the situation in Transorangia which prompted the Civil Commissioner at Colesburg to order Cameron to take a census of the entire population, also listing numbers of householders, houses, and wagons at Plaatberg. The captain provided extra information, no doubt requested by the commissioner as to the

number of mounted and armed men Plaatberg could supply the British armed forces in time of need (Cameron, 1842b:85). These obligations to the Crown resulted in the inhabitants of Wesleyan mission stations being drawn into various commandoes and wars on behalf of the British Government during the 1840s and 1850s.

In order to bolster their strength, the British authorities settled a group of “Christian” AmaFengu in and around Plaatberg after Moletsane had attacked Umpukane in August 1850 (Schoeman, 1991:106). The British Resident’s reasons were clear, he felt that the presence of a large number of AmaFengu would check raids and attacks by the BaSotho into the Sovereignty and in so doing, they would replace a British funded police force and additionally, they would assist the British in any future wars. This was their obligation to the crown for receiving access to land in the Sovereignty (BR I:350). Furthermore, in 1847 Rev Shaw in a refutation of the allegations that the missionaries obstructed the government in the defence of the colony, pointed out that there were “over four thousand black and coloured men” drawn from the Wesleyan Mission stations armed and ready to come to the aid of the British to defend the colony (Villa-Vicencio & Grassow, 2009:248). All the people living in the Orange River Sovereignty as British citizens were expected to and did assist the government when called upon to do so and, in this way, became embroiled in wars and skirmishes on behalf of the British with attendant losses.

The active role that the Wesleyan missionaries played in the political affairs of the Caledon River Valley is quite apparent. The Wesleyans had a tendency to attach themselves to smaller groups in both the eastern Cape and Transorangia and supported them in their conflict against more powerful polities such as Moshoeshe and his BaSotho (Keegan, 1996:133). They hoped that this strategy would limit the power and expansion of the BaSotho nation (Keegan, 1996:250; King, 2018:661). In addition, both James Allison, the resident missionary at Imperani and James Cameron missionary at Plaatberg, had a very important contact at the British Residents office in the form of the Resident’s secretary, Joseph Allison, brother to the former and brother-in-law to the latter. They successfully used this relationship to further the interests of converts by feeding the British Resident, Major Warden highly biased information against Moshoeshe (Schoeman, 1991:103). Cameron is thought to have persuaded Chief Moroka of the BaRolong to side with the

British in the 1852 British/BaSotho confrontation (Murray, 1992:19). Landau also suggests that other issues may have been at play, for example the British colonial expansionist desires and land speculation concerning the income to be gained from Merino sheep wool production, which again required land (Landau, 2010:136). This, in addition to the disagreement over land, boundaries and continual stock raids, resulted in the Resident embarking on several unsuccessful campaigns against Moshoeshoe and his allies (the most important of whom was Moletsane and his BaTaung).

The first major battle which took place at Viervoetberg in July 1851, was of some importance to the people at Plaatberg. The general prosperity of the station, notwithstanding skirmishes and raids prior to this battle, fell apart rather spectacularly in June 1851 when Major Warden arrived with some 2000 troops and set up camp around the Plaatberg mission. Various meetings were held at Plaatberg resulting in Major Warden's 162 British troops, in an alliance with 120 unenthusiastic Boers, and the bulk of the force was what Theal referred to as "a rabble" and "a motley force" (BR I :289,291) of BaRolong, Kei-Korana, BaTlokwe, AmaFengu, Adam Kok and his Griqua and Carolus Baatje and the Plaatbergers. Despite the British and their allies launching an attack on Moletsane's mountain village on the Viervoetberg, Moshoeshoe and his allies were resoundingly victorious at the Battle of Viervoetberg, also known as the Battle of Tihela, Sotho for "we pushed them down" (Maggs, 1976:228). Major Warden's army retreated to Thaba Nchu and then withdrew to Bloemfontein. Martha Jane Kirk, the trader at Plaatberg in 1851, recorded an apt comment made to her by Moshoeshoe after this battle "Major Warden got into his little cart, and he run away" (Schoeman, 1989:65). Warden subsequently wrote to the High Commission in September 1851 saying that the BaSotho and BaTaung took large number of livestock and the lands belonging to Chiefs Moroka, Taaibosch and Captain Carolus Baatje (BR I:444).

The missionaries had some influence amongst colonial officials, but this depended on the official involved, and I would suggest they had limited influence amongst the people under their pastoral care. Watson asserts that studies have underestimated how strong a bond the Seleka-Rolong (at Thaba Nchu) had to their own political institutions and traditional assemblies, which made all political decisions regardless of what the missionary's point of view may have been (Watson, 1977:406). But the Plaatberg Bastards, in comparison,

were very different. There were far fewer of them, thus militarily they were vulnerable in isolation, and they certainly appear to have had less group cohesion. The Seleka-Rolong had a well-established political system based on a sedentary agricultural economy. In comparison, the Bastards being mobile pastoralists had a political system based on a fluid centralised economy. They cannot of course be seen in isolation, and the alliances forged with other groups, including the BaRolong, had a bearing on the Plaatberg Council's decision to join forces with the British. There are, however, additional and conflicting factors as to why the Plaatberg Bastards joined forces with the British alliance against Moshoeshoe. Moshoeshoe later stated that Warden "took" Baatje and his people away from him and Orpen also suggests that Major Warden forced the Plaatberg Bastards to assist Her Majesty's Government (Orpen, 1979/1857:95). However, in the various meetings that Major Warden convened prior to the Battle of Tihela, Carolus Baatje was quite vocal in his condemnation of Moletsane, who he claimed had repeatedly raided the Plaatberg Bastards and taken both horses and cattle over a period of time (BR I:419). Raiding is a very important activity that we will return to later. Thus, one of the main reasons for the Plaatbergers alliance could have been a shared and common enemy and competitor in Moletsane's BaTaung and the raiding and counter raiding activities in the Caledon River Valley. Coplan's view is that as the Bastards had always believed themselves to be superior to indigenous people, and to naturally chose to ally with Major Warden over the BaSotho and BaTaung (Coplan, 2009:151). When the missionary influence is added into the mix of pre-existing alliances, the Plaatbergers being a relatively small fighting force, needed to bolster their security to not only safeguard livestock and land but the mission station itself, is one of the possible explanations. The Bastards decision to enter into an alliance with the British may well have been a strategic response to the enhance their position amongst competing groups in the Caledon River Valley. This strategy was used by several other leaders, such as Moshoeshoe, who signed the Napier Treaty with the British in 1843 (Eldredge, 1993:50; Gill, 1993). The Plaatbergers decision to side with the British was to have serious repercussions for their future relationship with the BaSotho as well as their safety and economic stability at the Plaatberg mission station.

3.6. The Decline of the Plaatberg Mission Station

The day the British troops left their camp at Plaatberg *en route* to the Viervoetberg in 1851, they were accompanied by 500 to 800 Plaatberg women and children, in addition to 90 wagons and the cattle of the Bastards and AmaFengu (BR I:459). The Plaatberg Bastards feared a revenge attack by angry BaSotho for allying themselves with the British against the BaSotho. This fear was justified, as the Rev Giddy reported that the people in and around the station had been scattered and that those who had remained behind had been killed and the houses of the Bastards were destroyed by vengeful BaSotho (Schoeman, 1991:119). Only the mission house, chapel and printing press office were spared on Moshoeshoe's orders (WMN 1(10):1854). After the Battle of Viervoetberg, 240 (this number changes depending on who is writing the history) fearful Plaatberg Bastards and AmaFengu retreated with the British army to Bloemfontein where they were settled at the expense of the British Government on a farm between the Modder River and Bloemfontein. From this area they are said to have mounted numerous raids against the BaSotho and BaTaung, after being given a sizeable supply of arms and ammunition (100lbs powder and 200lbs lead) by a gullible, or perhaps a grateful, Major Warden (BR I:567,571; Orpen, 1964/1908:136).

Whilst the missionary, Mr Giddy waited for his flock to return to Plaatberg, the BaSotho gradually settled in the hills around the station (Schoeman, 1989:65). A group of Plaatberg Bastards, accompanied by a number of BaRolong and AmaFengu did in fact pay a brief visit a few months later, relieving the newly settled BaSotho of six herds of cattle (900) and 90 horses (BR I:462). Warden explained the situation to the High Commissioner, saying that the reprisals were justified considering the raids perpetrated by the BaSotho on the Bastards, BaRolong and AmaFengu in the past (ibid 464). The trader, Martha Jane Kirk who had remained at Plaatberg during this tense period, recalled being woken up that night to the sound of gun fire all around, the attack on the BaSotho being as unexpected as it was swift and successful (Schoeman, 1989:66). There are numerous accounts which document the Plaatberg Bastards post 1851 raiding activities whilst temporarily residing near Bloemfontein, using the ammunition acquired from Major Warden (BR I; Schoeman, 1989; Orpen, 1964/1908 & Orpen, 1979/1857), retreating with their spoils to Thaba Nchu (Orpen, 1964/1908:136). As a result of these incidents, official descriptions of the

Plaatberg Bastards had changed dramatically. Up to the end of 1851, they were “loyal Bastards” (BR I:433,568) and referring to their role at the Battle of Viervoetberg, “The Platberg Bastards appear to be most valuable auxiliaries and the exploit recorded was a truly gallant one” (BR I:449) but by late 1852 and 1853 they were “nothing more than a set of vagabond Hottentots” (BR I:570) and Carolus Baatje was described as an “adventurer” (BR II:6).

Due to incessant raiding in the area and in order to bring Moshoeshoe to heel, the Governor of the Cape colony, Major-General George Cathcart set off on a campaign against Moshoeshoe in 1852. Once again, the British army was encamped at Plaatberg, which served as British military Headquarters except on this occasion it was empty of inhabitants except for the Rev Giddy and his family. One of the soldiers, Lt St John, commented that the houses of the Bastards at Plaatberg were in the ruins (Schoeman, 1988:36). Cathcart was so assured of the superiority of his military force that he sent less than half his army into battle, leaving four companies and two six-pounders to guard the Plaatberg camp (Saks, 1994:2). He was amply repaid for his *hubris* when Moshoeshoe and the Basotho convincingly sent the British army packing. Cathcart, in a Dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated 13 January 1853, less than a month after his defeat, disparagingly referred to Captain Baatje as a “refugee Hottentot” who resided at Plaatberg “in the capacity of commander for the Wesleyan garrison at the station” (BR II:5). Post defeat, the mission station had become a Wesleyan military base with a garrison, in the eyes of the Major-General, even although, at this stage, the Plaatbergers had been residing close to Bloemfontein for approximately 18 months. In addition, the mounted and armed component of the Plaatberg mission station had previously been viewed positively by the British authorities.

Assistant Commissioner Owen wrote to the High Commissioner in September 1852 voicing his concerns over their inability to keep peace in the Sovereignty “my firm belief, that the Orange River Territory cannot be retained with dignity to the Crown without the presence of a considerable force and should Her Majesty’s Government decline to maintain it at the risk of incurring any expense, I would recommend that it be abandoned as soon as this can be done with honour” (BR 1:590). These two unsuccessful battles and the report from Assistant Commissioner Owen, resulted in British withdrawal from the area, signalling the

end of the Orange River Sovereignty and the inception of the Boer Republic of the Free State in 1854. The Boers had to abolish slavery and ban the trade in guns and ammunition to the Africans in order to gain independence, nevertheless the Free State still granted Chief Moroka and Jan Bloem and his Korana, special permits to obtain guns and ammunition. They later armed other African and Griqua groups, all of whom counted Moshoeshoe as a common enemy (Storey, 2008:106-108).

The Rev Giddy remained at Plaatberg, keeping busy with the printing of religious tracts and ministering to the surrounding Sotho settlements. The High Commissioner wrote to Captain Baatje to propose an exchange of land, which entailed moving the Plaatbergers to another area of the Orange River Territory. The Captain declined the offer saying that neither he nor his people wished to leave Plaatberg “to which we have become attached by so many ties that cannot be snapped asunder” (BR 1:630,631). Presumably he was referring to the various alliances (old and new) that the Plaatberg Bastards had made with different groups in the area.

In 1853, after an absence of 18 months Rev. Giddy mentioned that one third to a half of Plaatbergers had returned, but having lost everything due to the recent wars, they were almost destitute. Their houses had been “broken down, several of our people were killed; many died, especially women, whilst wandering without homes in the wilderness” (Schoeman, 1991:119). Those who did not return to Plaatberg settled at the Modder River or Philipolis (*ibid*) although it is unclear which of the Plaatbergers did not return. Cathcart commented that Carolus Baatje, who had returned to Plaatberg, did not have more than 100 followers in January 1853 (BR II:5). Their residence on a farm close to Bloemfontein at the time of his dispatch may have had something to do with the low numbers. One of the reasons for the continued disintegration of the Plaatberg Bastards after these conflicts could be due to the lack of a strong hierarchical system in which the many disputes within the community were due to the absence of a chief whose decisions the group would be prepared to acknowledge and accept (BR I:460).

From the end of 1853 to 1856 the Plaatberg Bastards seem to vanish from official reports and letters, probably due to administrative complexities involved in their plan to cede the Orange River Sovereignty to the Boer Republic of the Free State. On 31st March 1858 the

Plaatberg Bastards who had returned to the station in 1853, once again fled the station, this time to Thaba Bosiu, due to the impending war known as the 1st Basotho-Boer war. The resident missionary, Rev Daniel, reported to the Society that the Plaatbergers wished to remain neutral in this conflict but were afraid that the BaSotho, who were very suspicious of their motives, would assume that the Plaatbergers supported the Boers (WMN, 1858:159,160). It was during the ensuing conflict that the Boers of the Free State attacked and destroyed Beersheba and Morija mission stations, both of which were PEMS stations in Basutoland (Germond, 1967:236,239; WMN 1858:160). Although some of the Plaatbergers slowly trickled back to their mission station after the end of this war, the Wesleyan General Superintendent Rev Impey, who visited the station in 1859, commented that it had become an almost exclusively Sotho mission station and suggested that the few remaining Bastards remove to the Wittenbergen Reserve (WMN, 1859:186). This suggestion obviously did not find favour amongst the remaining Bastards. In 1861 a visiting Wesleyan missionary from the Albany District, John Ayliff, recorded in a "Rough Diary" of his journey, that the "Newlanders" numbered only 100 able bodied men and the "state of the station very low" (Ayliff, 1861). He waxes lyrical about the "fine and extensive corn lands" through which he journeyed, for at least two miles before arriving at the mission itself. He found the station under the care of the Reverend Cresswell and his family, who ministered to "two clans" of BaSotho and the Bastards of Carolus Baatje, whom he estimated was at least 84 years old (Ayliff, 1861). Of the station itself, Ayliff mentions the two fountains and good soil but laments over the deplorable state of the buildings and fences and the neglect of the gardens, which presumably were the kitchen gardens mentioned 25 years previously by Arbousset and Daumas in 1836 and by Cameron in the early 1840s (Ayliff, 1861). Compared to the 450 to 600 people mentioned doing the 1840s, this is a significant drop in numbers and by August 1865, only six Bastard women were found to be living there with Mr Baker, a Wesleyan teacher (The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette (c) August 1865).

3.7. The demise of the Plaatberg Mission Station

It appears that a section of the Plaatberg Bastard community left the mission station at some time before 1865 and settled at the Rietspruit, joining another Bastard group named in a newspaper report as "Bates Bastards of Jurie Schalkwyk" (The Friend of the

Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette (a) 16 June 1865). Some sources suggest that, with the permission of the Free State Government, they had been settled there for several years (Moodie 1888:105), others suggest that their sojourn on the Rietspruit was more recent. It is possible that the continuous harassment of the Bastards at Plaatberg by the Sotho prompted the move to the Rietspruit prior to the 2nd BaSotho Boer war (also known as the Seqiti war) in 1865 (Murray, 1992:260; Sanders, 1975:284). When Rev Giddy, who was by then the General Superintendent of the Bechuana mission, undertook two tours of the district in March and October 1864 he made no mention of his erstwhile mission station at all, which suggests that the majority of the Plaatbergers had already left Plaatberg.

In 1865 the Boers formed alliances with the BaRolong and AmaFengu from Wittebergen Native Reserve, and the BaTlokwa and the Bastards of Carolus Baatje, in preparation for a show down with the BaSotho (Sanders, 1975:284). This alliance cemented the BaSotho's antagonism towards the Plaatberg Bastards, who seemed, once again, to be supporting Moshoeshoe's enemies. On the 26th of June 1865 a party of BaSotho, led by Paulus Moperi (Moshoeshoe's brother), David Masoepa and Sekelo (Moshoeshoe's sons) paid a supposedly friendly visit to the Plaatberg Bastards at Rietspruit, apparently waving a white flag as they approached. Masoepa allayed the Bastards fears commenting that he was only at war with the Boers. An ox was duly slaughtered, and a friendly communal feast was consumed. However, on a prearranged signal the BaSotho fell upon the Bastards, killing most of the male adults and children (Sanders, 1975:285; Theal, 1886:52-53). Moodie states that 54 men and boys were murdered, whilst some of the females were loaded onto a wagon, leaving 67 females and girls behind. Only eight men survived, seven of them were away hunting and the eighth was a short distance from the village when the attack took place, he promptly took cover in an anteater's burrow to escape detection (Moodie, 1888:105,106). The surviving Bastards were taken to Bloemfontein where the landdrost raised funds for "their temporary relief" (The Friend of the Free State, 14 July 1865 (b)). There are conflicting accounts of the number of people murdered. The Friend of the Free State published a list of the deceased Bastards as part of their report on the incident (Fig. 3.3) and used highly emotive language to describe this tragic event, to invoke

a sympathetic response for the ill-fated Bastards and naturally stoked feelings of disgust and horror towards Moshoeshoe and his BaSotho, the enemy of Britain.

On studying the newspaper report in "The Friend of the Free State" July 14, 1865, (Fig. 3.2) which lists the names of the injured and deceased, I noticed that the majority appear to be members of the van Wyk and Schalkwyk families and possibly their supporters, not one of the deceased or injured at Rietspruit had the surname of Baatje.



... (brother of Moshesh,) and David Masoepa and Sekelo, sons of Moshesh, were present on this occasion, that at a given signal viz.: a whistle from David Masoepa, the massacre commenced. After one young woman, Jannetje van Wyk, had been killed, David gave orders that the remaining females should be spared but even after this order the Basutos, in their mad hate and fury, very severely wounded several by name as follows:—

Wife of Roelof van Wyk, six assegai wounds in her breast, (still in a dangerous state.)

Another woman seven assegai wounds in the breast.

Wife of Stoffel van Wyk, bullet through thigh.

Hendrik van Wyk, infant, shot through the hip and thigh on the back of its mother while the mother was at same time shot through the arm.

Arie van Wyk, (child,) one stab in left breast.

Three other children, two male and one female, were wounded with assegais, but not mortally, though evidently left for dead by the Basutos.

The Bastard woman was, it is said, stabbed to death with assegais while endeavouring to protect two children, both of which were killed under her.

The Basutos, at same time, jeered and ridiculed the Bastards, asking them, Where are the English? Where are the Boers? You fled to the white man for protection, why do neither of them help you now? The rebuke or taunt to the white man implied by these savages is only too well-grounded. The Bastards have, from the time of Major Warden, invariably fled to, and expected protection at our hands.

The following are the names of the Bastards massacred at Rietspruit, on the 21st ult.

Platberg Bastards of late Carolus Baatje.

Willem Schalkwyk de oude	Jacob van Wyk
Willem Schalkwyk	Senekaal van Wyk
Piet Schalkwyk	Jannetje van Wyk (jong vrouw)
Jacob Schalkwyk	Piet Weymers
Arie van Wyk	David Weymers
Baasje van Wyk	— Weymers
Jan van Wyk	

Bates Bastards of Jurie Schalkwyk.

Jurie Schalkwyk de oude	Klein Booy Coetzee
Jurie Schalkwyk	Piet Schalkwyk
Jan van Wyk	Willem van Wyk
Roelof van Wyk	Stoffel van Wyk
Gert van Wyk de oude	Willem van Wyk
Gert van Wyk	Jan Schalkwyk
Jacob van Wyk	Okkert Schalkwyk
Marthinus van Wyk	Jacob Schalkwyk
Booy Hermanus	Piet Schalkwyk
Willem Coetzee	Stoffel Geys
Gert Coetzee de oude	Stoffel Mowers
Gert Coetzee	Arie Coetzee
Gert Coetzee	Gert Schalkwyk
Andries Coetzee	Booy Klaasen
Booy Coetzee	Andries (Morolong)

Ten of the above were young boys. Mowers is

Figure 3.2: Extracts from the Friend of the Free State, Vol. xvi, Issue No.787, 14 July 1865. Free State Provincial Archives. Bloemfontein.

As mentioned there had previously been friction between the van Wyk and the Baatje families, mainly, it appears, over their rivalry for the captaincy of the Plaatberg Bastards going back to 1839 (Backhouse, 1844:385, Cameron (a), 1840). It is possible that this rift never completely healed and resulted in a division within the community leading to a more permanent fracturing of the stations inhabitants, with the van Wyk faction removing to the Rietspruit. This may have taken place after the wars in 1851 or 1858, or in the build-up to the 2nd BaSotho/Boer war in 1865. Ayliff mentions that Carolus Baatje and a few followers were living at Plaatberg at the time of his visit in 1861. They may well have remained at Plaatberg until August 1865 or just prior to that date and thus escaped the massacre on the Rietspruit. Some of the other deceased mentioned in the newspaper report had at one stage resided at Plaatberg as their names appear either in the Plaatberg Baptism or Marriage Register. Jannetje van Wyk, daughter of Cornelius and Trytje, baptised by Cameron on 28 November 1841, was the only female murdered during the attack, although several others received assegais wounds, whilst Elsje van Wyk, wife of Stoffel van Wyk was injured by a bullet. Stoffel and Elsje baptised their daughter, Elsje on 14 February 1841 at Plaatberg. The newspaper reports the deaths at Rietspruit under two separate headings, those of the "Platberg Bastards" followed by those of Bates Bastards of Jurie Schalkwyk (The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette July 14, 1865). Carolus Baatje must have died prior to this incident as the newspaper refers to him as "late" Carolus Baatje.

The same newspaper edition reports on another separate but related incident in the neighbourhood of the Rietspruit, where the BaSotho attacked and killed Michael Theron, a trader and his two servants, Piet Baatje and a nameless "Coranna" (The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein (b)14 July:1865). Unfortunately, the report does not elaborate as to whether Piet was originally from Plaatberg, but a Piet Baatje is recorded as being baptised on 11 October 1840 in the same ceremony as Korolus Baatje and Sara Baatje in the Plaatberg Baptism Register. The Marriage Register records a Piet Baatje, who was a witness at a marriage ceremony at Plaatberg on 18 September 1854.

Two months after this tragedy, a report in *The Friend of the Free State*, 18 August 1865, under the heading “The Boers march from Bloemfontein to Thaba Bosigo, Diary of a correspondent”, written by Mr Howell, describes the state of the mission.

” halted at Platberg, forming our camp on the same spot occupied by Sir Geo Cathcart in 53 the circular marks of his tents remaining plainly visible.

Sunday 6th. - A very fine morning although rather windy during the night. Get up and had a look at the town. It has a very dilapidated appearance, looking much more miserable and wretched than it did ten years ago, the houses, enclosures and fruit trees having been allowed to be destroyed. The only European here is Mr Baker, Wesleyan teacher, with a few Bastard women, the Basutos when leaving having compelled every able-bodied Bastard to go with them and also some 9 English men who were living here. What the fate of these poor men will be I cannot say”.

I have not yet found a record of the forced evacuation of Plaatbergers in 1865, mentioned in the above passage, in the Wesleyan Missionary records but these possibly reside in the SOAS archives. Rev Whiteside records a Mr Baker as the “able headmaster” who moved from Clarkenbury to Bensonville mission station in the 1870s (Whiteside 1906:312). If he was the same Mr Baker named by the correspondent above, his reports to the society should provide more clarity. A report in the WMN, dated 25 August 1865, states that Mr Ludorf left Plaatberg at the start of the war between the Republic of the Free State and the BaSotho (WMN, 1865:156; WMN, 1865:72).

Mr Howell’s Diary report continued, “We found ourselves at Platberg. No Kafirs, no cattle. Proceeded to Cathcart’s Drift ...”. (*The Friend of the Free State*, 24 November 1865). He unfortunately does not mention if Mr Baker was still in residence, although the style of his narrative seems to suggest not, and that Plaatberg had in fact finally been deserted by missionaries, Bastaards and BaSotho alike. On 6 December 1865 “an engagement” took place between General Fick of the Free State forces and the BaSotho at Plaatberg (Theal 1886:75). It is not clear as to whether Plaatberg refers to the erstwhile mission station or the Platberg range of mountains. The PEMS missionaries were expelled from their

missions situated on the lands newly acquired by the Free State Republic but as the BaRolong had assisted the Free State against the BaSotho (Theal, 1886:62) they were allowed to remain at Thaba Nchu. New boundary lines were proclaimed, ratified, and confirmed by the President of the Free State, which included the lands of Plaatberg “formerly belonging to Carolus Baatjes” (The Friend of the Free State, No 802, Vol.XVI: 27 October 1865). A report to the WMS in May 1867 stated that four of the mission stations in the Bechuana District had been annexed by the Free State and mission work was banned, however three of the four stations (unnamed) by that stage no longer had a resident missionary (WMN, 1867:88). The conquered territory on which Plaatberg mission station was situated was subsequently divided into farms and occupied by the Boers (Esterhuysen et al, 2019). The Free State rewarded their allies with grants of land. Several Wesleyan Missionaries or their families were listed in 1886 as receiving such grants, more interesting are the two Plaatberg Bastard names on this list, Stoffell Weymers and Stephanus Mey (Murray,1992:260).

It is surprising that I can scant mention of these events in the WMS reports. When Richard Giddy toured the district as the head of the WMMS of the Bechuana District in the late 1850s early 1860s, he does not mention his old mission station in any of his reports to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The history of the Plaatberg Bastards is less clear after 1861 but they appear to have moved to different areas, some to Bokhate in Basutoland (Eldredge, 1993:62). Others settled in the Platberg Location, situated close to the town of Ladybrand, established in 1867, in the Republic of the Free State. This “black location” was the main pool of labour for Ladybrand and was home to both Plaatberg Bastards and BaSotho (Coplan, 2009:516). The majority of the Plaatberg Bastards moved to Moroka’s BaRolong lands near Thaba Nchu in 1897 where they were granted half of the farm Bofulo in the Seliba Reserve, a settlement named Carolusrus, although as mentioned, Carolus Baatje was reported to have died prior to the June 1865 massacre on the Rietspruit. There was constant friction between the BaRolong and the Bastards over land boundaries at Carolusrus, probably due to the lack of arable land allocated to the Bastards (Murray, 1992:260). Subsequently 500 Bastards were relocated from Carolusrus in 1940 to Thaba Phatshwa in the Free State (Murray, 1992:260,261) roughly 50km from the site of the

Plaatberg mission station, their first home in the Caledon River Valley. A 2011 census of the languages spoken at Thaba Phatswa records that 84.7% of the inhabitants (of a population of 915) spoke Afrikaans and 76.4% identified as Coloureds (Erasmus, 2019:66). Although there are members of the community who have carefully and painstakingly collected the oral history of their people, there is no clear oral history as to the events leading to the abandonment of the station by the Plaatbergers in or around 1865 (Erasmus, 2019: 69).

The archaeology presented in chapters 4,5 and 6, needs to be filtered and viewed through the history of the Plaatbergers discussed in this chapter, which has been drawn together from a variety of documents and sources. The documented history draws attention to diversity (cultural and economic) of people at the mission (Bush women servants to Bastards, BaSotho employees, Bastards, Boer traders, English labourers and traders, and English missionaries) in differing frequencies through time. Additionally, one needs to consider the ebb and flow of conflict, abandonment and the use of the mission as a camp for British forces in the context of the impact that all the above will have had on the material record. These issues were considered, especially in locating the archaeological focus, in order to be reasonably secure that the area chosen to investigate was that of a Bastard area. It is to the layout of the mission and the identification of the structures that I now turn to in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

PLAATBERG MISSION STATION LAYOUT AND STRUCTURES

The village is greatly improved since I was last here; the people have built themselves very good and substantial houses, after the colonial fashion. A large number of gardens and orchards are well enclosed; and hundreds if not thousands, of fruit trees give the whole a very interesting rural appearance (Broadbent, 1865:200).

4.1. Plaatberg within the Caledon River Valley Landscape

Mission stations do not operate in a vacuum, their function was the conversion of the heathen population to Christianity and consequently they are sited within an inhabited landscape, dotted with hamlets, villages, and towns as well as more hidden rock shelters and mountain enclave sites with diverse social, economic and political interests – nodes in the ebb and flow of groups of people within the landscape. Plaatberg was one of the mission station links in a chain of Wesleyan mission stations envisaged by Rev Shaw (Vernal, 2012). It was situated on well worn missionary routes between WMMS mission stations of Thaba Nchu, Lishuane, Meremetsu, Umpukane and Imperani (Fig.4.1). A map compiled by the PEMS, published in 1837, shows missionary routes linking Morija to other PEMS mission stations in Lesotho and a further missionary route from Morija to Plaatberg (Ambrose, 1993:226; Fig. 4.1). Plaatberg was also on a route from Bloemfontein via Thaba Nchu to Thaba Bosiu. Its geographical position on the landscape between these important towns and mission stations meant that it was a natural halfway point in which interactions between more powerful groups took place (BR I:120,220,221,268; Sanders, 1975: 195,214,259).



Figure 4.1: The PEMS map produced in 1837 (reproduced in Ambrose 1993:226), showing the missionary wagon route from Morija to Plaatberg, (red arrow). Although not indicated, the route did continue north of the Caledon River.

As outlined in Chapter 3, the Plaatbergers were not major players in the regional political wrangling through the nineteenth century and the station may therefore have been viewed as a neutral and less threatening meeting place. It was therefore not as isolated as other mission stations and gained an importance that it would not otherwise have attained. Plaatberg's location on Rev Freeman's map (Fig. 4.2), shows that it was surrounded by Moshoeshoe's territory, which included his allies Moletsane and his BaTaung to the north, numerous BaSotho settlements to the west and south-west and the land that he allocated to the groups who migrated from the Vaal/Harts Rivers in 1833/34. In addition, there were pre-existing Griqua settlements to the south and Sikonyela and

the BaTlKowa to the north. In other words, Plaatberg was in the centre of a large area settled by different polities.

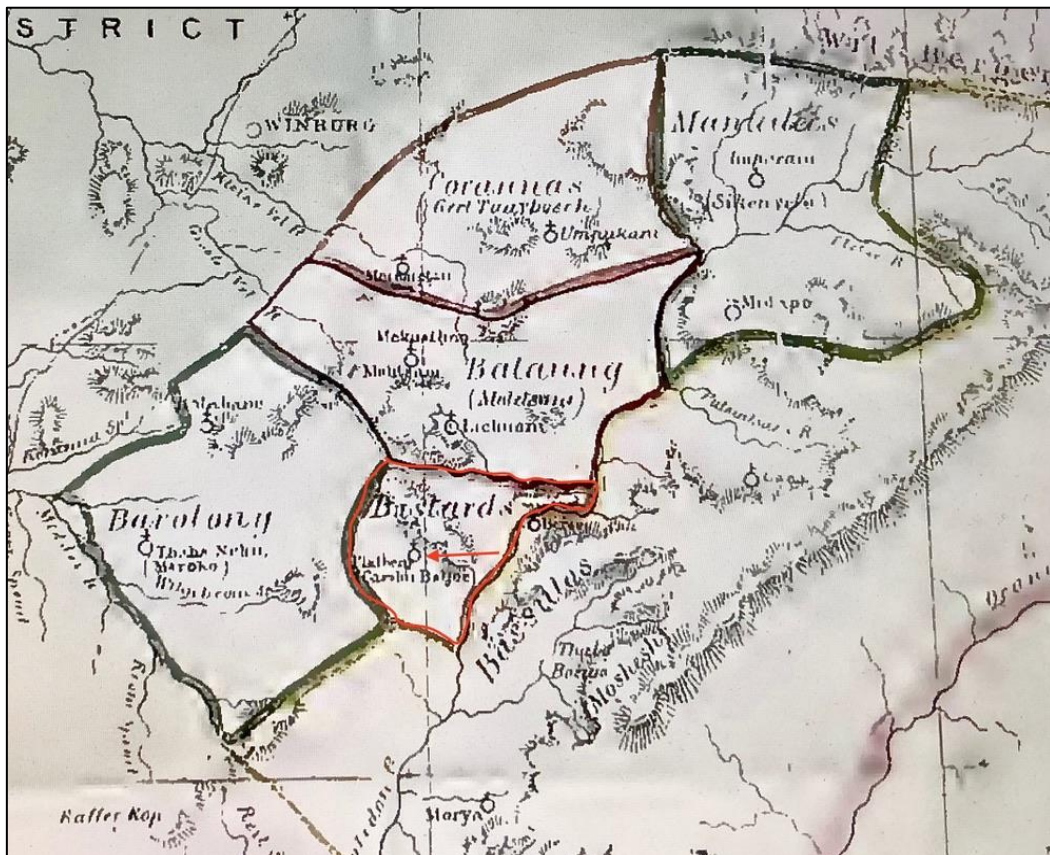


Figure 4.2: Detail from Reverend Freeman’s 1851 map showing the land granted to the Wesleyan missionaries by Moshoeshoe in 1833. Plaatberg is indicated with a red arrow and Plaatberg territory is outlined in red.

4.2. Mission Station Layout

One of the main aims of the missionary effort in southern Africa was to impose order and structure on what they saw as a disorderly landscape (Hall, 2000:67) empty of society and history, “waiting passively to be watered and tilled by evangelical effort” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:172). They certainly did not recognise that the indigenous hunter-gatherers, farmers and pastoralists physically manipulated the land over time, and constructed a landscape full of cultural meaning. The environment was therefore not an untouched wilderness, but it was foreign and unfamiliar to the missionaries. Missionary manipulation of the landscape required fields neatly enclosed and divided by hedges or

fences, a key metaphor for converting the uncivilised heathen to civilised Christianity (Johnson, 2007:15; Johnson 1996:93), where fences were symbols of property ownership and political order in the Old Testament (Johnson, 1996:85). The missionary at Plaatberg, on behalf of the WMMS laid claim to the Plaatberg station and its lands, an ownership that the missionary as a member of the lower middle class, could never hope to achieve in Britain.

Additionally, for the missionaries, taming the wild landscape and conversion to ideological and physical order also included enclosing house yards, gardens, and orchards to create order, which signalled a civilised, genteel Christian mission station outpost in the wilderness. A lack of fences, boundaries, and a grid like village layout meant disorder where Satan and heathenism would prevail. The important symbolism of enclosure meant that three months after his arrival at Plaatberg, Rev Cameron organised the construction of a dry-stone wall to enclose and demarcate the mission garden (Cameron, 1840a:363). The station was a clearly ordered and demarcated area within the landscape, to which access was physically and ideologically controlled. For example, Cameron denied access to traders and their wagons into the station on the Sabbath and were required to set up camp outside the station boundary until the Sabbath was past.

From the Wesleyan missionary point of view, Plaatberg Mission Station represented a Christian oasis situated in a vast 'desert' landscape of heathenism. At the centre was the discretely bounded mission itself, surrounded by the agricultural lands allocated by King Moshoeshoe, beyond which lay the disorderly wilderness. There were two alternative constructions of the Plaatberg landscape at play. From the missionary point of view the farmlands needed to be productively cultivated, kitchen gardens and orchards had to be neatly fenced, and the whole irrigated and industriously cultivated by the inhabitants, set within and around the ordered Christian settlement (Fig.4.3). For the Plaatbergers there was no objective 'wilderness' and in contrast to missionaries, who sought to tame and control nature and all who lived on the earth, Plaatbergers dwelt within it. Their culturally creole legacy meant that secluded rock shelters, small rocky overhangs, streams and

gullies, grasslands, rivers, and rain were places and processes animated by spiritual forces and essences (Ouzman, 2005; Challis, 2012, 2014).

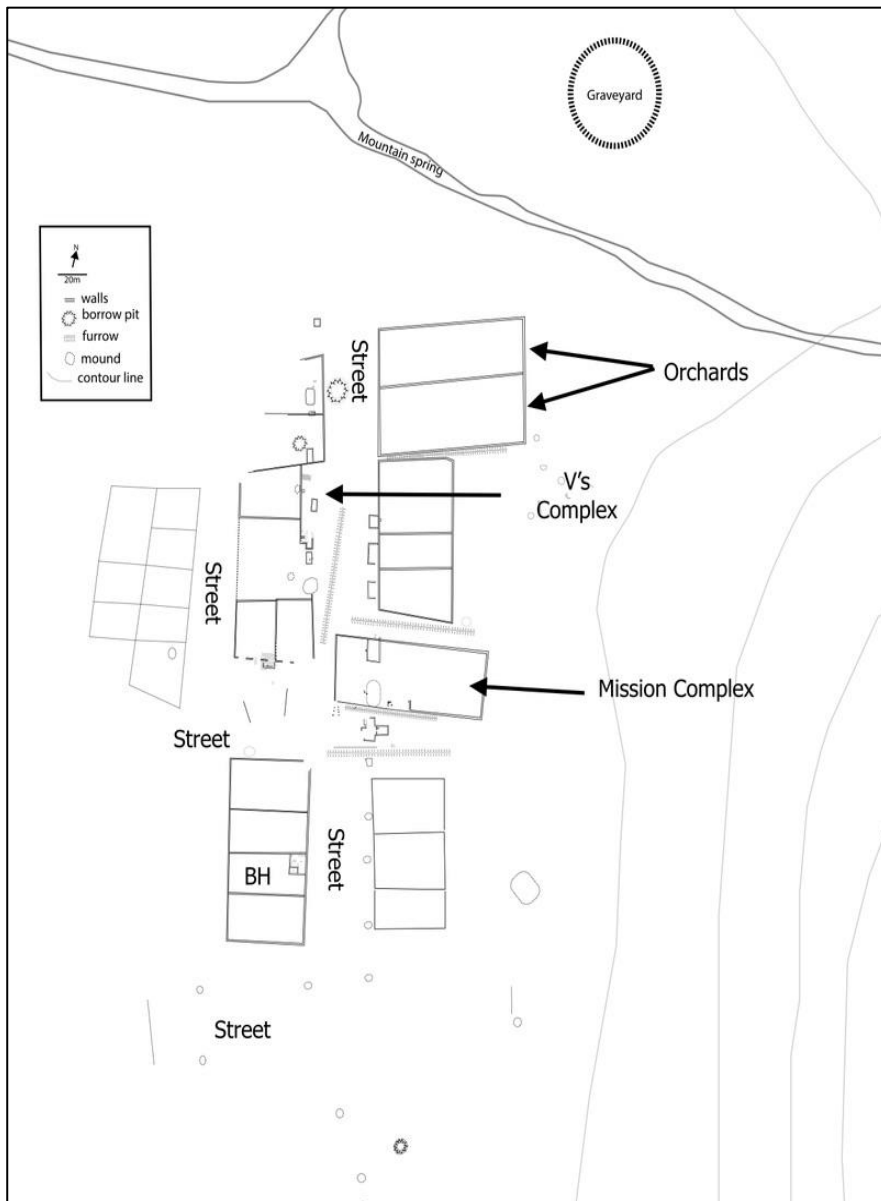


Figure 4.3: Plan of Plaatberg mission station

Their landscape was equally well ordered and their sinuous pathways, so abhorred by the missionaries, linked places that were pivotal within their worldview. It is no wonder that these two different worldviews and their construction of landscape created frustration and tension between Plaatbergers and missionaries, an issue that will be discussed more fully below.

The “virgin” landscape was slowly but surely changed and moulded by the inhabitants of Plaatberg as they carved out a settlement that sought to reflect missionary aspirations but was also a cultural reflection of the Plaatbergers. The missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Arbousset and Daumas described the style of houses and early layout of the station in 1836; “on the brow of the ridge stand the chapel and the parsonage; and in front of these stretches the little village in one long street of twenty-five or thirty houses. At the side are numerous kitchen gardens which are watered by a pretty mountain stream” (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968:8). The Quaker missionary, James Backhouse, travelled to Plaatberg in 1839 and recorded his visit to the station in some detail in his published travelogue. His woodcut depiction suggests an unstructured station and most noticeably, an absence of fences or garden walls, or any type of enclosure whatsoever (Fig. 4.4).

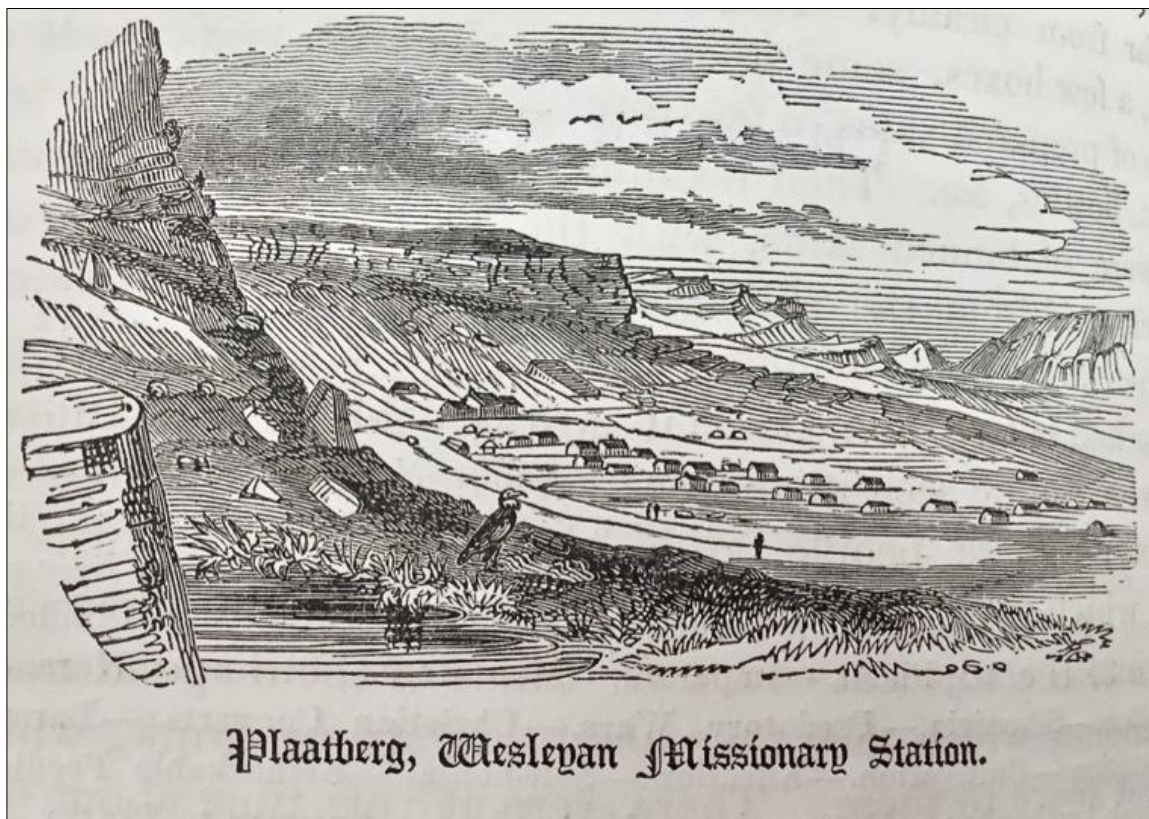


Figure 4.4: Woodcut published in James Backhouse’s 1844 publication “A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa”.

He drew many of the Wesleyan mission stations in the Caledon River valley during this visit, and most of them show clearly demarcated enclosed yards or orchards (Figs. 4.5 & 4.6), the only exceptions being Thaba Nchu and Platberg.



Figure 4.5: Woodcut of Merumetsu mission station published in James Backhouse's 1844 "A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa".

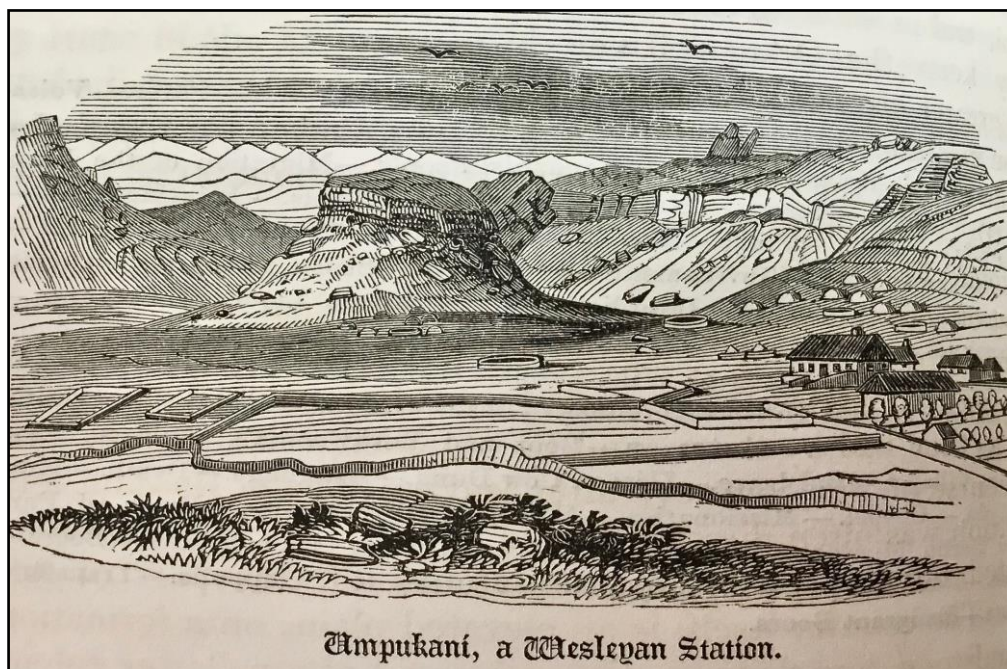


Figure 4.6: Woodcut of Umpukane mission station published in James Backhouse's 1844 publication "A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa".

The Plaatberg mission complex is clearly visible as a set of three imposing buildings set against the backdrop of the Plaatberg mountain (although he inverted it – Fig. 4.7), with the smaller dwellings of the Plaatbergers spilling gently downslope towards the west.

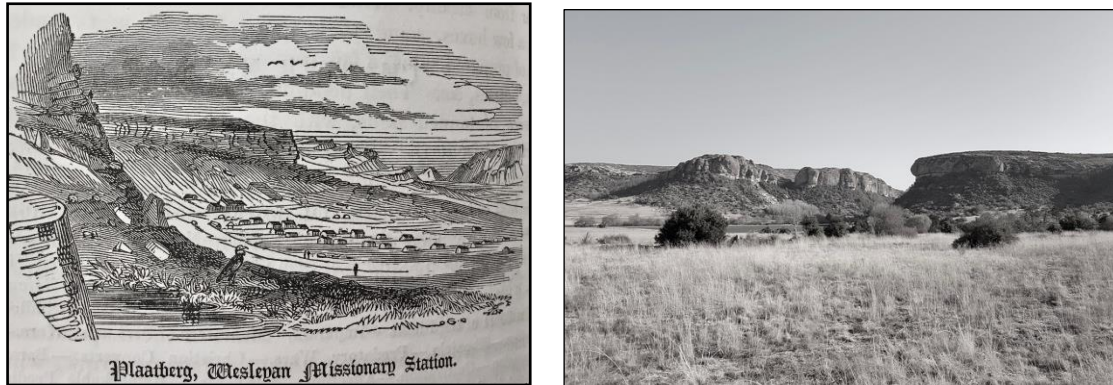


Figure 4.7: Backhouse's woodcut on the left and my photograph on the right taken from the area in which the mission station was sited but the mountain in the woodcut appears to be inverted.

The single long street described by Arbousset and Daumas in 1836 is not apparent in this woodcut. The emphasis in Backhouse's depictions of the mission stations in the Caledon River Valley (Lishuani, Merumetsu, Imperani, Umpukane and Thaba Nchu) was on the calm, well ordered, and reasonably prosperous life in a Christian mission station in the interior of southern Africa, at a single moment in time. However, as Elphick points out, the illustrations of southern African mission stations are misleading because they were areas of "intense struggle" (Elphick, 2012:21). What is shown is the calm mission settlement of Plaatberg, sanctioned by sacred authority and even the hills around the mission feel rustic and benign. These depictions, as images of order, are for the most part devoid of people and animals, and obviously therefore, do not illustrate the secular affairs of the Plaatbergers, the petty altercations within the community, the odd drunken inhabitant, brawls, the station bustling with traders and wagons coming and going, and threats of raids. The "intense struggle" of daily life and the ongoing, periodic conflict between the Plaatbergers and the missionary is absent, rather the images are ones of calm and inert order.

The civilised Christian station would ideally consist of a church, mission house, school, rectangular houses of the converts, smithies, workshops and enclosed gardens and

orchards (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:293). Over time Plaatberg buildings would include the church, mission house, printing press building, a gunsmith's workshop, rectangular houses of the converted, hartebeesthuise, matjieshuise as well as enclosed gardens and orchards. Missionary settlements generally were carefully planned by the missionaries with rectangular houses laid out in parallel rows (Japha *et al*, 1993:28). However, Plaatberg initially appears not to have followed this pattern. It must be remembered that Backhouse visited in 1839, a mere six years after its inception, and his depiction is of a youthful mission station. Another reason for this could be that the mission did not yet have a full-time, long-term resident missionary, but only transient catechists and missionaries who were ministering to more than one station at a time and for a brief period there was no missionary or catechist at all.

Cameron was the first missionary who remained in residence for any length of time, (1840 to 1845). The jumble of houses, loosely scattered about the station, as depicted in Backhouse's woodcut, was probably halted under his organisational ability and missionary zeal and he planned a village on a grid-like pattern, which Comaroff and Comaroff refer to as a "grid of gentility" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:287). They explain their use of this term as referring to a geometrically planned settlement with rectangular houses surrounded by fenced gardens (*ibid*) which makes it eminently applicable to non LMS settlements. Plaatberg was divided and carefully demarcated with a grid of streets, crossing each other at right angles (Cameron, 1845c:84) with the addition of strategically placed water furrows and irrigation ditches. The newly built rectangular houses of the inhabitants took their cue from the mission house, and likewise the interiors divided into functionally specific rooms. Cameron wrote in the early 1840s that the people seemed to have been overcome by "a building humour" and he was regularly called upon to measure even for the construction of new homes and gardens, even for those Bastards who had been "the most wandering and unsettled" (Cameron, 1842b:62). Notwithstanding this apparent enthusiasm on the part of some of the Plaatbergers, he bemoaned the fact that until all the reed buildings were replaced with stone buildings "we shall never have anything like a decent village" (*ibid*). More importantly for him as resident missionary and the continuation of the mission station itself, he continues "nor will the population become properly settled. The man whose residence is a mat and reed house, and a wagon

is never likely to fix himself in any particular locality for any length of time" (ibid). With more hope he wrote "the man who has a good house and garden, upon which he has bestowed much pains; he cannot carry them about with him,and therefore he becomes not only content to be stationary but even contracts a dislike to wandering" (Cameron, 1842b:62). Cameron notwithstanding this hopeful comment still had grave doubts as to the settled nature of the Plaatberg community, "the numerous gardens which our people have lately walled in and which will look very beautiful when brought properly under cultivation. The houses will not appear so rapidly as the gardens. Many have erected temporary houses near their gardens, intending to proceed at their leisure with more substantial houses but I fear their intentions will not soon be carried into effect "(Cameron, 1842b:79). Cameron's frustration that the architectural transformation was slow, and perhaps grudging, is palpable. He did not countenance the power of the Bastaard worldview and its portable material anchors (mat or reed houses) to resist his own deeply embedded cultural practice.

A well-ordered, neat looking village with streets, enclosed orchards and rectangular buildings was the Wesleyans way of proclaiming their success at taming the wilderness, the heathen inhabitants, and their conversion to civilised Christianity. This obsession is clear in Cameron's description of the BaRolong mission at Thaba Nchu where "No splendid fanes, no towers, or spires, no public buildings to serve the ends of either justice or benevolence, greet the heavens; a heap of Bechuana huts jostled together without any apparent order" (WMN, 1841:183; Broadbent, 1865:189). The missionaries were unsuccessful in their attempt to impose a town layout based on a grid pattern at Thaba Nchu, or in persuading the BaRolong to construct European style houses. It was indeed the BaRolong chief Moroka, who allocated land for the missionaries to construct their neatly fenced off mission house and chapel on a small mound in the centre of the town, dwarfed by the BaRolong settlement surrounding them (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:206). Cameron described the position of the mission at Thaba 'Nchu in 1840 "The main body of these huts occupies two eminences, forming two separate communities, under the government of two distinct and independent Chiefs, Morocco and Tonani; the Mission premises, standing between them on a third eminence, somewhat lower than the other two" (WMN, 1841:183).

A grid-like plan is evident in the layout of Cape Town, which is where most missionaries landed on their arrival in southern Africa. According to Hall this was a colonial invention, seen in other Dutch colonial settlements, which arose out of a need to impose order and regularity “in the teeth of barbarism” (Hall, 2000:27). The grid layout is common in colonies where new towns were planned, especially in the Dutch colonial world and is seen in many of the Cape country towns (Fransen, 2006:16). The origins are thought to be drawn from Renaissance ideals of symmetry “turning Medieval irregularity into rational order” (Fransen, 2006:16,17). Possibly a grid town plan made it easier to control an unruly population, who might possibly rebel at any time. The missionaries found the “sinuous pathways” of traditional villages and towns (like Thaba Nchu) unappealing. To the missionaries, the seemingly irregular and chaotic ‘design’ underpinned an unclean, unhealthy, and promiscuous lifestyle (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:297).

Prior to his appointment to Plaatberg as resident minister and Chairman of the Bechuana District, Cameron was the minister for three years (1837 – 1840) at Salem, a village in the eastern Cape established for the 1820 settler party led by Hezekiah Sephton (van Heerden, 1993:12). Salem was laid out in a pattern that had disappeared in England, with the church, village green and houses clustered together, surrounded by common land (Winer & Deetz, 1990:60). Due to the extensive land ‘reform’ that involved the eviction of tenants by landowners, the English nineteenth century rural landscape consisted of isolated farms surrounded by vast acres of land. The layout of Salem was directed by the Rev William Shaw, a Wesleyan missionary who was appointed to accompany the Sephton party to the eastern Cape. The older pattern used at Salem was more suitable defensively to life on the war-torn frontier (ibid). As Lewcock points out, the layout of Salem was “haphazard and informal”, reminiscent of historic English rural village tradition (Lewcock, 1963:406) and was not in fact the Britain that they recently left behind. It is quite possible that a part of this layout influenced Cameron’s plan for Plaatberg, particularly in the prominent and central placement of the chapel, school and mission house within the mission station, with many of the houses having a view of the chapel. The wider informal layout at Salem, however, was not copied by James Cameron as his orderly grid-like plan for Plaatberg

shows. The Plaatberg station layout was also a way of controlling the way residents moved through and used mission space. The station is enclosed protectively by mountains on two sides, forming a natural boundary in the east and north with the addition of a perennial stream, which has created a deep gorge to the north, which controlled access to and egress from the station as well as movement within the mission station (Fig. 4.8).



Figure 4.8: Google image of the position of the Plaatberg mission station and the stream, surrounded by the Plaatberg mountain range.

The position of the station on the slope of the Plaatberg range with extensive farmlands stretching out below the station to the south and west, meant that it was well placed to see approaching raiding bands or armies.

Whatever informed Cameron’s plan for Plaatberg, it resulted in a much more structured station. Streets crossed each other at right angles, stone walls defined and enclosed orchards, gardens and the yards attached to or adjoining dwellings and separated public and private areas within houses and yards. Cameron is quite explicit about the reason for his grid layout for the station, “With a view to curing another evil very detrimental to the progress of God’s work, I next proceeded to lay out the place in the form of a village”

(Cameron, 1845c:84) and in a letter to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missions dated 10 March 1842, outlines the actual layout,

“After maturely considering the situation I decided on making it four square the streets crossing each other at right angles and running from east to west and from north to south. This I effected at the expense of much personal labour; for not only had I to measure off the streets, the homestead and gardens, but also to draw the plan and trace the foundations of each man’s house. Still, I felt much pleasure in doing so, hoping thereby to secure the double advantage of improving the stations appearance and in attaching the people to it as their permanent home. A few houses have been built on the model I furnished, and a great many walled gardens stocked with fruit trees have sprung into existence” (Cameron, 1845c:84).

The enclosure of orchards, gardens, and house yards, emphasised in Cameron’s writing, is quite apparent from the extensive mapping of stone walls, wall footings and features, which resulted in plan of the site (Fig.4.8) produced by Amanda Esterhuysen, which provides evidence of the deliberate and careful division of land into plots of a quarter to full acre in size (Esterhuysen et al, 2019:4).

By 1848 the Reverend Shaw, writing to the Committee in London commented favourably on the changes made to the appearance of the station, “The village is greatly improved since I was last here; the people have built themselves very good and substantial houses, after the colonial fashion. A large number of gardens and orchards are well enclosed; and hundreds if not thousands, of fruit trees give the whole a very interesting rural appearance” (Broadbent, 2017:200). Mrs Giddy’s grandfather visited them at Plaatberg in 1845, bearing horticultural gifts of almond trees and roses (roses can still be seen lining the main street). Mr Sephton also created a large orchard, at some distance from the mission house, for pomegranates, figs, cherries, and other fruits (Taylor, 1927). From the plan of the site, two distinctly large stone walled rectangular areas can be clearly seen. One of these is probably the orchard mentioned, with another added at an unknown date (Figs. 4.8 & 4.9). Also clearly demarcated are the stone walled kitchen gardens/orchards

of the houses on the opposite side of the street from V's complex, and the mission complex consisting of the mission house, the printing press building and the chapel.



Figure 4.9: Google Earth satellite image of Plaatberg mission station showing the two large orchards outlined in red and smaller plot divisions.

The development of the mission stations “grid of gentility” is evident with the emphasis on right angles for streets and rectangular enclosures for orchards, gardens and yards and rectangular houses and the increasing use of mud brick to build them. Circular borrow pits, threshing circles together with streets, yards, orchards and rectangular mud brick houses are an important landscape “text” to be carefully read, deciphered and understood.

The street in front of the mission complex is 40m wide on the northern end, it only narrows at the mission complex itself. The width of the main street was important as it had to be able to accommodate the U-turn made by a wagon with a span of oxen (Fransen, 2012:5). A second street running from north to south appears to run on the western side of V's complex beyond the garden/orchard area where a modern dirt farm road follows

the same track. The field to the west of this provides pasturage for cattle, but satellite images show plot divisions in this field as well as the two large rectangular orchards (Fig. 4.8). The fields to the west of BH have been ploughed, and not much remains except for a few upper grindstones and broken refined industrial earthenware sherds. A possible east/west street can be seen in the plan (Fig. 4.3) which may have been the main approach to the station, certainly from Thaba Bosiu.

The site of the mission complex was chosen with care, the chapel, mission house and printing press office are situated on the upper slopes of the Plaatberg range, well protected from the prevailing winter winds by the Plaatberg itself. These three structures are aligned north to south, parallel to the main street (Fig. 4.3). In addition, and more importantly perhaps, they are sited on large mounds, substantially raised above the street, and were situated on the highest part of the village, standing out against the natural scrub covered backdrop of the Plaatberg mountain. Although most of the rectangular structures at Plaatberg were built on mounds, none of them were as large as the three in the mission complex (Figs 4.10 & 4.11).



Figure 4.10: View from the rear of the chapel, looking towards the west. The size of the platform is indicated by the slope on the left. The stone wall footings, especially the eastern wall, are visible.



Figure 4.11: View from the rear of the chapel, looking north west towards the mission house mound. There is a water furrow between the two mounds.

This seems to echo the plan at Salem, where Winer and Deetz noticed that most of the houses had a view of the church and village green and the inhabitants could thus “look toward the symbols of safety, community and religious leadership” (Winer & Deetz, 1990:46). Additionally, Scott points out that streets with views which focused on the church were integral to Dutch town planning (Scott, 1987:140). The scale, position and placement of the mission buildings would have been clearly visible to residents and visitors and served to emphasise that for the missionaries, this complex of structures was physically and religiously central to mission station life. The cruciform-shaped chapel, the largest and highest placed building at Plaatberg, served as a metaphor for the spiritual authority of the missionary. This symbol of Wesleyan religious authority and control was a prominent, daily reminder to residents of the obligations as members of a Christian mission community. The difference in height between the mission complex and the houses of the Plaatbergers allowed the missionary’s spiritual gaze down over the ‘flock’. It was a spatial reminder of the differences in power and status between the mission family and the inhabitants, certainly from the missionary’s point of view. The chapel, as is usual in Christian churches, is orientated east with the entrance on the western side facing the street, was not enclosed by walling, in contrast to the mission house and printing press

building, which is not surprising as the mission house was the private, family sphere whereas the chapel was the public sphere of the missionary's life on the station. The chapel needed to be open to the street, welcoming and easily accessible to all. The total enclosure of the mission house and printing works from the rest of the village suggests a deliberate and symbolic separation of the missionary's civilised moral family in their private domestic life, from the uncivilised heathen indigenous population. Ideally the Christian, civilised domestic home life of the missionary was to be on display as an example to converts and potential converts, with the intention of being faithfully copied by them (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:288). At face value this was discouraged at Plaatberg, although we are not sure when the western boundary wall in front of the mission house and printing office building, (which extends into the main street), was constructed. Hunt argues that there were distinct differences in the way that Cameron and Giddy reacted to the inhabitants of the station. Cameron although he spent much time laying out the station and constructing the chapel, appeared to resent being viewed in the private family space of the mission house and preferred that he and his family be viewed by the Plaatbergers in their public roles, beyond the home. Within the mission complex, the chapel was the only public space into which Cameron welcomed the Plaatbergers, with a wall separating the public space of the chapel and the private space of the mission house. Giddy on the other hand, was happy to allow Plaatbergers into the mission complex, indeed the business of printing, situated within the mission complex would have necessitated the employment of several people (Hunt, 2020:200-201). It is therefore possible that the wall was constructed during Cameron's tenure. Within the home, missionary wives were relegated to the private domestic areas of the house in bedrooms, kitchen, and pantry. Guests were received in the public spaces of the parlour or veranda (Ashley, 2018:713,714). Backhouse records with some disapproval that when Captain Baatje visited the catechist, Mr Sephton, at the mission house, he was not offered a seat, but sat on the parlour floor, just inside the front door (Backhouse, 1844:385). This passage not only highlights the use of the parlour as a public space, but suggests that spatial gradations were in play, depending on who the visitor was.

An important consideration in planning the settlement, entailed the management of water run-off in the summer rainfall months which must have been of some concern to the residents. One strategy was to build structures on raised mounds with stone foundations (Figs. 4.10 & 4.11). Another was to dig furrows to direct the run-off from the mountainside away from the station gardens and houses. One of the furrows runs north to south along the main street which may have carried rainwater away the V's complex houses and gardens to the west in addition to draining the main street (Fig 4.3). Four additional furrows can be seen, leading down the mountain slope directing water away from the mission complex buildings and the orchard (Figs. 4.3, 4.10 & 4.11). In addition to channelling rainwater, irrigation furrows were constructed from the mountain stream to provide water for the station's orchards and kitchen gardens (Freeman, 1851:308). The clearing and preparation of the landscape for planting a variety of crops and the digging of irrigation and drainage furrows, required a large expenditure of labour with the expectation of a better return on the harvest (see Ross, 2014:50). It might be expected that the *Plaatbergers* involved in agriculture would remain within the settlement to tend to and harvest the crops. But despite this expectation, Cameron complained that some of the inhabitants were absenting themselves from the *Plaatberg* station for lengthy periods of time, only returning for the planting and harvesting seasons (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

4.3. The Issue of Land Ownership

With the development of the mission station and its infrastructure, orchards and fields, came the issue of how these were managed internally, but also in relation to the local *BaSotho* communities on whose land the mission had been established. On 16 February 1843 and again on 23 February 1843 Carolus Baatje and a party of his men saddled up and rode out to prevent a group of *BaSotho* from settling on *Plaatberg* land (Cameron, 1843b:65). The simmering conflict over *Plaatberg's* boundaries is a recurrent theme in Rev Cameron's journal, which is unsurprising, considering they shared two borders with *Basutoland* and occupied land allocated to them by the goodwill of *Moshoeshoe* (Fig 4.2). The tension over land boundaries led to conflict between *Bastaards* and *BaSotho*. The

Bastaards resented BaSotho converts use of Plaatberg land for cultivation, despite their rights to do so as members of the WMMS (Cameron, 1842b:32).

Cameron once again got involved in secular matters and advised Baatje to refuse permission for a group of BaSotho to settle near Plaatberg as he feared their cattle would start grazing on Plaatberg land (Cameron, 21October1841c). Carolus Baatje also complained that the BaSotho had physically occupied land that had long been in the possession of the Bastaards (BR I:129). It was after all critical for their safety, security, and economic well-being. Moshoeshoe, however, asserted his sovereignty over all the land occupied by the BaRolong and Bastaards and in a letter to the High Commissioner in April 1847, pointed out that all four mission stations (Thaba Nchu, Lishuane, Plaatberg and Umpukani) were situated within sight of villages belonging to his people (BR I:132).

Land ownership and rights of use were further complicated by white trek pastoralists who recognised the fertility of the Caledon River Valley and petitioned Moshoeshoe for land already settled by the missionaries, causing a certain amount of panic amongst the WMMS (Cameron, 1842b:5). The balance of power slowly shifted, as the trek Boers grew bolder in their approach and threatened to reap and appropriate the harvest and expropriate the land belonging to mission settlements. They attacked and destroyed Beersheba and Morija, two PEMS mission stations (Coplan, 2009:511) but left Thaba Nchu and Plaatberg alone, although the attacks caused the Wesleyan missions in the Caledon Valley to remain on high alert for possible Boer incursions.

Within Plaatberg, issues around ownership and the use of land also came to the fore. Cameron felt that the land was owned by the WMMS and that he, as the society's representative on the mission station had a controlling interest on their behalf. He threatened the Plaatbergers who owned land but were largely absent except at planting and harvest time, to remove them from the WMMS. He managed, with some difficulty, to persuade Carolus Baatje and his council to pass a law stating that Plaatbergers who were absent from the station for more than a year would forfeit their property rights. His explicitly stated objections (noted in his letters) to Plaatbergers absenting themselves for lengthy periods were twofold. Firstly, there was the danger that absent villagers living in the "wilderness far from the means of grace and beyond the reach of both civil and

religious jurisdiction” (Cameron, 10 March 1845c), in other words away from the daily Christian guidance of the missionary, they would revert to heathenism. Secondly, he felt that absentees exerted a bad influence on the full time Plaatberg residents by encouraging them to do likewise. He also objected to Plaatbergers who tried to sell their land. When Cornelius van Wyk (the ex-captain) wished to sell his “opstal” (farmhouse) and his “erf” (land) Cameron opposed the sale of the land (Cameron, 24 June 1841c). He hoped that these measures would bind the people to their station (Cameron, 10 March 1845c; Esterhuysen et al: 2019:9). There is no doubt that he believed that the WMMS had bought or received the land from Moshoeshoe and frequently stated that Plaatberg was a Christian WMMS mission station and would be governed by him as such. As Esterhuysen *et al* point out, Cameron viewed the allocation of land to the Plaatbergers as one of the benefits of conversion (and therefore membership of the WMMS), with all the legal and ideological obligations that accrued (Esterhuysen et al, 2019:9). However, when Plaatberg on the Caledon was established to Christianise the unconverted Plaatbergers in 1833, conversion and subsequent membership of the WMMS could not have been an issue in the allocation of residential plots, farming, and grazing lands. From Cameron’s own writing, it appears that the Captain and the Plaatberg council had authority in the matter of land distribution and alienation, although these issues were sometimes discussed with the missionary. An example mentioned by Cameron was the allocation of land to Barend Lubbe by the veld cornet, Adam Wyniers, which suggests again that the captain and council and not Cameron were responsible for the allocation of mission land to residents (Cameron, 1842b:41). The captain and his council also had the power to remove Plaatbergers rights to land, a right which they exercised, resulting in a Plaatberger complaining to Cameron that he had been alienated from his land by them (Cameron, 1841a:420). Cameron’s view was that due to his two year absence “according to the laws of the place he had forfeited all right to the privileges which he claims” and suggested that the man apply to the Captain and his council as a new applicant (Cameron, 1842b:44) leaving the final decision with them.

4.4. Structures at Plaatberg

Like most European visitors, the PEMS missionaries, Arbousset and Daumas were not impressed with the construction of the Plaatbergers houses “some of them build them of raw brick or of clay, on a plan which is simple and not unhealthy though very incommodious; but others content themselves with a narrow, low and smoky hut formed of mats, and into this the people and their household utensils are huddled together in the most disgusting confusion” (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968:12). The huts made of mats were matjieshuise (Fig. 4.12, see also Figs 4.4, 4.5 & 4.6), hemispherical huts with a sapling framework covered with reed mats (Frescuro & Myeza, 2016:114,115; Walton, 1952) which was the pastoralists answer to a mobile lifestyle as they were easy to dismantle, and they were light enough to load on oxen for transportation (Barnard, 1992:184).

Three years later James Backhouse, continuing in a similar vein to Arbousset and Daumas, wrote that the majority of the houses at Plaatberg were hartebeest houses (Fig. 4.13), constructed of “tall reeds and plastered with mud: a few had better cottages; and two or three of their houses were built of brick, in European style. But even in one of these, which had a fireplace and a chimney, the fire according to the common custom of the coloured natives, was made in the midst of the floor. In consequence of this practice, both the houses and people are far from cleanly” (Backhouse, 1844:384,385). The preference for a central fireplace for warmth within homes was recorded by Cameron three years later, in June 1842, when he visited an unnamed old woman and found her huddled for warmth next to the fire which was burning on the floor in the centre of her little hut (Cameron, 1842b:54). Backhouse found that each house contained “a bedstead, a few boxes, some stools generally with seats made of strips of skin, a few iron pots, a kettle, with a few basins, bottles etc” (Backhouse, 1844:385).

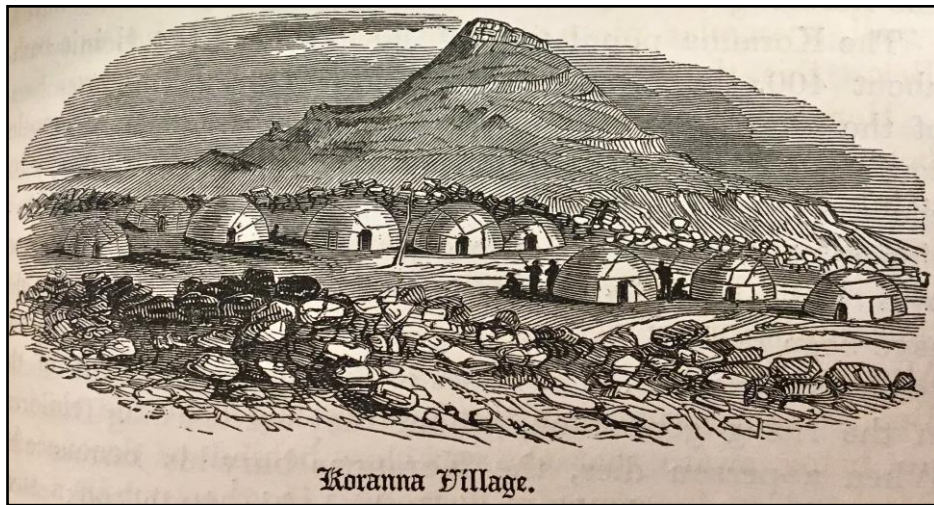


Figure 4.12: Korana village of mat huts on the Riet River, drawn by Backhouse, illustrated in his 1844 publication "A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa".

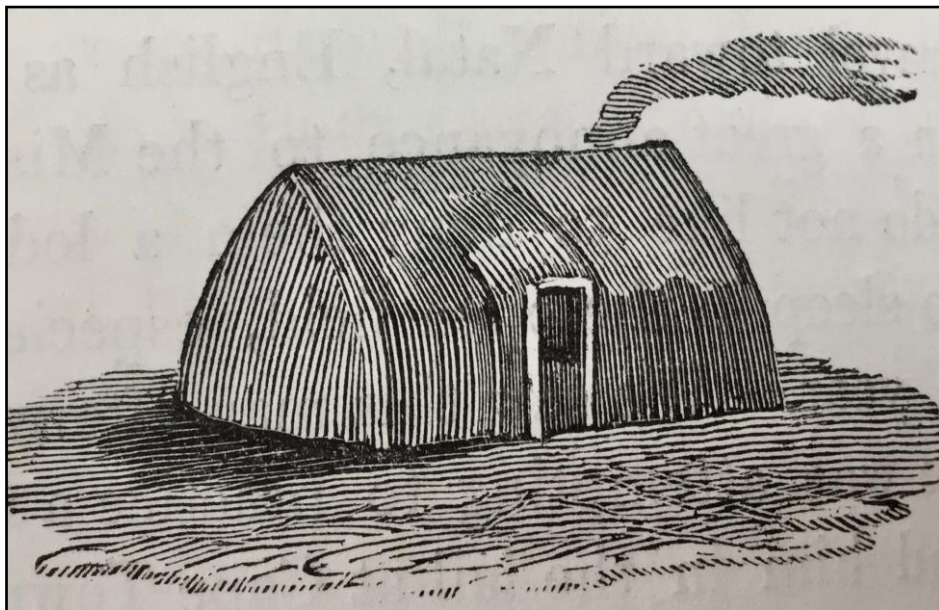


Figure 4.13: Hartebeeshuis at Beersheba mission station drawn by Backhouse, illustrated in his 1844 publication "A Narrative of a visit to Mauritius and South Africa".

His accompanying woodcut of the station (Fig. 4.4) shows a majority of rectangular structures, one rondavel and perhaps six mat huts. The rectangular structures downslope on the right of the woodcut may possibly depict hartebeeshuise but the structures are not detailed enough to be certain. He was clearly more interested in drawing the magnificent mountain backdrop than sketching the houses in any detail. There is artistic license, and

he may have added the dwellings at a later stage from memory, considering that he inverted the rocky outcrop (Fig. 4.7). The PEMS description of the mission station structures in 1836 and Backhouse's description in 1839, indicates that from the beginning the structures at Plaatberg covered a range of architectural styles. The majority were hartebeesthuise with some mat huts, in contrast mud brick rectangular houses were in the minority. In 1836 Arbousset and Daumas (1968) estimated that there were 25 to 30 houses at Plaatberg, the majority being mat houses. Although Backhouse does not mention the number of dwellings at Plaatberg, he noted that most of them were hartebeest houses. His drawing depicts 29 or 30 architecturally mixed dwellings, excluding the mission complex. Some Plaatbergers may have built small rectangular mud brick houses and still utilised mat huts or hartebeest houses as accommodation for extended family or for storage, the construction of the one does not preclude the use of more traditional forms. The diversity in architectural styles persisted and was noted as late as 1845, when Cameron left Plaatberg (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

For the nineteenth century British Victorian missionaries a "home" had all the connotations of moral refinement, domesticity, femininity, and spirituality, in a confined and controlled space (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:276). This is presumably why Cameron spent so much money and effort building his own home and was happy to assist the Plaatbergers measure out their own sun-dried brick homes, built in the European style. In 1842, a census recorded some 200 houses which provided shelter for the roughly 400 inhabitants of the station (Cameron, 1842b:85) although there is no clear indication of numbers for rectangular brick-built houses as opposed to hartebeest houses and mat dwellings. In his letter to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Mission in 1845 he states that his plan for the "village" was only "partially attained" and that only "a few houses have been built on the model I furnished" (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

Another account is provided by Lieutenant St John, a Royal Artillery officer with the British forces encamped at Plaatberg in December 1852. He estimated that there were 30 to 40 ruined houses, excluding the parsonage. He commented favourably on the station in his diary mentioning, in particular the "fine gardens" and the attractive setting of the station

itself (Schoeman 1988:36). The ruined houses were the result of the 1851 BaSotho/British conflict in which the Bastards were on the losing side, the BaSotho exacted revenge by destroying their houses, but spared the missionaries structures. To date we have mapped some 24 rectangular structures excluding the mission complex, but there are probably more to be located on further investigation of the site. These numbers suggest that the majority of the Plaatbergers continued to live in mat houses, and therefore difficult to locate. Additionally, some of the rectangular house foundations may have been robbed and the area ploughed over in the west of the mapped area (Figs. 4.3 & 4.9).

While the ordered mission layout evinced civilised living, the form of each house was key to the missionary message. On their arrival at a new site, most missionaries lived in their wagon until a hartebeest house was either built or allocated to them. They would, however, erect a brick mission house and chapel as soon as possible because they made important statements about their permanence on the landscape and how civilised Christians should live. Rev Archbell was transferred to Plaatberg from Thaba Nchu to take up the position of resident missionary in mid-February 1835. On his arrival he found the station lacked a rectory and chapel, but he informed the society that he had managed to persuade the Plaatbergers to assist him build dwelling house and a temporary chapel. By the 18 May he took occupation of a 60 by 18-foot building which served as both the mission house and chapel (Archbell, 1835, SOAS). In the interim he and his family may well have lived in a hartebeest house or his wagon. When Cameron took over as resident missionary in 1839, the mission house was in a state of disrepair (possibly Archbell's 1835 structure, which for reasons of safety was partially demolished), reporting to the WMMS that "the chapel a mere reed and pole shed, pervious to all kinds of weather" which was regularly flooded (Cameron, 10 March 1845c; Cameron, 1841a:377), which resulted in cancelled chapel services in inclement weather Cameron, 10 March 1845c). Reed structures were also literally eaten by hungry cows as Backhouse found on a visit to Bethany mission station (Backhouse, 1844:426). The Plaatberg buildings had stone foundations and sun-dried clay brick walls that required constant maintenance. Cameron lamented that the Society's pockets were not as deep as the PEMS, whose houses were constructed of stone, fire-burnt bricks and yellow wood beams and planks and while

initially costly, required much less maintenance and meant that they were more cost effective in the long term (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

Cameron mobilised a labour force of *Plaatbergers* to construct the large sun-dried mud brick religious structures that he required. The missionaries tended to refer to this mobilization as voluntary labour as opposed to any sort of coercion and consequently, building the new chapel and mission house at *Plaatberg* was reported to have been a community effort. Foundations were built of stone from the mountains (Cameron, 1840a:360) and walls of sun-dried clay bricks (presumably gathered from the borrow pits seen in Fig. 4.10) were made collectively by men, women, and children (Cameron, 1840a:369). Wood was used for the roof framework, with the closed-spaced battens being tied together with *riems* made of dried animal skins (Walton, 1952:93; Cameron, 1841a:381) and reeds were used as thatch. The walls were plastered, both inside and out (Cameron, 1841a:387). The Rev Edwards described plastering the mission house at *Lishuani* with a mixture of cow dung and sand to stop the walls from disintegrating in the rain (Edwards, 1886:93). Cameron also recorded burning lime in a kiln in order to whitewash his study and the chapel (Cameron, 1843b:191,198).

All buildings constructed of sun-dried clay bricks had to be plastered or whitewashed annually to avoid disintegration. Similarly, Thomas Pringle described the construction of his house in 1820 in *Algoa Bay* as being plastered with fresh cow-dung mixed with the equivalent amount of sand, over which a wash of pipeclay and wood ash, diluted with milk was painted. This technique was taught to him by his “*hottentot servants*” (Lewcock, 1963:134). This is similar to ethnographic descriptions of *Namaqua* herder floors, made of a clay layer over which a paste of dung and water was smeared every eight days (Webley, 2009:25). This method of construction would have applied to all the rectangular sun-baked brick houses at *Plaatberg* and perhaps the *hartebeest* houses as well.

These techniques indicate that despite missionary hauteur about European buildings, their own structures were architectural hybrids in which local techniques were used and valued. Although the missionaries stressed the importance of living in civilised western styled dwellings, they realised that some local building methods worked best, given both the climate and available building materials. The chapel, however had the only wooden

floor as opposed to an earthen floor, glazed windows, wooden doors and a pulpit. It consisted of the main chapel area which did double duty as the schoolroom, and a small vestry which also contained the school library (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

The internal form of Cameron's "substantial" mission house consisted of at least five rooms. These comprised of a kitchen with a pantry, bedrooms, a study and a parlour which functioned as both a sitting room and a dining room (*ibid*). The substantial size (attested to by the size of the mound) was necessary considering the variable size of the mission family as well as accommodation for visitors, such as Moshoeshoe, who was accommodated in the mission house on his frequent visits to Plaatberg, as were visiting missionaries.

The highlight for Cameron must have been the construction of a rectangular mud brick house for Carolus Baatje, measuring 38ft by 15, it was partitioned into three rooms according to function, one of which was to be the kitchen, Carolus Baatje eventually owned more than one house on the station (Cameron, 1842b:61). The example of Captain Baatje's dwelling gave support to Cameron's progress in moulding the station into an orderly grid layout and encouraging the construction of mud brick houses for the converted.

Although most of the rectangular sun-baked brick houses of the Bastards were small, they were also divided into three rooms, which included a kitchen and presumably a parlour and bedroom. This division was an important architectural sign of civilised Christian dwelling, in contrast to communal living in smoke filled matjieshuise. A dwelling without rooms for specific functions suggested 'savagery, almost animality' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:277). Baatje's house was fitted three window frames, two of them being sash windows with glazed glass (Cameron, 1842b:61). Glass, although deemed essential by the missionaries, was very expensive and in the early part of the nineteenth century was available only in limited quantities (Lewcock, 1963:143). The layout of one of Baatje's houses can be inferred from Martha Jane Kirk's account, a resident trader, who occupied one of Baatje's houses in 1850/51. She describes glazed windows, a kitchen, a dining room, which may have doubled as a parlour, a further room which she rented out as a grain store, and presumably there was a bedroom. There was also an outside room in

which her father lived (Schoeman, 1989:68,89). Outside rooms were expediently built onto the end of the house when more children arrived and were also used for visitors and as storerooms (Walton, 1952:7). The expedient addition of outside rooms raises the key issue as to how Plaatbergers really utilised this space in private. We can anticipate that cultural values inflected missionary expectations, and while there are no descriptions from the documents, there are a few hints from the archaeology, (Chapter 5).

By 1840, if not before, the division of house according to function which included creating private and public areas of the house, was and was well and truly transplanted at Plaatberg by Cameron and the Wesleyan missionaries. Cameron illustrated his mission house model, suitable for the catechist at Meremetsu in a letter to Mr Robinson (Fig. 4.14). This four roomed dwelling consisted of two bedrooms, a kitchen with a pantry, and the all-important parlour, which combined hallway, sitting room and dining room functions. The parlour represented the public face of the family, where they would entertain guests and receive visitors (Cameron, 10 March 1845c).

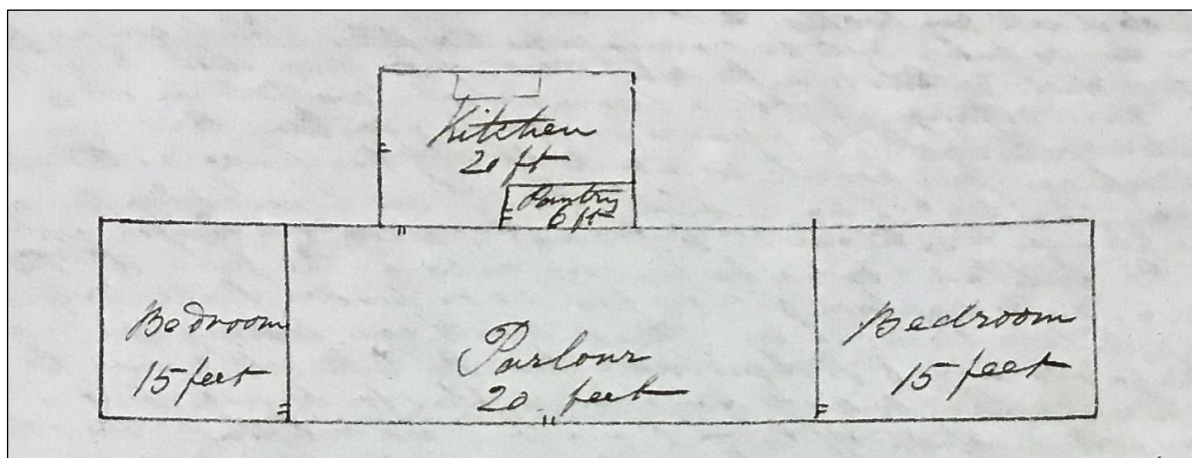


Figure: 4.14: James Cameron's plan of a house suitable for a WMMS catechist. James Cameron's Letter Book, 10 March 1845. Orange Free State Archives, Bloemfontein.

By 1850, Plaatberg had become a thriving mission station, with visitors from Philipolis and itinerant traders and their good laden wagons trundling into Plaatberg regularly. Additionally Boer farmers from the Vet and Modder rivers came to trade livestock for Plaatberg grain, and Plaatberg hunters returning with wagon loads of hunted meat to be converted into biltong, Moshoeshoe and his entourage came for meetings, and fellow

missionaries visited. The station was busy with the construction of houses, yard walls and threshing floors, and pigs on the loose. This was not the orderly English village scenes perhaps that the missionary wanted but the activities and sounds of a lively southern African village. This bustle is nevertheless apparent from a careful reading of Cameron's letters and journal.

Despite the bustle of activity at Plaatberg, the fabric of the mission had apparently been neglected during the 1850s. The Wesleyans placed great store on the appearance of a mission station and the neglect dismayed Reverend Ayliff when he visited Plaatberg in 1861. In his rough, almost illegible diary he noted that "The station bears mark of a plan such as do not appear at Bethany and Thaba Unchu, ...the plan has been laid but evidently not filled for it seems to as if it had been subject to the saying of Solomon, being a "time to build up and a time to pull down ...not more than 100 men, the state of the station very low – buildings out of repair and fences broken the tiers (I am uncertain as to this word) broken down." Consequently, he called a meeting to discuss the "disgraceful state of the houses", the lack of water to the gardens and the state of the fences (Ayliff, 1861). I have discussed periodic Plaatberger absences from the station on various occasions due to warfare and strife in the area. It would seem that the decay of the mission fabric was due to the regular absences of the residents. What is clear is that by 1861, the lack of able-bodied men stemmed from the Plaatbergers view that the mission station was increasingly vulnerable to attack and was no longer able to provide a safe haven. Plaatbergers no longer wished to spend money and invest their labour in maintaining the fences, houses, gardens, and orchards as they had done in the past.

In the following chapter I will focus on and discuss in more detail, the structures, and the excavation in V's Complex. This complex was selected for archaeological work to get 'inside' a Bastaard household and assess its materiality in relation to the fundamental dwelling model espoused by the missionaries.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXCAVATIONS AT V'S COMPLEX

Plaatberg mission station is situated at the foot of the western slope of the Plaatberg mountain which forms a protective backdrop to the station. The proximity of the mountains to the north and east and a deep gulley carved out by a perennial spring is probably the reason that this section of the station was never ploughed by subsequent farmers, thus preserving part of the station's layout. The western area of the station is in use as farmland. The site of the mission station was extensively and systematically surveyed to make sense of visible walling and wall foundations. Features on the landscape were plotted and mapped over many excavation seasons resulting in an invaluable map of the station (Fig. 5.1) surveyed and produced by Prof A. Esterhuysen.

Each GPS point was recorded, and the feature labelled to prevent duplication of points and the repeated plotting of the same feature. The points were uploaded onto Google Earth each evening to get an aerial perspective. From this a working map of wall foundations, features and middens was mapped. Two datum poles were set up and more detail was surveyed in with EDM Total station Nikon. As can be seen from the plan of the station (Fig. 5.1), several areas were earmarked for excavation. In the mission complex a few areas were excavated namely, PPH (chapel), PPH midden, HGH (printing press office) and MMH (mission house) by Tamsin Hunt (Hunt, 2020). A small rectangular structure and yard was excavated by Hunt to the south, marked BH on the plan of the station. A large midden called Kitchen Midden (KM), (named by the farmer because of the large number of European ceramics lying on the surface after being excavated by animal burrowing), and stone wall footings which lie adjacent to the midden is currently being excavated. This excavation is being conducted by UNISA and none of the data is available yet.

As noted in the concluding remarks of the previous chapter, the selection of this complex for archaeological work was to get 'inside' a Bastard household and assess its materiality in relation to the model advocated by the missionaries. On walking the site during mapping, we observed that various areas had small mounds of earth which were littered

with ceramic and glass sherds, excavated by both ground squirrels and *aardvaarks*. The mounds were concentrated in ashy, bone rich soil which suggested the presence of middens or dense activity areas. In the case of V's complex, two such areas were identified, V's midden (Vm) and Vh yard (Vhy), which is why I concentrated on these areas.

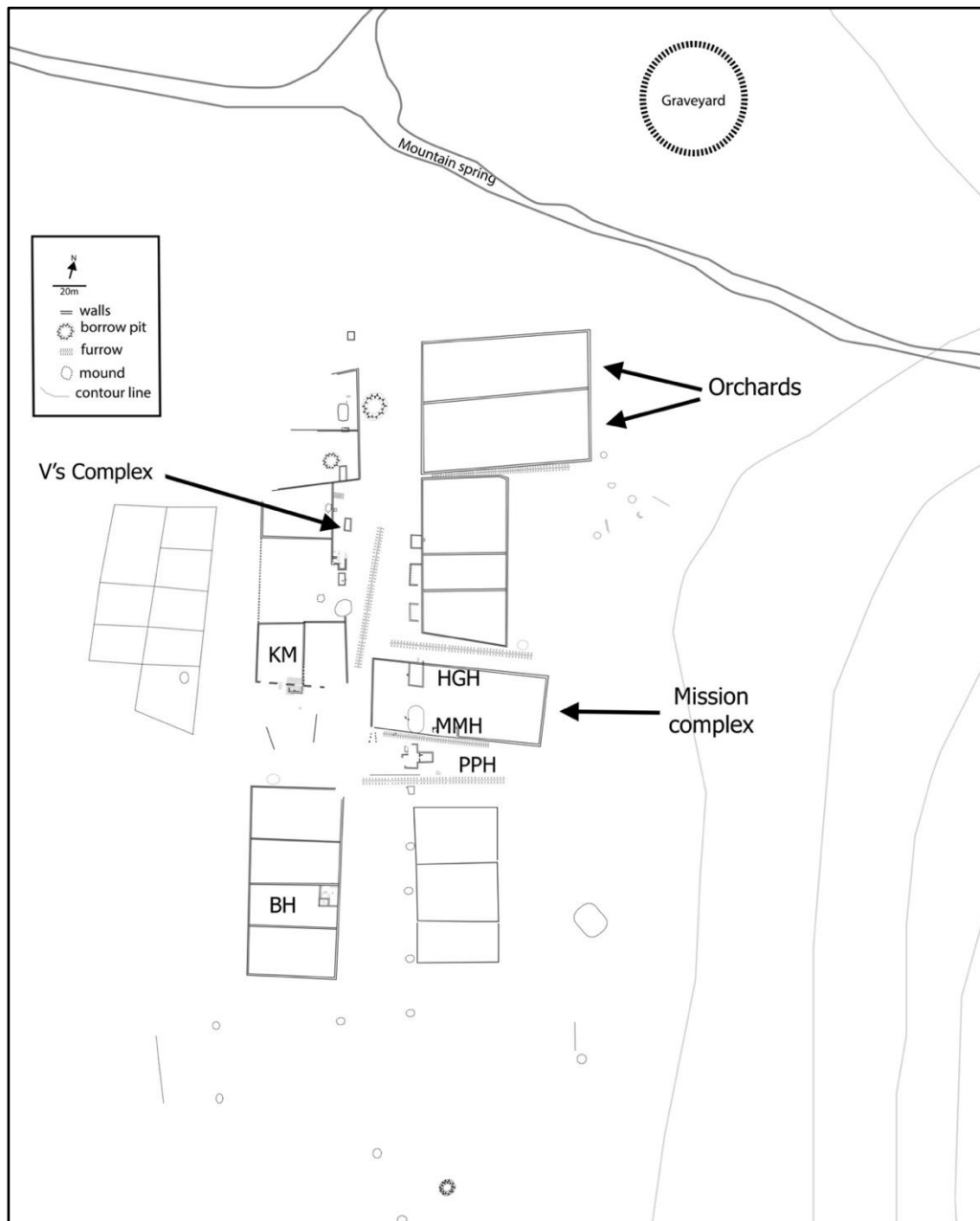


Figure 5.1: Plan of Plaatberg mission station showing the position of V's complex within the mission station as well as the different areas excavated within the station.

5.1. THE LAYOUT OF V'S COMPLEX

The structures and features that make-up V's complex are located on the western side of the main street towards its northern end (Fig.5.1). V's complex comprises a mixture of features and architectural styles, at the core of which is a hartebeest house (Vhb) and an associated *kookhuis* ('kitchen'; Vkh) and a midden (Vm), that are located on the northern side of V's complex (Fig. 5.2).



Figure 5.2: V's Complex structures and features

30 metres to the south of the domestic core (Vhb) there is what appears to be a half reed and half mud brick-built smithy (Vbw). Immediately to the north of Vbw is an L-shaped, brick-built structure with what seems to be an incomplete northern wall or was perhaps a reed wall, that is not preserved (Vh; Fig.5.2). A second midden (Vhy) is located immediately to the north of Vh, and this proximity may indicate a direct association. The identity and implied function of these features is given up front here and will be

elaborated in the descriptions that follow and help guide the analysis and interpretation of the material culture from these excavations (Chapter 6).

The eastern side of V's complex is open to the main street, running north to south through the station, which also runs directly in front of the mission complex (Figs. 5.1 & 5.2). Consequently, while the structures and features are bordered on the north, west and southern sides by stone-built walls, the primary function of these walls is to enclose orchards and gardens downslope of V's complex to the west and not the structures themselves (Fig.5.2). This is also the case on the eastern side of the street opposite V's complex, where three houses are directly attached to the western enclosing wall of orchards or gardens upslope to the east. In contrast to this arrangement, however, the Hartebeest House in V's complex is free standing within the precinct. V's complex is open, 'public' and seemingly immediately accessible from the street. This exposure is acknowledged by the drainage furrow that runs southwards along much of the front of V's complex. The openness of V's complex contrasts with the complete enclosure of the domestic missionary complex (Fig.5.1).

The construction of enclosing walls have solid foundations made of large stones. The upper walling has been robbed but the foundation stones indicate that they were solid stone walls, possibly built up to knee or waist height. This wall type bounds V's complex on the northern, western, and southern sides. Dry-stone walls were a prominent feature of the Plaatberg mission station landscape and Cameron records employing the expertise of BaSotho builders to construct a dry-stone wall to enclose the mission garden (Cameron, 1840a:368). In contrast, a second wall type comprises a base of two parallel lines of stones separated by a small gap (Fig.5.3). The interpretation of this base is that a reed and pole fence was anchored in the gap, creating a division between different properties as illustrated in Backhouse's (1844) woodcuts of Meremetsu (Fig. 4.4) and Umpukane (Fig. 4.5), although the type of walling in some of his woodcuts is difficult to make out. Umpukane appears to have a combination of stone and reed walling. This type of stone foundation surrounds the two large orchards at the northern end of the main street (Fig. 5.1).

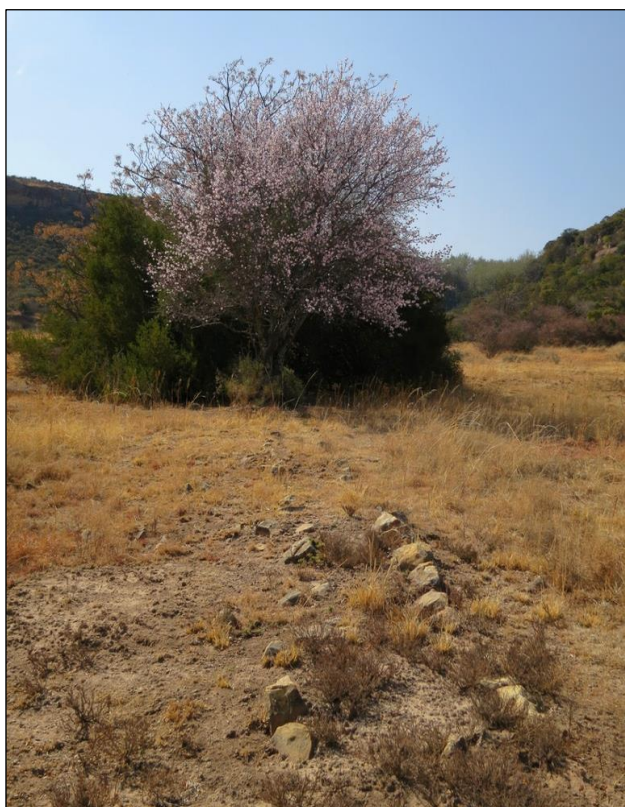


Figure 5.3: Photograph of the stone foundations surrounding one of the larger orchards.

I first describe Vhb, Vkh and Vm because they probably form a northern ‘package’ and then address the other structures on the southern end of V’s complex.

5.1.1. Hartebeest House (VHB)

This structure was not excavated but parallel foundation stones are visible on the northern and western sides and sections were cleaned out to expose detail (Fig. 5.4). This foundation type and an absence of decomposing mud brick strongly suggest that this structure was a *hartebeesthuis*. The wall footings are fairly scappy on the western, southern and eastern sides but there is sufficient detail that indicates the upright stones on the northern side may well have supported a sapling framework (Fig.5.4). When mapped it is clearly a rectangular structure, measuring 7m by 4m in size. The large flat

stone shown in figure 5.4 is possibly the threshold 'step' into the structure and therefore may mark an entrance. This faces north towards Vkh and Vm.



Figure 5.4: Exposed wall footings on the northern wall of Vhb.

According to Walton, the *hartebeesthuis* (the spelling is variable, for example, *hardbeeshuis* and *hardbieshuis* are used as well) was first adopted and used by the Voortrekkers and was so widespread that it can be seen as typical of the early settlers who moved across the colonial frontier. It was also an architectural style used by Griqua who settled on mission stations “usually built of reeds and are sometimes plastered with mud ... some of them have holes in the roof to let out the smoke” (Walton, 1952:93,95). Backhouse describes the Plaatberg *hartebeesthuise* as being made “of tall reeds, plastered with mud” (Backhouse, 1844:384). After more substantial houses were built, hartebeest houses were often used as farm storage buildings (Lewcock, 1963:135). A structure the size of Vhb could easily have had internal divisions made from cloth or mats.

5.1.2. Kook Huis (Vkh)

The *kookhuis* is located 5m to the northwest of Vhb and was directly attached to the stone boundary (Fig. 5.2). The *kookhuis* is not so much a house or hut as a small built fireplace. Collapsed stones and mud brick rubble alerted us to the possibility of the remains of a small structure (Fig. 5.5). Once an asparagus bush had been cleared, we found a capping of collapsed mud brick over the centre, and downslope to the south and west of the structure. Removal of the rubble exposed in situ stone foundations, just under 1 x 1 metre, on the southern and northern sides, as well as on the western side, and as noted, this western foundation was attached to the western boundary wall. Large flat stones on the eastern side suggest that this was the entrance and clearly directly accessible from Vhb. The large amount of charcoal and burnt stones within this structure suggested that it was used as a cooking area. The internal deposit of Vkh was removed in two spits.



Figure 5.5: Position of Vkh in relation to Vhb, Vhy and Vh.



Figure 5.6: Photograph of the Vkh excavation.

Spit 1 was excavated to a depth of 20cm. Underneath the rubble capping the deposit consisted of dark brown soil with plenty of charcoal inclusions and roots from the asparagus bush. A stone, burnt along its western side, was found 5 cm below the surface, formed a narrow ledge, 37cm in length protruding from the western wall (Fig.5.6 A). A large loose, unburnt stone was exposed at 5cm (Fig. 5.6 B) which probably collapsed into the cooking area from the surrounding walls. We looked for burnt reeds, but with the amount of charcoal and the asparagus root intrusion, nothing was discernible. Some pieces of mud brick had pole impressions which suggests a reed and mud brick wall was constructed on top of the stone foundation on the southern, western, and northern sides, to provide protection from the wind.

Spit 2 - The brown deposit continued in spit 2 with a profusion of charcoal, especially towards the western wall as well as under the large collapsed stone, (Figs. 5.6 B & 5.7). The deposit below the stone included a large stoneware sherd and a cow mandible which were found just above a smaller burnt rock against the eastern wall. A variety of sheep/goat remains were recovered from this spit. The asparagus roots intruded in the

deposit to a depth of 40cm. The yellow brown base of the hearth at 40cm was a culturally sterile deposit.

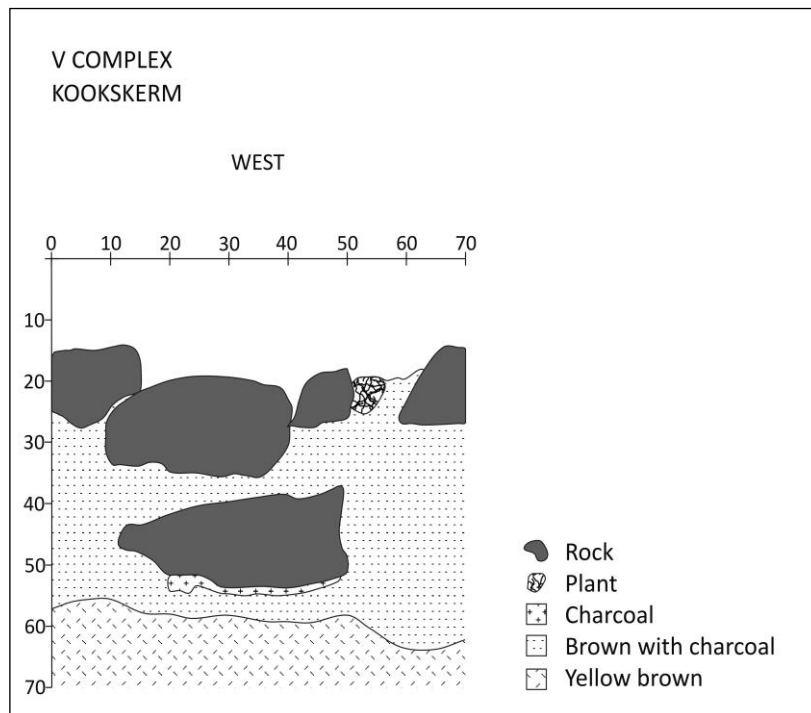


Figure 5.7: Vkh Section drawing of the western wall

5.1.3. V's Midden (Vm)

The midden (Vm) is immediately to the north of Vkh and abuts the western orchard/garden wall (Fig 5.2). The surface was littered with ceramic and glass sherds thrown up by an animal burrowing, creating an overburden of disturbed deposit (H102, H101 and G103) and alerted us to the possibility of this being a fairly rich midden. Vm is relatively shallow, and eight squares were excavated in 5cm spits (Figs. 5.8 & 5.9). The deposit depth varied between 55cm (G103) and 10cm (H103).

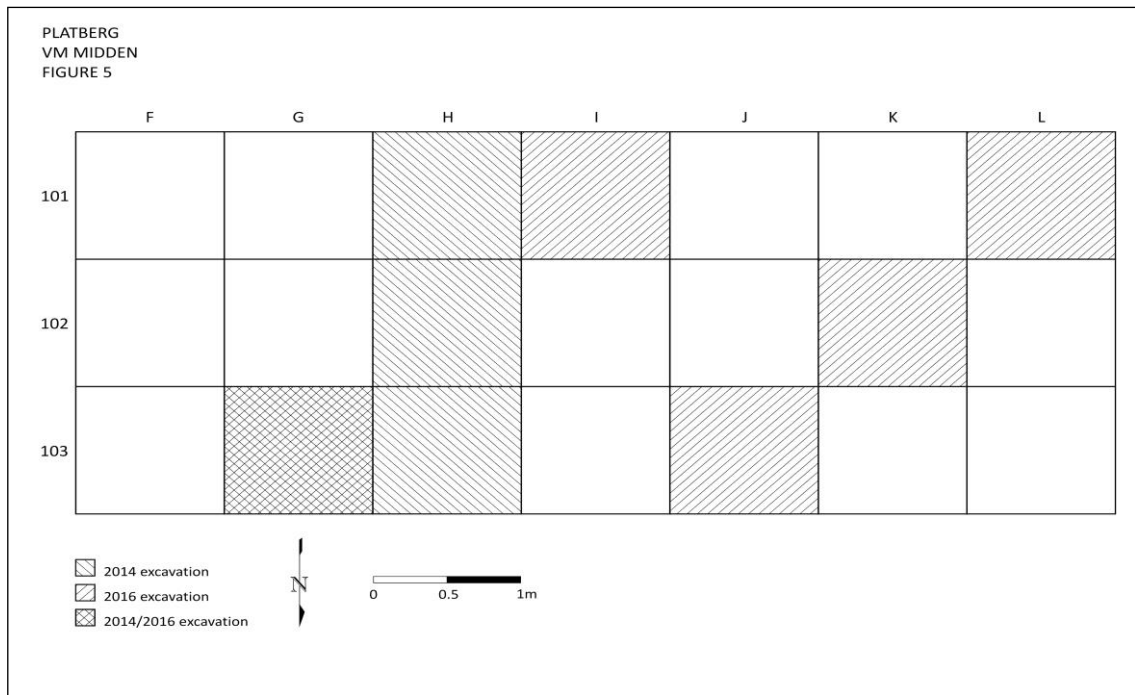


Figure 5.8: Vm excavation grid

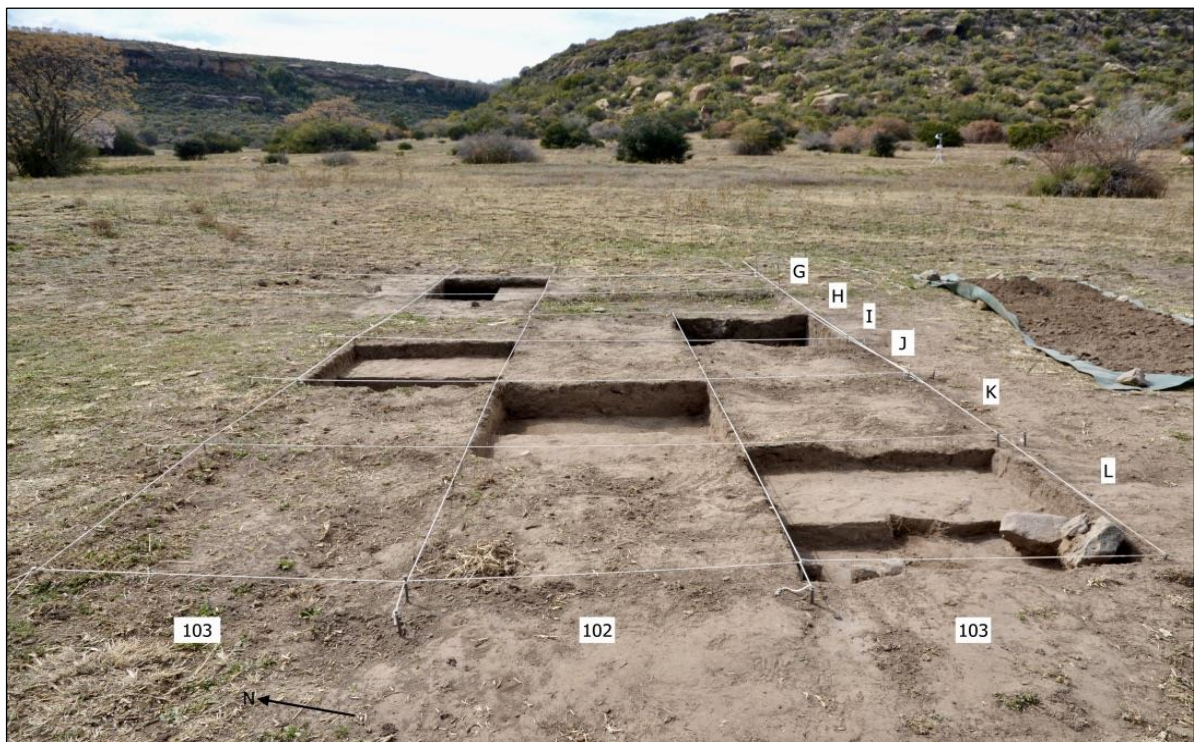


Figure 5.9: Photograph of Vm after excavation.

Surface/Spit 1

The overburden thrown up by the animal burrowing was grey and very hard in places. In areas free of the overburden the deposit was a hard mat of grass roots, brown, fine-grained deposit and did not contain much cultural material.

Surface / Spit 2

The deposit was fine textured, hard and brown/red brown in colour and the grass roots continued.

Spit 3

Burrow entrances were found in squares H101, H102 and G102. The burrow fill was obviously disturbed, and this was removed separately. At least 20cm of fill was excavated in order to get to the base of the animal burrow in squares H101 and H102. Vertical control was still used and Square H102 was divided into spits 3a and 3b. In H101 only the equivalent of the lower spit was present (3b) which was pink/brown in colour.

Spit 3a

The brown coloured deposit was fine and hard which was still part of the overburden.

Spit 3b

The deposit changed from brown to a fine grey-brown soil with flecks of charcoal and small chunks of brick which gave the deposit a pink-brown hue in places. An increase in cultural material was evident and appears to mark the top of the midden. The base of this spit coincides with the base of the animal burrow.

Spit 4

This spit was once again taken out in 5cm. The deposit, as in spit 3, was soft and sandy and pink, brown in colour in H101, a fine ashy grey in H102 and medium textured, brown coloured deposit in G103. Grass bedding from the animal burrow was evident.

Spit 5

The deposit in H101 remained a pink brown colour and was fine in texture. The deposit in H102 was ashy with patches of the animal burrow. In G103 the brown deposit contained flecks of charcoal.

Spit 6

The deposit in H101 was grey tinged with pink and was fine in texture. The deposit in H102 was also grey and was fine and ashy in texture. G103 deposit was medium fine in texture, brown in colour, flecked with charcoal and interspersed with lumps of clay.

Spit 7

The deposit in H101 was fine in texture and pink grey in colour and brown with charcoal in G103. Termite activity is evident in H101. The amount of cultural material diminishes in this spit.

Spit 8

The deposit in H101 was pink-grey and fine with patches of more orange deposit. In G103 the deposit was wet and brown and produced a good bone sample.

Spit 9

The colour of the deposit remained pink grey with brown patches in H101. The texture remained fine. Termite activity was evident in the south-western portion of the square. The deposit appears to be sterile. This was confirmed by auguring in the southwestern section of the square. The base of the midden consequently falls between spits 7 and 8. In G103 the deposit was once again wet and brown in colour, with a fair amount of charcoal.

Spit 10

In square G103, this spit consisted of wet brown soil flecked with charcoal but was almost sterile.

Spit 11

In G103, this spit included moist brown soil flecked with charcoal over the top of the very wet, culturally sterile, yellow brown clay (Figs. 5.10 & 5.11).

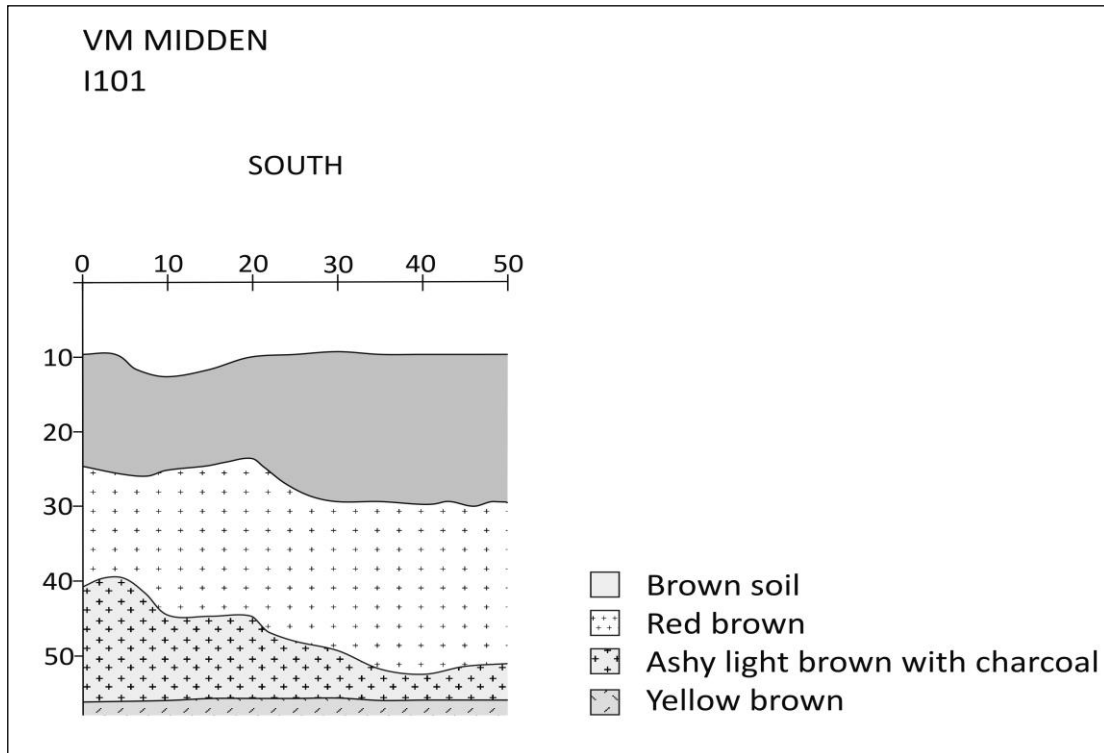


Figure 5.10: Representative section of Vm deposit from the south section of I101



Figure 5.11: Damp clay at the base of the excavation in Vm G103

5.1.4. V's House (Vh)

This structure was built on a slight mound, raised above the level of the main street as well as being higher than the level of the ground. This raised mound feature is evident throughout Plaatberg and probably was a practical solution to the problem of flooding during summer thunderstorms. A section of the western boundary wall of V's complex provided the foundation footings of Vh (Fig. 5.12). These foundation stones were exposed on the western edge of the mound. Initially it was thought that these footings were only the continuation of the boundary wall on the western side of V's complex. However, animal burrows similar to those at Vm suggested the presence of a midden. Excavations and two shovel test pits subsequently exposed northern and southern walls at right angles to the western wall (Fig. 5.12). The northern extension ended after a little over 4m (Fig. 5.13). The southern wall, however, ended in a right-angled wall to the south and continued in right-angles, ending with an eight-meter wall running parallel to the street (Fig. 5.12). These walls therefore form an L-shaped structure that seems to be partially open on the northern side because of the absence of foundation footings. This is unusual for Plaatberg where, chapel excluded, the majority of the structures that have been mapped or uncovered so far, are rectangular. Although unusual for Plaatberg, this shape does occur at other mission stations, for example, in Backhouse's woodcut of the PEMS station of Beersheba (Backhouse, 1844:357).

The dressed stone wall footings are substantial and impressive, especially on the southern and eastern walls of this L-shaped structure. They form a double line and are two rows and sometimes three deep, depending on the size of the stones. Smaller stones are packed into the gaps between the larger dressed stones (Fig.5.14). The excavated northern wall footings of this structure are 60cm wide and roughly 40cm to 50cm in depth.

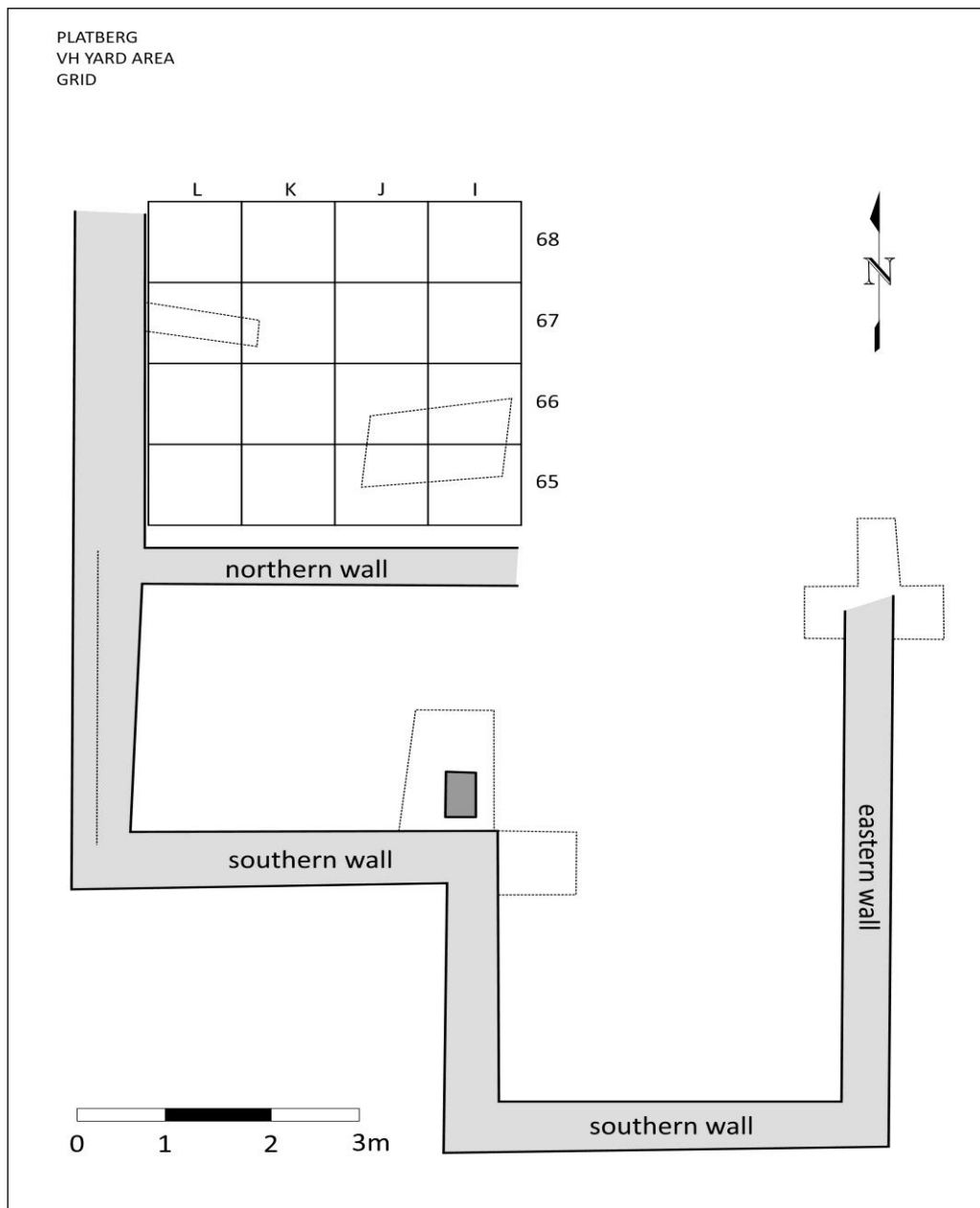


Figure 5.12: Plan of Vh and Vhy

The interpretation of these substantial flat wall footings from Vh suggest that they supported a mud brick construction. The stone wall footings would have stood proud of the ground level by two or more courses to ensure that the mud bricks at the lower levels were kept above flood water, ensuring that they did not disintegrate in wet weather. This was the usual practice with sun baked brick structures. The present farmhouse has a

substantial dressed stone foundation which extends roughly one metre above the ground, on top of which is a mud brick superstructure.



Figure 5.13: The abrupt end of VH north wall footing.



Figure 5.14: VH north wall, the two courses with small, packed stones can clearly be seen.

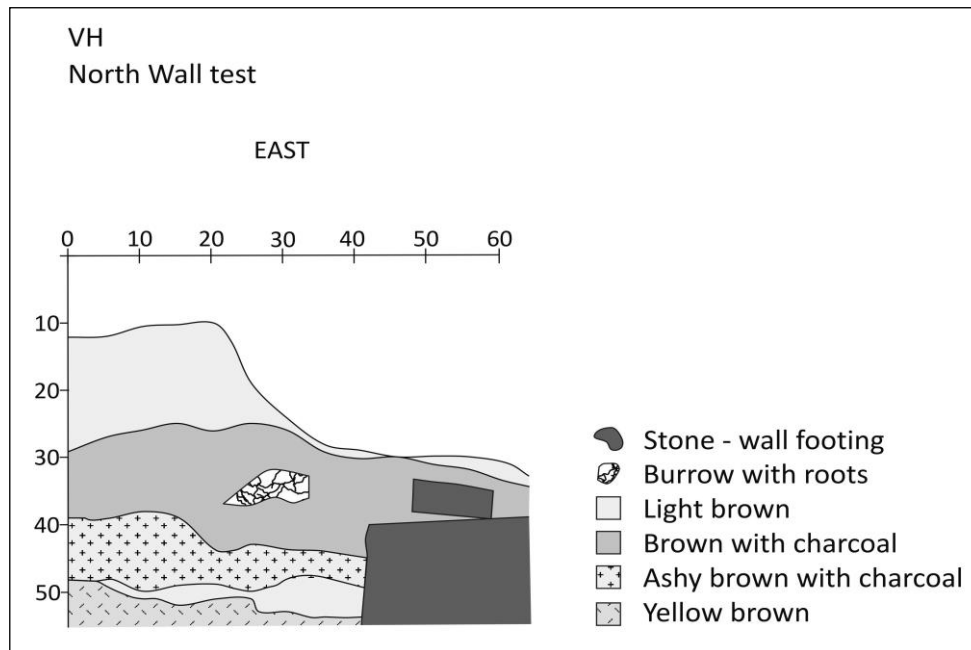


Figure 5.15: Section drawing (East) of deposit against the north wall of Vh.

As noted above, the northern wall running west to east only extends four metres from the western wall and does not continue as expected, to intersect at right angles with the eastern wall that runs parallel to the street (Fig. 5.12). There is a gap of about four metres. The incomplete northern wall may have been finished by a reed wall, although no pole impressed burnt mud or brick or burnt reeds were found. Another possibility is that the handsome dressed foundation stones could have been robbed for use in the construction of the later farm buildings. A barn within the current farm complex, is completely constructed of dressed stone. The current owner, whose family have lived on the farm, approximately since 1902, has confirmed that his ancestors used the stone from the mission station in the construction of farm buildings and farm walls. However, it cannot be ruled out that this gap was intended and integral to the structure. Very little material culture was found in the internal test pits and brushing, undertaken to trace the footings of the L-shaped structure. Additionally, there were no excavations of the interior surface and therefore the question of whether there were internal divisions was not answered.

5.1.5. Vh Yard

In the corner formed by the northern wall footings of Vh and the western orchard/garden boundary wall is a midden deposit (Vhy) (Fig.5.12). There is no boundary on the eastern

side and therefore it is open to the street running in front of V's complex. This midden banks up against the wall and this proximity suggests that its contents are important for the function of the Vh structure.

While this deposit is contained by the northern wall of Vh, the relationship of this deposit to the western orchard/garden boundary wall is not so straightforward. Excavations to expose the footings of this boundary wall uncovered a narrower wall running parallel and inside (to the east) the main boundary wall with a gap of some 25cm between the two (Figs. 5.15 & 5.16). The internal wall consists of two stone courses and the yard deposit does not go beneath the wall and is clearly contained by it (Fig. 5.17). A test square was excavated into the deposit immediately adjacent to the east of the inner wall to ascertain the depth of the wall and whether the wall built over existing yard debris. The test clearly shows that the midden does not stratigraphically go beneath this wall, and both rest on the same sterile clay-like soil (Fig. 5.18).



Figure 5.16: Photograph of the western boundary wall on the left and the inner wall on the right



Figure 5.17: Plan of western boundary wall and narrower inner wall.

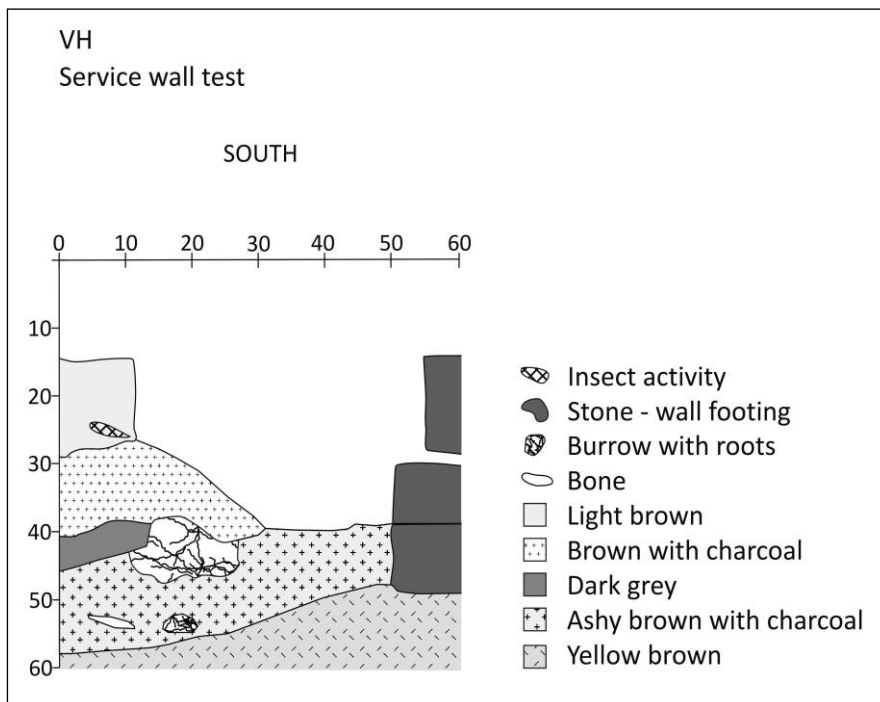


Figure 5.18: Section drawing (south) of the deposit banked up against the inner wall.

It is notable that beyond the northern edge of Vh and Vhy, the width and substance of the western boundary wall diminishes and takes the form of parallel stones with a gap, that as noted previously, was probably to insert a reed and wooden pole fence (Fig. 5.19).



Figure 5.19: Photograph of the western orchard/garden wall to the north of Vh and Vhy.

The purpose of this smaller inner wall may have been to contain the ash midden. Neither wall nor midden predate each other. However, it appears that the substantial wall footings of the Vh structure are more deeply set in (see Fig.5.14) which might suggest that these walls marginally predate the midden and its management by the construction of the inner wall.

In order to sample the Vhy deposit, a 5 meter by 5 meter grid was set up, aligned to the western boundary wall and the northern wall of Vh (Figs. 5.20 & 5.21). The Vhy deposit was heavily disturbed throughout by aardvark (*Orycteropus afer*), ground squirrel (*Xerus inaurus*) and small rodent burrows and harvester termite nests (*Hodotermitidae*) and the surface was uneven and pitted with burrow entrances and burrow excavation mounds (Fig. 5.21). The extensive animal activity in Vhy has clearly affected the integrity of the deposit and resulted in the mixing of artefacts. This is considered in chapter 6.

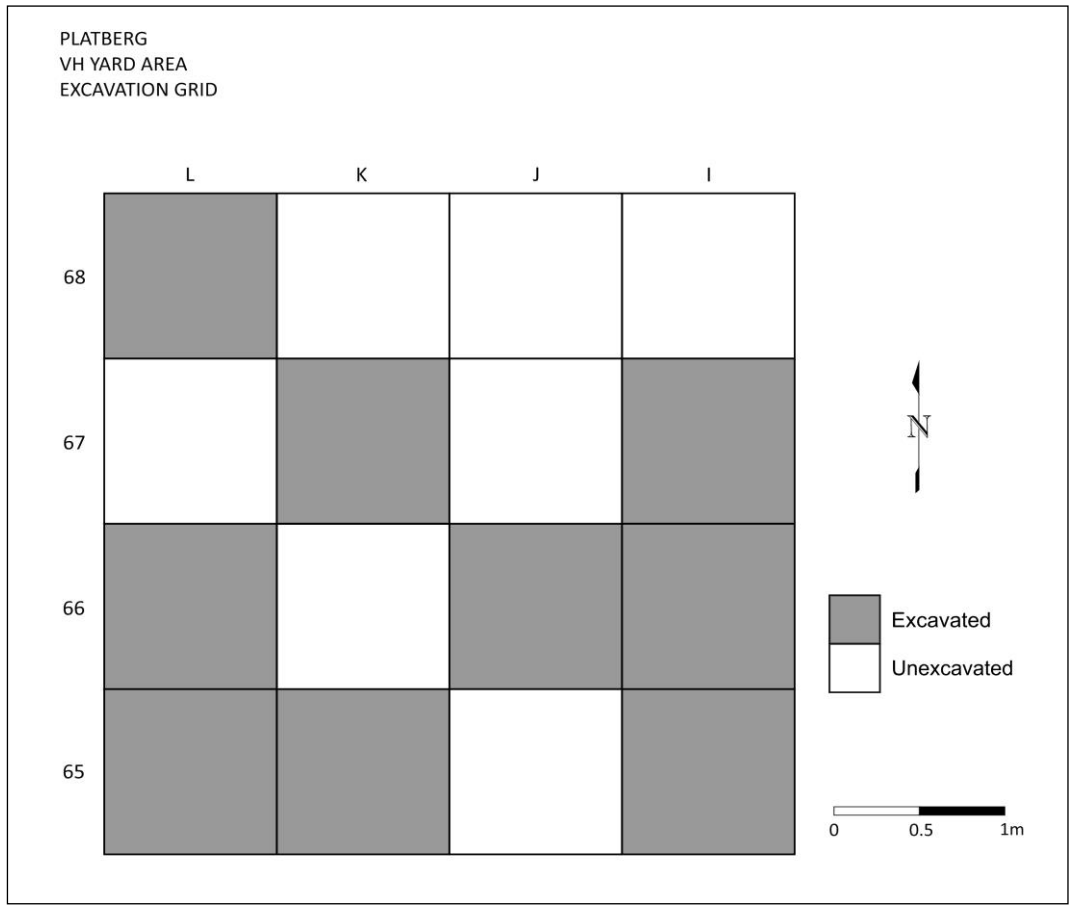


Figure 5.20: Vhy excavation grid



Figure 5.21: Photograph of the Vhy deposit and excavation. The small inner 'wall' is visible on the left of the grid.

Nine squares were excavated in Vhy in 5cm spits.

Spit 1

Light brown fine soil which was hard in places with a mat of roots.

Spit 2

A light brown, fine but extremely compacted deposit.

Spit 3

Light brown, soft fine ash soil in some squares but hard in others. Rodent burrows and nests were evident in many squares.

Spit 4

Light brown, fine textured deposit which varied in hardness, probably due to rodent activity. Rodent nests were discovered in L66 and burrows in L68, L66 and L67. More charcoal and a great deal of bone was excavated from this spit.

Spit 5

Light brown very fine and mostly soft deposit. More charcoal and larger pieces of bone were found. Again, animal burrows were present in all squares, L68, K67, L65, I65, I66 and I67.

Spit 6

Light brown very fine ash. The number of artefacts was considerably lower in this level and burrows were still present.

Spit 7

Light brown, very fine deposit interspersed with gravel. Rodent burrows and termites represented disturbances in the deposit.

Spit 8

Fine brown deposit with patches of damp clay-like soil interspersed with ashy lenses appeared in this level. The brown colour changed to ashy brown once dry. A high proportion of bone and charcoal appeared in this level, but few other artefacts were found and at the base, the deposit was sterile. Numerous rodent burrows were found at this level and the base of the excavation regularly threatened to give way under the excavator's weight due to deeper burrows.

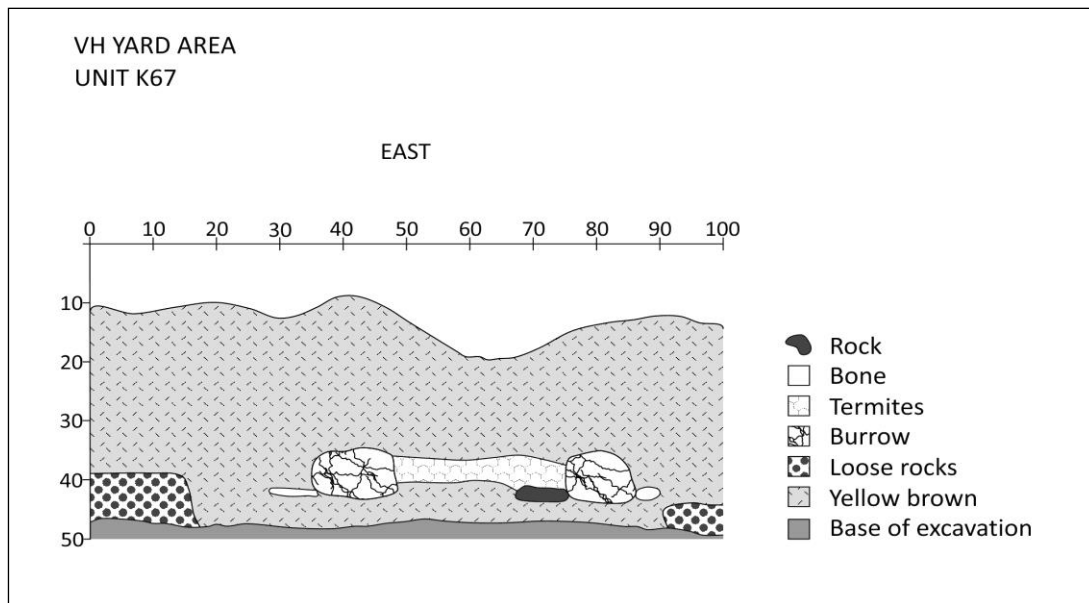


Figure 5.22: Section drawing of Vhy K67 eastern wall

The Vhy deposit is relatively uniform in colour throughout (Fig. 5.21). This is possibly a result of extensive burrowing and disturbance. The Vhy deposit contained an eclectic mix of material culture that includes animal bones, local and imported ceramics, metal, and glass beads.

5.1.6. V's Workshop (Vbw)

A prominent mound, three metres south from the southern wall footing of Vh, was thought to consist of mud brick rubble due to later 19th century European farmers dismantling Vh in order to remove and recycle dressed stone for their own farm buildings. Three exploratory shovel test pits (STP's) placed at one meter intervals, north to south through the centre of the mound established that this was not the case (Fig.5.23).

STP1 exposed a light brown extremely hard layer of soil and a large locally made coarse earthenware pot with two rows of a stylus impressed decoration just below the rim. Two halves of the pot lay directly on a cobbled floor that was 20cm below the rubble overburden (Fig. 5.24).

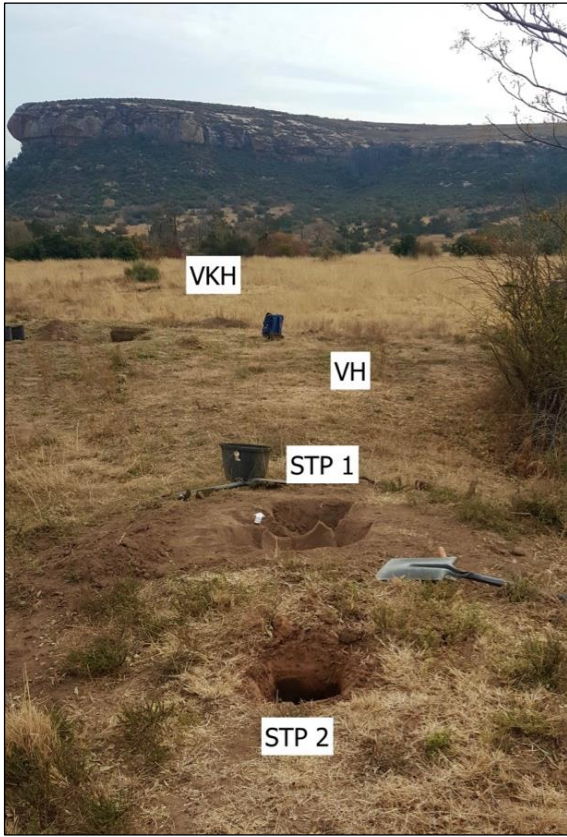


Figure 5.23: Vbw STP's 1 and 2



Figure 5.24: Vbw Local ceramic earthenware pot

STP 2 exposed a dark red soil (0-15cm) followed by a dark brown/black, damp deposit (15 - 30cm below the surface) which contained diagnostic metal fragments.

STP 3 went to a depth of 20cm through hard light brown soil and reached a cobbled base. A small trench was excavated from STP 1 to STP 2, to the level of the cobbled floor. Half of a cast iron cooking pot lid and three broken slate pencils were found in this trench.

Further excavations through the mud brick capping revealed a smoothed and abraded rock (A), resting next to fire blackened stones around its base that turned out to be a complete stone lined hearth (Figs. 5.25 & 5.27). There was half of a small black earthenware pot in the centre of the hearth depression and this and other sherds appear to have also been used in the construction of the hearth (Figs 5.27 & 5.28). The hearth and the deposit surrounding it were dark brown/black in colour and damp, no doubt due to the presence of the collapsed mud brick wall which seems to have sealed in moisture from the recent rains. A cobbled floor surrounded the hearth on the western and southern sides (Fig. 5.29).



Figure 5.25: Vbw mud brick in the eastern section with hearth stones appearing in the deposit

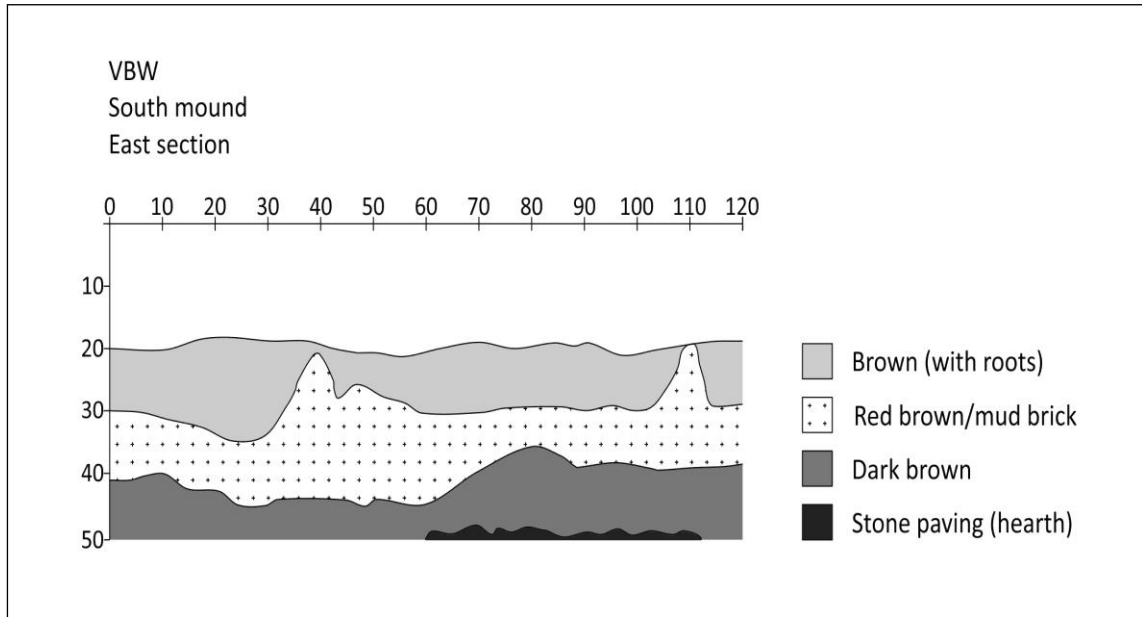


Figure 5.26: Section drawing of the east wall Vbw.

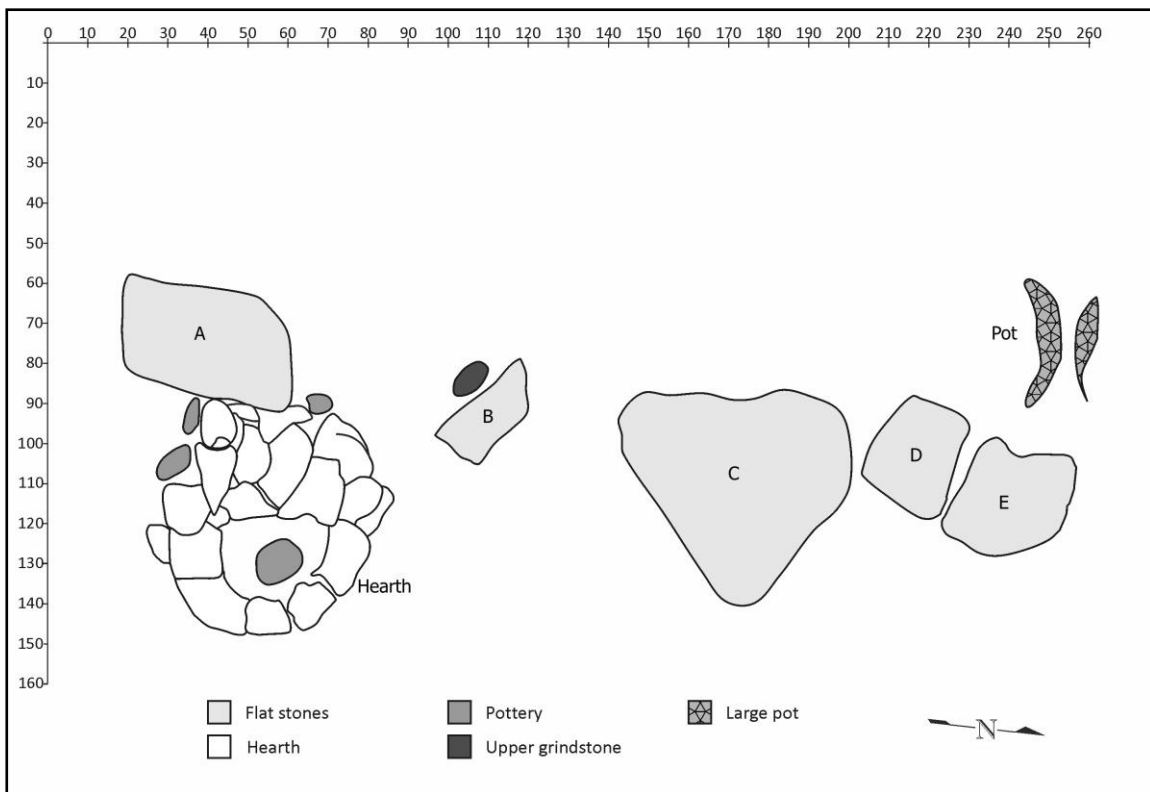


Figure 5.27: Plan of the hearth area in Vbw showing the position of the smooth flat stones in relation to the hearth.



Figure 5.28: Photograph of the stone lined hearth in Vbw. The earthenware pot in the centre of the hearth is marked.

This structure, like Vh, is also built on a slightly raised platform and measures 7.5 metres by 4 metres in size. The wall footings, which were completely covered by collapsed mud-brick walling, are 60cm wide and consist of a double row of semi-dressed stones. The footings on the eastern wall are reasonably level which is typical of a footing which acts as a base for a mud brick wall. Mud brick wall collapse is clearly visible in the stratigraphy in the eastern section (Figs. 5.25 & 5.26). The wall footings on the southern and western sides were constructed of a double line of stones but were not as formal as the eastern footings in that they were mostly uneven. Only one meter of the northern wall footings was exposed (Fig. 5.27), and these were flat and even. The irregular wall footings on the western side as well as pole impressed daga and burnt reeds/saplings suggests that the western wall was of a reed and mud construction. No mud brick was seen in the stratigraphy along the western wall. It appears that this structure was constructed using a combination of both mud brick and reed/sapling/wattle and daub construction.

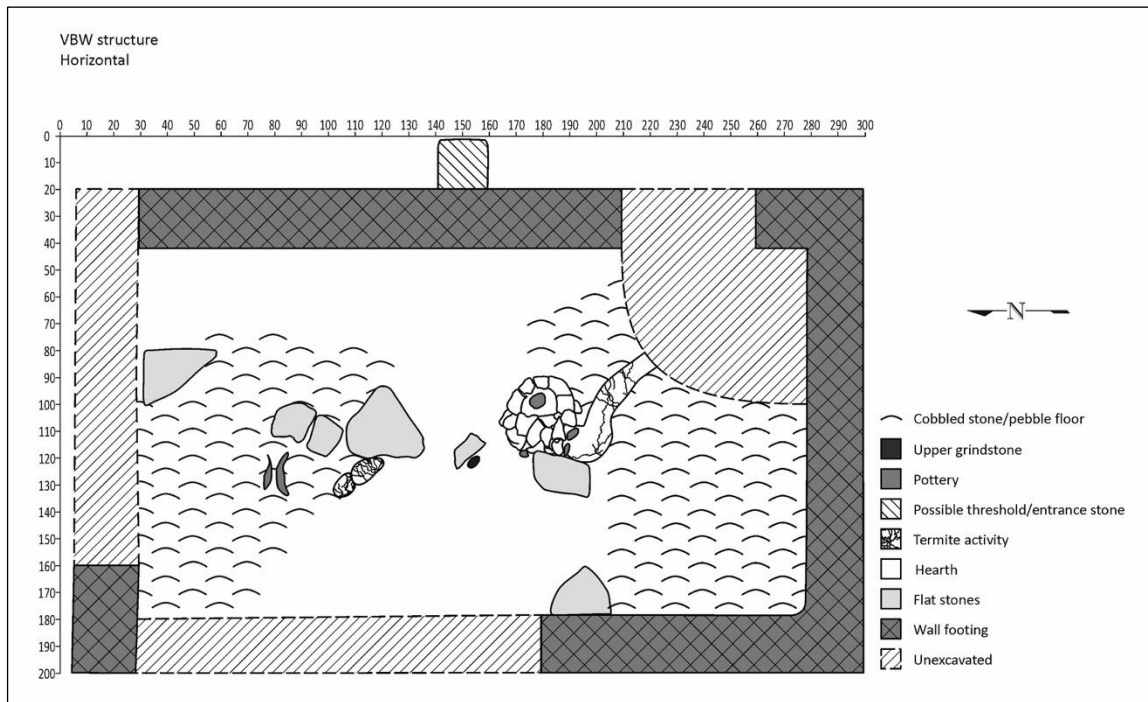


Figure 5.29: Plan of Vbw

A cobbled floor was found on the northern side which abuts the wall footing on top of which a large smooth rock (75mm by 70mm) is situated. This floor is also found on the southern side of the structure, neatly abutting the southern and western wall footings (Fig. 5.30). There are large gaps in the cobbled floor which might be due to rodent and termite activity. The cobble floor could possibly have formed the base of a mud floor. There is evidence of a smeared mud floor around the hearth.



Figure 5.30: Vbw Cobbled floor south

A significant amount of the floor of Vbw was exposed and there was no evidence of internal division, which suggests that Vbw was a single room structure. The entrance to Vbw appears to be in the eastern wall from the main street.

This is marked by a threshold stone, pecked and smooth, midway along the eastern wall footing giving access to the street (Fig. 5.29). The entrance onto the main street set within a mud brick façade on the eastern side suggests that this was the more formal, public face of the building whilst the other walls faced into the yard and the private area and were therefore less important. Other openings may still be found in the unexcavated areas on both the western wall and the northern wall, but due to a very tight time frame this structure was not excavated in its entirety.



Figure 5.31: Threshold entrance stone on the eastern wall of Vbw.

The lack of ash and household debris, especially bone, is probably the reason why we found no evidence of recent aardvark or ground squirrel burrows. Most of the structures

at Plaatberg show evidence of animal activity which alerts us to middens and structures that are unexposed. This was not the case here.

The interpretation of Vbw is that it functioned as a workshop/smithy. The stone lined hearth is partially surrounded by a cobbled floor and abuts a smooth rock next to which a large rectangular metal object was recovered. Further smooth surfaced rocks were found in close proximity to the hearth and a small upper grindstone are marked on the plan (Fig. 5.27) as well as the large smooth surfaced rock, presumably a working surface of some sort (labelled C on the plan). The rock may have functioned as the base on which the anvil sat, although ideally a wooden stump would have been used as the anvil stump but the lack of trees of a significant size in this area may have necessitated the use of a large flat rock. It is also possible that a wooden stump may have been placed on the flat rock and the anvil on top of that to achieve the correct working height for the blacksmith. The large, decorated earthenware pot lay in pieces on the cobbled floor but may have originally been placed on the rock marked E, prior to the collapse of the mud brick eastern wall. This vessel may have been used as the quenching or slack tub, filled with water, and used to quench the hot iron (De Vore, 1990:6).

5.2 DISCUSSION

The architectural styles displayed in V's complex are eclectic. The whole complex runs parallel to and borders on the main street and the eastern aspect can be seen as 'front', but there was no stone wall that demarcates a boundary between the street and the complex. A northern wall does define the north side and a western wall does define the back. The southern side is defined by a wall some distance beyond Vbw.

On present evidence the complex can be divided into two areas. A northern area comprises the hartebeest house (Vhb), the midden (Vm) and the kookhuis (Vkh). The known doorway to Vhb faces north and this draws Vm and Vkh into a linked set of domestic features of dwelling, sleeping, privacy, socialising, food preparation, cooking and disposal of food waste and the general debris of dwelling. The identified doorway of Vhb directly accesses Vkh and Vm, and while the eastern wall of Vhb runs parallel to the street,

the front of Vhb would have been towards the north. The northern domestic complex, therefore, has its back to the second southern area, that comprises Vh, Vhy and Vbw. The stone foundations of Vh are significant and impressive and suggest a notion of absolute permanence as opposed to the lighter frame of Vhb, that reflects a cultural legacy of transience, impermanence, and mobility. The midden also is directly banked up against Vh which contrasts with the distance between Vm and Vhb in the domestic complex. Without excavation, the interpretation of the function of Vh is speculative. It may be a house that is linked to Vbw, that was probably a workshop/smithy. The material culture remains from the excavations of Vm and Vhy are presented in Chapter 6 and interpreted against the issue of the function of structures and the identity of users. In the rest of this chapter, I review historic and ethnographic records to elaborate the interpretation of Vkh and Vbw.

5.2.1. Kookhuis (Vkh)

As noted, the more public and social areas of the northern domestic complex might have taken place around what has been identified as the kookhuis (Vkh). The distance between Vkh, Vhb and Vm falls within the distances that Webley (2009) recorded in Namaqualand for the Nama.

Webley (2009) notes that the Nama would light a fire inside their matjieshuts at night during winter for warmth, the central hearth being situated on the floor but that they usually cooked their food at an outside hearth which was protected from the wind with a circular arrangement of bushes at stock posts, known as a kookskerm (Webley, 2009:25) (Fig 5.32). At more settled villages they erected a hut (kookhuis) to fulfil the same function. Based on her research in Namaqualand, Webley found that kook skerms are situated 2 to 5m away from the hut and 5m away from the ash heap (Webley 2009:26,27). This area was the outdoor kitchen where Nama women would prepare and cook food, but it was also a social space for men and women to congregate around the fire (Webley, 2009:34). Information gathered from Richtersveld stock posts suggest that mat huts are either attached to or close to, semi-circular cooking shelters. These shelters, although the preserve of women, also function as a social area for men and women (Mills, 1995:227).



Figure 5.32: Painting by Charles Bell of a matjieshuis and kookskerm in Namaqualand c1841 (Brooke Simons 1998:61).

This ethnography is relevant because it was in part, this pastoral cultural background that contributed to colonial Bastaard identity. Although the Kookhuis/skerm in V's complex is different from those described by Webley, the relative position of the midden, cooking area and Hartebeeshuis to one another in the spatial layout, suggests some similarities. Furthermore, Barnard found that Namaqualand Bastards displayed aspects of Nama culture architecturally and many continued to construct mat huts that were placed adjacent to open skerms or cooking huts in the traditional KhoeKhoe style (Barnard, 1992:196). Kookhuise in the Richtersveld, along the Orange River are more permanent structures which had a stable and well-built wall and perhaps even a roof (Mussgnug,1995:191).

I would suggest Vkh was a permanent cooking shelter for the occupants of the hartebeest house (Vhb) and this is supported by historical evidence. Whilst visiting an "old woman" as part of his pastoral duties, Cameron found her sitting in "a little shed made of reeds and used as a cook house" (Cameron, 1841a:392). In this instance the cooking house appears to have been constructed out of reeds. Interestingly this description indicates

that external cooking houses were being constructed and used by the Plaatbergers, although it appears that the style of construction may have varied considerably. The more social aspect of an outside cooking area can be gleaned from his visit to a Plaatberg Bastard couple living in the mountains, who sat in the “courtyard” outside the doorway of their mat hut, in front of the fire whilst occupied with chores of metal work, sewing and soap making (Cameron, 1841a:402).

According to Frescuro, the Dutch term ‘skerm’ was used to describe wind screens used by farmers in the Cape colony, but they may have been based on similar mat structures used by the indigenous Khoesan (Frescuro & Myeza, 2016:160). There appears to be no conformity with regard to hearths and cooking areas/kitchens in the interior of southern Africa at that time. People adapted and adopted methods that were the most appropriate according to their situation within the interior of the country. For example, Burchell describes a Boer farmhouse, where an outbuilding was used as a kitchen, the cooking hearth being placed in the middle on the floor, whilst another Boer family cooked outside in the protection of a skerm (Burchell, 1:1953:169 & 237). Backhouse sheltered with a Dutch couple on the Kaffir River who lived in a Hartebeeshuis with an internal fire kindled in a broken iron pot which rested in middle of the floor to light a fire for warmth but cooked on an outside hearth sheltered by a reed screen, in other words a kookskerm (Backhouse, 1844:420). Traditional as in precolonial tradition or not, the kookskerm and kookhuis have now become traditional in Namaqualand today and it may be that most of the Bastards at Plaatberg would have grown up with a kookskerm/kookhuis, thus for them it was the norm. By ignoring the kitchen with its internal hearth in mud brick built rectangular houses, as prescribed by the missionaries, the Bastards were resisting the missionary pressure to conform to mid-nineteenth century British housing standards. The kookhuis is closer to the hartebeest house than it is to Vh, in which case the kookhuis may have been the kitchen area for those living in the hartebeest house.

5.2.2. V’s Workshop (Vbw)

The lack of normal household debris, for example the lack of glass, an MNV (minimum number of vessels, see page 129) of four imported ceramics, an MNV of four local ceramic

pots, an absence of faunal remains, coupled with the plethora of metal objects, many of them in need of repair, miscellaneous broken metal objects gathered for the blacksmith's supply of iron, strongly suggests that this was a workshop, possibly the station's smithy. If this was indeed the case, it would explain the reed wall on the western side, which would have allowed for better light and ventilation of the building rather than a structure constructed completely of mud brick. Vh is situated only three meters away from Vbw, with no partition wall between them which suggests that they were connected spatially, possibly Vh served as the residence of the blacksmith. The entrance with the threshold stone is directly on the main street, with no visible boundary wall separating the complex on the eastern side from the street. If one looks at the plan of the station (Fig. 4.10) it can be seen that this is typical of many of the rectangular stone foundation structures on the eastern side of the street, with walled gardens spreading out behind each dwelling. This does obviously not apply to the mission complex whose boundary wall protrudes into the main street, whilst the houses and chapel are in line with other structures on the eastern side of the street. If this was indeed the smithy, it was very conveniently situated for business. Wagons, horses and people would all have easy access to the workshop situated directly on the wide main street. A blacksmith in a rural inland village would need to be versatile. Most of his work would consist of repairing wagons, repairing, and creating farming implements such as ploughs and hoes, grinding axes, sharpening knives, repairing guns, repairing household items, and shoeing horses (Light, 1984:63). In other words, various specialised roles (farrier, gunsmith, blacksmith, tinsmith, locksmith, and cutler) may have been executed by one person through necessity (*ibid*).

Plaatberg had a resident gunsmith, mentioned in passing by Cameron, only because a visiting trader bragged of a sexual conquest in the gunsmith's shop. The story quickly spread along the station's grapevine to Cameron, who took matters of morality very seriously (Cameron, 1841a:411). Exactly where the gunsmith was situated within the village was not mentioned by Cameron. At Plaatberg, in the deep interior of southern Africa, it was more than likely that the blacksmith would also fulfil the role of gunsmith as argued by Light (1984), especially considering the travel time to Graham's Town in order to obtain the services of a gunsmith.

It would be easy to assume that the Plaatberg gunsmith was European because of colonial laws against indigenous people owning guns (Storey, 2008; Hunt, 2020:27) but this assumption is problematic. By the 1840s, the Plaatbergers were well established in the Caledon Valley and the British authorities regularly called on Carolus Baatje to provide armed and mounted men to assist in maintaining law and order in the area. In the census of 1842, requested by the British Civil Commissioner in Colesburg and undertaken by Cameron, Captain Baatje stated that he was able to provide the British forces with 70 armed and mounted men (Cameron, 1842b:85). Nine years later in 1851, the Plaatbergers formed part of the British armed forces in the attack on Moletsane at Tihela (BR I:289,291). That the Plaatbergers were gun owners was obviously accepted and relied on by the British authorities.

In the Cape colony, gunsmiths made use of skilled slaves as carpenters (for the wooden stocks) and blacksmiths, for the rest of the gunsmithing work (Storey, 2008:83). Breechloaders were converted to muzzle-loaders in the interior of the country by “African blacksmiths”, as they were more versatile and reliable in the veld (Storey, 2008:139). There are documented histories of Bastaards who were accomplished tradesmen, which included blacksmithing and wagon-making. Rev John Campbell of the LMS, visited Klaarwater in 1813, (later Griquatown), where he noted that the smithy was operated by the Griqua inhabitants (Campbell, 1974:163). Saul Januarie, a resident of Worcester in the early 20th century, trained and worked successfully as a blacksmith and wagon maker (Esau, 2007:17). He spent a portion of his youth in Touwsrivier and met the Griqua families who had relocated from Griqualand East in 1917 on the encouragement of their leader, Andrew A.S. Le Fleur (Esau ,2007:30). According to Esau, who has written a short biography on Saul Januarie, amongst the Griqua immigrants were “sawyers, blacksmiths and wagon makers” (Esau, 2007:31). Andrew Le Fleur had personally been involved in the blacksmithing and wagon-making business since the 1890s and continued in this trade in East Griqualand in 1916 (Besten, 2006:60,108). The ethnicity of the Plaatberg gunsmith/blacksmith therefore cannot be assumed.

The lack of specialised blacksmithing items in Vbw is not surprising if the village was abandoned. Anvils were imported from Britain at a high cost and was one of the most important implements in the blacksmiths workshop (De Vore, 1990:16). Likewise, other specialised blacksmithing tools and the supply of iron would have been removed to the blacksmith's new premises.

5.2.3 Conclusion

Ten years after they moved to Plaatberg on the Caledon, the Plaatbergers had, according to the missionaries, changed the untamed wilderness, shaped the landscape, and created order out of the chaos of nature by creating walled orchards and gardens, boundary walls, streets and irrigation furrows all of which remain to be mapped and interpreted today. The Plaatbergers adopted components of western Christian 'civilization' when it was either socially, politically or economically expedient to do so. For example, some of the Bastards (probably a minority) were eventually willing to build their homes in what may be seen to be 'top down' pressure in order to remain within the good graces of the missionary and the WMMS. Allison notes that people may be constrained to build their dwellings to imitate the dominant group, but what those people do within their dwellings is to a certain extent hidden, they often revert to traditional ways behind closed doors (Allison, 2002) The cooking enclosure (*kookhuis/kookskerm*) and the quote from Backhouse strongly suggests that even although some of the Bastards had decided to please the missionary (as a representative of the dominant group) as far as building and living in rectangular houses containing internal kitchens, their use of the space within their houses and yards may have been more traditional. This mixture of European and Bastard suggests that the Plaatbergers had taken on some of the European ideals of 'civilised' living whilst reverting to indigenous building techniques and forms at other times.

This mixture of building techniques points to the blend of people living at the station, the pressure from the missionaries to build in a western style was balanced with cost, necessity, economy, lifestyle, and personal choice. It is an architectural mirror of the different people living in the station which expresses in a very explicit manner, their

different backgrounds as well as the hybrid nature of the *Plaatbergers*. In addition to different people, it points to a certain amount of cross-cultural transference of architectural knowledge which can be seen from a careful reading of the literature (traveller and missionary accounts), settlers had *Khoekhoe* guidance and used their methods as did the Boers. Many Boers had outbuildings for cooking which is similar to a *Khoekhoe* *kookhuis*. The missionaries used British methods adapted to local environment and supplies, for example a stoep combined with *Bastaard* knowledge of creating hard wearing floors,

Over the period of 32 years of the *Plaatberg* mission stations existence, there were various episodes of building and knocking down older, unsafe buildings (Mrs Cameron narrowly escaped being crushed by a collapsing chimney) and rebuilding, as well as rebuilding the homes destroyed by the *BaSotho* in 1851, therefore some of the more puzzling layouts may in fact be evidence of rebuilding or the erection of new structures over old, a palimpsest of the building life in the history of the station.

Initially most missionaries on arriving at a new site in the interior of southern Africa would erect a brick house as soon as possible because a brick-built mission house and chapel were an important statement by the missionaries of their permanence on the African landscape as well as being an obvious example as to how civilised Christians should live. The mission complex at *Plaatberg*, with a substantial chapel and mission house are good architectural examples of this. The missionaries believed that the construction of rectangular, sun-baked mud brick houses by their flock would signal their success in civilising and Christianising the people, which was their stated missionary aim.

What many of the missionaries came to realise was that inherent within the cultural traditions of some of the *Bastards*, was a nomadic lifestyle which militated against the construction of permanent dwellings. The Reverend Cameron's concern that until all the reed buildings were replaced with brick and stone buildings, the inhabitants would not settle at *Plaatberg* permanently, is clearly stated in his letters and journal. It certainly appears that mat huts generally outnumbered the more permanent structures at *Plaatberg* over the history of its existence. The *Bastards* natural inclination to follow a

nomadic lifestyle was partially curtailed, not so much by the missionaries, as by the circumstances in which they found themselves as one of many groups trying to gain a foothold on the land whilst carving out a life in the Caledon River frontier.

CHAPTER 6

V'S COMPLEX ARTEFACTS

The focus of this chapter is the description and discussion of the artefact assemblage from V's complex and how the analysis of these artefacts might contribute and expand upon the discussion in the previous chapter on the built environment. There is good evidence from the built environment (Chapter 5) of architectural cultural entanglement, which might also be expressed within the artefact assemblage from V's complex. The period of occupation by the Plaatbergers falls firmly in the British occupation of the Cape as a British colony. This obviously had a significant impact on the material goods that were available in the Cape Colony, as after 1810, the Cape market was awash with British manufactured goods and many of these were available in Graham's Town from the 1830s. I will also discuss the choices made and use of, both the predominantly British material culture, and to a lesser extent, the local material culture as a reflection of the creole inhabitants of the station.

6.1. Imported Ceramics

The majority of the imported ceramics are British refined industrial wares (RIW) which were generally cheap, mass produced and exported to the colonies during the nineteenth century. These consist of transfer printed earthenware, (tea ware and table ware), industrial slipware, hand painted vessels and spongeware. The analysis of the ceramics in this section was guided by the methodology developed by Klose (2007), Klose and Malan (2000), Malan & Klose (2003). Their scheme has been used by other southern African researchers and I follow suit in order to facilitate comparison.

The ceramics were first sorted according to primary ware type. These are Asian porcelain, European stoneware and refined earthenware. The majority of the ceramics fell into the refined earthenware category. Further divisions within the RIW category were made into refined, white-bodied ware, refined coloured-bodied ware and refined stoneware, and then further subdivided by decorative technique. In order to obtain minimum number of vessels (MNV) count within each ware type and within each decorative category, only rims and footings were counted. This is not easy because the V's complex ceramic assemblage is highly fragmented which meant that identifying form and then inferring function was

sometimes challenging. Undecorated rims and foot rings were included in this count (Table 6.1.), although these sherds are plain, they may have come from decorated vessels. Larger pieces were separated according to hollow ware and flatware. Only a few sherds could be identified as cups therefore the category cups/bowls was used.

The sample comes predominantly from Vm, Vh and Vhy (Table 6.1). During the 2014 field season, a decision was taken to make a systematic surface collection due to the regular appearance of a tractor and trailer on site which tended to further fragment the exposed ceramics. This collection will be discussed at the end of the imported ceramic section.

Table 6.1: V's Complex: Imported Ceramics

	Vm	Vkh	Vhy	Vh	Vbw	Total	Total %	MNV	MNV%
PORCELAIN									
Asian	1			2		3	0.33	2	0.83
STONEWARE									
British stoneware	5	2	22	9	1	39	4.30	10	4.16
REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES									
Painted	15	2	55	36		108	11.90	44	18.33
Transfer printed	73	5	137	76	2	293	32.30	104	43.33
Lustre ware			4			4	0.44	2	0.83
Industrial slipware	15	3	55	27	3	103	11.36	37	15.41
Sponged	11	1	5	3		20	2.20	9	3.75
Coloured-bodied REW	1		9			10	1.10	3	1.25
Undecorated	15	2	133	176	1	327	36.06	29	12.08
TOTAL	136	15	420	329	7	907	100	240	100

6.1.1. White-bodied Refined Industrial earthenware's

As is clear from Table 6.1, RIW dominates the assemblage. This ware category was divided into transfer-printed (which includes flow blue), painted, industrial slipware, sponge ware and lustre ware decorative groups.

6.1.1.1. Transfer-printer ware

Transfer printed ceramics form 53.53% of the decorated earthenware category and a MNV of 198 vessels (Table 6.1). A large proportion of the transfer printed wares are blue and white which translates into 85 vessels (81.73% of which a MNV of 23 (27.05% of all blue and white transfer printed ware) are decorated in the Willow pattern design (Table 6.2). Blue and white chinoiserie patterns, which includes the willow pattern, were produced from 1810 (Klose, 2007:64) and is generally to be found on tablewares at the Cape (Malan & Klose, 2003:202). The Willow pattern originated in Staffordshire, with manufacturers producing their own design based on Chinese patterns (Klose & Malan ,2000:55). The standard willow pattern is the single most numerous decoration found in V's complex, predominantly on flatware (saucers, plates, and large platters). Perhaps of more relevance to the Plaatberg emphasis on flatforms is that a Graham's Town merchant advertised "Willow pattern flat and pie dishes and Willow pattern vegetable dishes of all sizes" (The Cape Frontier Times 2, No 62:1841).



Figure 6.1: RIW moulded sherd from Vhy. decorated with the Willow pattern



Figure 6.2: Cup/bowl rim sherd from Vhy decorated with the with Broseley pattern.

Willow pattern decorated hollowware items include a possible pickle dish handle with the standard Willow design on a moulded sherd (Fig. 6.1) and the Broseley Willow pattern sherds from different cup/bowls from the Vhy excavation (Fig. 6.2). The Broseley/Two Temples version of the Willow pattern differs in small details from the usual willow

pattern, one of which is the addition of a butterfly to the border motif (Rogers, 2004:11). The Willow pattern remained popular and was produced throughout the nineteenth century by most manufacturers in north Staffordshire (Goodwin & Barker, 2009:39), unlike other patterns which had a short production period (Samford, 1997:1) This period of production clearly straddles the period that Plaatberg was occupied.

Table 6.2: V's Complex: Transfer printed REW

	Vm	Vkh	Vhy	Vh	Vbw	Total	MNV	MNV % All TP
Transfer printed								
Blue: Willow	17	3	20	11		51	23	22.11
Blue printed	23	1	50	33	2	109	42	40.40
Red printed	1	1	14	6		22	7	6.73
Green printed	1		2	2		5	1	0.96
Brown printed	4		3			7	2	1.92
Black printed	1		5	10		16	8	7.70
Purple	1					1	1	0.96
Flow Blue	25		43	14		82	20	19.23
TOTAL	73	5	137	76	2	293	104	100

The rest of the transfer pattern designs are in the Romantic landscape style which were produced from 1831 to 1851 (Miller et al, 2000:14). This style featured country scenes (mountains, valleys, trees) with stylised buildings, water, and animals (Samford, 1997:14) (Fig. 6.3). With the copyright Act of 1842, manufacturers could no longer use romantic illustrations from books and instead started to produce their own formulaic romantic scenes (Snyder, 1997:6). These consisted of a river or lake in the centre, a classically inspired building on one side, and trees under which a fountain or urn below and

mountains in the background and the foreground was decorated with human figures or farm animals (ibid) (Figs. 6.3 & 6.4).

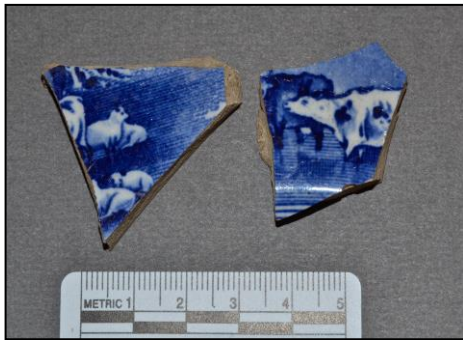


Figure 6.3: Romantic landscape with farm scenes on a large platter (Vm).



Figure 6.4: Romantic landscape decoration on a cup or bowl (Vhy).

The Rhine pattern that emphasised continuous wavy lines and scrolls, was popular from 1840 to 1880 and is also found on Cape sites (Klose, 2007:146). Examples from V's complex include a bowl/cup from Vm, two sherds from Vh are from a cup/bowl with the Rhine pattern on the interior surface just under the rim and trees and exotic buildings are on the exterior surface, (Fig. 6.5). This pattern is also found in the Plaatberg missionary complex (Hunt, 2020).



Figure 6.5: Image of a bowl from Vh, decorated with the Rhine border motif on the interior surface on the right, whilst the exterior surface of the bowl on the left has depictions of exotic buildings and trees.

Willow, Rhine and Asiatic pheasant, are the most commonly found patterns on Cape sites (Klose, 2007:64), but no examples of Asiatic pheasant have been found in V's complex.

A border motif of a geometric pattern of fern leaves and scrolls (Fig. 6.6) is found on two sherds from Vm, which may come from the same plate/dish and a flatware sherd from Vhy (Fig.6.6) This border motif is found on vessels combined with a variety of romantic scenes, such as “Dresden Views” (Coysh & Henrywood, 2001:116). Examples of this motif have also been found in the mission complex (Hunt, 2020).



Figure 6.6: Transfer-printed geometric fern leaf and scroll border motifs. Left, are plate/dish sherds from Vm: Right, flatware sherd from Vhy.

Another pattern has been identified as Sea leaf; this pattern became common from the mid-nineteenth century (Goodwin & Barker, 2009:43). The V’s complex examples are in the form of two bowls and a saucer, in blue and green. There are a variety of other unidentified transfer printed patterns executed in a range of colours (blue, black, brown, red, purple and green excavated from V’s complex. Black, mulberry, sepia, purple and green (Fig. 6.7) which were produced from 1835 onwards (Snyder, 1997:6).

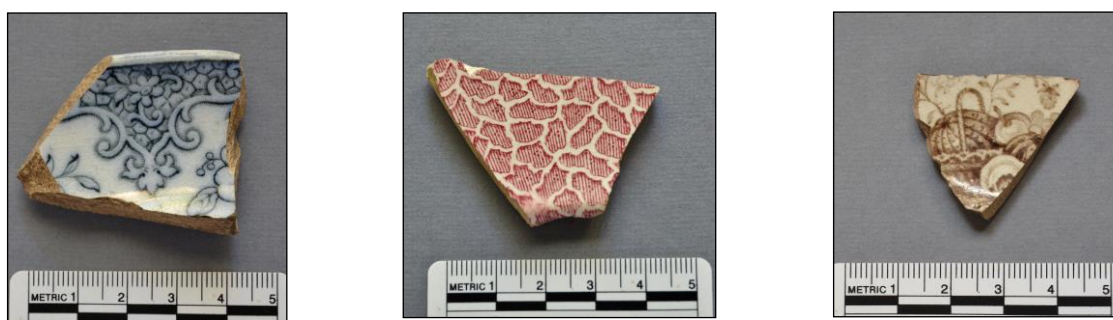


Figure 6.7: Unidentified transfer printed patterns in a range of colours: Left, black from Vh, Centre, red from Vh and Right, brown from Vm.

Flow Blue

Flow blue transfer printed wares are well represented amongst the transfer printed wares (Table 6.2). One sherd is a cup rim and body sherd which looks similar to the London/Grecian shape in profile, decorated with the “Chinese Pagoda” pattern on the exterior (Fig. 6.8) (Gaston, 1983:56; Miller, 2011:10). Chinoiserie themes were at peak production from 1839 to 1856 (Samford, 1997:24). The production of flow blue ceramics commenced c1835 (Brooks, 2005:39).

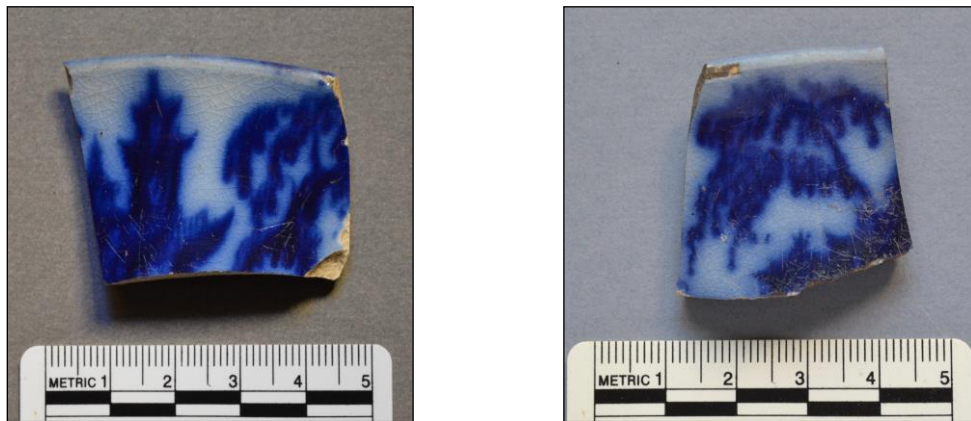


Figure 6.8: Flow blue chinoiserie design cup/bowls in the London shape: Left, Vm with the Chinese Pagoda pattern and Right, Vhy

6.1.1.2. Hand Painted

Hand painted bowls, plates and tea wares in bright underglaze colours were produced from c1830 and were popular throughout the nineteenth century (Klose & Malan, 2000:55; Klose, 2007:62). Within V's complex, hand painted ceramics fall into two categories, the most numerous being hand painted in harsh or chrome colours also called “boerenbont” (ibid) (Fig. 6.9). The majority of the hand painted ceramics fall into this category. A MNV of 44 vessels, which included plates and bowls were identified. Hand painted ceramics account for 22.22% of the decorated RIW in V's complex.



Figure 6.9: Two examples of hand painted ceramics in harsh colours. Left, a large plate/platter from Vhy: Right, two bowl/cup sherds from Vh.

A few examples (MNV 7) of hand painted wares in blue were also present in all V's complex excavations with the exception Vbw. In all of the blue painted examples, the decorative design is floral. This decoration is found on both flatware and hollow ware.

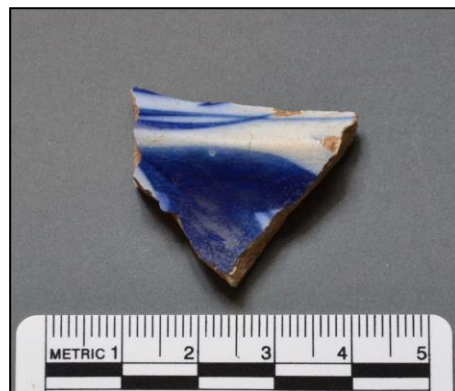


Figure 6.10: Blue hand painted floral design sherd from a dish, from VKH.

6.1.1.3. Industrial slipware

Industrial Slipware was the cheapest decorated earthenware until spongeware was produced in 1834 and remained one of the cheapest decorated wares during the nineteenth century (Klose, 2007:68). The horizontal bands or lines in slight relief of different coloured slip were produced from the 1790s to the early 20th century (Majewski & O'Brien, 1987:163). Of the slipware decorative patterns, mocha, banded and cable were the most inexpensive (Sussman, 1997:74). According to Klose, this mass-produced ware was manufactured predominantly on hollow ware with bowls, mugs and jugs, with bowls being the most popular with consumers and only small amounts of flat ware were produced (Klose, 2007:6; Sussman, 1997). This certainly appears to be the case from the V's complex assemblage where only hollow ware vessels were found and several carinated

bowls were excavated (Fig. 6.11). Industrial slipware accounts for 18.7% of decorated RIW in V's complex.

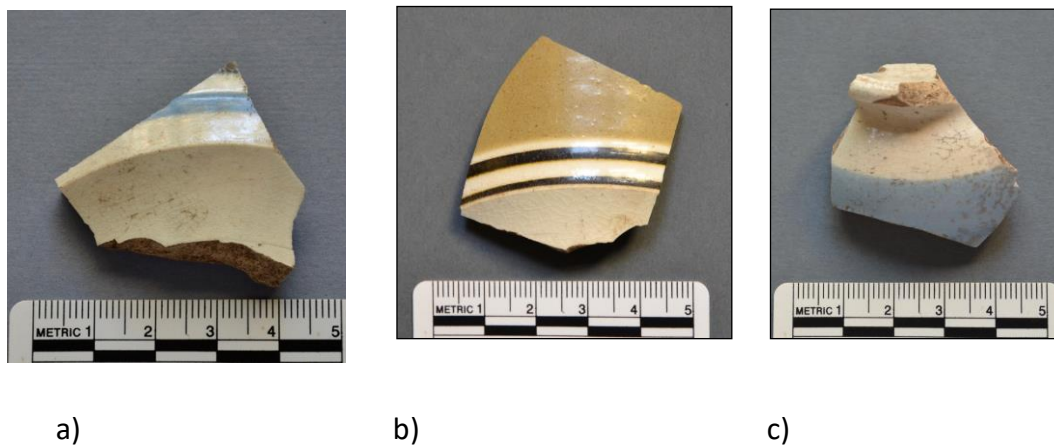


Figure 6.11: Industrial slipware carinated bowls a) blue slip with a mocha decoration, from Vh b) banded slipware in brown and black slip from Vh. c) blue and white slip bowl base from Vhy.

Other slipware decorative styles that are present include slip-trailed, yellowware with mocha decoration, banded slipware in various colours and cat's eye slipware.



Figure 6.12: a) Slip-trailed slipware, Vm

b) Banded decoration from Vh

c) Cats eye decoration, Vhy.

Banded slipware was the most common decoration produced between 1797 to 1890 (Zachariou, 2017:133). Zachariou suggests that the popularity of bowls from his excavation at Kerkplaats may have been because they had multiple uses (Zachariou, 2017:134). Slipware was never manufactured to be part of a dinner service which meant that it was not used in formal dining, but rather used in humble cottages and taverns (Sussman, 1997:75).

6.1.1.4. Sponged ware

Nine sponged vessels were excavated in a variety of colours, for example shades of blue, purple, green, black, and maroon (Fig. 6.13). Sponged ware was the cheapest decorated ceramic ware in the second half of the nineteenth century, post-dating 1834 (Klose, 2007:68) as it required the least amount of skill to execute the design (Klose, 2007:68) as well as being produced on inexpensive earthenware's (Majewski & O'Brien, 1987:161). After 1845 decorations were cut into the sponge creating a cut-sponged pattern (Majewski & O'Brien, 1987:161), although this style of sponged decoration occurs elsewhere at Plaatberg, it has not been found in V's complex. Sponged decoration is found on tea ware, kitchen ware and toilet ware (Klose, 2007:68) and on tableware including plates (Majewski & O'Brien, 1984:44). This type of decorated RIW only accounts for a small proportion (4.5%) of white RIW in V's complex.



Figure 6.13: Sponged decorated sherds in a variety of colours: a) blue bowl from Vm, b) maroon from Vm. c) a mixture of brown and green from Vh.

6.1.1.5. Lustre decoration

Large amounts of overglaze lustre decorated ceramics were produced during the nineteenth century (Klose, 2007:67) but only two vessels are represented in V's complex. Pink lustre was found on white-bodied RIW tea wares on Cape sites (Klose & Malan, 2000:55). In V's complex, four body sherds were found in the Vhy excavation. A small body sherd which has a colourful burnt orange design with gold/copper lustre (Fig. 5.14). Three body sherds, one with a carinated base, have a pink lustre from a thinly applied

gold-based lustre resin (Klose, 2007:67). These three sherds probably come from the same cup/bowl, but it was not possible to cross mend them (Fig. 6.15).



Figure 6.14: Gold lustre decorated cup/bowl sherd from Vhy.

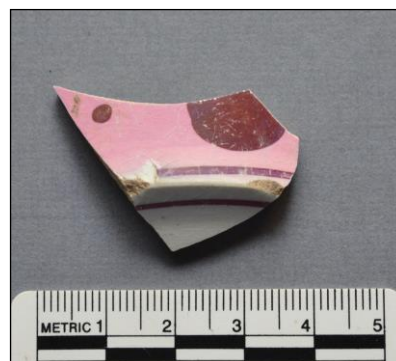


Figure 6.15: Pink lustre decorated carinated cup/bowl sherd from Vhy

Table 6.3: V's Complex White bodied RIW decorative categories

	Vm	Vkh	Vhy	Vh	Vbw	MNV	MNV%
Transfer printed	25	3	42	34	2	106	53.53
Painted	11	2	21	10		44	22.22
Slipware	9	3	15	9	1	37	18.70
Spongeware	3	1	2	3		9	4.54
Lustre			2			2	1.01
TOTAL	48	9	82	56	3	198	100%

6.1.2. Coloured-bodied refined earthenware

Yellow ware was manufactured in Derbyshire and was said to be a speciality of that area (J. Goodwin personal communication 2014, Sussman, 1997:77). It was often covered in a clear alkaline glaze which enhanced the colour (Majewski & O'Brien, 1984:21). Specific slip decorative patterns were applied to yellow ware vessels such as mocha (Fig. 6.16b) and banded (Sussman, 1997:77). This ware type was produced in the form of kitchenware (storage jars, bowls, jugs), and tableware as well as items such as chamber pots (Klose,

2007:58,155), although no chamber pots have been identified in V's Complex. Two body sherds from Vhy have the typical mocha decoration, which consists of a black/dark brown feathered design on a cream or light brown background. Two of the cup/bowl bases show signs of being repurposed.



Figure 6.16: a) Yellow ware bowl base (Vhy).



Figure 6.16: b) a body sherd with a dendritic pattern in black (Vhy)

A single, red-bodied sherd was excavated from Vhy which has a brown exterior and white slip interior, both surfaces are glazed (Fig. 6.17). This is most likely an example of European, red-bodied earthenware, which were produced in the nineteenth century in the form of kitchen bowls, dishes, and milk pails/pans (Klose, 2007:57,141; Klose & Malan, 2000:55; Zachariou, 2017:140).



Figure 6.17: Red-bodied earthenware sherd from Vhy.

6.1.3.1. German Stoneware

Nineteenth century German stoneware, manufactured in the Westerwald area, bears the distinctive grey body and free-hand painted decoration in cobalt blue which is typical of Westerwald ware. These were commonly used for bottles and storage jars (Klose, 2007:36). The sole representative within this category is a grey-bodied, salt-glazed rim from a storage jar, decorated with a hand painted line in cobalt blue. It is glazed on the exterior surface only.



Figure 6.18: Westerwald type rim from Vhy.

6.1.3.2. Salt-glazed European Stoneware

Salt-glaze was used on most utilitarian stoneware in the nineteenth century and the majority of British stoneware excavated from Cape sites are mass produced bottles and jars, which contained commercially produced food and drink, as well as ink, polishes, and blacking (Malan, 2009:17; Klose, 2007:37). These containers may well have been used as storage containers in the kitchen long after the original contents had been consumed. Klose comments that nineteenth century utilitarian British stoneware can be seen as the twenty first century's glass and plastic containers, they were likewise inexpensive to produce (Klose, 2007:38). British commercial vessels are common on Cape sites dating to the nineteenth century and cover the range of salt-glazed, liquid-glazed and a combination of the two (Klose & Malan, 2000:54). V's complex yielded stoneware sherds which are glazed on the exterior surface only (Fig. 6.19) and those which are glazed on the

interior and exterior surfaces (Fig. 6.20) (Table 5.4). No examples of the combination of salt-glazed and liquid-glazed containers were found in V's complex but this may be due to the fragmented nature of the ceramic assemblage.

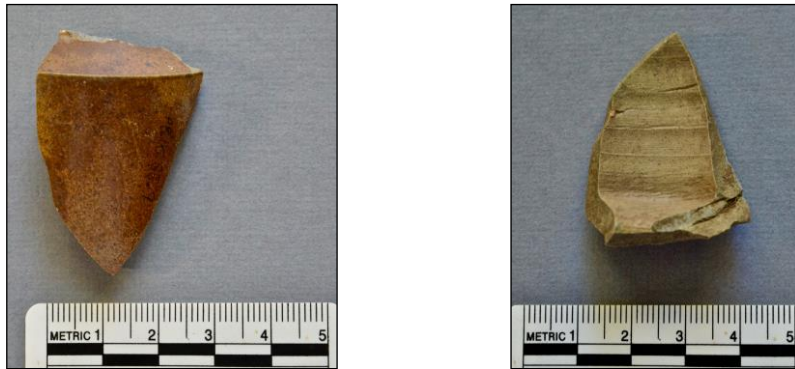


Figure 6.19: Small salt-glazed vessel with characteristic rilling on the unglazed interior surface made by the potters' fingers from Vh. According to Zachariou, this is not always indicative of German made vessels.

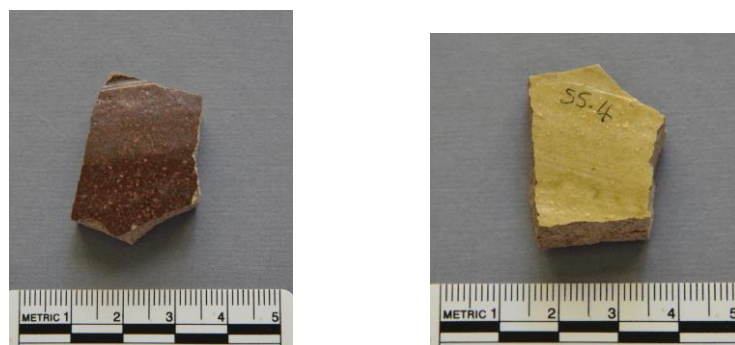


Figure 6.20: The brown salt-glazed exterior on the left and the glazed interior on the right from Vh.

Only one sherd has impressed lettering which is indecipherable as it was broken at this point. This sherd is salt-glazed and looks like it may be a fragment from a Rhenish (German) brown stoneware vessel (Fig. 6.21).



Figure 6.21: Salt-glazed sherd with lettering from Vhy.

Other body sherds have impressed horizontal lines, one of which is a large thin walled, highly glazed, curved sherd, excavated from the Kookhuis (Vkh) (Fig. 6.22). The curvature of the sherd suggests that it came from a flagon or a crockpot. The interior is unglazed. This was one of the largest imported ceramic sherds found in the V's complex excavation. It was found lying on the base of spit 2 and may have been used as a scoop of sorts although the exterior shows no sign of wear or damage.



Figure 6.22: Exterior and interior views of the salt-glazed sherd from Vkh.

The sole intact imported ceramic artefact was a salt-glazed stoneware ink pot, found on the cobbled floor south in Vbw. These small ink pots were described as “dwarf ink” and were fairly common (Lastovica & Lastovica, 1990:53). This particular example measures 5cm in height with a base diameter of 5cm. It is roughly made with no distinguishing marks, (Fig. 6.23).



Figure 6.23: Salt-glazed stoneware ink pot from Vbw.

Brown glazed inkpots, such as this one usually contained blue ink (ibid). The interior of the lip was also glazed.

6.1.3.3. Liquid-glazed Stoneware

By 1835 “Bristol glazes” were applied to both surfaces of the vessel, the smoother surface made them more hygienic being easier to clean and allowed them to be re-used (Klose & Malan, 2000:54,55; Zachariou, 2017:148; Wood, 2014:55). There are three examples from V’s complex, one is a straight sided container with a flat rim and no neck, with an impressed horizontal line just below the rim (Fig.6.24), excavated from Vhy, the other is a body sherd found whilst wall chasing in Vh and the third is a portion of a jar lid (Fig.6.25). They are all liquid glazed on exterior and interior surfaces.



Figure 6.24: Stoneware liquid-glazed Vhy



Figure 6.25: Stoneware liquid-glazed lid from rim from Vhy

Table 6.4: V’s Complex Stoneware Categories

	TOTAL	MNV	MNV%
Salt-glazed on the exterior with unglazed interior	16	3	30
Salt-glazed on the exterior and glazed on the interior surface	17	3	30
Salt-glazed with lettering	1	1	10
Salt-glazed with impressed design	1	1	10
Liquid-glazed	4	2	20
Total	39	10	4.16
V’s Complex MNV = 240			

6.1.4. Asian porcelain

These wares were imported in large numbers to the Cape in the eighteenth century, but the quantity dwindled dramatically once the British took over the control of the Cape in the early nineteenth century, although according to Klose they are still found in early to mid-nineteenth century Cape sites (Klose, 2007:48). These are mostly ginger jar sherds, which are examples of Asian coarse market ware. Very few are present in either the mission complex or the rest of the station. We find rare examples across the station, including in V's complex. One tiny sherd was found in Vm, and two sherds were found whilst wall chasing in Vh. They are absent in Vhy and Vbw excavations.

6.1.5. Makers Marks

Only one sherd bore a maker's mark which has a C and what could be an M, printed on the base, which possibly refers to Charles Meigh & Son who were in business from 1835 - 1851, in Hanley, Staffordshire and formed part of the Staffordshire Potteries (Godden, 1999:154). The CM is printed in black and the start of a shield beneath is maroon (Fig. 6.26). It has a relief moulded section on the interior surface.

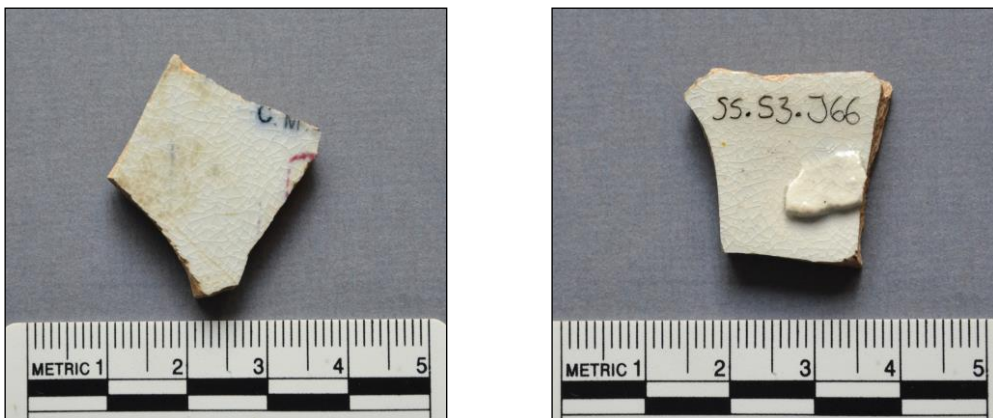


Figure 6.26: Makers mark on a plate/saucer from Vhy.

6.1.6. Surface Collection 2014

Where the 2014 systematic surface ceramic assemblage collected from across the site, differed from V's Complex, will be discussed below.

6.1.6.1. Chinese Porcelain

A rim, neck, and shoulder sherd from a ginger jar (Fig. 6.27) shows the characteristic unglazed shoulder (Klose, 2007:111) was collected from the Mission house mound (MMH). A few body sherds have also been excavated from the midden behind the chapel (PPH midden). A Chinese porcelain ginger jar lid was excavated from the structure in the BH excavation. A further sherd was found in the farmer's collection. These are not the fine quality export wares that were found in the Cape during the eighteenth century but are examples of Asian market ware/Provincial ware which are more thickly potted and casually decorated in underglaze blue (Klose, 2007:48). Ginger jars are commonly found on nineteenth century Cape sites (Malan & Klose, 2003:199).



Figure 6.27: Ginger jar sherd from the Mission house mound (MMH).

6.1.6.2. European Porcelain

Examples of European porcelain were excavated from the mission complex (a total of 15 sherds), from the midden behind the chapel and one sherd from the printing press office excavation (Hunt, 2020) but no examples have so far been found in V's complex. Porcelain is susceptible to impact and heat and the cost of replacing broken items was high which mitigated against it being used as everyday tableware and teaware amongst anyone other than more affluent members of the population (Majewski & O'Brien, 1987:115). According to Klose and Malan, the less expensive ranges of British and European porcelain are generally found from Cape sites (Klose & Malan, 2000:54).

6.1.6.3. Industrial Refined stoneware

The single example of coloured smear-glazed stoneware, with a sprig design is a cheap copy of Jasperware (Fig. 6.28) was a surface find from the Kitchen midden and another sherd was found in the mission complex. Jasperware is usually unglazed whereas this example is glazed. It was mass produced and was probably ornamental (J. Goodwin. personal communication 2014). Coloured smear-glazed stoneware was produced from ca 1830 (Klose, 2007:60).

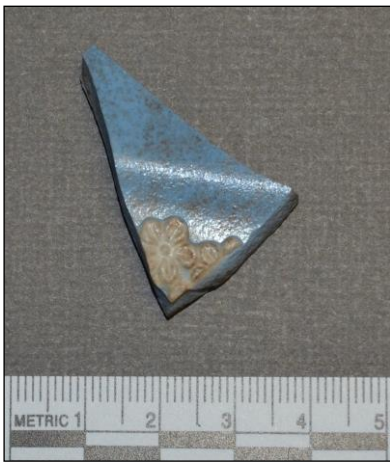


Figure 6.28: Smear-glazed stoneware, from KM

6.1.6.4. Refined Industrial Whitewares

6.1.6.4.1. Transfer Printed ware

One of the patterns identified is the Canova pattern, which dates from the 1830s to 1840s and forms part of the romantic landscape style, is found on both tea and table ware (Snyder, 1997:95 &124). This sherd, possibly a tureen lid, shows part of the repeating pattern which always contains a large urn (Fig. 6.30). It has also been reworked on the broken edge of the underside (Fig. 6.31). The Canova pattern was one of the most popular transfer patterns produced in the nineteenth century (Samford, 1997:1).



Figure 6.29: Possible tureen lid sherd, decorated with the Canova pattern (DM)



Figure 6.30: Interior surface of the same sherd, showing the reworked area.

6.1.6.4.2. Shell edged

An unscalped, impressed pattern shell-edged rim with blue painted rim edge earthenware sherd formed part of the farms collection. This particular pattern was produced from 1841 to 1857 (Klose, 2007:140). A further sherd, with a scalloped and moulded relief shell edge pattern, painted in cobalt blue, was excavated from a trench on the western side of the chapel in the mission complex (PPH) (Hunt, 2020:). This is the only other shell edged sherd that has, so far been found at Plaatberg although further examples may well be found in the large Kitchen midden excavation. This type of decoration was produced from 1830 to 1860 and was one of the cheapest ceramics around (Majewski & O'Brien, 1984:38; 1987:151).

6.1.6.4.3. Sponge ware

A single spongeware sherd were collected from the kitchen midden surface in 2014, which has a mixture of a handprinted line under the rim in blue and a maroon sponged design. Sometimes two or more colours were sponged onto one vessel (Fig. 6.31). After 1845 shapes were cut into the sponge, (sherd on the far right). This example forms part of the surface collection.

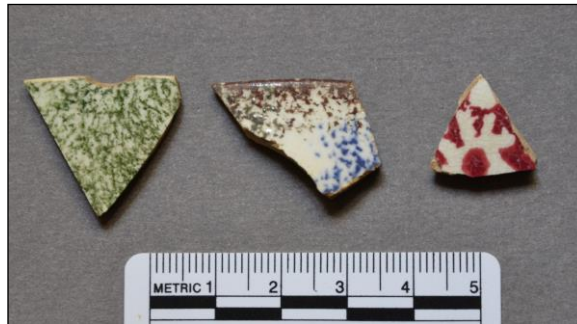


Figure 6.31: Spongeware from the surface collection.

6.1.6.4.4. Majolica

This type of ceramic decoration is represented by two sherds, both of which are moulded, and hand painted in bright colours. Vessels with this type of decoration were mainly used as ornamental dishes and vases (Fig. 6.32). The illustrated body sherd was a surface find from the mission house mound. These sherds were identified from photographs by Jon Goodwin of the Potteries Museum, Stoke on Trent. The production of Victorian Majolica commenced in 1851 (Miller et al, 2000:13).



Figure 6.32: Victorian majolica from MMH surface collection

6.1.7. Modified

A number of sherds have been modified, becoming other implements after their use as whole vessels ended through breakage. This repurposing of ceramics may have had little to do with the vessels originally manufactured purpose, the tureen lid in figures 6.29 and 6.30 is a clear illustration of this. The majority of sherds selected for modification are foot rings, the base of large plates, dishes, or bowls, which are thicker and provide greater

knapping possibilities, but there are a few which look as though they have been purposely knapped from body sherds.



Figure 6.33: Knapped footring (Vhy).

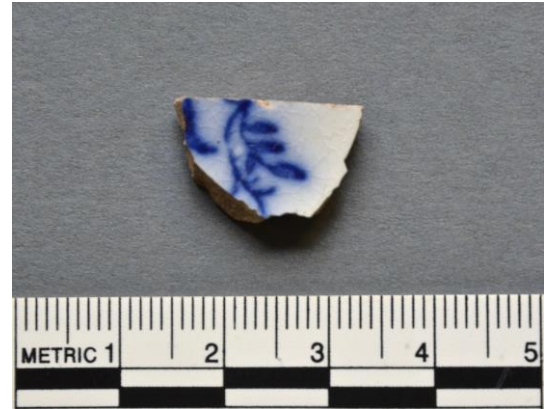


Figure 6.34: Knapped body sherd (Vhy)



Figure 6.35: Knapped yellow ware foot ring on the left (Vhy) and whiteware footring on the right (Vbw). The red arrows indicate the knapped areas.

There are two sherds, which have not strictly been modified in the sense that they have not been knapped, but they have been repurposed, and used to fulfil another function than that which the manufacturer had in mind when produced. One is a thick white footring (Fig. 6.36), the other a transfer printed rim and body sherd, both of which have a thick covering of ochre in certain areas (Fig. 6.37). They may perhaps have been used to

apply red ochre burnish to local ceramics or in the case of figure 6,37, the whole vessel may have been used as an ochre mixing pot.



Figure 6.36: Ochre covered footring from Vm.



Figure 6.37: Exterior and interior view of a transfer-printed rim, covered in ochre, from Vm.

6.1.8. Form and Function

Due to the fragmented nature of the V's complex ceramics, assigning form and function to many of the imported ceramic sherds was not without its challenges, it also restricts the interpretation of this category. Hollowware forms would include cups, basins, bowls, jugs, and storage vessels such as jars (Zachariou 2017:162). Within this category a further category was created for cup/bowls. Flatware forms include large plates, small plates,

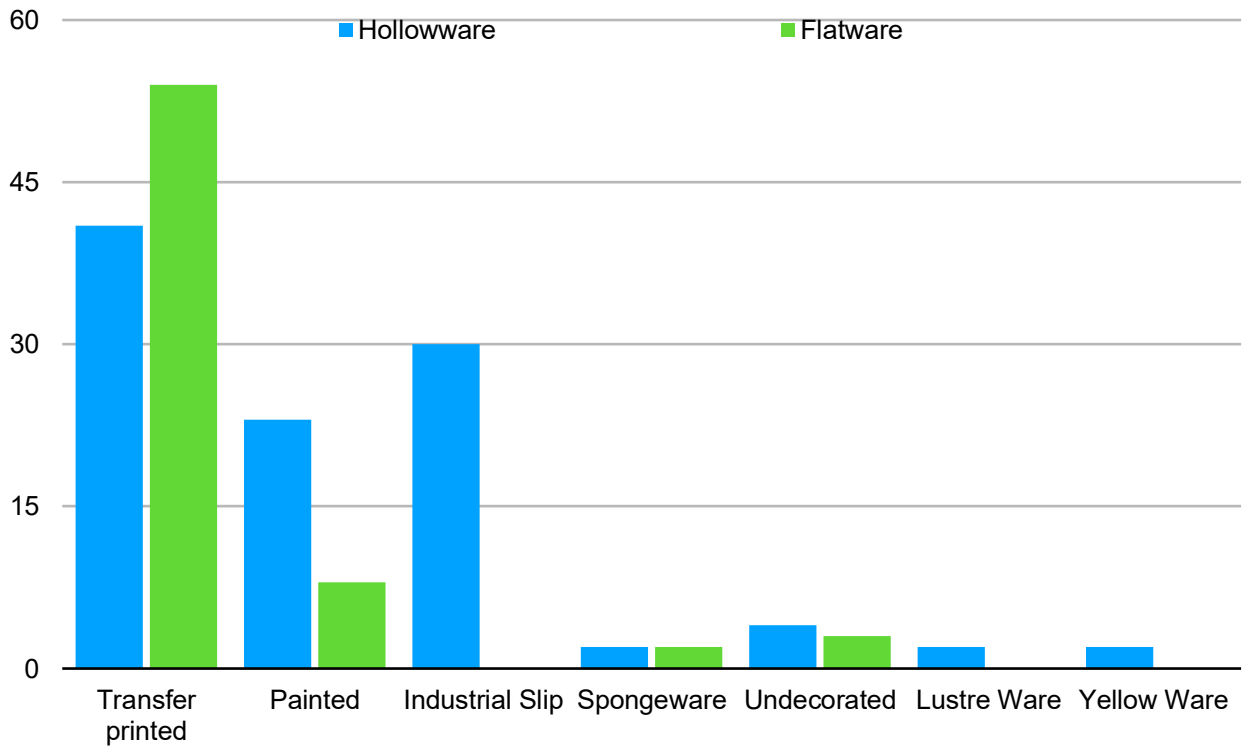
dishes and saucers. Following Zachariou, the size was determined by the thickness and curvature of the rim (Zachariou, 2017:162). Klose and Malan point out that the function of ceramic types in the nineteenth century can be ambiguous (Klose & Malan, 2000:58). For example, the large number small bowls (kommetjies) decorated in either slipware or painted in harsh colours, could have had multiple uses, as cups for tea and coffee or bowls to eat from. In the case of the latter, they ask whether this would suggest that the diners preferred the use of bowls as opposed to plates for the consumption of food or a preference for both (Ibid; Malan & Klose, 2003:207). Plates would suggest a more European or British menu, implying a dinner set and consequently, individual place settings, whilst bowls suggest a diet with an emphasis on stews and broths cooked and served in one large pot which could be consumed communally (ibid). The oral history records Mrs Giddy making a broth for ailing British soldiers, who were encamped at Plaatberg in 1850 and 1852 (Taylor,1927). Unfortunately, this account does not elaborate on the type of broth (which would have been served in a bowl) but Mrs Beeton lists Beef Broth, Mutton broth and Chicken broth as being beneficial for patients, in her book "Household Management" which was first published in 1861 (Beeton, 1915). Small bowls could also have been used for food preparation in addition to food consumption (Malan & Klose:2003). Bowls also predominated in the context of the 1820 settler settlement of Salem in the eastern Cape, which Winer and Deetz argue, suggests communally shared stews and potagers (Winer & Deetz, 1990:72).

From the substantial number of RIW ceramics in three of V's complex excavations (Vm, Vh, Vhy), the proportion of hollowware to flatware varies depending on the decorative category. Transfer printed ware is found in slightly larger numbers on flatware (60%) than hollowware (40%) (Table 6.5) within this category. The majority of the transfer printed flatware appears to be a mixture of saucers, plates, large plates/platters and dishes. Hollowware is well represented in the painted (77%), slipware (100%) and sponge ware (100%) categories. These would include storage containers, preparation bowls, tableware and kommetjies. industrial slipware, painted, spongeware and yellowware decoration accounts for 36% of hollowware forms. Overall hollowware accounts for an MNV of 60% and flatware forms account for 40% (Table 6.5) of the imported ceramic assemblage.

Table 6.5: Hollowware and Flatware Forms MNV - V's Complex

	Vm	Vkh	Vhy	Vh	Vbw	MNV	%MNV
TRANSFER PRINTED							
Hollowware	6	1	14	10		31	18.34
Flatware	9	1	27	15		52	30.76
PAINTED HARSH							
Hollowware	2	1	12	13		28	16.56
Flatware		1	7			8	4.73
INDUSTRIAL SLIP							
Hollowware	4		12	10	1	27	15.98
Flatware							
SPONGED							
Hollowware	1	1	1			3	1.78
Flatware							
UNDECORATED/ PLAIN							
Hollowware	3		3	2	1	9	5.32
Flatware	1		5	1		7	4.14
YELLOW WARE							
Hollowware	1		2			3	1.78
Flatware							
LUSTRE WARE							
Hollowware			1			1	0.60
TOTAL	27	5	84	51	2	169	

Table 6.6: Chart showing the MNV of Hollowware and Flatware refined earthenware forms according to decoration (MNV=183).



6.2. TOBACCO PIPES

6.2.1. Clay Pipes

A total of 32 pipe stem fragments and pipe bowl fragments were excavated from V's complex. Most of the clay pipe remains were found in Vhy (Table 6.10). The majority of the stems and bowls are undecorated.

Table 6.7: V'S Complex - Tobacco Pipes

	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	TOTAL
Clay Pipe Stems Decorated	1		1	2	4
Clay Pipe stems undecorated	1	2	1	8	12
Clay Pipe stem varnished	1		1		2
Red clay pipe stem			1		1
Soap stone stem				1	1
Clay Mouthpiece				3	3
Clay Pipe bowls decorated				2	2
Clay Pipe bowls undecorated			1	6	7
Red clay pipe bowl		1			1
Soap stone bowl				1	1
TOTAL	3	3	5	23	34

Midden (Vm)

One undecorated, polished pipe stem fragment with a smoothed seam was found in the Vm excavation as well as a varnished white clay pipe stem (Fig. 6.38). About 74% of pipe stems produced in the nineteenth century, were varnished in the area close to the mouthpiece to prevent the smoker's lips from sticking to the pipe (Paddy Reid,1976:9).



Figure 6.38: Varnished pipe stem from Vm.

A further stem fragment was decorated with a ribbed bands which encircle the stem, between which is a rectangular panel with the raised block letters PET on one side of the stem and RNI on the other in a matching rectangular panel (Fig. 6.39). Bernhard Goes of

the Pipe Museum in Amsterdam has identified a photograph of this pipe as a Peter Dorni pipe (personal comment. 2016) which was first produced in Germany but due to the popularity of the design, it was plagiarised and later produced in Holland and Scotland.



Figure 6.39: The letters RNI for DORNI can be made out. The letter I is the area of the stem closest to the bowl of the pipe (Vm).

As this pipe is of ordinary quality, for example it is not polished nor has the seam been smoothed, it is probably of German manufacture (Mayer 1994:14). The production dates for this pipe decoration ranges from 1830 to 1880s. Although manufacturers generally placed their name on the stems of pipes, Peter Dorni was not the manufacturers name, it represented the style of design and decoration (Gojak & Stuart, 1999:39). The broken end of the stem on the mouthpiece side is very smooth either after being deliberately reshaped once broken or through constant use of the broken pipe by the lips, leaving a very short pipe stem.

Kookhuis (Vkh)

Two undecorated pipe stem fragments were excavated from Vkh as well as half of an undecorated red clay pipe bowl (Fig. 6.40).

Figure 6.40: Red clay pipe bowl (Vkh).



Vh Yard (Vhy)

Clay pipe bowls and stems were more abundant in the midden and yard area than in Vm midden (Table 6.10). Eight undecorated stems, and three mouthpieces were also found. Of the two decorated bowls excavated, one bears a crown which sits above the number 51, set in a recessed circle (Fig. 6.41). This may have been manufactured in Gouda by Gerrit Prince. Firma Jan and Gerrit Prince who operated from 1835 to 1865, but they were not the only factory to use this sign, Willem de Hood and Klaas de Hoop amongst others, also appear to have made use of it (Duco, 2003:193). There is a light decoration of short oblique lines around the rim of the bowl and some rouletting around the stem. The bowl and stem are smoothed and polished, the sign of a good quality pipe. Dutch pipes were usually extremely well finished with a smooth and polished surface (Mayer, 1994:10).



Figure 6.41: Polished pipe bowl with a crown above the number 51 set in a recessed circle (Vhy)



Figure 6.42: Pipe bowl with incised line decoration around the rim (Vh).

The other pipe bowl, which is missing its heel, has no manufacturer's mark or maker's name but it does have an incised line decoration around the rim of the bowl which looks crudely or unprofessionally done (Fig. 6.42). This implies that the originally plain pipe bowl as produced by the factory, was decorated, and enhanced after it left the factory.

Two decorated pipe stems were found, both of which appear to be of the Peter Dorni style of decoration which features two rows of oak leaves in relief and three bands of rouletted lines (Figs. 6.43 and 6.44). One, has a stem, flaring into what would have been the bowl, displays a small, almost illegible shield on either side of the heel. Inside the shield there appears to be three dots on either side of a central line dividing the shield, (Fig. 6.43). The emblem of Gouda was three stars on either side of the dividing line within the shield (van Der Meulen, 2003:53), which was only placed on the best quality pipes (Potgieter, 1984:44). This is probably the Gouda coat of arms and represents the place of manufacture and if so, signifies that this was a pipe of the best quality and may well be a Prince pipe (Walker, 1970:30).



Figure 6.43: Peter Dorni style decorated stem, possibly with the Gouda coat of arms on either side (Vhy).



Figure 6.44: Portion of a stem with Peter Dorni style decoration (Vh).

6.2.2. Stone Pipes

A portion of the rim of a single soap stone pipe bowl and a portion of a pipe stem was found in Vhy excavation. Both are green in colour and undecorated, although only a very small portion of the pipe bowl is present, it is therefore difficult to say whether the rest of the bowl would have been decorated or not.



Figure 6.45: Stone pipe stem (Vhy).

6.3. LOCAL CERAMICS

Locally produced ceramics were found throughout V's complex and indeed the station as a whole. The mission complex yielded 629 sherds whereas V's complex yielded 426 sherds with a minimum number of 37 vessels, the majority of which were excavated from Vhy (Table 6.8). This assemblage, like the imported ceramic assemblage was highly fragmented, the MNV count was calculated by counting rim sherds and decorated sherds.

Table 6.8: Local ceramics MNV - V's Complex

Ware Type	Vm	Vkh	Vhy	Vh	Vbw	Total	%MNV
Grit Tempered	5		18	9		32	86.50
Grit & Grog Tempered	1			2	2	5	13.15
TOTAL	6	0	18	11	2	37	
Rim Sherds							
Undecorated Rims			8	5		13	54.16
Decorated Rims			1	2	1	4	16.66
Burnished Red	1					1	4.16
Burnished Black			2			2	8.33
Burnished Brown			1			1	4.16
Decorated and Burnished			2	1		3	12.50
Total	1	0	14	8	1	24	
Body Sherds							
Decorated	2		1			3	23.07
Burnished Black	1		1	1		3	23.07
Burnished Red	1		1	1		3	23.07
Burnished Brown	1		1		1	3	23.07
Decorated and Burnished Red				1		1	7.70
Total	5	0	4	3	1	13	

6.3.1. Midden (Vm)

A total of 41 sherds (MNV of 6) were excavated from Vm and of them, the majority are grit tempered, undecorated and unburnished (Table 6.8). Only one MNV has a grit and grog temper. Most of the cores were dark, which according to Maggs, indicates a short and low temperature firing temperature (Maggs, 1976:200). Only two sherds were decorated; one is an unburnished body sherd which is decorated with comb stamped diagonal lines beneath which is a cross hatched pattern and the second is a very small unburnished body sherd, which has what looks like rows of stylus impressions. It is crudely made and brown in colour. There is a single rim sherd which is red ochre burnished and has a flattened rim profile. The burnished sherds range from red ochre, black and brown. The majority of the sherds, which fall into the undecorated and unburnished category, range from light brown, brown, orange to red in colour. Two sherds were soot encrusted on the outside suggesting that these vessels were used as cooking pots, but one also has to take subsequent veld fires and two episodes of the burning down of Bastaard houses into consideration. The local ceramic assemblage is fragmented with the result that the majority of the sherds were too small to make any definitive statements as to the shape of the vessels.

6.3.2. Vh Yard (Vhy)

This area yielded a total of 196 sherds, with a MNV of 18 vessels. Once again, most of the sherds had a dark core. Red ochre burnished sherds are more prevalent amongst the burnished sherds, although black and brown burnished sherds are also present. Only 29% of sherds are burnished. A few were burnished on both exterior and interior surfaces although these are in the minority. Most of the rim sherds were undecorated, with two rims being both decorated and red ochre burnished. These rim sherds, although very small, show what appears to be an oblique line decoration. One unburnished rounded rim has shallow parallel lines in a chevron like decoration, but the sherd is too small to clearly identify the design (Fig. 6.46).



Figure 6.46: Chevron style decoration (Vhy).



Figure 6.47: Undecorated Rims, with a flat rim profile on the right (Vhy).

Rims which are flat in profile account for 66% of the rim total. This is similar to the result that Maggs got at OND 3, (which is approximately 25km from Plaatberg and was occupied concurrently) where the majority of the rims are flat (Maggs, 1976:205). A further decorated rim sherd has miscellaneous line impressions on the rounded rim and looks as though it may have been black burnished, although it also has soot encrustations on the exterior surface (Fig. 6.48). A single example of Comb stamped decoration was found on an unburnished body sherd (Fig. 6.49). It is unfortunately too small to make out the full pattern. As with the Vm local ceramic assemblage, the Vhy assemblage is far too fragmented to make out vessel shapes.



Figure 6.48: Line impressed decorated rim (Vhy).



Figure 6.49: Comb stamped body sherd (Vhy)

6.3.3. V's House (Vh)

152 sherds were excavated during the investigation of this structure, with a MNV of 11 vessels. Grit sherds dominate. The majority of the cores are dark in colour. The colour of the unburnished sherds ranges from buff, brown and black. Burnished sherds in Vh (red ochre and brown) account for 23% of the total sherd count and within this category, the majority of burnished sherds have a red ochre burnish. A red ochre burnished rim is decorated with oblique notches (Fig. 6.50) which is very similar to those illustrated by Maggs from OND3 Tihela (Maggs, 1976:203). Three red ochre burnished body sherds have a “dragged decoration in a series of wavy lines” which is similar to a sub-spherical pot from OND3, illustrated by Maggs, (Maggs, 1976:203,205). The ochre burnish was found inside the rim and below the decoration whilst the motif itself was located on the neck and shoulder of the pot (Maggs 1976:202). The three Plaatberg body sherds are small, and it is hard to say where on the vessel they were located, but they also have the ochre burnish starting below the wavy lined decoration (Fig. 6.51). They are not burnished on the interior surfaces. This motif interestingly does not occur at any other Free State site (Maggs, 1976:205).

The rim profiles are divided evenly, with four rounded rims and four flattened rims. Only three rims are decorated and of these, two are burnished with red ochre.



Figure 6.50: Ochre burnished rim with a notched decoration (Vh).



Figure 6.51: Ochre burnished body sherds with a dragged wavy line decoration (Vh).

6.3.4. V's Workshop (Vbw)

A total of 37 sherds were excavated from this structure. Of these, 12 were grit tempered and 25 were grit and grog tempered. The most noteworthy ceramic sherds first located in STP 1, are the 13 sherds from the large storage grit and grog tempered vessel (rim 24cm in diameter). Although the two large halves were facing in opposite directions, they were found close together, supported by the deposit around them. It looks as though it had been knocked off a higher surface perhaps on either of the smooth stones marked D and E on the plan (Fig. 5.27) and was left where it fell. It is possible that this pot functioned as a water storage vessel within the workshop, to which local coarse earthenware is well suited. This pot has a range of shades of yellow/buff/brown/red brown. It has a dark core which suggests that was fired at a low temperature for a short period (Maggs, 1976:200). The lower section of the sides of the pot are blackened and encrusted with soot (Fig. 6.53), unlike the flat base which is soot free and is brown in colour (Fig.6.53).

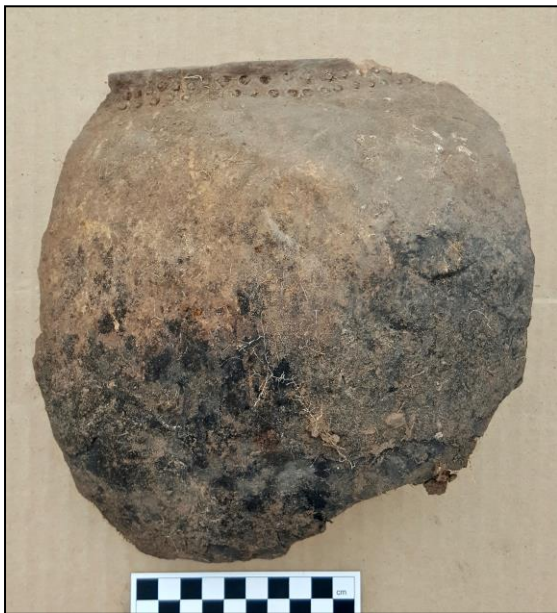


Figure 6.52: Soot encrustations on the side of the pot (Vbw).



Figure 6.53: Flat base of the large pot (Vbw).

The rounded rim sherds have a stylus impressed design in two horizontal rows on the everted neck (Fig. 6.54).



Figure 6.54: Decorated neck of the large pot from Vbw.

The seven sherds found within the hearth appear to come from the same pot (two sherds do join), but it is incomplete. These grit and grog tempered body sherds are burnished dark red/brown. Further local ceramic sherds (14 in total) were found set into the floor, forming part of the surround of the hearth, some of which are blackened. No rim sherds were found in or around the hearth. The sherds found around the hearth are a mix of burnished and unburnished sherds. The excavated local ceramics from this structure come from three discrete areas, 13 sherds belonging to the large, decorated vessel in the northern section of the structure, 20 sherds in and around the hearth and a further three fire blackened sherds found on the cobbled floor to the east of the hearth. No further local ceramics were found in other areas of this structure.

6.4. GLASS

The majority of glass in nineteenth century South Africa was imported, mainly but not exclusively from Britain (Lastovica & Lastovica, 1990:59). The glass assemblage in V's complex is small and generally highly fragmented but a range of glass containers and flatware were located in this area (Table 6.9). The majority were excavated from Vm and Vhy. No glass was found whilst excavating the workshop (Vbw). The colours range from

clear, aqua, green, dark green/black and brown. Dark green bottle glass sherds can probably be attributed to glassware containing alcohol. Light green glass containers fulfilled a variety of functions.

Table 6.9: Diagnostic Glass by area

	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	Vbw	TOTAL
Alcohol Bottles						
Base - Alcohol	3		2	3		8
Base - case gin				1		1
Lip/rim - Alcohol		1				1
Total	3	1	2	4		10
Medicine Bottles						
Base Medicine			1	2		3
Lip/rim - Medicine	1			1		2
Total	1		1	3		5
Food/Sauce Bottles						
Base - Container	1		2	4		7
Lip/Rim - Container	1		2	1		4
Total	2		4	5		11
Bottle Stopper			1			1
Total	6	1	8	12		27
Flat Glass	17	4	10	12		43

6.4.1. Alcohol Bottles

A total of 10 alcohol bottles were recovered in V's complex, most of which are unremarkable bottle bases which contained alcohol. The only embossed bottle base came from Vh which bears the raised letters IOH v ALTONA, which stands for Iohan von Pein (Fig. 6.55). This company produced glassware in Altona, Denmark until 1864 when Altona became part of Germany (Strother et al, 2007:62) but as Strother points out, there is not

much information about this factory as yet. This bottle has a dome shaped pickup and a sand pontil mark and was probably manufactured as a liquor bottle.



Figure 6.55: Base of ALTONA bottle (Vh).



Figure 6.56: Interior of the base of the ALTONA bottle showing the push up.

The dark green string rim from Vkh (Fig. 6.57) was probably also a liquor bottle for wine or brandy. The applied rim has rounded lips and a stopper finish (Jones 1986; Jones & Sullivan, 1989:89). A string rim allowed for the attachment of wire or thread to hold the cork in place (Jones, 1986:33).



Figure 6.57: String rim from Vkh.

A dark green/black bottle base from Vh is probably a beer bottle base as it is not as thick as wine bottle bases. It has a flat resting point with no writing.

A dark olive-green square case gin bottle base (Fig. 6.58), with the typical pointed resting points on which the bottle stands when upright, is indicative of case gin bottles prior to the 1870s. The area in between these points is slightly arched (Jones and Sullivan, 1989:86). A similar gin bottle base, which also has the resting points and the arched areas between the points was a surface find on Kitchen midden.



Figure 6.58: Base of a case gin bottle (Vhy).

6.4.2. Food/sauce bottles

Two different rims from food storage containers and an aqua coloured square bottle base, which probably contained food was excavated from Vh and several were found in Vhy. Two aqua coloured rims and necks, with slightly flared lips and a wide mouth (Fig. 6.59) suggests that these bottles contained chutney or pickles (Lastovica & Lastovica, 1990:59). The MNV in the food/sauce bottle category is 11.

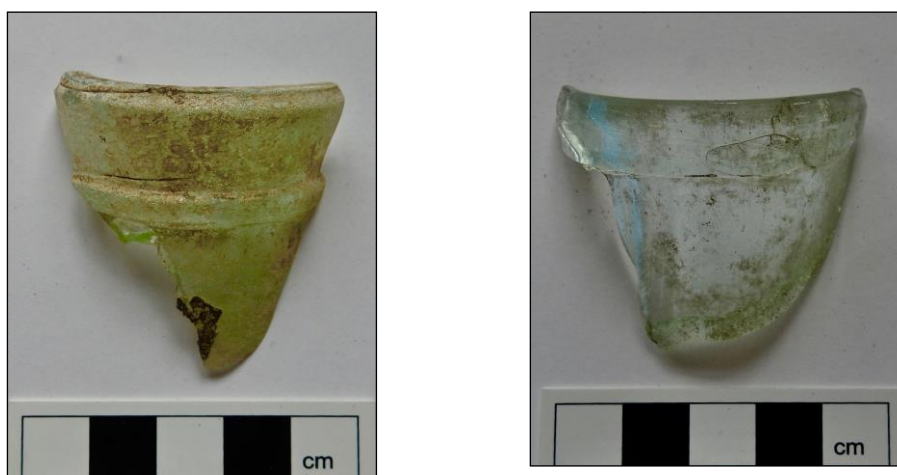


Figure 6.59: Two examples of bottled food or sauce bottle rims, both from Vh.

6.4.3. Medicinal Bottles

The string rim from Vm is V-shaped with a stopper finish (Jones,1989). The colourless flanged lip and neck from Vm would have been closed with a stopper (Fig. 6.60). Flanged lips were used for medicine bottles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Jones & Sullivan, 1989:80). A small fire damaged dark coloured bottle base with an embossed design on the side of the bottle is probably a pill/medicine bottle (Fig. 6.61). A further delicate aqua coloured cylindrical bottle base is probably also a pill/medicine bottle (Fig. 6.62). A clear glass bottle stopper for a narrow-necked bottle was excavated from Vh. The stopper is 24mm in length and 10mm in diameter, with a ground, tapered shank (Fig. 6.63). The finial has been slightly damaged. This stopper is utilitarian in design, unlike the cut glass perfume bottle stopper excavated from the mission complex.



Figure 6.60: Flanged lip and neck from Vm.

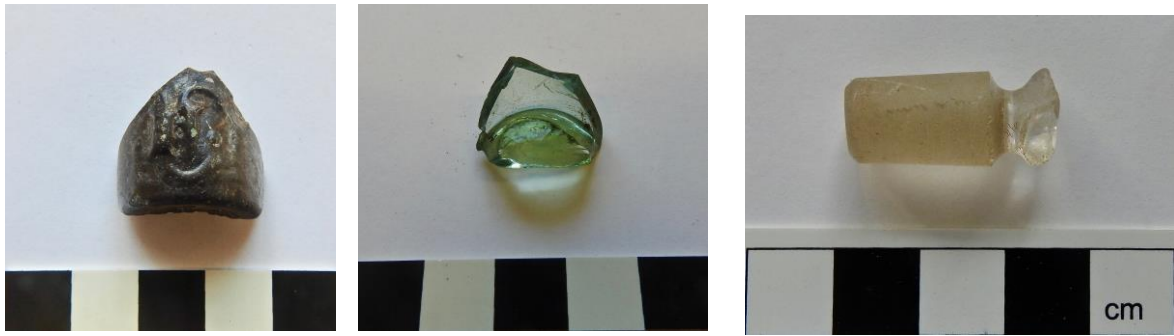


Figure 6.61: Pill bottle Vhy. Figure 6.62: Pill Bottle Vh. Figure 6.63: Bottle stopper Vh.

6.4.4. Flat glass

Flat glass is present, although it is hard to say from the very small size of the sherds whether they are in fact window glass or flat sherds from containers or tableware. Most of the glass fragments fall into the unidentified and flat glassware categories. According to Palk, window glass in the nineteenth century was manufactured in two different thicknesses. It was less than 1.6mm prior to 1845 and thereafter it was generally more than 1.6 mm thick (Palk, 2018). Some of the flat glass sherds may well be window glass, as according to missionary records, glazed windows were installed in the mud brick, rectangular homes of the Bastards. Most of the flat glass excavated is oxidised and laminating and a number of sherds are heavily patinated.

6.4.5. Glass Beads

As can be seen from Table 6.10, the majority of the glass beads from this complex were found in the yard (Vhy). The most numerous single type of beads were the white hearts, or red-on-white core bead, followed by black and then blue beads. A substantial number of beads have been adversely affected by the composition of the soil and weathering which has caused the surface layer of glass to crack and become degraded, in some cases it has been eaten away altogether leaving a pitted dull layer of glass. These beads are therefore extremely fragile. The classification system used is based on North American bead analysis standards (Saitowitz, 1990). The beads were classified according to their method of manufacture, colour, structure, size and clarity.

Method of Manufacture

Beads can be manufactured in various ways. They are either drawn, wound or blown. Most of the beads are drawn, and only three are wound. None of the V's Complex beads are blown.

Structure

The structure of each bead was looked at to see whether it consisted of a single monochrome layer of glass or whether it had two or more layers of undecorated glass. The latter indicates a compound bead (Karklins,1985).

Size

The beads were measured and were classified according to very small (>2mm), small (2 - 4mm), medium (4 - 6mm) and large (<6mm).

Table 6.10: Glass Beads from V's Complex

	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	TOTAL	% Colours
White	2		1	5	8	7.33
Black	8			4	12	11.00
Dark Blue	3		2	1	6	5.50
Blue	2	1	2	5	10	9.17
Turquoise	1					0.91
Dark Green	1				1	0.91
Yellow				5	5	4.58
Pink		1		2	3	2.75
Mauve	1			1	2	1.83
Red	3			1	4	3.66
Red on white core	11	1	2	36	50	45.87
Blue and white striped			1	2	3	2.75
Blue floral on white core				1	1	0.91
Indeterminate			1	1	2	1.83
TOTAL	32	3	9	64	108	

Table 6.11: Glass Bead Size, Method of Manufacture, and colour

Table 5.11	METHOD OF MANUFACTURE			STRUCTURE				SHAPE				SIZE				CLARITY		
	Drawn	Wound		Simple	Compound	Complex	Facetted	Round	Cane	Small	Medium	Large	Opaque	Transparent	Translucent			
White	8			8				7	1	8			8					
Black	12			12				12		9	3		12					
Turquoise Blue			1	1				1				1	1					
Dark Blue	6			6			1	4	1	5	1		5	1				
Blue	9	1		8			1	8		7		3	8	2				
Dark Green	1			1				1		1			1					
Yellow	5			5				3	2	3	2		5					
Pink	3			3				3		3			3					
Mauve	2			2				2		1	1		2					
Red	4			4				4		4			2		2			
Red on white core	50				50			50		47	2	1	32		18			
Blue and white striped	3					3			3		3		3					
Blue floral on white core			1				1	1				1	1					
Indeterminate	2			2				2		2			2					
Total	105	3		52	50	4	2	98	7	90	12	6	85	3	20			

Vm

V's midden yielded 32 glass beads (Table 6.10) all of which are drawn beads. Of these, the most numerous single category (11 beads) is the compound bead known as white hearts. The rest of the bead assemblage are simple monochrome beads. All of the white hearts fell into the small category (2 to 4mm). Only three of the excavated beads are medium (4 to 6mm) in size, all of which are black.

Vkh

The kookhuis yielded three beads, one of which is a white heart.

Vhy and Vh

64 glass beads were found in the Vhy excavation, again the largest category are white hearts (36). 62 beads are drawn and two are wound, one being the large turquoise bead known as "padre beads" the other being a large white bead with blue floral designs. Vh wall chasing yielded nine glass beads of which two are white hearts.

Compound Beads

White hearts (red on white core)

50 compound beads were found, all of which are drawn translucent-red-on-white core oblate beads, also called white hearts (Figs. 6.64B, 6.65.E, F). This type of bead has a white core covered with a transparent layer of red glass. Many of these beads have been so badly affected by the composition of the soil that it looks as though the outer surface has been eaten away which in the case of the white heart beads, has changed the clarity to opaque and the red colour has faded to pink. In other cases, the outer layer has peeled away from the inner layer. The outer red layer has a sugary texture with both dull and shiny areas. Many of the beads are patinated and pitted to a greater or lesser degree. This "layered crust" is caused by the decomposition of the glass in the deposit (Jones and Sullivan 1989:15). These beads were produced in Venice from the mid 1830s (Wood, 2008:185) and are present at Mgungundlovu which was occupied from 1828 to 1839 which suggests that they arrived in southern Africa shortly after they were first produced (Saitowitz, 1990:24, 139).

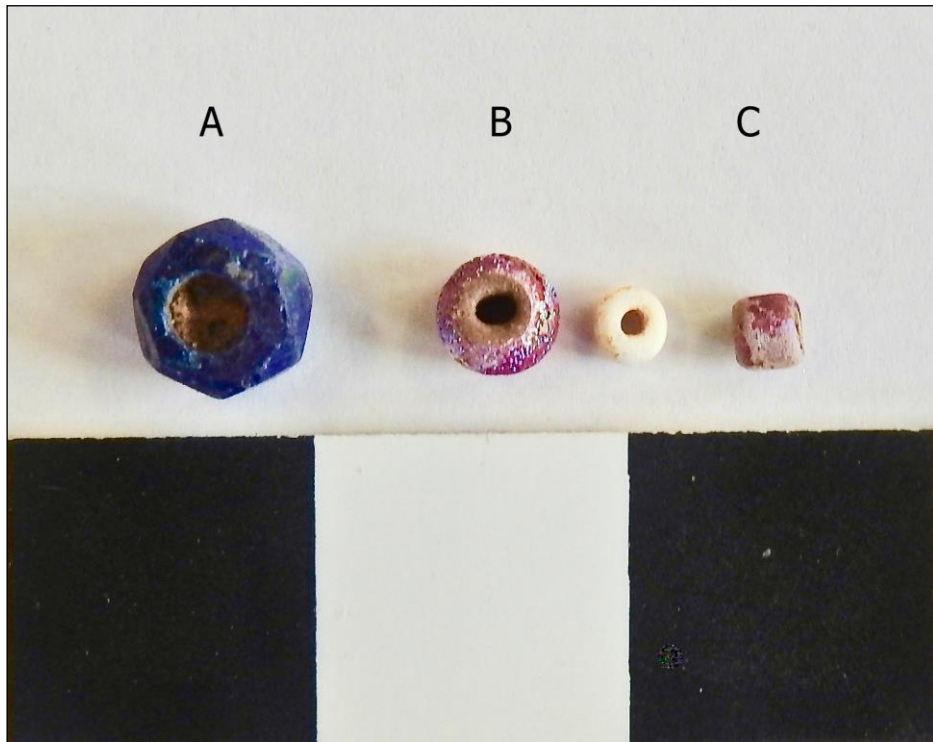


Figure 6.64: A - Facetted hexagonal blue bead, B - White heart, C - small red cane bead from Vhy

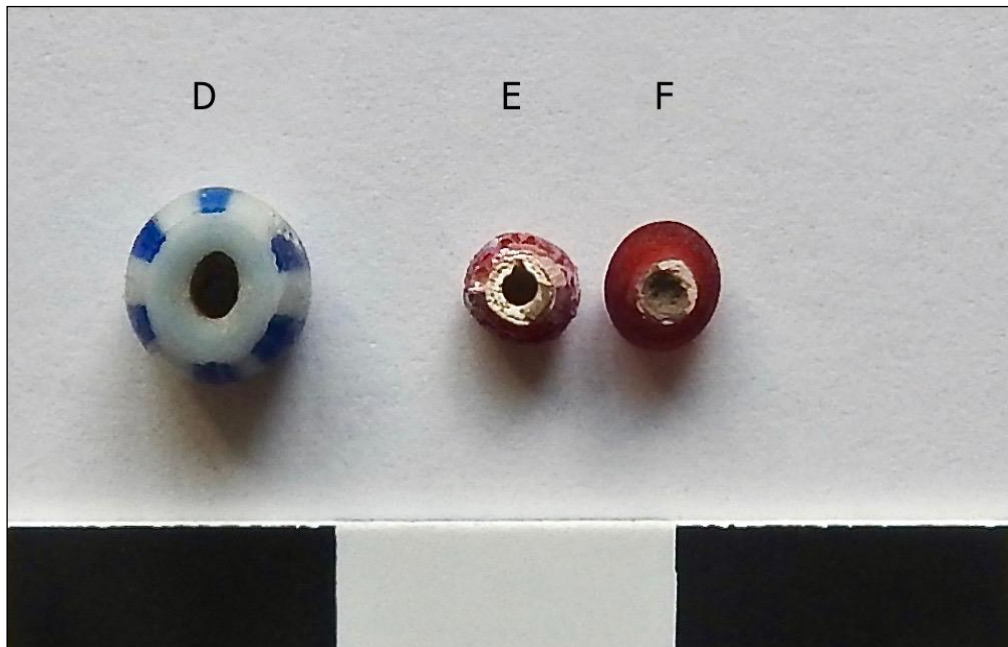


Figure 6.65: D - Blue and white striped complex bead, E - Badly decomposed white heart bead, F- white heart bead (Vhy).

Complex Beads

One large white bead with a blue and gold floral design, was excavated from Vhy (Fig. 6.66). This type of design is described by Sprague as a “wound floral spray or arabesque bead” (Sprague, 1991:143).

Three Blue and white striped beads were excavated, one in Vh north wall chasing the other two were found in Vhy and are medium in size.



Figure 6.66: Wound floral spray bead from Vhy.

Vh

Nine glass beads were excavated whilst wall chasing in this excavation which includes a white heart (Fig. 6.67), a blue and white striped bead (Fig. 6.68), and a faceted hexagonal blue bead. Only two faceted beads were found in V's complex, both of which are blue, generally called “Russian trade beads” (Sprague, 1991:145). One blue faceted hexagonal, compound bead has three layers of blue, an inner layer of translucent light blue, a layer of transparent blue and a very narrow layer of darker blue. A second blue faceted bead was found in the yard excavation was also medium in size (Fig.6.64 A).



Figure 6.67: White Heart (Vh).



Figure 6.68: Blue and white striped bead (Vh).

6.5. METAL

A large proportion of the metal assemblage from all V's Complex excavations was badly corroded, fragmented, and undiagnostic, with the result that many artefacts are unidentifiable. The identifiable items are discussed below and itemised in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: V's Complex Identifiable Metal Artefacts

PERSONAL ITEMS	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	Vbw	TOTAL
Hooks				3		3
Eyes	1		1	2		4
Buckles	1			1	1	3
Pressed/moulded items				3		3
Buttons			1	3		4
Ear rings	2					2
Pins - short	6					6
Pins long whites	1			1		2
Eyelet				2		2
Delicate Bottle Top				1		1
KITCHEN WARE						
Knife Blades				1	1	2
Forks				1		1
Cutlery handles				1		1
Pewter			2	5		7
Cooking pot pieces			4		1	5
Cooking pot handle				1		1
CONSTRUCTION						
Roofing washers	2					2
Nails	26	4	9	28	8	75
Nuts	1		1	1		3
Rivets			1	1	1	3
OTHER						
Chain links				3		3
Bit - horse bridle				1		1
Brass pestle					1	1
Wagon Bolts	1		1			2
Ammunition	3				1	4
Printers metal type	1					
TOTAL	45	4	20	59	14	142

6.5.1. Ammunition

Two copper “top hat” percussion caps were excavated from Vm (Fig. 6.69). One has a flange or wing missing (they usually have four wings) and one has three wings missing. Due to the ease of converting flintlock muskets to the percussion system, they were in common use by the 1830s (Flatnes, 2013:36) although in southern Africa, the flintlock musket remained popular into the mid-nineteenth century (Storey:2008). An intact, ribbed percussion cap was also excavated from Vm.



Figure 6.69: Top hat percussion caps from Vm.

The only other possible piece of ammunition excavated was found in Vbw (Fig.6.70). It is a piece of lead (weight 0.28 grams, 28 x 30mm in diameter and 8mm thick in the middle) which looks as though it has been unevenly flattened by a strong force on impact, which suggests that is a spent musket ball.



Figure 6.70: Flattened lead (Vbw).

Figure 6.71: Musket balls – surface collection

One musket ball was a surface find and another was found in a ploughed field next to the ruins of the station, an area that probably formed part of the station in the past. These are 0.034 grams and 0.085grams in weight and 18mm and 24.45mm in diameter respectively (Fig. 6.71).

No ammunition was found in Vh or Vhy. Considering that the Bastaards had guns, and regularly went out hunting and sometimes raiding and in addition, that Plaatberg had a resident gunsmith (Cameron, 1841a:411), this is a surprisingly small number and variety of ammunition found in three different excavations. In addition to the gun owning resident Bastaards, the British army was encamped at Plaatberg in 1851 and again in 1852, during which time soldiers are recorded to have undertaken target practice. I would have expected to have found flints from flintlock muskets as well as a greater number of percussion caps in and around the station. They were certainly available and percussion caps are advertised by Stephen Mundy's on 12 February 1853 in the in the Graham's Town Journal and the inventory of the stock in trade of the retail dealers Joseph Ralph and his wife Elizabeth Curtis, who operated in the Somerset district in 1834, lists 143lbs shot and 866 gun flints (MOOC8/74.26a).

The presence of percussion caps is not unexpected due to the presence of the British army at Plaatberg. Double-barrelled muzzle-loading percussion carbine muskets were issued to the British army in 1839 (Hooper-Box, 1998 :14). By 1852 they were using rifles which fired *Minie* bullets (Saks 1994:3; Schoeman:1988). As already mentioned, there was a very active and lucrative trade in arms and ammunition across the colonial frontier where it was always in demand. What is unexpected, considering that hunting was a regular activity at Plaatberg, was the complete absence of flints in this excavation. None were found in the mission complex or in BH to the south. The ongoing KM excavation may yield a collection of flints.

6.5.2. Household items

Pots

Four cast iron pot fragments were found in VH, and a single attachment for a pot handle was excavated from Vhy (Fig. 6.72). This looks very similar to the attachment on a platpot (a pot with a flat base) illustrated in Mary Cook's volume on items in a Cape kitchen,

although some plat pots had three stumpy legs (Cook, 1975:45). These pots were used to cook briedies (stews), for roasting meat and baking bread (ibid). Half an iron pot lid was found in Vbw (Fig.6.73).



Figure 6.72: Pot handle attachment (Vhy).



Figure 6.73: Cast iron pot lid (Vbw).

Cutlery

V's complex yielded very little in the way of cutlery. One table knife blade, one fork and one metal cutlery handle were found in Vhy. A curved knife blade, possibly shears, was excavated from the workshop.

Vhy

The fork has of two of its three tines, the shoulder, and the shank, but is missing the tang which would have been set into a handle made of either wood, bone or ivory (Fig. 6.74). The knife consists of the blade, heel and bolster which would have been set into a now missing handle with a metal tang, which is also absent (Fig. 6.75). The cutlery handle has two pins which would have allowed the attachment of ivory, bone, or wood finishes, but the bone/wood handle plates and the knife blade or possible the fork shank are absent (Fig. 6.76). Ivory and bone plated cutlery services were certainly exported to South Africa at this time and were regularly advertised in the Graham's Town Journal in the mid-nineteenth century.



Figure 6.74: Fork with a missing tine (Vhy)



Figure 6.75: Knife blade (Vhy)



Figure 6.76: Knife handle with the two pins visible (Vhy)

Vh

Besides the four cooking pot fragments, a few other diagnostic metal artefacts were found which include a large bolt which is possibly a wagon bolt, a rivet, nails, a button, and an eye. Most of the metal objects were found in Vhy which is associated with this structure.

Vbw

A single curved knife blade with the section that would go into the handle, may in fact be shears appropriate for a workshop, or possibly needing to be repaired by the blacksmith (Fig. 6.77).



Figure 6.77: Knife blade/shears from Vbw.

6.5.3. Personal items

Two different circular metal hoop type earrings were found in Vm. Two moulded pieces of thin metal were excavated, one with an acorn design (Fig. 6.78), the other a curved, broken sheet with a cone-shaped shank with an embedded eye which suggests that it was attached to something and may have been used as a brooch (Fig. 6.79). According to White, some brooches were made to be sewn onto clothing for example dresses or attached to hats and are gender specific (White, 2005:87). Three hooks were found in Vhy, two eyes were found in Vhy, one in Vh and one in Vm. A chape with four teeth is all that is left of a buckle from Vhy. Clothing buckles were found on shoes, hats, stock (neckcloth), garter and girdles (Meredith, 2008:17).



Figure 6.78 Moulded sheet with an acorn design from Vhy.



Figure 6.79 A

Figure 6.79: Exterior A and interior B views of the moulded sheet with attached eye from Vhy.



Figure 6.79 B

Seven pins were found in Vm. Six of them are 30mm and less in length which are categorized as short whites (24mm to 30mm). One long white was found. A second badly bent long white pin was found in Vhy with an estimated length is 45mm. Long whites are usually between 30mm to 70mm in length (Beaudry, 2006:24).

6.5.4. Miscellaneous Metal objects

A single D-shaped buckle was excavated from Vm which possibly comes from a horse halter. A horse's bit was found in one of the ground squirrels burrows in Vhy (Fig. 6.80). Certain parts of the bit are missing, but from its size it appears to have been the bit for a

small horse, the mouthpiece is only 120mm long. It could possibly be a fixed cheek Weymouth Bit.



Figure 6.80: Bit (Vhy).

A delicate “bottle cap” with small, punched holes was excavated in Vhy. It was found folded in half. The size suggests that this was the covering for a small bottle.

One printers metal type was found in Vm. A single nick is present. The number of nicks and their position would help the printer identify what sort of font he was working with (Barbour, personal communication). This particular type is missing the section on which the letter would be found.

Two wagon bolts were found, one from Vm and one from Vh. As I have discussed previously, wagons were vitally important to the Plaatbergers ability to participate in their chosen economic sphere of hunting and trading.

6.5.5. Construction

A total of 75 nails were excavated, the majority from Vhy followed by Vm (Table 6.12). A range of nail types and sizes include butterfly heads, clinched nails, horseshoe nails, round head and rose head nails (Fig. 6.82). The occurrence of nails in the deposit suggests the presence of structures (Smith et al, 2012:33). In V’s complex we have more obvious signals such as the stone wall footings, decomposing mud bricks and lime from the lime wash

waterproofing, but when looking at the kookhuis, in addition to the presence of decomposing mud brick, we have found four nails, two are rose head nails and two are damaged nails. These would suggest the addition of wood in the construction thereof.

Further metal construction artefacts include roofing washers, nuts, and rivets (Fig. 6.81),



Figure 6.81: A rivet from Vh.



Figure 6.82: Rose head nails and a round head nail from Vhy.

6.5.6. Vbw

The metal excavated is a mixture of identifiable artefacts, unidentifiable and undiagnostic artefacts and miscellaneous fragments. Metal artefacts far outnumber any other material culture objects found in this structure. Identifiable metal implements include half an imported cast iron cooking pot lid, a knife blade, various nails (Fig 6.83), and rivets, a brass pestle-like object (Fig. 6.84) and the piece of lead which may be a spent bullet (Fig. 6.70).



Figure 6.83: Square headed nail from Vbw



Figure 6.84: Possible brass pestle from Vbw.

The brass pestle-like artefact is 60mm in length and 21mm in diameter at the working end and 15.5mm at the holding end. The working end is concave with a rough stippled area. The surface of the pestle is slightly faceted (Fig. 6.84). Brass pestles and mortars were advertised for sale at the premises of Levicks, Sherman and Kift in Graham's Town on 7 July 1841, (The Cape Frontier Times: Vol2. No.62).

A single bar rectangular buckle (20 x 26mm) could have served as a fastener for clothing (Palk, 2018:162), but it also looks very similar to an example illustrated by T. Kenyon which he describes as a single bar roller buckle under the section on Horse Harness Hardware (Kenyon, 2008) (Fig. 6.85).



Figure 6.85: Single roller buckle from Vbw.

Metal tools/implements which are as yet unidentified (Fig. 6.86), highly rusted and fragmented undiagnostic metal pieces were found scattered throughout this structure. The half a metal cooking pot lid was found in the trench between STP1 and STP2 (20-30cm from the surface).



Figure 6.86: Unidentified metal implement from Vbw.

A further unidentified object was a substantial although degraded and fragile piece of metal, found leaning against the largest flat rock, may possibly have been the metal step of a wagon. The number of broken and unidentifiable metal objects in this structure suggest that they were collected in order to be melted down in the blacksmiths workshop.

6.6. BUTTONS

A total of 15 buttons were excavated from V's complex. Ten buttons were excavated from the yard area which include four-holed sew-through porcelain buttons, four-holed sew-

through metal buttons and metal shank buttons. The porcelain buttons (Fig. 6.87) are of the “China” or “Prosser” type, which have a pitted back and sunken central depression on the face in which the four holes are situated. These are dated to the 1840s (Sprague, 2002:111). Such small sew-through buttons were utilitarian and generally used for underclothes and shirts (Lindbergh, 1999:51).

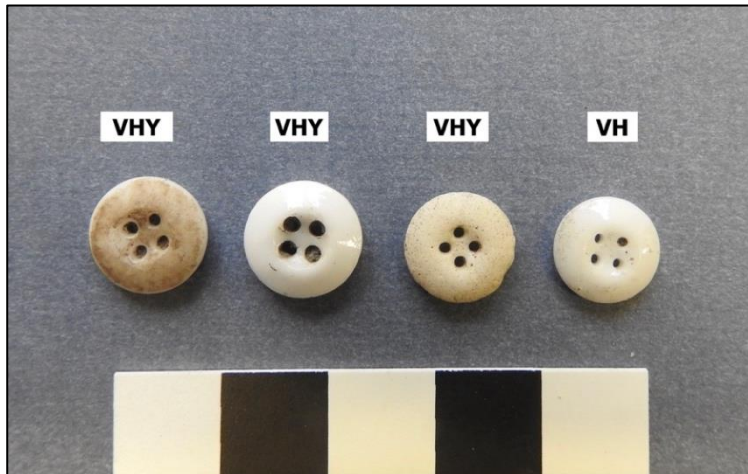


Figure 6.87: Porcelain sew-through buttons

A glass ball button with a metal shank was found whilst wall chasing in Vh (Table 6.13, Fig. 6.87). These were made by pouring molten glass into small moulds and the metal shanks were inserted whilst hot (Peacock, 2008:23,24).



Figure 6.88: Glass Ball Button (Vh).

The two metal sew-through buttons (Fig. 6.89) are possibly from trousers or undergarments (Palk, 2017:15).



Figure 6.89: Front and back views of a metal sew-through button from Vh.

The other two metal buttons are shank type buttons, the shanks are unfortunately absent. One is a 2-piece construction, 15mm in width and has a cross-hatched pattern on the upper surface, but as it is decomposing rather badly, it is hard to be certain of the uppermost surfaces design. The style and size suggest that it could be identified as a jacket button (Palk, 2018:165). A single mother of pearl, 4-hole sew through button was found in the western area of Vbw. It is delaminating and the edges are worn and uneven (Fig. 6.90). As this structure is thought to be a workshop, this more decorative button is somewhat out of place here but considering a blacksmiths workshop saw a variety of customers daily, any one of them could have lost this button.



Figure 6.90: Mother of Pearl button (Vbw)

Table 6.13: Button forms and frequencies in V's Complex

	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	Vbw	TOTAL
White porcelain button - 4 hole sew through	1		1	3		5
White porcelain button - 1/2				4		4
Glass ball button with metal loop shank			1			1
Mother of pearl					1	1
Metal sew through button			1	1		2
Metal button with a shank				1		1
Semi-domed metal button				1		1
TOTAL	1		3	10	1	15

6.7. SLATE

6.7.1. Slate Tablets

A total of 11 slate tablet fragments were excavated from V's complex (Table 6.14). One unlined slate fragment and a one-sided lined fragment were found in Vm (Fig. 6.91 a). A 60mm by 70mm slate fragment, with lines etched onto one side and squares etched into the other side was also found in Vm. In addition, it has a hole drilled through it (Fig. 6.91 b). Holes were drilled in slate tablets to allow a rope/twine to be threaded through either to hang them up or to be bound together to form a book (Davies, 2005:63). The surface of slate tablets was either left blank, ruled with lines, or ruled with squares (Davies, 2005:64). We have examples of all three at Plaatberg. Vh yard yielded the majority of the tablet fragments which may suggest that home schooling or homework was one of the activities that took place in the yard.

Table 6.14: Slate Tablet fragments and slate pencil frequencies in V's Complex

	Vm	Vkh	Vh	Vhy	Vbw	TOTAL
Slate tablet fragments - unlined			1	5		6
Slate tablet fragments - lined on one side	1			3		4
Slate tablet fragments - lined on both sides	1					1
TOTAL	2	-	1	8	-	11
Slate pencils with a point					2	2
Slate pencils without a point	1				1	2
TOTAL	1	-	-	-	3	4
SLATE TOTAL	3	-	1	8	3	15

6.7.2. Slate Pencils

A single slate pencil was found in the Vm excavation. Three broken slate pencils of various sizes were discovered in the trench excavated between STP 1 and STP 2 in VBW (Fig. 6.91 c). Of the three, two of them have points. No slate tablets were excavated from the workshop, which is surprising considering the three pencil fragments, but this excavation was cut short due to time constraints, in which case we cannot rule out the possible presence of slate tablets in the unexcavated areas of the Vbw structure.



Figure 6.91: a) Lined slate tablet fragment from Vm.



Figure 6.91:b) Lined slate tablet fragment with a bored hole (Vm).



Figure 6.91:c) Slate pencils (Vbw).

6.8. WORKED BONE

This assemblage was small. A worked bone point was found in Vm and a bone awl in Vhy (Fig. 6.92). Based on the polish on the tip of bone points Maggs suggested that they may have been used as awls in leather work (Maggs, 1976). Bone awls are also associated with leatherwork (Wadley, 1987:72).



Figure 6.92: Bone awl from Vhy.

6.9. OSTRICH EGG SHELL

Two small pieces of ostrich eggshell and a single ostrich eggshell bead from Vhy are the sum total of ostrich eggshell found in V's complex. This low number is surprising in that it is an item of indigenous adornment in southern Africa. In stark contrast, the number of glass beads from V's complex is 108, which suggests that glass beads became more widely used, either because they were readily available in large quantities, or they became popular as a more desirable item of adornment. According to Engelbrecht, not all Korana groups (another hybrid group) manufactured ostrich eggshell beads, for example the Bloemhof group made neither bone nor ostrich eggshell beads (Engelbrecht, 1936:105).

6.10. OCHRE

A few lumps of red ochre were found in Vhy. The comparatively small amount of ochre is somewhat surprising as at least two imported ceramics from Vm had traces of red ochre which suggests that they might have been used as spatulas to apply ochre to objects, perhaps on to locally produced ceramics (Figs. 6.36, 6.37).

6.11. STONE

Vhy

A whet stone was found within the collapsed yard wall and three small sandstones each with one very smooth surface.

A 37mm length of faceted soapstone (similar in colour to the pipe fragments) with a central hole drilled on one side suggests that it may have been a bead in the process of manufacture. The fragments of a stone pipe have already been discussed in the smoking section.

Vm

Two broken (but different) upper grindstones were excavated from the midden as well as a broken stone with an extremely smooth and polished, shiny black surface on one side which suggests that it may have been used to burnish local ceramics. It may have been used to burnish clay and dung floors of the houses in V's complex.

Vh

Small chunks, flakes and chips of opaline were found scattered throughout the deposit in Vm, Vh and Vhy.

Vbw

Seven rocks of various sizes with flat, smooth upper surfaces were found placed strategically around this structure. One abuts the hearth, another found in close proximity to the hearth was found in context with a small upper grindstone. The largest smooth surfaced rock (55cm x 50cm) had a substantial although fragile piece of metal resting against it. It was also in close proximity to two much smaller flat stones and the large broken pot. A further upper grindstone was found on the cobbled floor north.

6.12. FAUNA

The faunal assemblage was analysed by Dr Antonites and all the information comes from her analysis which is ongoing.

Vm

Domesticated faunal remains of sheep, goat, cattle, pig and horse were recovered. sheep and sheep/goat remains were found in all levels and cattle in all except the surface level and the 40 to 45cm level. So far, out of the four areas (PPH, HGH, BH, Vkh and Vm) in which the bone analysis has been completed, pig remains have only been found at Vm although this could obviously change when the rest of the KM assemblage is analysed. Wild faunal remains include wildebeest, springbuck and blesbok. The number of wild faunal remains from Vm appears to be higher than that from BH and PPH thus far, which fits in with the *Plaatbergers* recorded regular absences due to hunting expeditions. Some of the bones have been burnt and quite a few have cut or chop marks, only one has evidence of a saw mark.

Vkh

Red hartebeest phalanx with multi-butchery cuts, sheep/goat, and cattle were present. It is not unexpected that so little fauna was present in this area as the hearth would have been cleaned regularly and the ashes and debris dumped in the accompanying midden (Vm).

Vh

Remains of cattle, sheep and goat have been identified from the wall chasing excavation in 2016. Faunal remains were excavated in 2017 but these are still being analysed.

Vhy

A substantial number of bones were excavated in the midden excavation. These are still being analysed.

6.13. DISCUSSION

In this discussion on material culture, I consider documentary evidence to indicate availability in southern Africa, specifically in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth being the closest mercantile centres to *Plaatberg*. The comparison of the material culture will be made at two spatial scales. The first and larger spatial comparative scale under

consideration is between different areas of the mission station, notably between V's complex and the mission complex. The expectation here is that the more formal behaviours expressed in matched ceramic sets and individual place settings and foodways, for example, will be linked to the mission complex as compared to the material artefacts from V's complex. The second spatial scale to be considered lies between the different activity areas of V's complex, for example, domestic activity areas compared to areas of industrial activity.

Imported Ceramics

The surface collection of ceramics across the station as well as the V's complex excavation, BH and the Mission complex excavations has shown that imported ceramics, especially refined British industrial wares, are found in reasonably substantial numbers throughout the mission station. This suggests that these wares were finding their way into the homes and everyday lives of most of the people living on the mission station. RIW was actively marketed to the middle classes, skilled craftsmen as well as labourers (Klose & Malan, 2000:57). The effects of this marketing drive can be seen from the ceramics found at Plaatberg, not so much amongst classes here, as amongst different groups of people of varying status who lived on the station. The majority of British industrial wares at Plaatberg are the less expensive wares on offer, and the European porcelain (a total sherd count of 15) and more specialised decorative items (Victorian majolica and Jasper ware) although not exclusive or elite wares in terms of what was available in Graham's Town or Cape Town at the time, significantly seem to be concentrated in the mission complex. No examples of European porcelain were found in V's complex, although three sherds of Asian porcelain were found. The other difference between V's complex and the mission complex can be seen in larger numbers and a wider variety of imported ceramics excavated from the mission complex (Hunt, 2020 Appendices K,X, CC and JJ).

Looking at imported ceramics from all the excavations and the surface collection across the site, it appears that similar transfer printed patterns, for example the Willow pattern, is found throughout the station. In V's complex, the Willow pattern design is the most numerous of the blue and white designs in the transfer printed category, which is found predominantly on flatware, although they look as though they came from different sets.

Blue and white transfer printed earthenware appears to be the most popular ceramic type chosen by the majority of the female inhabitants of Plaatberg. It is by far the most popular and numerous transfer printed colour in the V's complex assemblage, accounting for 81.74% of all transfer printed ware on a MNV count. It is possible that blue and white plates were collected as single purchases, which together formed a set. This implies that the desire to own a matched set might have been present, but the means to purchase a set was not there. Blue and white also formed the majority of transfer printed colours in the mission complex (PPH, MMH) and half of the BH assemblages (Hunt, 2020:128, 130, 160 and 171). This appears to have been a deliberate choice which occurred across the division of British missionary wives, English trader wives and Bastard women, and all may have been influenced by the same fashionable ceramic trends.

One could of course argue that these numbers reflect the ceramics chosen by the British manufacturers to be exported to the Cape colony in bulk, and therefore it represents what was on offer in the merchants stores in Cape Town and Graham's Town between 1833 to 1865 and therefore what was on offer to itinerant traders. A counter to this argument is the variety of colours (red, black, brown, purple, and green) that were found in all the ceramic assemblages at Plaatberg which strongly suggests that other colours were available at this time but were less popular and therefore were purchased in smaller quantities by the women of Plaatberg. A further difference between the mission complex and V's complex is that red transfer printed ware follows blue and white numerically in V's complex whereas black transfer printed ware follows blue and white in the mission complex.

A number of transfer printed cup shapes, suggestive of tea ware, were recovered from V's complex but what is noticeable is the absence of a single cup handle in the ceramic assemblage. Teacups with handles were more expensive than those without, one could purchase a decorated cup without a handle for the same price as an undecorated cup with a handle (Zachariou, 2017:279) which might explain the absence of cup handles in V's complex. Missionary wives in contrast, may well have placed a greater emphasis on the ritual of serving tea in the correct British manner whilst living in the rural wilderness of southern Africa. In comparison, the Bastards might have felt very comfortable drinking

tea or coffee from a handle less cup, nestling it in their hands. This may have been the culturally natural and therefore favoured way of drinking from a cup/bowl.

Refined industrial ware, in the form of slipware, hand painted ware, yellow ware, and stone ware are also found in all excavations. At Salem, colourful ceramics are present with very little in the way of matching tea sets or tableware from which Winer and Deetz (1990) infer a communal food consumption pattern. Plaatberg differs in that matching patterns are present in V's complex in the form of Willow and Rhine patterns, although many appear to come from different services. The majority of the flatware from V's complex is found on transfer printed ware. Conversely, bowls/cups outnumber flatware forms in V's complex and within the holloware category, the majority are decorated with bright colours (painted, industrial slipware's and spongewares). This might reflect a clear preference for the use of brightly coloured bowls, by the Bastaards as well as suggesting a different eating pattern to that found in the mission complex. The highest concentration of these brightly coloured bowls was located in Vhy followed closely by Vh. Likewise, within the flatware category, the majority of transfer printed ware was found in Vhy and Vh.

As I have already discussed, kommetjie's could have been used as tea and coffee cups as well. This means that the more obvious cup shapes included in the tea ware category is small. If we include cup/bowl shape numbers, excluding the more obvious holloware storage containers and food preparation bowls, the MNV% for cup/bowls is 59.61% of all holloware forms. The high frequency of cup/bowls from V's complex and the Bastaards love of drinking tea, suggests one of the functions to which they were used, finds support in the historical records.

Tea is mentioned by Burchell as being highly desired by the Griqua at Klaarwater "All are exceedingly fond of tea...next to tobacco and brandy, they esteem tea as the greatest luxury, as a beverage" (Burchell 1:1953:254; Burchell 2:1953:329). Rev John Edwards also commented that the Bastaards of Barend Barends were "passionately fond" of tea (Edwards, 1886:63). Arbousset and Daumas, in the chapter detailing their visit to Plaatberg, described the Bastaards living in the Caledon River Valley as having few useful ambitions other than obtaining tea and tobacco from itinerant traders (Arbousset &

Damas, 1968:11). Notwithstanding this biased and unfavourable description of the Bastards, it does emphasise the Bastards fondness for both tea and tobacco. Megan Victor points out that the act of giving and receiving of beverages in frontier communities, often had symbolic connotations. The act of receiving food and drink created obligations and enabled the formation and maintenance of alliances and social relations, whilst enhancing the status of the host (Victor, 2019:40). The symbolic use of European ceramics in a nomadic metis society in Canada was noticed by David Burley who found that fragile tea ware was used to serve tea, which formed an important part of the social interaction, integration and information exchange amongst this impoverished society (Lawrence & Shepherd, 2006:74). Burley interpreted these functional items in terms of their symbolic use within this society which moved far beyond a mere itemisation of European items found within a metis society. More locally, Robert Ross noted that the Griqua used some of the profit obtained from trade to purchase items such as tea, coffee, and sugar, which they handed out in a social interaction of hospitality, thus enhancing the status of the giver (Ross, 2009:16). It is quite possible that the Plaatberg Bastards participated in comparable, specially orchestrated social interactions of dispensing hospitality in the form of food and beverages within their community to encourage group cohesion and create obligations. A similar process to forge and maintain alliances may have occurred by dispensing food and drink to visitors from Philipolis and other settlements. It may therefore have been irrelevant as to whether the drinking vessel had a handle or not, the ritual would have centred around the act of dispensing and receiving the hospitality in the form of tea. Additionally, as mentioned, the Plaatberg Bastards may have preferred to nestle kommetjie's in their hands, which for them, have been a more comfortable posture. This might explain and account for the high number of cup/bowls in the archaeological record in V's complex.

Tea was a beverage widely used in a social setting amongst the British in southern Africa, especially amongst the Wesleyans who tried to steer their converts away from the evil influence of alcohol. The act of dispensing food and tea within the setting of the ritual of hospitality was used by the Wesleyans in a similar way to that used by the Bastards. The Reverend Cameron hosted tea parties with class leaders after each quarterly meeting in the chapel (Cameron, 1843b:197). These meetings involved the dispensing of tea amongst

selected mission inhabitants, who were leaders within the WMMS. Furthermore, Cameron mentions holding Love Feasts periodically for members of the WMMS in good standing but does not elaborate further. These ritual “feasts” were organised, orchestrated, and controlled by the missionary. They involved, besides prayers, a sermon and hymns, the ceremonial breaking of bread and drinking of water or tea, in remembrance of the feasts Christ shared with his disciples to engender a feeling of shared identity, belonging, friendship, forgiveness, and inclusion amongst the converts (Sales, 1975:34). According to Victor, the sharing of food and drink in particular settings such as a feast, can be used in the negotiation of power whilst masquerading as a mutually beneficial social activity (Victor, 2019:40, 44). The WMMS Love Feasts certainly seem to fit this description, as to a lesser extent does the quarterly meeting tea party. It may be more useful to look at these objects beyond static categories of kommetjie’s and cups produced in Staffordshire and imported tea but rather in terms of the way these material ‘props’ presented the dispenser of their hospitality and largess and underpinned their place as items of symbolic significance within the social ritual of hospitality and all that this term entailed. It is possible that these imported European items were in this way, incorporated into the social and political life of the Plaatberg community.

Moving to food and foodways, thirteen sherds (MNV) representing storage vessels hint at the storage of food and liquid in the kitchen. Most of them are salt-glazed stoneware vessels. Items for example pickles, vinegar and oil would be imported in these vessels and once emptied, parsimoniously reused for the storage of other goods once the original item was consumed. British refined industrial earthenware and stoneware were not the only items used on a day-to-day basis in food preparation, storage, and tableware. It must not be forgotten that pewter and glass also formed part of kitchen storage, preparation and serving paraphernalia, but we do not readily find pewter in the archaeological record.

As noted by Zachariou (2017), for that information we need to turn to the list of inventories and newspaper advertisements for the period. The inventories and advertisements also list ceramics for sale but unfortunately only in very general terms. In the Graham’s Town Journal, 15 April 1848, JC Welford advertised “Crockery and pewter ware”. The inventories of merchants are only slightly better. The inventory of merchants Joseph Ralph and Elizabeth Curtis in Somerset in 1834 listed “34 doz and 10 white plates

and 3 doz and 2 blue edged plates” (shell edged possibly) and “2 sets and 4 cups and saucers” and “23 tin cups” as part of their stock in trade. It also lists “11 basins and 72 chambers” but whether these are made of tin/pewter or earthenware is not stated (MOOC8/7 4.26b). The mention and number of pewter mugs is very telling. Prior to the RIW explosion into the market in the nineteenth century, pewter had been the tableware of choice (Martin, 1989:2). Pewter items were to be found in the homes of all economic groups in the nineteenth century but the wealthiest had both pewter and ceramics (Martin, 1989:10).

Turning to the different areas within V’s complex, on the basis of imported ceramic assemblage MNV, domestic activities appear to be focused on Vh and the associated midden Vhy. In comparison, the workshop has a MNV of three, ruling it out as an area of food preparation, cooking and consumption. As will be seen, this pattern is repeated in all the different artefact categories within V’s complex.

On researching the issue of who in the household had the buying power, Zachariou argues that it was the housewife as domestic affairs fell under her control (2017:262). At Plaatberg, with men frequently away on hunting and trading expeditions, it would not be surprising for the same to be the case.

In her analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Embakhobokeni Hamlet (an area occupied by emancipated slaves) at Farmerfield Mission Station in the eastern Cape, Jeppson found that blue and white transfer printed tableware remains dominated the ceramic assemblage. This she ascribed to their recent day to day contact in the homes of their ex-owners (Jeppson, 2005:257, 265). Within the blue and white category, flatware dominates the assemblage (Jeppson, 2005:265). The last point with regard to flatware echoes my analysis of the transfer printed category in V’s complex. The AmaXhosa occupants of Endulini Hamlet appear to have had a preference for hollow wares (mostly bowls) which may suggest that they used new imported ceramics in similar way to their use of traditional ceramics. The differences that Jeppson noted between the ceramic assemblage of the different residential areas at Farmerfield (emancipated slave, BaSotho and AmaXhosa) is interpreted as the creation of social identities by groups (possibly with

fluid group membership) living in close quarters on a Wesleyan mission in a frontier situation (Jeppson, 2005:266, 271-272).

Local Ceramics

In contrast to all of these imported wares, what we do find in the archaeological record are examples of locally manufactured coarse earthenware ceramics produced by local BaSotho women. They would have been used for food preparation, as cooking pots and for storage, especially for the storage of water, as being porous, they keep the water cool.

Local ceramics were easily obtainable locally (unlike the imported ceramics) from one of the many BaSotho settlements surrounding Plaatberg and they were probably much more affordable. Cameron employed a BaSotho husband and wife couple to work for him (Cameron, 1841a:383). After 1851 the number of Basotho inhabitants of the station increased so that by 1859 the Reverend Impey noted that the station had become “almost exclusively a Basutu one” (WMN 1859:186). The BaSotho inhabitants would no doubt have brought a supply of ceramics with them as well as possibly producing them on site. The local ceramic assemblage from V’s complex would not be out of place of those illustrated by Maggs from OND3 Tihela (Maggs, 1976:201,203).

Local ceramics are found scattered all around the station, including the mission complex, in context with imported ceramics, although in comparatively smaller quantities. PPH midden (behind the Chapel) yielded a total of 542 sherds and 24 rim sherds, MMH (Mission house) yielded 160 sherds of which 15 were rim sherds, whilst a total of 27 sherds were excavated from HGH (printing office) (Hunt, 2020:124,146). Hunt suggests that as the missionary’s stipend was limited, they may have made use of the much more affordable locally produced ceramics. In addition, Rev Cameron employed a BaSotho servant which may also explain the presence of “African” made ceramics in the mission complex (Hunt, 2020:207). The more isolated structure of BH yielded 93 sherds which included three rim sherds and seven burnt sherds found in context with bone and charcoal remains (Hunt 2020:169). BH has a different ceramic signature from the rest of the excavated areas within the mission station in that it is the only structure where local ceramic numbers are equal to imported ceramics (Hunt, 2020:175).

Turning to V's complex, the local ceramic assemblage was fragmented, other than the large pot from Vbw (Fig. 6.53) and it was therefore difficult to reconstruct the shape of any of the other vessels. The majority of the sherds were located in Vhy (a total of 196 sherds with a MNV of 18) and Vh (a total of 152 sherds with a MNV of 11), which is in keeping with the rest of the artefact assemblage in V's complex. The location of the sherds in Vbw, unlike Vm, Vh and Vhy, is unusually discrete. It suggests that items were carefully placed within this structure, everything had a specific place. As is fitting for the yard and midden, due to energetic subsequent animal activity, items appear to have no discrete area of placement.

In V's complex locally produced ceramics account for 13.98%, whilst imported ceramics account for 86.02% of all ceramics, showing a clear preference by the inhabitants for commercially produced wares either purchased whilst visiting Graham's Town or brought to the station by itinerant traders. An interesting comparison can be made when looking at the Farmerfield mission station locally produced ceramic assemblage. No locally produced ceramics were found in the BaSotho or the AmaXhosa hamlets, and only one locally produced vessel was excavated from the ex-slave hamlet, with the majority of the ceramic assemblage being imported rather than locally produced (Jeppson, 2005:209, 215 & 218). This is somewhat surprising, however, Jeppson suggests that it may indicate the way in which the inhabitants of Farmerfield were adapting to "relocation in a new social and economic landscape" (Jeppson, 2005:269).

The inventories, although generally not detailed, give us a much better idea of the wide range of goods used in food storage, preparation and serving than the archaeological record does, especially as pewter and iron ware (pots and pans, cutlery etc) did not easily break and were generally packed up and taken with the owners when moving, leaving very little trace and a skewed sample in favour of the items that entered the archaeological record, albeit in fragmentary form. As Malan and Klose point out, it is vital to place the imported ceramic assemblage in the context of all the other items that people could buy and sell (Malan & Klose 2003:204) which is why the inventories and advertisements are so important in any analysis of household goods. Conversely, items such as locally produced coarse earthenware ceramics do not appear in the inventories, advertisements, or historical accounts, but they are present in the archaeological record in

reasonable numbers and appear to have been obtained and used by many of the inhabitants of the station. The presence of these ceramics underpins the social and economic interaction between the BaSotho and the Plaatbergers and highlights that the Plaatberg Bastards are not only creolising European material culture but that all the mission station inhabitants were also using BaSotho material culture.

Clay and Stone Smoking Pipes

Clay Pipes

The surface collection in 2014 yielded clay pipe remains from many areas of the station, the exception seems to be the mission complex, where a single mouthpiece was found in PPH midden which is located behind the chapel (Hunt, 2020:136). The ongoing excavation at KM hints at yielding a substantial clay pipe assemblage. V's complex yielded a total of 32 clay pipe stem and bowl fragments. The majority of these were excavated from Vhy (a total of 21), whilst five were found in Vh and three in both Vm and Vkh. The relative abundance of pipe remains in Vhy points to its role as the midden associated with Vh structure.

Although clay pipes broke easily, they were inexpensive to produce (and to purchase) and were both produced and exported in large quantities and were therefore easily available (Duco, 2004:9). It is estimated that a clay pipe had a life span from several days to two weeks (Gojak & Stuart, 1999:39). Merchants in Graham's Town regularly advertised clay pipes and smoking paraphernalia, for example A.T Caldecott advertised "Cigars, far superior to any ever imported, of various sorts, Maccaboy Snuff, Brazil and Negrohead Tobacco, a large assortment of very handsome German and China pipes, Clay pipes" in the Graham's Town Journal, 19 June 1835. Mosenthal Brothers in Port Elizabeth advertised the arrival of "40 boxes of clay pipes, 100 doz Dutch farmers pipes", in the vessel the Sarah Crisp, recently arrived from England, in the Graham's Town Journal in 1842 (Fleischer & Caccia, 1983:63). After 1850 the large-scale export of clay pipes increased and the production of this volume of pipes led to the simplification of pipe decoration (Duco, 2004:52).

Travellers into the interior commonly carried large amounts of tobacco as part of their stock of barter items that many the inhabitants of the interior were willing to receive in an exchange for milk and food. Most travellers mention the “Bushmen” male and female being especially fond of tobacco (Borcherds, 1861:73; Burchell, 1953:205; Kirby, 1939:105,189; Campbell, 1974:317). Clay pipes and tobacco more than likely formed a regular part of a smouse’s stock in trade as well, being in demand from Bastaards, Boers and British alike. There are a variety of paintings and sketches showing both genders smoking clay pipes in the Cape Colony (Brooke Simons, 1998:89,88; Smith 1993:35). Although smoking was widespread, the more well-heeled citizen smoked cigars or used meerschaum or briar pipes rather than clay pipes (Gojak & Stuart, 1999:40). In contrast, clay pipes were generally associated with the lower or labouring classes (ibid:40). Indeed, very few women were depicted smoking, and those who did “were considered sexually promiscuous or otherwise perverse and degraded”, when they did appear in Dutch paintings, the aim was “a comic theme of inversion” (King, 2007:16). It could be that the nineteenth century British artist, Charles Bell, was influenced by these social mores, thus depicting Khoesan women smoking may well have been a European social comment on Khoesan women.

Stone Pipes

The tradition and cultural practice of smoking had a long history in Transorangia, certainly prior to the introduction of European pipes. Green coloured soap stone pipes are mentioned by Maggs, but they are usually highly decorated with elaborate carvings (Maggs, 1976:109,171,172). These were excavated from OO1, Makwareng and OU2 (ibid). Borcherds travelling into the interior in 1801 commented on the use of “green soap stone” pipes by the “Bushmen” (Borcherds, 1861:113). The use of green stone pipes was also noticed by travellers in Namaqualand in 1838 (Webley, 1999:81). Lita Webley’s informants in Namaqualand still manufacture two styles of soap stone pipes, “cigar-shaped” and “bowl-shaped” (Webley 1999). They may have been more widely used than previously thought, although at V’s complex we have only found two stone pipe fragments as compared to 32 clay pipe fragments, but it does hint at historical continuity on the part of the inhabitants of V’s complex. Both stone pipe fragments were found in Vhy.

Glass Beads

A total of 108 beads were found in V's complex. These numbers are low in comparison to the Mission Complex excavation, where 973 beads were found in PPH (chapel and midden) and 28 beads in MMH (mission house) excavation (Hunt, 2020: 104, 157). BH, a single rectangular structure and yard, which is found outside of the mission complex to the south, yielded 54 beads. White hearts were present in all excavations, although in MMH they were not in the majority (Hunt, 2020). Of the 108 beads found in V's complex, 64 came from Vhy, 32 from Vm, nine from Vh and three from Vkh, thus following the trend of the spatial placement of artefacts within V's complex.

Initially glass beads entered southern Africa through Delagoa Bay and from there, were traded through internal trade networks into northern KwaZulu-Natal. The trade and distribution of all 'exotic' items, including beads was carefully controlled by Dingiswayo and later Shaka and Dingaan, all of whom "established a royal monopoly over the distribution and use of imported glass beads" (Morris & Preston-Whyte, 1994:10). Later glass beads entered southern Africa from the Cape colony via early hunters, explorers, traders, and missionaries. Beads were used to obtain food and goodwill and they were given as gifts and as payment for wages. Missionaries were an unexpected instrument in the spread of glass beads in South Africa, as Beck puts it: "When missionaries first arrived at the Cape in 1799, they brought Bibles in their right hands and beads and buttons in their left" (Beck, 1989:211). According to Keegan (1996:134), both the London Missionary Society and the Methodist missionaries wrote to their societies requesting large supplies of glass beads. Glass beads, used as essential currency for underpaid and under resourced missionaries on the frontier, to obtain food and services. Rev Shaw explained the situation in a letter to the society in 1825 saying that "beads, buttons and brass wire were the only currency among the native tribes. Without these items the missionary was like a person without out money or credit in the civilized world" (Beck, 1989:217). Glass beads were therefore an important part of the early traveller and missionary baggage.

Glass beads also formed part of a trade system utilised by the people in the interior themselves. The Zulu were masters at this, but other groups also took advantage of glass

beads for trade which could be exchanged for a variety of goods, based on the value of each bead type. Early travellers and missionaries found sometimes to the detriment of their journey that the inhabitants of southern Africa were very particular in their choice of beads. Letters written by missionaries indicate that people's preferences in size, shape and colour of beads was vastly different from one station to the next, it could even change from year to year. The shape, colour and size of glass beads selected by a group, both formed and reflected that groups sense of identity (Wood, 2008:194) therefore local knowledge of bead preferences were essential.

Arbousset and Daumas, on their travels in 1836, visited the Wesleyan mission station of Umpukani which ministered to the Kei-Korana (just north of Plaatberg mission station). They described the Korana women as being "loaded with beads which they wear around their necks, arms, legs and ankles" (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968:26) but they did not give any details as to colour and size preferences. The Reverend Giddy when visiting Bethulie mission station in 1837 observed that the Bechuana inhabitants of the mission station wore a "profusion of beads very tastefully strung about their persons" (WMN, 1837:562). As beads were culturally enmeshed in indigenous adornment which predated the arrival of the missionaries and traders in Transorangia, the Plaatberg Bastards probably wore them as a cultural expression in a similar fashion.

I have not yet come across any mention of glass beads or any request by the Plaatberg missionaries for glass beads, but this of course does not mean that such requests were not made. Furthermore, the relatively high frequencies of glass beads found in the mission complex suggest that the Wesleyans at Plaatberg, like their fellow missionaries elsewhere, were forced to use glass beads as currency for exchange with local groups. This is ironic considering that the missionaries actively set about altering the worldview of the indigenous population, (the Plaatbergers were encouraged to dispense with indigenous dress and adornment) while at the same time the missionaries were forced to depend on glass beads which were embedded in long held indigenous traditional adornment codes that they were keen to replace. A good example can be found in Vernal (2012), where she notes that Rev Shaw paid the labourers at Wesleyville in strings of beads and yet

complained of Africans attachment to “Beads and Trinkets” (Vernal, 2012:144). The beads excavated at Plaatberg could therefore have been obtained from a variety of sources including missionaries, itinerant peddlers, and trade with groups in the interior.

Glass

Unlike the clear pattern as to the concentration of window glass in the PPH excavation, flat glass was not concentrated in any one area in the Vh excavation or any excavation within V’s Complex. What is noticeable, is the complete absence of glass, including window glass, from Vbw, which clearly sets this area apart spatially in terms of its function as a workshop/blacksmiths workshop. Excluding flat glass, most of the identifiable sherds (alcohol bottles, medicine bottles and food/sauce bottles), came from Vhy (Table 6.9).

It can be inferred that bottled food and sauces as well as various medicines were consumed by the inhabitants of V’s complex. Once the contents of a bottle had been consumed the empty container could easily have been used to store other goods, therefore the original function (or fragments of the original) would have had very little to do with later use in a household. Bottled foods and sauces were available in Grahamstown shops as early as 1835 “Pickles of all sorts and sizes, Pickled Mushrooms, Anchovies, Quins and other sauces, Bottled Gooseberries” (Graham’s Town Journal 19 June 1835). The exact ‘medicine’ sold in the bottle closed with the glass stopper is not known but there were a large range of ‘medicines’ available for sale at the time. The Graham’s Town Journal (1 April 1848) advertised a mixture called “Crofts Tincture of Life” which apparently cured the “Bite of the Snake” as well as “Horse sickness, Sponge sickness in cattle, Distemper in dogs” which was sold in large and small glass stopper bottles. The pill/medicine bottle remains in V’s complex suggest that the Plaatbergers had access to or were purchasing a variety of medicines, either from Graham’s Town or from itinerant peddlers.

Although the number of alcohol bottle remains is low in V’s Complex (MNV 10), their presence suggests that the inhabitants ignored the Wesleyans ban on alcohol for all members of the WMMS, and the discouragement of drinking alcohol for everyone else (Cameron, 1845c:87). In addition, it must also be remembered that itinerant traders

brought brandy to the station in brandy barrels, from which the brandy was decanted into other containers when it was purchased.

Buttons

Compared to the number of imported ceramic sherds excavated, the number of buttons is quite low, a total of 15 buttons were found in V's complex. Either people were very careful with these hard to come by possessions (in that it would take a while until a smouse arrived with supplies) or they used other methods to fasten their clothes, which we do see in the form of a few hooks and eyes, but pins, ribbon, thread, wool, or twine could also have been used. This may well have been the case as only six buttons were found in the mission complex PPH excavation. One explanation could of course be that the missionaries, who were extremely parsimonious due to a constant lack of funds, would have carefully retrieved any buttons which fell off garments and sewn back on or reused on other garments. Once again, the majority of the buttons come from Vhy. As most of the buttons in Vhy were whole buttons, I can only assume that they were lost rather than being disposed of.

Prior to the nineteenth century buttons were used on men's clothing to fasten coats, waistcoats, trousers, shirts, stocks, and cloaks, with buttons only appearing on women clothing during the nineteenth century (White, 2005:57). Mosenthal Bros in Port Elizabeth advertised a stock of bone buttons in the Grahamstown Journal in 1842, and pearl, bone and gilt buttons were advertised by Levicks, Sherman and Kift merchants in Graham's Town (The Cape Frontier Times Vol.11, No.81:1841).

The V's complex buttons appear to be of the utilitarian variety, and no gilded or more fashionable buttons have been retrieved. Decorative buttons making a fashion statement would be frowned upon by the missionary family, clean, neat, and restrained dress was strongly encouraged (Schoeman,2001:70,72; WMN, 1847:92)

METAL

Household Items

Cooking pot pieces were found in Vh, one handle in Vhy and half a lid in Vbw. The number of cooking pot fragments in V's complex is small, and probates for households in the interior also list them in modest numbers, whereas advertisements indicate an abundance of them. As they were an essential item in the preparation of food at home and whilst travelling, these pots would have moved when the household did, leaving only a few fragments in the archaeological record. Iron cooking pots became a popular household possession because of their durability (Eldredge, 1993:155). Backhouse recorded that most Bastaard houses at Plaatberg contained "a few iron pots, a kettle, with a few basins, bottles etc" (Backhouse, 1844:385). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the diet in the interior of the colony generally consisted of mutton stew, sometimes accompanied by a pumpkin bredie (Hattersley, 1969:107). Stews and bredies would have been cooked in the iron pots mentioned by Backhouse. Meat (domestic and/or game) could also be pot roasted in a "platpot" (Cook, 1975:43). The merchants Mosenthal Brothers advertised newly arrived stock "direct from England" in the Graham's Town Journal in 1842 which included "800 iron pots of all sizes" (Fleischer & Caccia, 1983:63). Iron pots are regularly mentioned in the probate record as well, showing that they were freely available in the interior of the country during the nineteenth century as well as being sought after by a cross section of the population.

Metal cooking pots also appear in nineteenth century paintings of the interior. Of particular interest is a painting by Charles Bell of a domestic scene in Namaqualand, (Fig. 4.16) showing a traditional matjieshuis with a mat kook skerm and a legged metal pot on the hearth. A further Bell painting depicts Griqua or Bastaard travellers encamped next to their wagons cooking a meal in an iron pot, possibly what the inventories refer to as a "trek pot" (Brooke Simons, 1998:61,83).

The Griqua from Philipolis and Klaarwater (later Griqua Town) lived on a diet that mainly consisted of milk and hunted meat (Backhouse,1844:351; Burchell, I, 1853:254). The Plaatberg Bastaards diet likewise consisted of hunted meat, (for example the spoils of the hunt mentioned by Cameron in 1840, being quaggas, springbuck, and wildebeest), as well

as pumpkin and maize (Backhouse, 1844:385). The iron cooking pot remains from V's complex when looked at in conjunction with the wild faunal remains (wildebeest, springbuck and blesbok) and domesticated pig, goat and sheep remains, suggests that the inhabitants of V's complex had a diet focussed on stews, perhaps a combination of meat and pumpkin stews. Maize and pumpkins may have been cooked in the locally produced coarse earthenware pots. We can perhaps extrapolate from this, that meat centred meals were prepared, cooked in iron pots, served in bowls, and consumed communally in V's Complex.

The cutlery assemblage from V's complex, consisting of a cutlery handle, one table knife and fork fits in with the low numbers listed in rural inventories of the nineteenth century. The curved knife from Vbw could be more workshop related than a domestic item. On studying the colonial rural inventories from the Graham's Town, Albany area, I have noticed that although spoons and forks are regularly listed, knives are not only rare, but when they do appear, they are represented in far smaller numbers than spoons and forks. In some of the poorer households, for example the estate of Johannes Petrus Botha and Hendrina Susanna Botha from the Riet River in 1830, the only cutlery recorded are 3 steel forks (MOOC 8/7 3.9) whilst on a farm in the Graaff Reinet district in 1832, 4 tinne lepels, 4 staale vurken, 1 oude snymes (old cutting knife) and 1 tafel mes (table knife) were, recorded (MOOC8/74.3).

The low number of cutlery items in V's complex contrasts with the number of imported ceramics in the archaeological record. The low number of metal cutlery remains suggests that this type of cutlery did not form part of the Bastaards usual dining requirements and that individual place settings were therefore not part of their dining experience. It is entirely possible that wooden spoons were preferred especially if the regular or preferred diet of the Bastaards focussed on stews, served in kommetjie's and eaten with a spoon. The Korana, for example, are known to have carved spoons which were used to both dish up and to consume their food (Engelbrecht, 1936:98).

Ammunition

The material record in this regard is surprisingly small, considering the emphasis on regular hunting trips by the Bastaards for meat and skins, as well as occasional raiding

excursions, but the presence of musket balls and lead shot does allude to the Bastards highly mobile lifestyle and economy (see page 178-179 for a more detailed discussion on the ammunition that was found).

Personal Items

Hooks and eyes were usually associated with women clothing, although they were occasionally used for edge-to-edge closure on men's clothing (White, 2005:74). Cotton print simply made dresses during the 1830s could also be fastened at the back with hooks and eyes (Strutt, 1975:219). These items were found in Vhy, Vh and Vm, with the majority coming from Vhy.

Beaudry points out that pins were used not just for sewing but also for lacemaking, fastening clothing and to pin shrouds (Beaudry, 2006:22,24). It was the duty of missionary wives to teach mission station girls and women how to sew as part of the civilising process. As middle-class British woman, missionary wives were taught how to sew and darn clothing for their families. Sewing embodied ideals of femininity, cleanliness, modesty, and care of the family. This desirable womanly trait was seen as essential in civilising Bastard women in all of the above-mentioned ideals. It also, according to the missionaries, gave them a skill which enabled them to obtain work later. It is therefore not surprising to find pins in the deposit, most of which were found in Vm. They were possibly dropped, swept up and dumped in the midden with the rest of the Vhb sweepings.

Printing Press pieces

A single printing press piece was found in Vm. This could possibly be a chance inclusion as the printing press office (HGH) was located upslope to the southeast of Vm, where a total of 58 lead alloy pieces were found. (Hunt, 2020:142). 14 metal pieces were found in the PPH midden (behind the chapel). Sixteen of the pieces clearly display letters in the Garamond font, whilst in others the letter has been broken off or worn away or they may be blanks which were used to create the spaces between words (Hunt, 2020:142).

These printing press types were used with the Albion hand printing press which was manufactured in London from 1830 to 1865. The press, illustrated in Picton (1982), is

reported to be the original Plaatberg press which is labelled “Hand press from Thaba N’Chu, 1867” (Picton 1982:19). Rev John Edwards arrived in Algoa Bay in May 1832 accompanied by a new press, which travelled with him in one of three wagons from Graham’s Town to old Plaatberg (Edwards, 1886:61) and subsequently to Thaba Nchu. Archbell wrote to the Society from Thaba Nchu in 1834, thanking them for the “press and types” and informed them that he was erecting a structure to house it (Schoeman, 1991:29). The printing press was moved from Thaba Nchu when Reverend Giddy, a printer by training, became resident missionary at Plaatberg in 1845. A dedicated structure was built to house the press and general printing paraphernalia in the mission complex (Fig.5.1, HGH). Giddy, writing to the Society said that he was happy with the press, being one of the best manufactured, but commented that the quantity of the type was not large although they were in reasonable condition (Picton, 1982:20; Broadbent 1865:183). He printed religious texts and school lessons for the WMMS, and military dispatches for the British in the British Basotho war in 1851 (Picton, 1982:20). The press at Plaatberg also printed religious books for the PEMS between 1849 and 1856 (Ellenberger, 1987:15,55).

The printing press was returned to Thaba Nchu when Rev Giddy was transferred to Colesberg in 1857 and Mr Ludorf took over as Wesleyan printer for the Bechuana District (Picton, 1982:20). Picton is doubtful as to whether the photographed press was the original press, as an Albion press from 1832 would bear the manufacturers name of either Cope, Barrett, or Hopkinson. The photographed press has the name Ullmer which was produced in the 1860s (Picton, 1982:21). Unfortunately, Archbell does not mention details such as the manufacturers name of his gratefully received press in 1834.

Slates

The eight slate fragments excavated from Vhy could indicate a homework situation for the children living in or visiting V’s complex. The lack of slate tablet fragments from Vbw is surprising considering the two slate pencils with points found on the cobbled floor. As a work area, the slate pencils may have been used to keep accounts or notes.

Considering the emphasis that the missionaries placed on teaching the Plaatbergers how to read and write (WMMS School Report, 1837; Etherington, 2005:9), the appearance of slates and slate pencils in V’s complex, although in low numbers, is not surprising. A far

greater number of slate tablet fragments and pencils were found in the midden behind the chapel in the mission complex. 76 slate tablet fragments and eight pencils were found in PPH, and slate fragments and a pencil were excavated from the mission house (Hunt, 2020:132). As the chapel vestry doubled as a school room for the children and adults of Plaatberg, this number is not too surprising. Slates were readily available from Grahams Town and other centres in the colony and are listed in merchants' advertisements in the eastern Cape as early as 1835 (Graham's Town Journal, 19 June 1835).

6.14. Conclusion

The majority of the excavated artefacts are predominantly examples of British material culture. The variety of imported goods that are present in the archaeological record was readily available in Grahamstown from the 1830s onwards. These goods reached the frontier and Plaatberg in a variety of ways, for example, the Plaatbergers purchased goods in Grahamstown and Colesberg and through Itinerant traders visiting Plaatberg from Grahamstown. The Plaatbergers economic base which enabled them to barter for these goods (wagon bolts, nails, ammunition, imported ceramics, iron cooking pots, clay pipes, food, and alcohol amongst other items) will be discussed in Chapter 7. The choices made by the Plaatberg Bastards was also a reflection of the affordability of the goods on offer which was based on the success of their barter exchanges. According to missionary accounts, they "purchased" items predominantly through the conventional method of barter exchange in the interior.

Although a wide range of material culture is present across the station, when a comparison between the mission complex and V's complex is made, there are clear differences in the higher quantity of artefacts in the mission complex and the greater range of items, for example several 'luxury' items, such as English porcelain and majolica. That being said, the mission complex ceramic assemblage would not have been classified as being either expensive or high status when compared to luxury items advertised in newspapers or listed in inventory records from Cape Town or Grahamstown at the time. Some items are noticeable by their absence, for example, alcohol bottles were found in V's complex and in middens and on mounds around the station, excluding the mission complex. The similarities between V's complex and the mission area are found in the blue

and white transfer printed ceramic category, where this colour forms the bulk of the transfer printed category, and the willow pattern decoration is the single most prominent pattern, in both complexes.

Turning to V's complex, the two areas, (north and south) discussed in Chapter 5, comprise of a linked set of domestic architectural features, midden (Vm), hartebeesthuis (Vhb), kookhuis (Vkh), in the north, and a possible domestic dwelling (Vh) with an associated midden (Vhy) and a workshop/smithy (Vbw) in the south. The architectural footprint of each area is architecturally distinct. Looking at the material culture of each area, there are also differences. In terms of the quantity and range of all material objects excavated, there are substantially more in the southern area. The majority of artefacts were concentrated in the midden (Vhy). Further differences include, for example, two imported ceramic sherds partially covered in ochre in Vm, and absence of lusterware and a lack of metal cutlery in the northern area, although the numbers of both of these items were extremely low in the southern area. Notwithstanding these differences, similarities in material culture between these two areas outweigh the differences. Recycled imported ceramics and knapped ceramic sherds are present in both areas. These items were used in ways that were never dreamt of by the manufacturer and probably by the mission family. Both areas display a similar pattern of domestic ceramics, personal items for clothing and adornment, metal construction artefacts, clay pipes, glass beads and faunal remains. Blue and white transfer printed ceramics account for over 70% of transfer printed ware in both areas. The exception to this is the workshop/smithy. A large amount of broken metal objects as well as unidentifiable metal objects and fragments were found throughout this structure. In contrast, this structure yielded a low number of imported ceramics (MNV of 4) and the complete absence of glass and bone. The material cultural distinctions in this structure underpins the difference in activity that took place here, it is very clearly a functional workspace as opposed to a domestic space.

Cultural entanglement in V's complex as I have discussed, is very clear from the built environment. There are clear hints of this expressed in the inflected use of quotidian items of material culture, for example the presence of ochre on imported ceramic sherds, the presence of recycled, knapped imported ceramics, the combined use of local ceramics and imported ceramics in the storage, preparation, and cooking of food, and within the

workshop, the presence of an indigenous stone pipe, and a bone awl, possibly used for leatherwork. This eclectic mixture of artefacts suggests material cultural entanglement within V's complex, a clear reflection of the hybrid nature of the inhabitants. In addition, the lack of matching patterns within the imported ceramic assemblage and therefore the absence of formal individual place settings and the predominance of brightly coloured and transfer printed bowls/kommetjie's within this assemblage suggests a communal food consumption pattern, such as stews. We can infer that tea and stews were served in bowls, in the communal space around the kookhuis as opposed to a formal dining table setting as would be found in the mission house. The Plaatbergers were using European ceramics in their own traditional way which echoes their use of the external cooking area (Vkh).

The economic means by which the Plaatbergers obtained these objects, the choices they made from the range of goods on offer and the independence of purchase, will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

AN AGRICULTURAL, HUNTING, RAIDING AND TRADING ECONOMY

The Bastards, Baralongs and Fingos have made a sudden inroad on Mabula and after having killed several of my people whom they have found working in their cornfields have carried off their cattle. Letter from Chief Moshoeshoe to the British Resident, 5 December 1851 (BR 1:475).

This chapter supplements the material record from V's complex documented in the previous chapter, by exploring the means by which these items were acquired by the Plaatbergers. I look at the documentary record of four different economic activities, (three of which underpinned Bastard economic and social life), undertaken by the Plaatberg Bastards which embraced the skills that they were both famed and notorious for, in their pursuit for economic freedom, self-governance, land ownership and freedom from the restraint and racial discrimination of colonial life in the Cape Colony. These activities enabled them to barter and trade for the material culture discussed in the previous chapter, such as imported ceramics, metal cooking pots, glass beads, clay pipes and tobacco, as well as clothing (inferred from the presence of buttons and hooks and eyes) as well as items essential to carry out the business of farming, hunting, raiding, and trading. In other words, the documentary record supplements the material cultural record of the mission and V's complex in particular. Hunting, raiding, and trading were economic strategies that highly mobile Bastard groups were known to utilise dating back to the late eighteenth century and continued into the nineteenth century. The Plaatberg Bastards were no exception to this.

7.1. Farming

Agriculturally this spot had been well chosen and by 1848 the gardens and orchards were flourishing. The Bastards of Plaatberg were expected to follow the Protestant ethic of hard work and the planting of a variety of crops was encouraged. This was in addition to the household kitchen gardens which provided each family with pumpkins, maize, and

fruit. The Plaatberg mission station, as with all farming societies in the interior, depended on predictable, stable carbohydrates as a staple food. Their surplus production of wheat was renowned in the area, but Rev Cameron lamented his inability to persuade the Plaatbergers to plant “kaffer” corn (sorghum) and “Indian corn” (maize) whereby they would reap two or three crops a year as well as having enough to eat “instead of half starving for 3 months of the year” (Cameron, 1842b:93). Backhouse, who visited Plaatberg a few months before Cameron arrived, recorded that each Plaatberger home contained Indian corn, which suggests that they grew a small amount of maize for domestic consumption, or maize formed part of the structure of their exchange with BaSotho farmers who produced maize as a secondary crop, and sorghum being their main crop for consumption and trade (Eldredge, 1993:67). The abundant sorghum crop produced by the BaSotho possibly formed part of this system of exchange between the BaSotho and the Plaatbergers, which is why they may have felt no need to produce it themselves.

They were by this stage successfully growing wheat as in a letter to Robert Godlonton in December 1840, Cameron wrote that they had produced and were reaping an abundant crop of wheat (Cameron, 1840c:61). The wheat harvest greatly impressed Rev Shaw who informed the Society of the highly successful wheat farming operation at Plaatberg and Lishuani. He estimated that they reaped 1600 muids or 5000 Winchester bushels of “very fine wheat” in 1843 and went on to say, “The great quantity of wheat grown by the Newlanders and Griquas makes bread cheap in this part of the country” (WMN, 1852: 52:298,299). Rev Giddy writing to a friend in England in 1847, described the land covered with wheat and in addition, barley and oats were also cultivated by the Plaatberg Bastards (Schoeman, 1991:94). Thus, they became both agriculturally self-sufficient and produced enough of a surplus wheat crop to carry on a lucrative trade with itinerant traders, as well as with white frontier pastoralists from the Vet and Modder rivers and Griqua from Philipolis. In 1850, Adam Kok III of Philipolis, wrote that he had sent his people to purchase wheat from Plaatberg prior to the 1st BaSotho/Boer war (Schoeman,1996:189). Cameron mentions white pastoralist farmers (Boers) regularly arriving at Plaatberg to trade for “corn”, presumably wheat, and the Plaatbergers loading their wagons with “corn” to embark on trading expeditions from 1840 onwards. He

records a total of sixty muids of corn being loaded onto five wagons to trade with the Boers on the Vet River in April 1841 (Cameron, 1841a:405). The white pastoralists depended heavily on trading for grain as they did not, at that stage, cultivate their own staple carbohydrate for daily use (Eldredge, 1993:47), forcing them to trade with the Plaatberg Bastaards for wheat and the BaSotho for maize. The area in which Grahamstown is situated is not conducive to the cultivation of wheat (Marshall, 2008) and its rapid growth, as well as the establishment of military forts in the eastern Cape, meant that the wheat grown in the fertile Caledon River Valley in general and by the Plaatbergers in particular, would have been in great demand. If they sold their crop to Boer and English traders visiting Plaatberg, they probably saw little of the profit as these traders sold it on at a substantial profit. To avoid this, Cameron encouraged the Plaatbergers to take their harvest to town and in 1843, 15 families travelled to Colesberg with wagon loads of millet, (this is the first time that he mentions their cultivation of millet, an indigenous crop) hoping to purchase essential items including clothing, with the proceeds of the sale (Cameron, 1843c:69).

Cameron grew quite poetic on beholding the Plaatberg agricultural efforts "I walked out this afternoon as far as the corn land and was much pleased to see such an abundant crop waving its yellow ears in the breeze, while one party of people was busy cutting it down, and another party equally busy at the threshing floor where the tread of some dozen horses was separating the grain from the chaff" (Cameron, 1840a:375). Such was the bountiful harvest that threshing floors were set up all around the station (ibid). There was even the idea of erecting a corn mill at Plaatberg under the guidance of the Society's artisan, Brother Eli Wiggle but it did not take place due to the expense the construction would incur to the society (Cameron, 1840a:349). A combination of drought and locusts caused the yield to fluctuate, resulting in the Plaatbergers regularly informing Cameron that they could not pay their church dues (Cameron, 1842b:88). I will return to the issue of church dues in Chapter 10.

Such pressures did not afflict the resident missionary at Plaatberg. In October 1847, Reverend Richard Giddy wrote with some satisfaction that the fruit trees in the mission garden, especially the peach trees, were laden with fruit, as were the cherry trees and

gooseberries (Schoeman, 1991:94). As early as 1840 Cameron wrote that his carefully tended peach, apricot, apple, and almond trees were thriving in the mission garden (Cameron,1840c:61; Cameron,1843b:175). Moshoeshoe was so taken with Cameron's orchard of peach trees that he asked for cuttings and a fully grown tree to take back to Thaba Bosiu (Cameron, 1840a:434). According to Cameron, the Plaatbergers realised the value of planting fruit trees and many of them created walled orchards which provided them with an abundance of fruit, which had the added benefit for Cameron in that they stopped "besieging" him for a portion of his crop (Cameron, 1845c:84). If the two large rectangular enclosed areas, located on the northern end of the station (Fig. 5.1) were indeed orchards, they would have produced fruit for the station as a whole. Mrs Giddy's grandfather, an 1820 settler, arrived at Plaatberg (possibly in 1846) with a gift of rose bushes, pomegranates, figs, cherry trees, and numerous almond trees, which he successfully planted in the large orchard that he created some distance from the mission house (Taylor, 1927). Peach (*Prunus persica*) and almond pips (*Prunus dulcis*) have been recovered across the station. Rose bushes still clamber over broken stone walls to this day and there are still a few flowering almond trees at the deserted mission station site. The rose bushes produce abundant rose hips, possibly the Sweet briar (*Rosa eglanteria*) which was imported to the eastern Cape for use as hedging by the 1820 settlers (Fagan, 2011:188). The walled gardens and orchards at Plaatberg gave rise in 1848 to Rev Shaw's rapturous comment "a large number of gardens and orchards are well enclosed and hundreds if not thousands of fruit trees give the whole a very interesting rural appearance" (Broadbent, 2017:200), by which he meant a well ordered English rural scene.

The Bastards success in agriculture and their trade with the Boers brought the mission and its lands to the notice of the Boers who from 1842/43 threatened to reap the Plaatbergers harvest for themselves (WMN, 1852: No 52:298). This was a constant threat in which the Plaatbergers were unhappily sandwiched between the menace of the Boers on one hand and the fear of possible retaliation by the BaSotho on the other after their part in the Battle of Tihela in 1851.

On the protein side of the diet, the emphasis of the Plaatberg Bastaards was on cattle and sheep, the animals at the heart of their pastoralist history. In 1811 Burchell noted that although the Griqua of Klaarwater had large herds of cattle, (he estimated 3000), and substantial numbers of sheep and goats, and some 80 to 90 horses, they kept no pigs (Burchell, 1:1953:254). European pigs (*Sus scrofa domesticus*) arrived in South Africa in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and moved into the interior from Cape Town. As Burchell noted pigs, as later European arrivals, appear to have formed no part of traditional trade and exchange networks and thus may not have been a prized part of their stock farming operation.

However, in the Plaatberg mission context, the Plaatbergers owned pigs, but they were perhaps kept mainly for domestic consumption. Cameron also does not mention pigs forming any part of the trade exchanges. In contrast to the historically freer range and expansive management of domesticates in local pastoralist systems, Cameron wanted control and containment and complained that the Plaatbergers carelessly allowed their pigs to roam freely about the station causing damage to property “There are however plenty of them on the place; they mostly run about loose and are a very great nuisance” (Cameron, 1840a:343). One errant pig got into the mission garden behind the mission house and proceeded to make a meal of the sorghum crop. His gardener/herder promptly shot it, which Cameron feared would provoke unhappiness on the part of its owner (Cameron, 1841a:407). It is possible that Cameron also owned pigs as his wife served breakfast which included bacon and Rev Giddy’s wife is recorded as fattening up a pig for slaughter whilst at Plaatberg (Taylor, 1927).

As noted above, historically cattle and sheep pastoralism was a central economic, social, and political focus of the frontier Bastaards. Cameron, whilst looking out of his parlour window, could see the “beautiful and extensive valley...literally swarming with herds of large cattle” (Cameron, 1840c:61). The extensive herds of cattle and flocks of sheep owned by the Plaatberg Bastaards were, in the context of their domestic mission lives, an important part of their ability to barter with the traders. Cameron noted in his journal that the Plaatbergers were “parting with their oxen, sheep and money at a rapid rate” with a trader at Plaatberg (Cameron, 1841a:411). The Boers from the Modder River traded

sheep for Plaatberg wheat (Cameron, 1840a:378). Besides sheep, it is likely that the Plaatbergers also bartered for guns and ammunition from the Boers in exchange for their grain. Trade across the colonial frontier was relaxed after 1825, except for the trade in guns and ammunition, which was still prohibited (Storey, 2008:93). The Plaatbergers drove cattle to the public market in Grahamstown for sale, which also dealt in hides, ivory, and ostrich feathers amongst other exotic goods for sale (Marshall, 2008:26). An example of the importance of cattle in the interior of the country during the nineteenth century, can be seen on the front page of *The Graham's Town Journal* on 6 March 1858, where the local auctioneer placed an advertisement for "10 spans of superior trek oxen and 30 first rate cows" to be held at the Graham's Town market the following week (Vol xxviii, No.1439) (Fig. 7.1). There was always a greater demand for draught oxen in the colony than the available supply (Ross, 2009:16) which would have put the Plaatbergers into a good bargaining position.

They did have to contend with periods of drought and animal sickness. Two outbreaks of "lung sickness" (pleuropneumonia) were recorded to have wiped-out cattle herds in the Free State and Lesotho in 1856 and 1857 (Eldredge 1993:78). Rev John Daniel, assistant missionary at Plaatberg, reported to the Society in 1858 that lung sickness had occurred amongst the draught oxen rendering him immobile because his team was reduced to six (WMN 1859:160). Daniel appears to be talking about the mission oxen, but such a sickness could have spread to all the other oxen at the station. This would have seriously limited their transport mobility related to regional economics focused on hunting and trading.

OWN, SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1858. No

S A L E
 OF
TREK OXEN
 AND
C O W S.

THE UNDERSIGNED WILL SELL ON THE
Graham's Town Market,

on

Thursday,
 11TH MARCH NEXT,
 10 SPANS OF
SUPERIOR TREK OXEN,
 30 FIRST RATE COWS.
in good condition.

— 000 —

The above OXEN are well worth the attention
 of Transport Riders, and the COWS are young and
 well-bred, and in calf to an Imported Bull.

J. S. Reed,
 AUCTIONEER.

Figure 7.1: Advertisement from the front page of The Graham's Town Journal, 6 March 1858, Vol. xxviii, No.1439

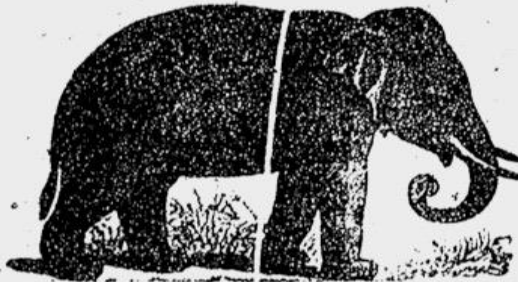
7.2. Hunting

Both the documents and faunal remains from V's complex clearly show that wild meat supplemented domesticates in the protein diet. When Backhouse visited the station in 1839, he recounted that, notwithstanding a measles epidemic and the death of ten inhabitants, the men were away hunting with all the available wagons "With a thoughtlessness that is characteristic of the Bastards, they had left their families, against

the counsel of their teacher and at a time when their presence was greatly needed at home” (Backhouse, 1844:384). This rather judgemental statement highlights the importance that hunting played in the Bastaard economy. The wild faunal remains and material evidence for guns in the form of ammunition found at V’s complex, alludes to this aspect of their mobile economy.

Plaatberg hunters frequently went on expeditions which lasted upwards of two weeks, and on one occasion they returned with “ten quaggas, seven spring-boks and two gnoos or wilde beesten” (Cameron, 1840a:356). In June 1842, Cameron described processing and drying the meat (Biltong from Dutch, *bil* (buttock) and *tong* (strip or tongue): “four wagons arrived from the hunting field loaded with flesh, which created a great stir on the place. The women were busy cutting it up in long slices and hanging them in the sun to dry” (Cameron, 1842b:53). The knowledge of making biltong was apparently passed on to the Dutch by Khoekhoe hunters (Elphick & Shell, 1989:228) a skill which would have been well known to the Bastaards. Whether the game hunted by the Plaatbergers ever made it to the missionary’s table is not yet known. We will have a better idea of the movement of such foods within the station once the faunal analysis is complete but based on the analysis of the faunal assemblage thus far, it appears that there are larger numbers of wild faunal remains in V’s complex and far fewer wild remains in the Mission complex midden. Wildebeest, springbok, red hartebeest and blesbok remains have so far been identified from V’s complex.

Diet aside, possibly the most important and valuable aspect of these hunting trips were the skins or hides for trade. Trade in hides soared during the years when a weekly fair was held at Fort Wiltshire in the 1820s, (Peires, 1989:485) and going by the newspaper advertisements, such as those found in The Graham’s Town Journal (Fig. 7.2), continued to be in demand well into the late 1850s.



IVORY
Ostrich Feathers.
 &c. &c.
TO BE SOLD
 ON THE
MARKET,
On Friday, 12th March,

6250 lbs. Ivory,
 100 " Superior white Ostrich Feathers,
 44 " Coloured
 44 " Black Ostrich Feathers,
 105 Karosses, various kinds,
 10 Tiger Skins,
 3 Lion "

Skins of various animals.
 ALSO
A FEW CURIOSITIES.
 130 Spans Elland Reims.
 28 BRAID SKINS.

The whole has been selected and being brought down
 by Mr. D. HUME.

JAMES TEMPLET

Grahamstown,
 February 6, 1858

Figure 7.2: Advertisement from the front page of The Graham's Town Journal, 6 March 1858, Vol. xxviii, No.1439, listing a variety of hides on offer at the market.

7.3. Trading

Trade networks on the Highveld predate the arrival of the missionaries and Boers in the area. The Griqua began to infiltrate these pre-existing trade networks, for example Solomon Kok conducted ivory trading expeditions with the Tswana from 1804 (Ross, 2009:14). The Bastards strategically utilised their mixed European and Khoekhoe bloodline, which gave them access to trading contacts across the board (Ross, 2012:206). When the Bastards (Griqua, Basters, Korana and Kora) first immigrated across the

colonial frontier, they acted as highly successful middlemen in trade with Ngwaketse, Thlaping and BaRolong mixed farmers to the north and the colony (Ross, 2009:16). In their position as middlemen, Barend Barend's and the Koks became wealthy ivory traders (Legassick, 1989). Burchell first met Barend Barend's in Cape Town in 1811 when Barends was on a trading trip from Klaarwater, selling ivory and cattle for essential supplies for their frontier lifestyle. Importantly this included "gunpowder, muskets, lead, flint, as well as porcelain beads, knives, tinder boxes and steels, tobacco, woollen jackets and trousers, horses, and wagons" (Keegan, 1996:172).

Eventually Philipolis became an important trade centre north of the Orange River, where guns, ammunition and liquor were traded to the north for cattle, horns, skins, ivory, and feathers which moved south into the Cape colony (Keegan, 1996:172; Storey, 2008:93). Although the colonial authorities tried to control cross frontier trade, especially in firearms and gunpowder, they had little success, firstly because these items were essential for survival in the frontier and secondly, simply because of the large numbers of Boer and Bastaard traders (Keegan, 1996:178). The merchant, George Thompson travelled in the area around the Orange River in the mid-1820s, commented that the Bastaards received a constant supply of guns and ammunition from the Boers, who were happy to receive cattle in payment (Forbes, 1968:2:68,69). The trade in guns and ammunition across the colonial frontier continued through the 1840s and beyond. Gunpowder was rather cleverly hidden in barrels supposedly containing rice or tar (Storey, 2008:93). Guns, ammunition, and alcohol were traded for cattle (often acquired during cattle raids), ivory, skins, ostrich feathers and slaves which were obtained from the BaSotho, Thlaping and Tswana (Storey, 2008:93,94; Keegan, 1996:177). Profit from this trade was used to purchase ploughs (and other agricultural equipment) and wagons which were essential for the business of trade (Ross, 2009:16).

When Cameron took a census of people, houses, households, and wagons for the British authorities in 1842, he recorded that the Bastaards owned 20 wagons (Cameron, 1842b:85). Seven years later, in 1849 Rev Freeman counted the same number of wagons and commented that that the Plaatbergers being "industrious and thrifty" lived in a state of "considerable comfort" (Freeman, 1851:307), but whether being industrious and thrifty

was connected to the ownership of so many wagons connected to trading and hunting which enabled them to live in a state of comfort is not clear. Wagons were manufactured in the Cape Colony during the nineteenth century and therefore were sold for a fairly high price, approximately £120 each in Transorangia (Eldredge, 1993:156) which is roughly equivalent to £12 000.00 today. This purchase price and the number of wagons at Plaatberg indicates the critical relationship between wagons, successful hunting and trading expeditions and living in “considerable comfort”. The number of wagons and their economic importance would suggest that there was a resident blacksmith for maintenance and repairs at Plaatberg, as there were at other mission stations such as Philipolis.

The excavations at V’s complex yielded an array of imported goods that arrived at Plaatberg in a variety of ways. The Plaatberg Bastards were tied into the world market economy with trade links locally, further north into the interior and into the colony. They travelled regularly to Grahamstown, Philipolis and Colesberg to trade cattle, grain and probably skins, for ploughs, brandy, tea, guns, and ammunition amongst other items (Cameron, 1843b:120,180,184). As I discussed in chapter 6, the Griqua purchased commodities with a portion of the profit from trade, such as clothing, which displayed their wealth, and generously distributed items such as tea, coffee and sugar which further enhanced their status within their community (Ross, 2009:16).

The more parsimonious missionaries also made shopping trips, predominantly to Grahamstown to purchase supplies such as tea, coffee, flour and sugar for themselves and their fellow missionaries or sent the resident catechist to stock up on essential supplies. Grahamstown’s growth from the 1820s was due to the development of cross frontier commerce and by the 1840s it had become a predominantly commercial town (Marshall, 2008:15). Many of the 1820 settlers had left farm life for town dwelling, some becoming successful traders, with Southey stating that the profits from frontier trade could range from 20% to 100% (Marshall, 2008:23). Further back in the supply chain, British manufactured goods that had previously been offloaded at Cape Town, were now shipped to Port Elizabeth and tea from Canton was also offloaded in Port Elizabeth to serve the tea drinking British settlers (Arkin, 1973:20).

Alcohol aside, merchants in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown were well aware of the demand for trade goods on the Cape Frontier. They advertised extensive and occasionally detailed lists of clothing, fabric, food, ironmongery, building materials and alcohol for sale in the monthly newspaper “The Graham’s Town Journal” from 1831 onwards, as well as “The Cape Frontier Times”, and the “South African Commercial Advertiser”. The majority of traders had credit arrangements with the larger wholesale merchants (Levy, 2017:23; Peires, 1989:476) and merchants in Graham’s Town provided some itinerant traders with the financial backing to start their trading business (Marshall, 2008:24). There were clear distinctions in Grahamstown between wealthy merchants involved in import and export, storekeepers who were retailers and itinerant traders (Marshall, 2008:25). Mosenthal’s opened its doors for business in Port Elizabeth in 1842 and spent time and money on a detailed front-page advertisement in the Graham’s Town Journal listing the large variety of goods that they imported from England (Fleischer & Caccia, 1983:61). It is from these merchants that itinerant traders would have selected goods for trade in the interior of the country and became an important link in the supply chain between the merchant in the town and customers in the deep frontier areas (Zachariou, 2017:255).

Itinerant traders in the Caledon River Valley visited all the mission stations with their diverse populations of (BaRolong, Griqua, Korana, Bastaard, and WMMS and PEMS missionaries). They also targeted BaSotho villages and towns and white pastoralists (Dutch farmers) encamped on the Vet and Modder rivers. Their goods included groceries, crockery, hardware, haberdashery, saddlery, cloth and canvas (Fleischer & Caccia, 1983:74) and I would add to this list, books, clothing, guns, ammunition, and liquor, especially brandy. Traders presumably assembled a wide selection of goods to tempt the range of customers in the interior and contextually refined their stock once they had got to know what their customers required and desired.

The acumen to assess and respond to vastly different and changing requirements and desires was essential for successful trading. Importantly, as noted above, the advantage for Plaatbergers was that itinerant traders accepted sheep, cattle and other farm produce in lieu of cash, they would take orders and sometimes brought mail as well (see Zachariou, 2017:260). Cameron mentions repeated visits to Plaatberg by itinerant Boer and British traders during the five years that he resided at Plaatberg. Peires points out that British

itinerant traders bartered cheap imported goods to the Xhosa and Boers in exchange for more valuable items such as cattle, hides and ivory which they sold for large profits at markets in the bigger towns such as the Graham's Town (Peires, 1989:476).

While traders were critical in supplying essential goods and hardware, missionaries seemingly were "protective" of their 'flock' in these transactions. For example, Backhouse defined itinerant traders as "cheats" (Backhouse, 1844:433). This negative view of itinerant traders may have stemmed from the missionaries wish to control and limit, in particular, the independent purchasing choices that the Plaatbergers exercised (brandy is an example) and more generally wishing to curtail the Plaatbergers economic independence which was beyond missionary control. The economic fortunes of the Plaatberg Bastards rose and fell, and when the maize or wheat harvest failed, they resorted to paying for their traded goods with their own sheep and oxen. Cameron responded angrily in his journal that both the white pastoralists and itinerant traders were taking unfair advantage of the Plaatbergers, and suggests that they were being fleeced (Cameron, 1842b:49). As a consequence, he wrote "I use no familiarity with traders or Boers. It seems best to keep them at a distance" (Cameron 1841a:415). The fact that the Plaatberg Bastards, for example were prepared to take part in such unequal exchanges, highlights the scarcity of certain items such as ceramics/tableware, which the customer valued because of its scarcity in the remote interior parts of the country (Zachariou, 2017:261). The people living in the interior thus became consumers, dependent on imported goods brought to them by smousen and later by village trading stores, including those on mission stations which were not only allowed but encouraged by the missionaries (Malan, 1993:183; Peires, 1989:487; Keegan, 1996:179; Sales, 1975:87). Prior to the 1820s, as a result of the long contact between Bastards and white settlers in the Cape Colony, they had been drawn into Cape colonial consumer society which resulted in the desire for European manufactured goods (Elphick & Shell, 1989:226).

Itinerant traders were an important part of the rural landscape from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Peires notes that during the 1830s there were 150 to 200 itinerant traders in Xhosaland (Peires, 1989:486). By 1839 and possibly before, itinerant traders were plying their trade in Transorangia and making their presence felt in the Caledon River Valley itself. While the identity of itinerant traders is "inextricably tied to the Jewish

smouse" (Zachariou, 2017:253), this does not appear to be the case in the Caledon River Valley. Here the majority of the traders that Cameron mentions (Mr Anderson, Peter McQuin, Mr Ward, and Mr Clayton) were British. The Boer traders are not mentioned by name and simply described as "Boers" or "African Boers" and in a tone of disapproval, "who are much addicted to sabbath travelling" (Cameron, 1842b:52).

The itinerancy of these traders appears to have negatively affected the curation of their own business records. I have not come across any traders' stock books or sale rolls, but such "stock" books, which listed the people that they traded with and the cash/livestock that they had received in payment for said merchandise did exist (Levy, 2017). For example, the trader Michael Theron left Bloemfontein in 1865 with a wagon loaded with stock to the value of £300 to trade amongst the Boers in Transorangia. His stock book noted the last farmer that he traded with on the Vet River and listed stock of 335 sheep and goats, 21 oxen and 20 pounds in cash which he had received in payment, but the report makes no mention of whether the stock book lists the items loaded in Bloemfontein (The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette, 14 July 1865, Vol XVI, No. 787).

In another case, the Sale Roll of goods in a trader's wagon became a court document after the trader, Philip Barkum was murdered by his assistants near De Aar in January 1906. The Sale Roll included tobacco, pipes, sheets, blankets, coffee, sugar, knives and forks, mirrors, clocks, lace, ribbons, soap, hats, socks, trousers, shirts, coats, and shoes (Levy, 2017:49). W. Savage an ex-officer in the British army and later a clerk in Bloemfontein in the 1850s noted that traders who followed the British army dealt in "tins of blacking, cakes of pipeclay and packs of thread with of course, a few groceries" and possibly Cape Smoke (Schoeman, 1989:33).

There is only one suggestion of an itinerant traders' stock (besides brandy) at Plaatberg. In 1841 Mr Robins paid a visit to a trader to purchase a cloak, when he overheard a Plaatberg Bastaard woman offering the sexual favours of her female friend to the trader in exchange for her husband's gun which the trader had kept in lieu of an outstanding debt (Cameron, 1841a:411). It is to be regretted that Mr Robins did not have a longer list of purchases to make other than the aforementioned cloak. The Barkum Sale Roll indicates that clothing formed a large portion of the trader's stock, excluding the brandy

wagon of course, and a trader with two or three wagons could load a substantial amount of stock to satisfy most of his customers' requirements.

Mosenthal's merchants in Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet imported British ceramics and supplied these to itinerant traders, it is therefore fair to assume that ceramics were being supplied into the depths of rural areas by these traders (Zachariou, 2017:258). The majority of breakable goods, which includes tableware, kitchenware, glassware, wine bottles, case gin bottles and bottled pickles were most likely transported to the mission by itinerant traders.

If the Plaatbergers were making independent choices about what to buy, it is worth considering how these choices were made and importantly, who made them. Smousen and merchants in Colesberg were aware that women made the purchasing decisions, perhaps most significantly concerning ceramics, and they stocked the goods which would accommodate their female customers' desires (Zachariou, 2017:264). Although we have no record of women buying from the traders, except for the Plaatberg Bastard female who visited the trader in an attempt to secure the return of her husband's gun, I would imagine that the same occurred at Plaatberg and extended throughout the domestic domain. For example, Backhouse recorded that each Bastard house contained 'a bedstead, a few boxes, some stools generally with seats made of strips of skin, a few iron pots, a kettle, with a few basins, bottles etc' (Backhouse, 1844:385). Household items found in V's complex, such as pots, imported ceramics, bottled food, clothing, items of adornment (rings/earrings, brooches, glass beads) fell within the domestic domain and control of women. If they were "purchasing" these items independently from a smous, we can assume that they were making form and style choices. Men would have exercised control over the "purchase" of guns, ammunition, wagons, horse tack, farming equipment, building materials and livestock, many of which (ammunition, wagon bolts, nails, a bridle, and domestic faunal remains) were excavated from V's complex. These "purchases" were driven by the Plaatbergers' economic requirements and remained under their control.

Earlier in 1812, Burchell noted that the Griqua of Klaarwater (later Griquatown) viewed brandy, tobacco, and tea as highly desirable luxury items (Burchell 2:1953:329), so it is

possible that these items would have also been in demand amongst the Bastards of Plaatberg. The use of alcohol by the Plaatbergers, especially brandy, purchased from itinerant traders, was a constant worry to the missionaries. Cameron attempted to curb the use of alcohol by insisting that all members of the Society abstain from “strong Drink” (Cameron, 1845c:87). In this he proved unsuccessful, as he acknowledged, “brandy proves an almost irresistible temptation to some of the people.” (Cameron, 1841a:405) and traders’ wagons containing brandy casks remained in demand as the Plaatbergers retained their independent purchasing choices. Itinerant traders who knew the requirements of their customers in the interior, would have kept a large supply of these items in stock (the brandy wagon being a case in point is well documented at Plaatberg).

From the early to mid-nineteenth century the value of the mission market increased and resulted in competition for the smouse when resident traders and storekeepers were established in rural towns (Ross, 1989:268). Some missionaries allowed and encouraged the establishment of trading stores within the mission station boundaries to entice mission station inhabitants to become willing consumers of imported (mainly British) goods as part of their civilising mission. This had the added benefit of missionaries controlling what merchandise was sold, particularly with regard to the sale of alcohol. Importantly for the issue of supply and resupply at Plaatberg, is that three traders settled at Plaatberg in the 1830s (Eldredge, 1993:156) but we have no further details of them at present. We do know of the traders who settled there during and after Cameron’s tenure, although the itinerant traders still made regular visits from 1840 to 1845 which suggests that there was still a good living to be made in this area. Traders’ resident at Plaatberg were Mr Bertram in the early 1840s, and Samuel Webber (an 1820 settler) arrived at Plaatberg in 1850 and was later joined by his daughter Martha Jane Kirk and her husband an ex-British army Sergeant of the 7th Dragoon Guards. She commented that “It was a very good district for trading” (Schoeman, 1989:64) which suggests that their trade goods were well received and perhaps desired by the inhabitants of Plaatberg and within the area in general. The Kirk/Webber family were not the only traders at Plaatberg at this time, as she mentions letting a room in her house to the traders Mr and Mrs Clary to store their grain (Schoeman, 1989:68). She unfortunately does not list her stock in trade but prior to arriving at Plaatberg, they travelled north in a “wagon loaded with goods” with

which they traded for ivory and oxen to be sold in Bloemfontein. Whilst at Plaatberg, Mr Kirk took a wagon load of grain to trade across the Vaal River (Schoeman, 1989:68). I have not found the post 1853 missionary journals, letters, or trader oral histories and so the identity these traders remains unknown.

According to the Giddy family oral history, when Rev Giddy investigated brandy barrels of two itinerant traders visiting Plaatberg, it was found that in addition to cheap brandy, they contained rolls of tobacco and blue-bitreal, apparently to give it an extra “kick”. On Giddy’s orders, the brandy barrels were promptly emptied and despite his great annoyance, cunningly offered the traders a piece of land to set up a shop at Plaatberg, on the strict understanding that they would only sell “soft goods and groceries” and not alcohol, with which they complied (Taylor, 1927). Giddy, unlike Cameron, refused to allow alcohol on mission station lands.

7.4. Raiding

Raiding was an established and regular feature of life in the Caledon River Valley and Transorangia by most groups carving out a life on the frontier. It is impossible to consider colonial frontiers in southern Africa without taking cattle raiding into account (King, 2017b:607) but the reasons for cattle raiding were as varied as the political, economic, cultural, and historical contexts of the groups who raided, for example the BaSotho, BaPhuti, BaTaung, Griqua/Bastaards, Korana and Bushmen raiders of the Maloti-Drakensberg (King, 2019:146). The institution of cattle raiding also extended to the Boers as they moved into Transorangia. They raided both for cattle from the BaSotho and for San children to be sold and gifted as indentured labour (BR, I). Needless to say, the constant raiding by different groups in the area drove Rev Mabile, the missionary at Morija to comment that it kept the “frontier in a state of incessant turmoil” (Smith, 1996:93). The fear that these raids instilled also affected the missionaries. Rev Casalis remarked that travelling between the PEMS stations of Morija and Beersheba in the 1830s placed one at the risk of being stripped of everything by “brigands” (Casalis, 1965:72).

While the missionaries criminalised raiding outright, raiding, as a political institution, was premised on deeper histories. Indeed, the reasons for raiding include retaliation, resistance, control of trade networks, and to undermine rival chiefly lineages in order to

build up a chiefdom or captaincy (King, 2019:146). The Griqua captaincies are a case in point where they combined raiding and trading to establish themselves politically and economically in Transorangia (King, 2019:150) therefore raiding can be seen as an “assertion of political identity” (King, 2017b:623). The feared and notorious BaSotho, BaPhuti, BaTaung, Griqua, Korana and Bushmen raiders certainly were expressing political identity from a point of relative independence in which raiding was aimed in part at retaining that independence.

Although acquiring cattle was seen as the impetus for raiding, horses, guns, ammunition, and people also formed part of the package of raided objects. Additionally, raiding took place in relation to the character of the landscape. The Maloti-Drakensberg Mountain, for example, enabled raiders to make use of a range of physical landscape options consisting of mountain passes, and corridors of vegetation across the escarpment that facilitated the movement of people and raided livestock (King, 2019:39). The mountainous terrain was well utilised and familiar to the raiders, knowledge which they used to their advantage as it provided a barrier which prevented the colonial authorities and those raided from apprehending both raiders and livestock (King, 2019:53). Raiders made use of rock shelters within the familiar mountainous landscape as campsites, and hidden retreats for themselves and raided livestock which again made the retrieval of stolen stock and apprehension of raiders a difficult task (King, 2019:51). De Hoop rock shelter, near to Plaatberg, may have been used periodically as a campsite and to hide raided livestock for short periods of time. This will be discussed more fully in chapter 8.

There seems to be no doubt that the Plaatberg Bastards engaged in raiding and trading activities prior to the Battle of Tihela in 1851 (see Chapter 3) and that the missionaries suspected or knew of these exploits. Rev Cameron hinted at such an activity in 1841 (Cameron, 1841a:450, 451) and later recorded a further incident in his journal on 28th May 1842 “I have been led by a consideration of some rather suspicious circumstances to fear that some of the Plaatberg people have gone with the Griqua commando. Should this be the case, they will probably act more wisely than they did *before* and not bring the stolen cattle on the place for some time; but should they be *equally reckless* on this occasion, one shall have the same or greater difficulty in wresting from them the fruits of their wickedness” (Cameron, 1842b:45) (my emphasis in italics). Who exactly the “Griqua

commando” was is not made clear in his journal but Griqua from Philipolis with “ties” to the Plaatberg Bastards, were regular social and trading visitors to Plaatberg. Cameron disapproved of them, “their eye is evil and therefore their whole body is full of darkness” (Cameron, 1840a:358) and he probably feared that these friends and relations would ‘seduce’ the Bastards away to Philipolis and encourage them to partake in unlawful (raiding) activities. Barend Barend’s Griqua may also be the people referred to. They were well known and successful ivory hunters, traders, and sometime raiders, who had previously resided at the WMS Lishuani mission station, not far from Plaatberg until 1836 when they moved away from missionary influence but remained in the general area.

It is obvious that James Cameron, knew of their raiding propensities and that although he viewed raiding as an illegal and immoral act, he did not inform the colonial authorities, but chose to turn a blind eye to this particular economic activity (Cameron,1841a:450, 451; Cameron, 1842b:45). There is also no doubt from this passage that this was not the first time that they had participated in a raiding expedition.

Clearly the Plaatberg Bastards were embroiled in regional raids, and these are recorded in the colonial archive after the Battle of Tihela in June 1851 (See Chapter 3), once they had departed from Plaatberg: “Platberg Bastards still marauding” (ibid 102), and other comments disparagingly referring to Captain Baatje as a “refugee Hottentot” and his group “a small band of adventurers” (BR II:2). The best documented was the raid in October 1851 comprising of Plaatberg Bastards, BaRolong and AmaFengu. This raid was against the BaSotho who had been settled close to the mission station by Moshoeshoe, at the request of the missionary in order to protect his family and mission property from attack (Orpen, 1979:99; Schoeman, 1989:65). The raid was as swift as it was successful, the raiders making off with the cattle belonging to the BaSotho but in the process killed the son of the headman in charge of the protection of Plaatberg (Orpen, 1979:99). As a result of this raid, Moshoeshoe sent a letter of complaint to the British Resident (BR I:1883:462). In July 1852 British officials commented once again on the incessant raiding taking place on the frontier in which “The Platberg Bastards, who are nothing more than a set of vagabond Hottentots, unadvisedly supplied (by Major Warden, in June 1851) with 100lbs powder and 200 lbs lead, set out on a marauding expedition into Moshesh’s country and carried off 3 000 head of cattle and 280 horses, which they have brought into

the Sovereignty” (Orpen, 1979:108). However, the allocation of munitions to the Plaatbergers suggests that they had been conscripted by the British, and they willingly complied, as a ready profit could be made in the form of cattle and horses.

There was a flurry of letters to the British Resident from Moshoeshoe and Moroka complaining of constant raiding of livestock by each other and Moletsane. As can be expected, the Plaatbergers in their turn, also suffered stock loss from raids by their old enemies, the BaSotho and BaTaung. Captain Baatje tried to use these raids to his advantage by sending a letter of complaint to the British Resident in Bloemfontein in 1850 in an attempt to get them to assist in curbing the BaSotho’s and BaTaung’s raids on the Plaatbergers herds (BR 1:341).

Once the Plaatberg Bastards had returned to the station in 1853, a group of them took part in a skirmish, as part of a commando led by Letsie, son of Moshoeshoe, against Sikonyela who was supported by Gert Taaibosch and his Korana. The BaSotho and their allies managed to escape with 4000 head of cattle (BR II:83). The Plaatberg Bastard contingent would no doubt have been rewarded for their support in the form of cattle. This raid was apparently retaliatory against the BaSotho by the combined forces of Sikonyela’s BaTlokwa and Taaibosch’s Kei-Korana (Theal, 1888:329; Sanders, 1969:448,450) which is another example of the constant and seemingly never-ending cycle of raids and counter raids taking place in Transorangia in the nineteenth century. During the 1840s, the BaTlokwa of Sekonyela repeatedly raided the Korana of Taaibosch, who desperate to defend themselves from poverty formed alliances with the BaRolong, the Griqua from Lishuani, and the “Newlanders of Carolus Baatje” who provided him with regular assistance in counter raiding expeditions (Sanders, 1969:446). This illustrates the changeable and fragile nature of alliances amongst raiding groups on the frontier with the BaSotho and Plaatberg Bastards being on opposing sides in the conflict of 1851 and assisting each other in 1853. Likewise, the Kei-Korana who had formed raiding commandoes with the BaTlokwa in the 1850s had raided each other in the 1840s.

The language of the colonial authorities with regard to the raiding activities of the Plaatberg Bastards, illustrates their views on the local population, although they were aware that raiders or “marauders” covered a diverse range of groups “white and black”

(BR I:463). They were certainly annoyed to find that their former allies (BaRolong, Bastaards and AmaFengu) took part, in what to them was illegal behaviour which they felt would threaten the stability of Transorangia. In colonial terms the raiders had no respect for private property, boundaries or colonial laws. Raiders in general and the Plaatberg Bastaards in particular, were well aware of this view but they lived by their own rules and use of the landscape until it suited them to reassert their claims to the more colonial view of Plaatberg land and boundaries. Ironically the Plaatberg Bastaards skill in the commando system is what made them valuable allies to the colonial government to assist in skirmishes and warfare in Transorangia but when the Plaatbergers utilised the same skills in pursuit of raiding activities, these attributes became less desirable and in colonial terms, illegal.

7.5. Discussion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show that the economic capacity of the Plaatbergers allowed them to be relatively independent. I suggest that the material recovered from V's complex reflects the independent choices of the Plaatbergers as to what was acquired. Considering the imported ceramic assemblage, it is most likely the Plaatberger women who exercised their economic independence of purchasing choice according to their means. The men who were economically in charge of hunting and raiding strategies, and livestock, independently made the decisions regarding the purchase of livestock, guns and ammunition, farming equipment and wagons. The missionaries, who attempted to control all aspects (sacred, political, and economic) of the Plaatbergers lives, clearly expressed their frustration and alarm at this assertion of economic independence, in their writing. This economic independence is echoed at Farmerfield mission, where some of the congregants were able to maintain economic independence, especially in the case of the transport riders and farmers who had adapted to the new economic environment and increased their disposable income which enabled them to be incorporated in the economy of the eastern Cape (Palk, 2018:174, 237-239). However, the majority of the tenants had to utilise a variety of economic strategies (unlike the Plaatbergers, raiding did not appear to be one of them) to remain economically self-sufficient in order to avoid working as labourers for local settler farmers (Vernal, 2012:130).

As Lightfoot pointed out, one of the features of multi-ethnic groups on frontiers was their involvement in raiding, although it must be emphasised that not all groups were raiders (Lightfoot, 1995:201). Raiding was inextricably linked to regional politics and machinations over land and the Plaatbergers as allies of the groups from the other Wesleyan stations in the Caledon River Valley, as well from Philipolis, were involved in support of their allies. A secondary type of raiding for the Plaatbergers was low-key raiding which can be seen in the context of their traditional cultural practice of pastoralism, hunting and mobility of frontier life, which was reasserted in a reaction to the ideological and sedentary constraints of life on the mission station. It is in these types of hunting and raiding strategies that the continued use of landscape features, such as De Hoop rock shelter, continued to be used to conceal ill-gotten gains and to allow them the freedom to express their beliefs and values in private places that were culturally appropriate for rituals such as rainmaking. The raiding excursions of the Plaatbergers can therefore be seen in light of the erosion of their political independence, and especially the threat to cultural values retained and new ones formed in the ideological spaces of the transforming Cape frontier. The Plaatbergers as mission dwellers had to curtail their raiding and be far more circumspect and the assertion of a raiding political identity for them would of necessity, have been undercover.

The Plaatberg Bastards had thus expanded their economic repertoire to include large scale farming which produced a surplus that was added to their traditional and previously more independent, highly mobile economic activities. These combined economic activities (farming, hunting, raiding, and trading) were closely connected at Plaatberg and were probably viewed by the Plaatberg Bastards as an economic “whole”. This enabled them to trade for essential items (guns, ammunition, and farming implements) as well desirable items such as tea, tobacco, brandy, and other household essentials. The expansion of their economic repertoire by extension, shows how the Plaatbergers physically extended themselves in the region. The material culture excavated from V’s complex is an expression of this extension in space and how this material is inflected through their cultural and historic traditions,

CHAPTER 8

The Hidden Landscape of Plaatberg

'I have been led by a consideration of some rather suspicious circumstances to fear that some of the Plaatberg people have gone with the Griqua commando. Should this be the case, they will probably act more wisely than they did before and not bring the stolen cattle on the place for some time; but should they be equally reckless on this occasion, one shall have the same or greater difficulty in wresting from them the fruits of their wickedness. I really am sick of the perpetual struggle which I am forced to maintain, in preserving anything like order upon the station. No sooner have I surmounted one obstacle and promise myself a season of rest, than another more formidable presents itself and I have to recommence my toil, as if nothing had been accomplished. The children of Satan became more and more rampant and seem to set reason, law and religion at nought' (Cameron, 1842b:45).

The material cultural evidence from V's complex indicates that the Bastards were acquiring and utilising imported material culture in ways that altered and adapted the function, use and meaning in a continuation of their indigenous value systems. This archaeological data, combined with documentary evidence suggests that the Bastards were living in two worlds. In this chapter the material already described, and the issues raised about creole and hybridity come into sharp focus with a consideration of the continuity of "pagan" ritual, particularly that of rain making. I start with documentary commentaries by the missionaries on this "heathen" practice and then address the archaeological evidence for private ritual from De Hoop Shelter.

"Rainmaking has become the ridicule of the populace; and the various chiefs seem now to vie with each other in the reception of our spiritual attention" wrote Rev Archbell in a letter to the Society from Thaba Nchu in 1836 (Shaw, 2009:302). This was an overly optimistic statement as the practise of rainmaking was recorded as late as 1900 by Rev Brown, who admitted that the Southern Tswana regularly conducted rainmaking rituals and actively sought out rain specialists who were highly valued (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:163,336). Moreover, Christian converts consulted traditional ritual specialists and healers clandestinely when the need arose (Kirkaldy, 2009:610). Cameron regularly complained bitterly about 'backsliders' within the Plaatberg Wesleyan society and penned his extreme frustration regarding their tendency to join raiding parties and to partake in

“heathen” practices, in his journal, one such passage is quoted at the beginning of this chapter which refers to his dismay at their raiding activities.

In another instance he relates with annoyance and desperation, that a BaSotho woman, who was a member of the Plaatberg WMMS, was reported to be conducting secret rainmaking ceremonies amongst the hills surrounding the mission station. She was said to have set herself up as a prophetess, who had the power to produce rain, which Cameron describes as “her vile attempts to deceive” (Cameron, 1842b:100,103). She refused to submit to an investigation by the Plaatberg religious leaders even when excommunication was threatened although she continued to attend Christian classes whilst under investigation. She was promptly and publicly excommunicated by Cameron (Cameron, 1842b:104). Although in Sotho-Tswana society, rainmakers were traditionally male, this narrative makes an important statement about indigenous beliefs and the landscape in which it was expressed, underpins a different set of beliefs about ancestors and their power over the landscape.

Rainmaking was a thorn in the side of the missionaries who saw the practice as a sign of the continuation of heathenism amongst potential and current converts. It smacked of witchcraft and more importantly it rivalled their position as spiritual intermediaries and ritual specialists on earth in the eyes of potential converts (Elphick, 2012:67; Landau, 2010:116). This rivalry is clear in Archbell’s accounts and led him to challenge the efficacy of indigenous rainmakers as opposed to his ritual effectiveness underwritten by the Christian God. Whilst acting as missionary at Plaatberg on the Vaal, Archbell prayed to God to send rain in direct competition with the indigenous rainmakers. To his satisfaction the heavens opened. Subsequently, once they were settled at Thaba Nchu he once again offered his services as a rainmaker to chief Moroka (Landau, 2010:116). He was in fact offering to fulfil the role of the very people he despised and denounced as heathens.

This issue was widespread within southern African missionizing. The Comaroff’s describe a Bechuana seer, also a member of the church, who persuaded fellow church goers to follow her out of the church into the “wilderness” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:97). Furthermore, to make matters worse, she utilised Christian scriptures, hymns, and prayers, jumbled together whilst holding small squares of calico and pouring water into a

large clay pot. The combination of Christian texts with her own ritual to create powerful spells (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:97,98) would have shaken the missionaries to the core. Whether the Plaatberg rainmaker employed the same syncretic approach was not documented, but like the above-mentioned example, she was a member of the WMMS, versed in Christian hymns, scriptures, and prayers, who persuaded some of the Plaatbergers to follow her out of the chapel and station, into what the missionaries saw as the “wilderness”, the untamed and disorderly natural world, to partake in “heathen” rituals. Clearly, recurrent periods of drought experienced at Plaatberg, and notwithstanding a resident missionary who may have been seen as having the ear of God, rainmakers were sought-after ritual specialists because they and their ancestors, unlike missionaries, were culturally deeply embedded in the landscape.

The belief in the abilities and efficacy of rainmaking and ritual specialists may well have been a shared belief held in common by many of the Plaatbergers as a diverse group of Bastards, BaSotho, AmaFengu, Khoe and San. This blending of traditional beliefs with Christianity was unacceptable in the unbreachable binary world of the missionaries. One was either a heathen or a Christian, but it was impossible to be both.

Cameron’s account of the rainmaker is of considerable interest as 2km southeast of the station, hidden behind a spur of the Plaatberg range is De Hoop rock shelter (Fig.8.1), which I excavated for my master’s degree (Klatzow, 2000, 2010). It is not impossible that the “wilderness” into which the rainmaker went, included De Hoop rock shelter. The motivation for the De Hoop research was to investigate the interaction between hunter-gatherers who probably used the rock shelter as a seasonal base from approximately 3620BP and the BaSotho farmers who settled in the Caledon River Valley approximately from the seventeenth century (Maggs, 1976:226).



Figure 8.1: Google image showing the position of Plaatberg mission station in relation to De Hoop rock shelter.

8.1 De Hoop Rock shelter

De Hoop rock shelter, named after the farm on which it is situated, nestles high up on the western slopes of the Platberg mountain range and provides an excellent view of the surrounding plains. It is hidden from casual observation from the plains below by a large domed sandstone overhang and the vegetation which grows along the dripline, also screens the entrance (Fig.8.2). The 46-meter-long shelter has been divided by a roof fall, which has left an enormous boulder spine running down the centre of the shelter which effectively divides it in two (Fig. 8.3). At some stage smaller rocks were added on top, which increased the height of the kraal already created by the rock fall and the back wall of the shelter (Fig. 8.3), which allowed not only for the kraaling of large livestock but also the elaboration of this area for ritual purposes. Two small stock kraals were constructed in the northern section of the shelter. There is also evidence of stone walling and a second kraal in the front of the shelter. Poorly preserved rock paintings are visible on the back wall of the shelter (Klatzow, 2010).



Figure 8.2: The arrow indicates the position of the large domed sandstone overhang of De Hoop rock shelter.



Figure 8.3: A view of the stone walling on top of the roof fall.

8.2. The Excavation

The excavated archaeological sequence is comparatively short, the oldest dates are 3620±60BP (Pta-6785) and 2850±60BP (Pta-6787). These two pre-ceramic dates relate to two of several hunter-gatherer occupations, pre-dating the arrival of the farmers (Klatzow, 2000). There appears to be a hiatus in occupation between the latter date and the late eighteenth and nineteenth century occupation of the shelter in the areas that have been excavated. The nineteenth century levels display a change in material culture from a post-Classic Wilton assemblage, to one that includes BaSotho ceramics and other farmer items, as well as a few European artefacts, in other words a much more eclectic signature (Klatzow, 2000).

The upper levels were composed mainly of dung beneath which a daga³ floor was exposed. This daga level had the effect of almost completely sealing the lower pre-ceramic levels from the ceramic levels. These upper levels, including the daga floor, yielded food waste of peach pips, pumpkin, sorghum and tsama melon seeds and maize leaves. Classic southern BaSotho style pottery can be linked to a clay cattle figurine and an iron hoe. Additionally, there are post-classic Wilton convex scrapers, eleven stone palettes, a red ochre-stained lower grindstone, a substantial amount of ochre and nine upper grindstones. European artefacts found in these levels include 24 small sherds of glass, eight sherds of nineteenth century refined industrial earthenware, one glazed European stoneware sherd and 49 glass beads (Klatzow, 2000) all of which are similar to those found at Plaatberg. The source of the peach and apricot pips can probably be directly attributed to the missionaries who planted fruit trees at Plaatberg from the mid 1830s. The majority of the peach and apricot pips and pip fragments are located between the daga floor (but are not actually set into the floor) and the surface level. This gives us an approximate date of 1840 for the levels above the daga floor. Plaatberg mission station is the possible source of all of the European artefacts. Hunter-gatherer items found associated with the farmer and European items include ostrich eggshell fragments, a bone fishhook, ground and polished bone points and shafts and formal stone tools. The hunter-gatherer lithic assemblage throughout the sequence implies that

³ Daga or Daka, a tradition in Africa for the use of wet clay in the construction of a floor, wall or wall plaster.

hunter-gatherers were responsible for this assemblage and importantly, were occupying the shelter well into the nineteenth century (Klatzow, 2000).

The oral histories further suggest that farmers left destitute by the turmoil in the area during the 1820s were given assistance by the San in their time of trouble (Jolly, 1996; Norton, 1910). The landscape over which the San were able to hunt and gather had shrunk and as conflict over land had increased with colonial encroachment, they as a group, were looked on with disfavour by most other communities, therefore their only hope of survival was to form such alliances (Wright, 1971:189). One of Stow's informants told him of a number of "Bushmen" clans who resided in and around the Platberg mountain range, known as "Bushmen of Platberg on the Caledon" who acknowledged one chief, Kaba'sisi, as pre-eminent among all the Bushmen captains. He lived in the "Palace-cave" which Stow described as being a great cave among "domed rocks of the mountain opposite Tennant's Kop" (Stow, 1905:191). The informant's BaSotho grandfather had sought shelter for himself from the captain who bestowed his daughter in marriage. This story is interesting because the so-called Palace-Cave appears to be De Hoop rock shelter. De Hoop is situated within the Platberg Mountain range, opposite a kopje known as Tennis Kop (Figs.8.1 & 8.4) (there may well have been a corruption of the name Tennants Kop over the years), which is set amongst the great domed rocks of the Platberg (Klatzow, 2010:237



Figure 8.4: A view from De Hoop with the arrow indicating the position of Tennis Kop.

The composition of the inhabitants of the cave may well have been a mixture of San and BaSotho mentioned by Stow and probably a greater ethnic mixture than he was told or understood. Challis points out that groups who were labelled “Bushmen” consisted of people of previously distinct ethnicities, such as San, Khoe or Bantu-speakers, but through intermarriage they were all of these groups at once (Challis, 2012:265-280). He suggests that when such multi-ethnic and creolised groups formed new identities, the process also formed a creolised culture around which the groups’ common identity was expressed (Challis, 2012: 272). The long period of interaction, intermarriage and cultural exchange between these diverse groups had allowed for culturally comprehensible customs and beliefs which helped to forge unified, if sometimes unstable groups (Challis, 2014:247-249). The nineteenth century creole raiding bands in the frontier area drew on religious and symbolic beliefs from their respective traditions in a cultural creolisation, which served to bind them into a cohesive new identity expressed in the rock art (Challis, 2012:272). The Plaatberg Bastards, as one of the nineteenth century creole hunting, trading and raiding bands came to the mission station with this indigenous syncretism already in place. It is therefore possible that their use of De Hoop was premised on this history and the history of the shelter as a special place which powerfully underpinned their use of the shelter for rain making and other rituals.

8.3. De Hoop Rock Paintings

The importance of rock art in this historic context is that it represents another and alternative strand to be woven into the body of evidence situated within the local landscape (Paterson, 2012:70,80). In this case it clearly and importantly represents an indigenous perspective, giving a voice to those silenced by the dominance of colonial texts. On the back wall of the shelter are faded fine line paintings of eland and human figures (the style and subject matter usually attributed to San imagery) which occur with finger paintings. Ouzman has attributed the rough brush or finger paintings at De Hoop shelter to Korana raiders and interprets these images as being part of the Korana’s magical and militant image-making identity (Ouzman, 2005). He points out that horses and guns were essential to Korana life (Ouzman, 2005:103) but I would expand this to include Bastards and Griqua, all of them being multi-ethnic groups who were active in this area

during the nineteenth century. He describes the Korana as an amalgamation of Khoe, Bantu-speakers, San, Bastards and whites who merged to form the group known as Korana (Ouzman, 2005:102). This composition sounds very similar to many other groups on the frontier, for example the Bergenaars, Griqua, Bastards and AmaTola “Bushmen”. Ouzman identified the sites chosen by the Korana for magical and militant image making purposes, being sites that were not easily accessible, were hidden from casual observation and were situated within 3km of larger settlements such as mission stations (Ouzman, 2005:103). Although Korana did not live in rock shelters for any length of time, they were used as temporary refuges for themselves and their stolen stock in order to escape detection from those raided and the colonial authorities (Wadley, 2001:174; Ouzman, 2005:110). The hidden nature of De Hoop and its size meant that it was an ideal place of refuge for man and beast. The rock paintings are found on the back wall of the shelter, in the darkest area, hidden and protected by the rockfall and subsequent stone walling. The placement of the rock paintings in this area is suggestive of the need for secrecy, not just from the disapproving gaze of missionaries and outsiders but due to the magical nature of the art and the ceremonies that may have taken place.

Further elements signifying Korana authorship of these paintings detailed by Ouzman are the painting techniques and the “distinctive iconography” of horses, human figures, hunts, skins, smears, and weapons and lastly the “associated” archaeology in these shelters are unlike typical San assemblages. As noted, the archaeological assemblage in the upper dung levels of De Hoop are eclectic. Equally, these paintings are the result of both enduring practices of belief and new influences, reformulated by the Korana to consolidate a new Korana raiding identity of the frontier (Ouzman 2005:109). Figure 8.5 depicts two horses, one with a rider. According to Ouzman a “signature motif” in raiding art is the horse which sometimes has a rider and a gun represented by a thin line (Ouzman, 2005:104). In the case of figure 8.5, the line emanating from his neck or shoulder may possibly represent a gun (Ouzman, 2005). The essence of a successful raid was speed, firepower and commando raiding tactics. Without any of the three, raids would not have achieved the success and notoriety that they did. It is therefore not unexpected that images of horses feature so prominently in raider rock art.

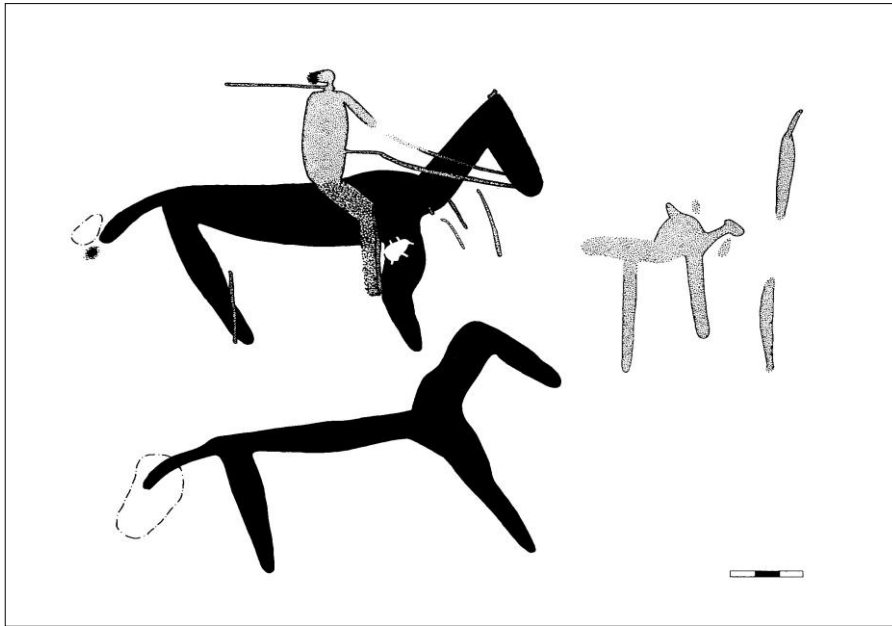


Figure 8.5: Armed rider on horseback. The black represents red (horses) and the stippled areas represents orange (human figure). Traced by S. Ouzman, National Museum Bloemfontein.

The other finger painting (Fig. 8.6) is of a standing human figure with hands placed on hips in the commonly encountered “possessive-aggressive posture” (Ouzman, 2005:104). This figure is seen as an aggressive outsider possibly European or a Bantu-speaker (Ouzman, 2005:104). An alternative explanation is that it represents “an empowered Korana self-image” (ibid). Considering the creolised nature of raiding groups, it may well represent an empowered raider as opposed to an outsider. Ouzman interprets both paintings as being part of the Korana’s magical and militant image making identity (Ouzman, 2005:109). Because raiding was a dangerous occupation, ceremonies were conducted to harness protective and powerful potencies to ensure successful raids (Challis, 2012:278). It is very likely that the finger paintings at De Hoop were painted by raiders as part of their magical unifying ceremonies. Not only is the style and subject matter different from San fine line and shaded paintings, but the colours in raider art consist of bright reds and oranges, which are painted on the figures without shading in a less refined manner (Challis 2017:8). Challis suggests that raider rock art was executed by all the members of mixed raider bands (Sinclair-Thomson & Challis, 2020:482).

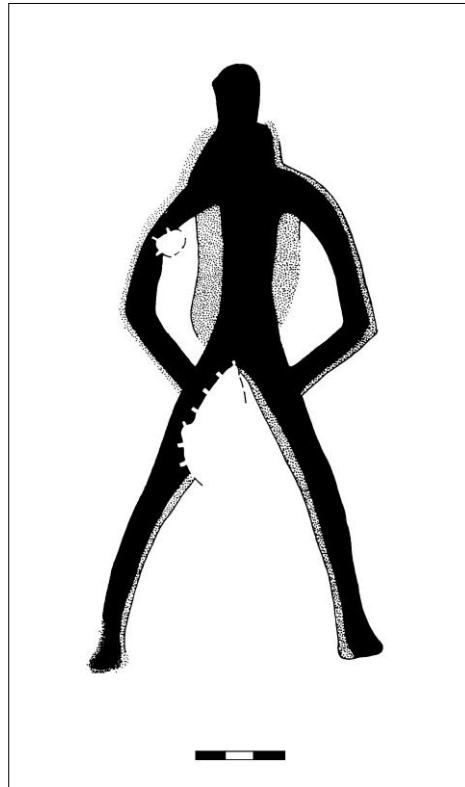


Figure 8.6: Caped human figure. Once again, black represents red and the stippled area orange. Traced by S. Ouzman, National Museum, Bloemfontein.

Stow (1905) mentions that the “Palace-Cave” walls were covered with paintings. The number of ground stone palettes and ochre in the ceramic levels compared to the pre-ceramic levels could correlate with an increase in painting executed by influential San, who were involved in raiding and negotiating alliances with various farming or pastoral groups in the Caledon Valley (Dowson, 1995) and by later Korana raiders in an alliance with the *Plaatbergers* in pursuance of secret ritual activities. A red ochre smear was found on the *daga* floor and red ochre was smeared on the upper half of a large boulder forming part of the boulder spine in the centre of the cave. Cut marks/sharpening grooves in the rock appear over and below the ochre stain.

Looking at the mixed archaeological signature of the nineteenth century levels and the finger paintings Ouzman feels that this is very likely to be the cave that functioned as the headquarters of a raiding people mentioned by Stow (Ouzman, 2005:109) although Stow does not actually refer to them as raiders. I would suggest that due to the shelter’s proximity to the mission station, it may not, by the late 1830s, have been used as headquarters, but

rather as a place of ritual and ceremonial significance for allied raiders to conduct regular ceremonies: those “vile attempts to deceive” so disparaged by Cameron.

Wadley investigated the use of Mauermanshoek shelter, situated on the Korannaberg, by the Taaibosch Kei-Korana, that was situated close to Meremetsu mission station in the nineteenth century. She has suggested that the Kei-Korana residing at WMMS Meremetsu mission station may have used Mauermanshoek Shelter, hidden from the disapproving gaze of the missionaries, to practice traditional ceremonies which were taboo for Christian converts (Wadley, 2001:175). Wadley further suggests that the finger paintings at Mauermanshoek shelter, may be attributed Taaibosch Kei-Korana, who, as converts of the WMMS could not practice deeper time rituals of belief within the confines of the mission station itself (Wadley 2001:175). Traditional ceremonies amongst the Kei-Korana would include initiation and rainmaking (ibid).

When Hodgson arrived at Buchuaap prior to 1833, he found to his horror the Griqua of Barend Barends in what he calls a “pitiabale state” taking part in “what is called a pot dance”, “besotted with honey beer” and therefore in no condition to attend chapel services (Shaw & Hodgson, 2009:228). Whatever this ceremony entailed, the missionary’s reaction would have forced it underground, the Griqua realising that secrecy was henceforth required. Archbell attempted to move Barend Barends and his people to Plaatberg in a merger of the two stations in 1836, although this did not find favour amongst the Griqua, and their presence became unpredictable thereafter (Schoeman, 1991:126). It is not clear how long they may have resided at Plaatberg, but the Rev Garner reported that Barend Barends had moved with most of his people to the “Vel” (possibly Vet River), by 1839 (WMN, 1839:65) whilst the remainder of the people lived with the acting chief, Peter Davids, away from missionary control but remained in the general area (WMN 1840:184). As allies of the Plaatbergers such ceremonies or rituals may have been conducted and attended by both groups in the secrecy and privacy of De Hoop shelter. It is possible that the Plaatbergers shared what Challis refers to as “cultural coherence” with their raiding allies based on years of interaction where they found certain beliefs and rituals in common (Challis, 2012:15).

King's research of the BaPhuti raiders under the leadership of Moorosi illustrated that they utilised the landscape in a very specific and tactical manner. Moorosi established a series of defensible settlements which he and his people occupied periodically throughout the nineteenth century depending on the situation and the nature of the specific settlement, for example defensive positions to repel pursuing patrols and as a hideout after retreating from a cattle raid amongst others. Mounted on horseback, the raiders utilised the landscape in an advantageous way in pursuit of their mobile raiding lifestyle (King, 2018:671-672). The Plaatbergers raiding partners may have used De Hoop as King illustrates for the BaPhuti, as nodes "in a mobile network of settlements and raiding locales", as a part of a raiding strategy and not just as a refuge (King, 2018:673). Raiding allies may have viewed De Hoop as an attractive hideaway because they could retreat to the rock shelter under the cover of the nearby Wesleyan mission station, being a "peaceful" agricultural settlement, pursuers may have dismissed the possibility of raiders hiding there. The hidden nature of the rock shelter also allowed for sacred rituals to be practiced in secret by an alliance of raiders, which may well have included the Plaatberg Bastards, especially considering that the rock shelter is situated on the land granted to the Plaatberg mission by Moshoeshoe for farming, although it is not situated within the mission station area itself.

The Plaatberg Bastards moved into the mission context with a shared indigenous cultural belief system already in place. The Plaatberg Bastards would have had a strong knowledge and memory of hunter-gatherer history and belief systems. Hunter-gatherers were still present in the Caledon River Valley, and their deep ancestral connection to powerful places in the landscape, such as De Hoop were known to the Plaatbergers. The Plaatberg Bastards use of De Hoop as a place of ritual significance, may well have been premised on this history and knowledge, which powerfully underpinned their use of the shelter for ceremonies surrounding raiding and rain making. Raiding ceremonies, like the paintings were male dominated, focused on the predominantly male activities of hunting and raiding, which are the most visible and commented on aspect of the frontier and it is reasonable to assume that these images were made by men. However, the rainmaker at Plaatberg, who went into the 'wilderness' with her followers, was a BaSotho woman,

which in itself may be seen to be unconventional as in local Bantu-speaking society, rainmaking was the responsibility of the male chief. Female residues within De Hoop may be inferred from quotidian remains such as maize and peach pip remains, which may have been implicated in rain making ceremonies. Notwithstanding the account of the female rainmaker, the explicit ritual expression that takes place at De Hoop (as part of the 'wilderness') seems to focus explicitly on the ritual that entangles, ensures, encourages the economic and political concerns of frontier men, rather than frontier women.

CHAPTER 9

CONVERSION, COERCION AND COVERT RAIDING: BEYOND THE MISSION BOUNDARY

The Wesleyan missionaries found that their appointed task of conversion was extremely difficult, given the historical context within which the Plaatberg Bastards came into the mission (addressed in chapter 3). The Bastards own cultural creole practices (discussed in chapter 8) made them especially resistant to missionary attempts at conversion.

9.1. Material and cultural expression within the household

The Plaatberg mission station and the Plaatberg Bastards did not exist in isolation, they formed part of Rev Shaw's chain of mission stations, therefore, the Plaatberg station must be seen in the context of the unstable and ever-changing turbulent frontier region of the Caledon River Valley in which the Plaatbergers were embroiled. They forged alliances with a variety of groups in the area, maintained old alliances with the BaRolong, Kei-Korana and Griqua of Barend Barends, and had business dealings with the Griqua of Philipolis, Boers from the Vet and Modder Rivers and itinerant traders from Grahamstown. The Plaatbergers prior and ongoing political and economic alliances and machinations on the frontier, continually reinforced their cultural practice, values, and beliefs. It was these practices, values, and beliefs that the missionaries were trying to break down.

Consequently, the Plaatberg mission station was an area of cultural confrontation and contestation between non-Christian and Christian moral codes, Bastard mobility and their nomadic hunting, trading, and raiding lifestyle, and the missionaries desire to convert them to Christian, pro-western and sedentary self-sufficient farmers. Carolus Baatje and his Bastards arrived in Transorangia with an economic package of hunting, raiding, and trading, nomadic lifestyle, well established. An agricultural ideal was imposed to replace a nomadic lifestyle and instil, encourage, and promote cultivation and a captive, self-sufficient, sedentary 'flock' ripe for conversion. The Protestant work ethic expressed in farming was adopted by some Bastards who saw the economic benefits of producing a surplus wheat crop for exchange with Boer pastoralists, itinerant traders and Griqua. The sedentism so desired by the missionaries was only partially successful and subverted by Bastard men who continued to raid for cattle, hunt for skins, meat and probably ivory.

Continuity of a mobile economy, when coupled with the surplus wheat production, provided highly desirable goods with which to trade for essential items for frontier living, such as guns, ammunition, farming implements, wagons and much to the dismay of the missionaries, strong drink, probably cheap, immature, and fiery Cape brandy known as “Cape Smoke” (Schoeman, 1989:33; Marais, 1939:184).

In addition to the political machinations of the Plaatbergers and their allies, the Wesleyan missionaries as representatives of British culture and colonial values beyond the colonial boundary, also became entangled with and actively took part in the power machinations taking place between the BaSotho, the Boers and the British in Transorangia. This inevitably involved their “flock” in the power struggles, ultimately to the detriment of both the Plaatbergers and Wesleyan missionary work in Transorangia.

Information of the Plaatbergers mixed economy (chapter 7) has been based on the research of historical documents. However, my main focus has been a consideration of the material record from V’s complex (viewed in conjunction with historical documents) and how this record suggests a mix of values, especially from the quotidian context of everyday life in which the material culture representing Christian values is evident in the domestic lives of the Bastards. What has become apparent is the Plaatberg Bastards application of Christian values was inflected through their use and modification of material culture within their domestic contexts in the mission, that reflects their embedded frontier and creole values. The following sections will assess the materiality’s of landscape, mission layout, architectural styles, industrial maintenance, and domestic life. This discussion is underpinned by the relationship between Bastard values and those desired by the missionaries, which as mentioned is reflected in the material culture of V’s complex. Of course, living deep within the interior of southern Africa, the missionaries were not exempt from adopting elements of indigenous material culture, which was reflected in a mixed material culture, for example the presence of coarse earthenware pottery. This indigenous item was found in both Bastard and missionary domestic areas, where it was used as a practical solution for water and food storage. The simple but far-reaching implications of this, is the everyday use of indigenous manufactured pottery by both ‘heathen’ Bastards and Christian, ‘civilised’ British missionaries.

The Wesleyans partially achieved one of their stated goals, which was to create an oasis of Christianity within what they saw as a 'heathen' desert. They (according to their records) successfully persuaded the Plaatberg Bastards to mould and refashion the landscape into a 'neat' and 'orderly' settlement with the station laid out in a grid-like plan, with a chapel, mission house, enclosed, watered, and thriving kitchen gardens and orchards and lands extensively cultivated. The size of the chapel and the mound on which it stood represented a substantial effort in labour and time on the part of the Plaatbergers. The approximately seven mapped rectangular Plaatberger mud brick houses represented the beginnings of the hoped-for Wesleyan sedentary population. However, there is no doubt that with a population of 400 to 600 people in the 1830s and 1840s, the majority of the Plaatbergers houses were either mat huts or hartebeest houses and not the desired rectangular sun-baked brick homes that the missionaries encouraged them to construct. The layout of structures within V's complex, (discussed in chapter 5), is a reflection of its creole inhabitants and the way in which they reflected and deflected missionary imposed town planning. Although V's complex is situated within the street grid and borders the main street, the northward orientation of two of the buildings, with the main street on their eastern side, is in contrast to the majority of the houses lining the street (including the mission house) which are orientated to face the street. The hartebeest house (Vhb) is orientated to the north and west, in association with the outside cooking area (Vkh) and midden (Vm). This is in contrast to the more restrained, indoor social interactions that the missionaries both practiced and advocated and is a further instance of the Plaatbergers modification and deflection of missionary house and yard planning guidelines within the domestic context.

Notwithstanding the willingness of most of the Plaatberg inhabitants in assisting the missionary in various Christian endeavours such as the erection of the new chapel, purchasing a chapel bell, regular chapel attendance, wearing European dress and building themselves rectangular brick houses, a careful reading of Rev Cameron's journal hints at discordant notes which suggests that the Bastards resisted the constant 'Christianisation' pressure from the missionaries to conform to the social norms of their British middle-class lives. Examples include the traditional placement of fireplaces in the middle of the floor in rectangular homes whilst ignoring the carefully constructed fireplaces in kitchens, the

Plaatbergers late arrival at chapel service and their continued use of alcohol against the express wishes of the missionaries. This, documentary evidence, combined with the evidence of the material record in V's complex, for example the excavated external cooking areas situated in protected yards as opposed to the preparation, cooking and consumption of meals in the privacy of the home, illustrates Plaatberger deflection and modification of Christian imposed lifestyle guidelines. The eclectic collection of material cultural remains in Vm and Vhy suggests that the Plaatbergers continued to enjoy communal gatherings during which alcohol was consumed implying that they were manipulating the Christianisation pressure and reverting to familiar use of space in private.

The missionaries, as I mentioned in chapter 2, edited excerpts from their journals and carefully composed letters being sent to Wesleyan missionary headquarters in London which represented the harmonious physical and ideological symmetry of Plaatberg mission station, however the archaeology challenges this view. Prior to 1851, Plaatberg could be seen (from the colonial point of view) as a successful, mission station. Reports by missionaries to the Society's offices in London praised the successful work undertaken at Plaatberg, highlighting the neat and orderly appearance of both the station and the converted congregation at worship in the chapel, as well as their agricultural successes. Apart from their agricultural achievements, these successes were largely superficial, sometimes imagined and probably did not reflect the reality of the situation, as evidenced by the material cultural remains in V's complex summarised above.

The missionary's ongoing struggle to obtain and hold onto converts is apparent from a reading of Rev Cameron's letters and journals. The problem from the missionary's point of view, were the inhabitants. The Bastards rarely paid their church subscriptions which they blamed on bad corn yields, which is surprising as most of the missionaries and visitors mention the extensive "corn" fields and abundant harvests. The corn yield was often so successful that they had enough of a surplus for a very lucrative trade as discussed in chapter 7. Rev Freeman on his visit to Plaatberg in 1850, commented that the Plaatbergers lived in "circumstances of considerable comfort" (Freeman, 1851:307).

Although drought and locusts did at times adversely affect the corn harvest, the profits from the successfully harvested and traded crop were often used to obtain more important and desirable items such as guns, ammunition, ploughs, tobacco, tea, clothing, and brandy. Church subscriptions were probably low on the list of essential or desired items. The Bastards prevarication in this regard suggests a form of resistance to missionary demands. It becomes quite apparent, whilst reading Cameron's journal, that he was not in any way involved in the economic decisions of the Bastards. For example, he commented that he was unaware of whether the arrival of Boer wagons meant that they were there to buy corn or to trade for other items (Cameron, 1841a:415). Trade, like hunting and raiding, was very firmly kept under the control of the Plaatberg Bastards, as to when and where it took place and the length and extent of each trip. In these secular matters, Cameron, much to his annoyance, had very little power.

There is good evidence from the built environment (chapter 5) of architectural cultural entanglement. The northern area of V's complex comprises of a linked set of domestic features; food disposal in the midden (Vm), food preparation, cooking and social (Vkh), and private area (Vhb). I have proposed that Vkh was an outside cooking area, around which Bastard social life revolved; food preparation, cooking, eating and where men and women would gather socially, whilst the hartebeest house (Vhb) was a private domestic area. The midden, cooking house and hartebeest house formed a triangle of domestic and social used for the inhabitants of the hartebeest house.

The northern complex has at its back, the southern area which contains solid stone foundational structure (Vh) with an associated midden (Vhy) and a rectangular structure with stone foundations, which was probably a workshop/smithy (Vbw). Very few domestic artefacts and debris were found in the workshop/smithy, however a plethora of metal objects, several strategically placed stones and a circular stone lined hearth were uncovered. This structure faces east and has an entrance directly onto the main street. It is situated 3m south of the L-shaped Vh structure, which suggests that these two structures were linked spatially. Vh has substantial and impressive, dressed stone wall footings, which suggests that they were constructed to support a mud-brick superstructure. Immediately to the north of Vh is Vhy, with a midden banked directly up against Vh's northern wall and extending to the boundary wall in the west. The mixture of

building techniques touched on above and discussed in detail in chapter 5, reflects the blend of people living within V's complex and the station as a whole.

I now consider how cultural entanglement, seen in the built environment is expressed within the artefact assemblage from V's complex. V's complex was a combination of a residential (Vhb, Vkh, Vhy and Vh) and a working area (Vbw).

The material cultural remains show that a specific Bastard signature is much more subtle than expected. There are no sharp boundaries between missionary and Bastard artefact assemblages. Both Bastards and missionaries had access to the same markets in Graham's Town and Colesberg, as well as to itinerant peddlers who were regular visitors to Plaatberg. The Bastards were enmeshed within the local market economy, trading with groups in the Caledon River Valley and beyond, Griqua from Philipolis, Boers from the Vet River, itinerant peddlers as well as merchants in Graham's Town and Colesberg. We therefore find similar imported and locally produced items in both assemblages. The relative wealth of the different people living at Plaatberg mission station comes into play here as well, missionary, Bastard, servant, those who were less well off than others within the Bastard community. In considering these differences, one also has to reflect on possible differences in purchasing power which may inform such choices as all of these distinctions will inform the material cultural differences in terms of style and function which was discussed more fully in chapters 6 and 7.

At Plaatberg, when comparing the material culture of V's complex to the mission complex it appears that the Plaatbergers were using the same imported items (ceramics, glass, and metal) as the British missionaries living in the mission complex. There are however subtle differences, for example, the lack of the more expensive and higher status items in V's complex that are found in the mission complex, for example the sherd of Victorian Majolica, which was purely decorative, a brass drawer pull (surface collection 2014), European porcelain, and a cut glass bottle stopper (Hunt, 2020). These decorative and more expensive items of middle-class cultural display are absent in V's complex.

When one looks at items which were found in V's Complex but are rare or absent in the mission complex further differences become apparent. For example, the presence of alcohol bottles in V's complex, which may have been used as storage once the contents

were consumed. Their presence clearly suggests that the Bastards were consuming alcohol, which the missionaries energetically discouraged. Although the Rev Cameron regularly complained about the arrival at Plaatberg of traders' wagons bearing casks of brandy, the archaeology suggests that the Plaatbergers were obtaining both wine and gin in bottles in addition to brandy from traders barrels. While a MNV of 10 alcohol bottle remains were recovered in V's Complex, alcohol bottles appear to be absent from the Mission complex excavation (Hunt, 2020). This is not surprising considering the Wesleyans stance on temperance and their wish to ban 'converts' from drinking strong alcohol. Only one clay pipe stem fragment was recovered in the mission complex as opposed to the 32 clay pipe stems and bowl fragments found in V's complex. It is possible that the missionaries preferred a favourite wooden or meerschaum pipe as opposed to clay pipes which were commonly used by the labouring classes.

The lack of discrete boundaries between artefact assemblages of different social groups within the mission station is echoed in the frontier work done by Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) and the research on the shared space used by Native American and English at Harvard College (Hodge and Loren:2015). What we can look at, is the variability of choices made by people from the available goods on offer and as Silliman suggests, instead of concentrating on the origins of artefacts we should rather look at the way in which they were used and modified to cater for specific needs and in doing so transformed their meaning (Silliman, 2010). Here I consider the considerable number of modified and repurposed imported ceramic sherds. Many have evidence of knapping, and two are covered in red ochre (as discussed in chapter 6, see Figs. 6.33 to 6.37), which modified the sherd presumably for specific purposes, and in doing so not only changed the meaning of the original artefact but created new meanings.

Material culture referencing foodways within V's complex, such as transfer printed cups/bowls, saucers, and plates, industrial slipware, sponge ware bowls as well as stoneware storage containers suggest that Vh was a domestic structure. The artefacts found in Vbw strongly suggest that this structure had a non-residential focus. A combination of domestic artefacts and working artefacts were found in Vhy and Vm.

Looking at the spread of artefacts across V's Complex it becomes clear that the most eclectic mix comes from the midden (Vhy) from which a larger sample was excavated. Within the imported ceramic assemblage, the cup/bowl category MNV is the highest in Vhy. This number is conservative as only rims and bases were included in the count. As I discussed in chapter 6, cups/bowls (kommetjie's) had multiple uses, for example, to serve hot beverages (tea and coffee) or communally cooked meals such as stews. If we consider that some Bastards are known to have shared goods such as tea, coffee, and sugar (Ross, 2009:16) and perhaps communal meals such as stews or bredies cooked in a pot, served in bowls, which could be consumed communally within the social interactive setting of hospitality, within their community. The aim was to enhance the social status of the giver, to encourage group cohesion, to create obligations and maintain and forge alliances, we can perhaps interpret the number of cup/bowls from Vhy and the associated structure Vh in this light. Coupled with the hospitable act of dispensing food and drink, is the social act of smoking witnessed by the number of clay pipe remains found in Vm and Vhy. The lack of a wall in front of V's complex would have facilitated public access to Vh, Vhy and the associated workshop (Vbw) which also had an entrance directly onto the street. By contrast the orientation of the hartebeest house (Vhb) was focused to the north and access to the kitchen and in a sense had its back to the public workshop and Vh. At the same time considering cups and kommetjie's within this specially orchestrated social interaction, allows us to move beyond a concentration on the origin of the artefact in our interpretation of these artefacts. These open air communal social gatherings were the antithesis of Wesleyan missionary behaviour, where all such public gatherings were carefully orchestrated, strictly without alcohol, and ideally set within the confines of the chapel and if private, within the confines of the mission house.

The eclectic nature of the artefact assemblage found in V's complex, is probably the best indication of a Bastard area and contrasts with the very (although not exclusively) European nature of the Mission complex. The eclectic mix of use and function of artefacts within V's complex undermines the missionary reference to converts. This discussion explores the idea of the Plaatbergers 'public' appearance as 'converts' however, the use of this term does not assume that they were converts in the full sense of the word. In the

private sphere of domestic life, the ideal of the 'convert' (in missionary terms) breaks down, especially, as discussed in chapter 8, within the hidden privacy of De Hoop Shelter.

9.2. The Materiality of Mobility

I now turn from the domestic sphere of the Plaatbergers life on the mission station, to a consideration of the Plaatbergers historic linkages within Transorangia and the Caledon River Valley and their embedded position in the extensive networks in the region. The nature of these networks was social, economic, and spiritual, all of which were integral to their frontier lifestyle. De Hoop shelter represents a specific example that the landscape outside the mission station still retained a strong spiritual meaning to the Plaatbergers. Men not only raided and may have utilised the shelter to hide stolen livestock and conduct ceremonies relating to the potentially dangerous economic activity of raiding, but all Plaatbergers could retreat into the "wilderness" in order to ritually express themselves within their worldview. Here, the Plaatbergers were playing a strategic game, by keeping the missionary's tolerably happy with their apparent willingness to embrace change, that enabled them to utilise the relative security of the mission station as a base. At the same time, they continued with their male dominated economic activities that necessitated a highly mobile lifestyle, employing the old commando system in modified ways. Raiding as part of their economic lifestyle, continually reaffirmed what the missionaries saw as their "heathenish" cultural practices.

The differences in world views regarding raiding caused considerable tension between the Bastards and the Wesleyan missionaries. Raided cattle played a vital role in the Bastards ability to trade for essential guns and ammunition (seen in the few munitions in V's complex) and other goods and in doing so keep trade alliances and networks open. A large, raided herd of cattle would have put the Plaatberg Bastards in a strong trading position, especially if the grain crop failed. Raiding for the Plaatbergers was not just a form of resistance, but integral to their economy. The Plaatberg Bastards, newly arrived in Transorangia from the Cape Colony in the early 1830s, were more than likely trained in the Dutch commando system and were probably forced to take part in colonial raids against the San and Kora. While their skill in the commando system made them valuable

allies to the British authorities, they adapted the same skills for raiding expeditions, that became illegal in colonial eyes. They repurposed a learnt colonial tradition, for use in the frontier zone where most other groups did the same. This created new alliances and added to their economic wealth, status, and political power.

Despite the constant missionary pressure placed upon the Plaatbergers by the Wesleyans, they were not powerless in this situation. They could, like Barend Barend's, and his Griqua, who originally sought protection within a mission (WMN, 1840:184, Marais, 1989:33), have abandoned the station and retreated from missionary influence and control. By remaining at their station, the Plaatberg Bastaards, must have believed that it was politically, economically, and socially expedient to do so. However, cracks started to appear, and Cameron recorded meeting a Plaatberg Bastard couple who had withdrawn from mission life, contentedly living in a mat hut in the mountains north of Plaatberg (Cameron, 1841a:402). Whether this withdrawal was the result of inter-Bastard disagreement, or a rejection of missionary control is not known. After 1851, some Plaatbergers (mainly from the van Wyk and Schalkwyk families) abandoned the station and settled permanently at the Rietspruit. This abandonment of the station by a number of families was possibly in part, as a result of a long-standing political conflict between Captain Baatje and ex-captain Cornelius van Wyk.

The majority of the Plaatberg Bastaards utilised the mission as a base from which to operate economically. When missionary control became too onerous, men had the flexibility to move in and out of the mission station absenting themselves for weeks at a time on "legitimate" business, by going on hunting and trading trips. This allowed them to revel in activities in which they historically partook prior to their arrival at Plaatberg, activities that defined them as Bastaards. Absences occasioned by hunting and trading were accepted, by Cameron at least, as being necessary in the fulfilment of their economic activities. This was a welcomed by-product of their working activities, keeping the wolf from the door had its benefits. Women were able to slip away with their families to visit relations and friends, sometimes at a great distance from the station, for example, Philipolis and the Roggeveld or closer to home, the Korana of Haip at Ratabani near Thaba Nchu (Cameron,1840a:358; Cameron,1842b:28,60), although this does not seem to have occurred as frequently as hunting and trading trips. They utilised a variety of strategies to

escape from missionary control and influence, enabling them to dispense with their Christian persona for short periods of time.

A comparison comes from research on the impact of Christianity within the Melanesian islands which suggests that the islanders interpreted the Christian message in a variety of ways including avoidance, resistance, transformation, remixed and debated (Flexner & Spriggs, 2015:186). Hall lists further instances of non-compliance by potential converts to subvert the missionary endeavour, being “foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering and feigned ignorance” (Hall, 2000:21). The *Plaatberg Bastaards* appear to have utilised all the above, but some *Plaatbergers* took more extreme measures by absenting themselves from the station for several months at a time, and only returning during the sowing and harvesting seasons. This was a course of action that Cameron tried to stamp out by threatening to remove them from the WMMS and in addition, persuaded the captain and his councillors “to deprive them of their civil privileges, resewing their homesteads and corn-lands” (Cameron, 1845c:10 March 1845). Cameron had no hesitation in using what he called his “pastoral prerogative” to expel members from the WMMS for transgressing the Christian code of conduct (Cameron, 1843b:109). Captain Baatje and his council appear to have had the power to banish people from the mission station, whereas Cameron had the power to banish converts from the WMMS (Cameron, 1842b:29,58; Cameron, 1841a:431). Cameron’s ability to banish people from the mission station seems to have only gone as far as suggesting to the Captain banishment, however the Captain did not always agree. Cameron’s attempt to have an English workman expelled caused one of the tense disagreements with Captain Baatje, who managed a political sidestep (prevarication and avoidance) and the English youth remained on the station (Cameron, 1842b:9,10,15). As a result of this missionary interference in the secular affairs of the station, the captain and his council later discussed passing a law which allowed *Plaatberg* residents to hire workmen without the input and agreement of the missionary. This incensed Cameron who felt that he had full authority to accept or expel residents of *Plaatberg* (ibid).

The relationship between the *Plaatbergers* as representatives of indigenous people and the missionaries representing European colonisers and colonial authority was a

complicated one. Hall points out that indigenous populations often questioned and challenged missionary authority as well as keeping them in a state of anticipation as to whether they would settle and conform (Hall, 2000:21). The Plaatberg Bastards, especially the captain, certainly challenged missionary authority, causing unease and anxiety which is reflected in Cameron's letters and journals. Captain Baatje appears to have been skilled at subterfuge and whilst usually appearing to agree with Cameron in their meetings, carried on with his original plans in a low-key manner once he had departed from the mission house. The tenor of Cameron's journal changes by 1843 with regard to his view of the Plaatbergers "The Bastards are certainly a quarrelsome people" and "With the Bastards it is particularly necessary to take nothing upon trust, for they are very apt to practice deception upon a minister if he is not on his guard" (Cameron, 1843b:119,136). Reading between the lines in Cameron's journal and letters, Captain Baatje appears to have tacked between co-operation, exclusion, avoidance, manipulation, and placatory measures in his dealings with Rev Cameron (and presumably subsequent missionaries at Plaatberg as well) in a constant process of negotiation and renegotiation over time. A further cause of unease was the Bastards lack of enthusiasm for constructing permanent dwellings which Cameron correctly interpreted as a reluctance to become a permanently settled people as opposed to their adherence to a semi-mobile lifestyle (Cameron, 1842b:62). Mapping and surveys have indicated that the majority of Plaatberger houses on the station were hartebeest houses or mat huts, and not the more permanent rectangular mudbrick-built structures.

The Bastards selected aspects of the Christianising endeavour that they wished to incorporate into their world view and lifestyle, (the most important example being literacy) and rejected others such as abstinence, strict sedentism and wholesale conversion. This selection had to be skilfully executed because as inhabitants of a Wesleyan Mission station, if they wished to remain within the safety of the mission settlement and maintain access to Plaatberg land and by extension, the colonial authorities, also had to balance missionary aspirations for Christian converts, with their desire for economic and political freedom and access to land.

The will of the missionary was no match for the agility of the Bastards. The Wesleyans asserted belief materially through the layout of the station and the prominent placement of the chapel as the symbol of God's authority. This Christian oasis of moral order was juxtaposed with the 'wilderness' beyond the station within which the 'heathen' Bastards had lived. This was asserted in the secure and prominent chapel, but the frustration reflected by Cameron suggests he was insecure about their desired outcome. A recurrent theme in Cameron's journal is the lack of converts, notwithstanding regular chapel attendance by most of the Plaatbergers. To add insult to injury, while they periodically arrived late for evening services, on occasion they arrived in an inebriated state. The ongoing attraction of the cask of brandy to be found on most itinerant traders' wagons and the remains of alcohol bottles found in the excavation, strongly suggests that the Bastards attraction to alcohol was never effectively curtailed by the missionaries.

The discovery of a rainmaker amongst the Plaatbergers, was a direct challenge to Christian authority and power and was a further cause of grief and concern for Rev Cameron. The proximity of De Hoop rock shelter to the mission and its associated expression is important in elaborating the interpretive theme of cultural ambivalence addressed above. While it was certainly used to kraal stock (possibly raided), the finger paintings point to a much deeper meaning and interpretation. Considering the loose alliances between the inhabitants of the Wesleyan chain of stations in the Caledon River Valley, it is quite possible that this rock shelter was used as a refuge for allied raiders to hide their spoils from both those raided as well as the missionaries and colonial authorities. As noted above, raiding was deplored by colonial authorities and missionaries and was described as "disorderly". At the same time raiding and its attendant ritual was the basis for group cohesion among the people living around the Maloti-Drakensberg shared religious beliefs and practices that is expressed in the the rock art (King, 2019:147). Besides raider's ceremonies, other ceremonies, such as rain making, and initiation may also have taken place within De Hoop rock shelter, in the same way that similar ceremonies may have taken place at Mauermanshoek shelter as proposed by Wadley (2001). This cultural continuity clearly inflected how Plaatbergers approached the Christian message and contributed to low conversion rates throughout the history of the mission station (Klatzow, 2018). This is not to imply that the Christian message was rejected in totality but

rather to suggest that there was a selective appropriation of rituals, prayers, hymns, and verses from the scriptures blended with Plaatberger beliefs to form new rituals as recorded amongst the southern Tswana (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:97-98).

De Hoop's location on the periphery of Plaatberg mission lands may have been its greatest attraction to the people who made use of it. It could easily be overlooked by colonial authorities and missionaries alike, even if they knew of its existence. Cameron, however, makes no mention of a large rock shelter in the neighbourhood. Prior to the mission station period, De Hoop functioned periodically as a seasonal shelter for hunter-gatherers, whilst during the troubled 1820s it may have provided a refuge for a mixed group of people who created the clay floor and hearth for cooking domesticated food (maize). Once the mission was established, I suggest that the Plaatbergers used it for a variety of different but related functions between 1833 and 1865. The upper levels consist of two layers of dung which suggests use as a large and small stock kraal. This function may have run parallel to the other material marks in the form of the finger painting, the ochre smeared rock with cut marks, and the abundance of peach/apricot pips in the dung levels. This mix of material culture marks correlates with the proximity of the mission station and hints at the propensity of the Plaatbergers to continue mounting raiding parties, and the use of the shelter to hide stock and provide refuge for a mixed group of raiders. Most importantly, the marks indicate the ceremonial use of De Hoop.

The shelter is hidden and Plaatberg Bastards, together with their raiding partners may have performed ceremonies linked to raiding which were integral to new cultural identities that bound the multi-ethnic raiders into a coherent group as discussed by Challis (Challis, 2012:272). The position of De Hoop is high up on the western slope of the Plaatberg, is hidden from casual observation, and would have been a perfect spot for the people of Plaatberg and their allies to have conducted unifying ceremonies in seclusion (Klatzow, 2018). Possible allies and participants in the unifying ceremonies held in De Hoop may have included the Kei-Korana under the leadership of first Jan and then Gert Taaibosch, who had been part of the great exodus from the Vaal River to the Caledon River Valley in 1833. They were first settled at Umpukane which they abandoned in 1836 for a new mission settlement in the Koranaberg called Meremetsu. They may well have

had a loose alliance with the Plaatberg Bastards prior to or during the missionary period when they were fellow members of the WMMS in the Bechuana District. Remembering that alliances were frequently forged and broken by all groups on the frontier, especially by the Kora (Wadley, 2001:161; Ouzman, 2005) whose numbers at the Wesleyan mission station of Meremetsu were augmented by the arrival in 1846 of the notorious raider Jan Bloem and his Kora (Wadley, 2001:161) who were another creolised and highly mobile group living on the frontier.

Raiding was a social institution and considering the “socio-cultural context” of raiding is important rather than seeing it purely as an aggressive and unlawful act (King, 2017:607). In the nineteenth century Maloti-Drakensberg, raiding was a unifying force amongst heterogeneous groups of hunter-gatherers and farmers (King, 2019:147; King, 2017:620). If we accept that the finger paintings at De Hoop are the expressions of unifying ceremonies and that the rock shelter, just 2km away from Plaatberg mission station, was the centre of such ceremonies for raiding cohorts, then there can be no doubt that the Plaatbergers took part in these ceremonies. If not, they would have reported the misuse or illegal use of the rock shelter on Plaatberg lands to the resident missionary and colonial authorities. I have found no documentary evidence for this. De Hoop inseparably was both a practical and a sacred place. It is possible that by the 1840s, the shelter may have been used by a raiding alliance of Plaatberg Bastards with either Griqua or Kora allies, united through their hunting, raiding, and trading strategies, and as a refuge to hide stolen stock and to conduct a variety of ceremonies away from the missionary’s gaze.

The continued cultural practice of raiding by the Plaatbergers clearly elicited the obvious disapproval of the missionaries. Raiding by default resisted missionary influence. It was, however, frontier cultural and economic practice that strategically combined with the domestic and agricultural production centred on households within the mission station. The mobility of pre-mission frontier life was continued, while households within the mission station were based on a developing, but not fully committed sedentism. These economic and cultural practices entangled the old and the new that Plaatbergers were most probably perfectly comfortable with. In contrast, the missionaries, certainly in their

public statements, could not accept these blurred boundaries and blended practice because their worldview was one of absolute cultural binaries.

It would therefore be unwise to take a narrow view and focus on the Plaatberg Bastards solely as inhabitants and converts of the Wesleyan Plaatberg mission station. The Plaatbergers, utilising wide-ranging strategies were not restricted by the mission station material boundaries or the attempted constraints of Wesleyan imposed Christianity. From 1833, they traversed the landscape of Transorangia and beyond, on hunting, raiding, and trading expeditions, forging widespread alliances and at the same time building up a knowledge of the natural landscape, hamlets, villages and towns and the inhabitants thereof, in pursuit of their economic goals, well beyond the boundaries of the mission station. They were a group of people who, because of their diverse ethnic composition and historical background had the ability and flexibility to weave around the attempted constraints placed on them by the combined forces of missionaries and colonial authorities. This bird's eye view of the Plaatbergers and their use of the landscape is only possible when one escapes the narrow confines of the mission station by combining archaeological and documentary resources and research to provide a more complete and hopefully balanced picture of the Plaatberg Bastards.

CHAPTER 10

A CHRISTIAN MISSION: "SIGNS OF INCIPIENT CIVILISATION

Which I am privileged to witness as resulting from the spread of Christianity, but a strong desire for European clothes, dwelling in wattle or brick houses, enjoying previously unknown comforts" (Cameron (c) 1840:64).

Arise ye Wesleyan youths, whose hearts are warm with the love of Christ - Buckle on your armour and present yourselves on the missionary alter - Go in the name of the Lord and brave the ocean, face the tempest and cross the desert -Go and ford the rivers, climb the mountains and erect on their summit the standard of the cross-Go into the midst of the savage horde and with the flaming torch of truth dispense the hellish gloom - Go and open the wells of salvation and cry to the panting Africans-Behold the living waters flow, come drink and thirst no more.

(Barnabas Shaw, 2009:311)

The Plaatberg Bastaards made use of the landscape of Transorangia in general and the Caledon River Valley in particular, to create their own unique use of places, kopjes, shelters, the plains for hunting and raiding and fertile soil for agriculture and grazing for domestic stock. Plaatbergers manipulated the landscape beyond the confines of the station. In doing this they partially evaded, ignored, and crossed colonial and missionary physical and ideological boundaries, using the safety net of respectability as residents on a Wesleyan mission station. They asserted a public identity as the "legitimate and civilised" Bastaards of Plaatberg who cultivated the ground and went to church but undercover, still raided and ritually approached their ancestors for rain. A mantle of Christian respectability, propped up by European material culture, only partially obscured how they crossed those boundaries. Raiding, for example, was both a vital economic strategy and resistance against the colonial and missionary will.

The Plaatberg Bastaards and the mission station itself were eventually overtaken by the events that took place between more powerful players and the Wesleyans proved powerless to protect them against Boer and British machinations. Both Bastaards and missionaries were squeezed out, sandwiched between the hardening of the borders of

newly created Boer republic of the Orange Free State, British encroachment from the Cape and the leadership of Moshoeshoe and the formation of Lesotho. The frontier began to close, and the Bastard lifestyle was rapidly lost. In this last chapter, I summarise the processes that led to this demise.

Rev Cameron's quote at the start of the chapter, underpins his vision about the link between European clothes, brick houses, and the underlying moral code that such materiality implied. It also displays a certain naivety on the part of the missionaries. The missionaries who had a binary view of conversion, desired to achieve full conversion of the Plaatbergers. This encompassed converting the natural landscape into one that reflected such a conversion in an orderly, neat, and agriculturally productive European style mission village. Alongside the landscape conversion, was more importantly the full conversion of the Plaatbergers, which would be reflected in their behaviour, dress, European styled houses, church attendance and European household material goods to be found in any proper Christian household. As the material record at Plaatberg shows, the missionary's binary view of conversion was never achieved amongst the Plaatbergers. The "signs of incipient civilisation" (Cameron (c) 1840:64) that Cameron hoped for was not a sign of conversion into a full expression of civilisation but rather a syncretic combination of different value systems and cultures to create a new "civilisation" within the mission and frontier context.

The Wesleyan missionaries who arrived in southern Africa in the nineteenth century formed part of the great evangelical wave that arose in Europe and swept through the world taking Christianity to the far-flung depths of the "heathen" world. The Wesleyans who responded with enthusiasm to the exhortation above, established no fewer than twenty mission stations scattered throughout South Africa. The presence, influence, and differences in approach of the different missionary societies in the Caledon River Valley (Wesleyan, Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and eventually Anglican Missionary Society) affected the social, economic, and political life of the communities in which they worked, as they too were affected by the people that they ministered to. The majority of missionaries did not acknowledge this, they saw it as a one-way flow of ideas from themselves as enlightened Europeans, heroically bringing Christianity and civilisation to

the “heathen savages” living in the barren wilderness of southern Africa and in the process, doing battle with the forces of Satan. Cameron commented “I attacked all the heathenish customs to which the members of it have been addicted, insisting upon their abandoning them totally in order to find peace with God (Cameron, 1840a:362). Mrs Hodgson expressed the same feeling in her diary “Here we left the limits of the colony and entered a heathen land, where men roam about at large, uncontrolled by divine or human laws” (Shaw & Hodgson, 2009:122). The missionaries viewed the lack of European laws and Christianity to control indigenous populations, a frightening prospect. The Christian metaphor of the thirsty population being watered physically and spiritually by the word of God is a recurrent theme in their writing, as is the theme of the missionary as a heroic soldier, going into battle for God, repeatedly used in missionary texts. Archaeological evidence from V’s complex, with the addition of missionary documents, suggests that the Plaatbergers were not as desperate to be watered spiritually as the missionaries believed, and strategically took aspects of Christianity and blended them with their own spiritual belief systems.

These Christian metaphors also resulted in a very clear status distinction between the civilised missionary and the Plaatberg Bastards. Cameron reiterates this view of separation, commenting that he was relieved that Moshoeshoe’s brother, Mopeli, refused an invitation to sit at the breakfast table with Cameron’s family as “the leading men among the Bastards, who might have been offended to see a Basutu Captain enjoying a privilege denied to them” (Cameron,1840a:354). This was an acknowledgement by Cameron that the Plaatbergers were not at this stage of their “incipient civilisation” ready to partake in the full moral materiality of the missionary household. In contrast, Backhouse was critical of Thomas Sephton (the catechist at Plaatberg), for not offering Captain Baatje a seat in the parlour of the mission house but allowed him to sit on the floor just inside the door, thus preserving the distinction between ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’, with the mission house threshold becoming a material expression of the binary. As the Captain of the Plaatbergers, Backhouse felt he should have been treated with more respect (Backhouse, 1844:385). The distinction in status was carefully preserved and as Lightfoot points out, hierarchy and ethnicity held sway in colonial spaces

(Lightfoot, 2006:279) and more specifically, the mission complex at Plaatberg. The preservation of status was maintained by the missionaries based on their belief in the “lamentable distance between savagery and civilisation” that they were dealing with in southern Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:174). In another context, this assertion of a binary view was strategically marshalled by the 1820 settlers who were desperate to maintain control of the available labour force and therefore needed to justify a racially stratified society (Ross, 2014:5). They were ably assisted in this by Robert Godlonton, editor of the Grahamstown Journal who believed that the British had been selected by God to colonise Kaffraria (Ross, 2014:135). Many of the later Wesleyan missionaries in the eastern Cape and in Transorangia were drawn from 1820 settler families and this view comes through very strongly in their writing, although there are exceptions.

10.1. The Missionary Effort in South Africa

Methodism was a missionary movement which needs to be seen within the context of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the lower and lower middle classes (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:47,81). The majority of British Wesleyan missionaries had been seduced by the message of evangelical preachers (Shaw’s quote above is a good example of this) throughout Britain and were recruited from the working and lower middle classes (Keegan, 1996:65; Japha, 1993:15). Although many had had no formal religious training and some only a very basic school education, they made up for this deficiency with the energy and passion they brought to converting ‘savage’ souls. Missionary societies actively encouraged recruits with artisan backgrounds and most in southern Africa were practically skilled, as gardeners, carpenters, stone masons, and printers (Etherington, 2005:15). This practical skill set was seen by the missionary society as being useful in communicating the technological skills and hence the moral superiority of the missionaries and their Christian message, however the local population, although admiring useful technical skills, did not equate this with moral superiority. Hyam points out that missionaries fulfilled many roles in Bechuanaland, such as a gunsmith, an irrigation expert and an agent who commercially and politically dealt with the outside world, missionary success depended upon their usefulness to the chief (Hyam, 2012:183). In the same way, Reverend Hodgson was admired by the BaRolong for assisting them in

drop-forging lead shot in a bucket of water (Landau, 2005:210) but this appreciation did not result in widespread conversions.

From the Africans point of view the missionary's import of agricultural technology such as wells, water furrows and ploughs were one of their most useful attributes (Hyam, 2012:191) as was their diplomatic skills and access to colonial authorities (Elphick, 2012:22). Besides technology and access to guns and colonial power, Moshoeshoe welcomed the PEMS missionaries into Basutoland in the hopes that the mission stations would act as a deterrent against Kora and Korana attacks (Beck, 1997:110). These expectations were recognised by some of the missionaries themselves. Broadbent, for example, admitted that his welcome by the BaRolong chief Sefunelo was due to the perception that he could offer them protection against attack rather than a wish to receive the gospel (Broadbent, 2017:117). Although Sefunelo's son Moroka, (who succeeded his father as chief at Thaba Nchu), had a working relationship with the WMS spanning some 50 years, he, along with the majority of the BaRolong, never converted (Venter, 1960:46). In contrast to their distrust of the missionaries and their Christian message, the medical skill of the missionary was highly valued (Trollope, 1878:284).

It is clear that the missionaries and the chiefs had very different agendas, the chiefs were well aware of the possible dangers of inviting the missionaries into their towns and villages (Beck, 1997:120; Lester & Lambert, 2010:99). As I mentioned in chapters 1 and 4, chiefs who welcomed missionaries into their territories were in control of the allocation of land to the missionary society and were careful to keep the mission area under surveillance and at a distance from chiefly areas. At Plaatberg, it is not stated as to who allocated land for the missionaries use, however, the prominent position of the mission complex and the surveyed grid-like layout of the station suggests that the missionaries were in control of the mission station layout, and missionary documents confirm this. The Wesleyans belief of WMMS ownership, certainly of control of Plaatberg land was made clear in Cameron's journal, when he discussed his design layout of Plaatberg station, and the allocation of residential plots within the grid-like framework of streets. However, as I discussed in chapter five, the missionary desire for all Plaatbergers to build rectangular brick houses on the residential plots was not fulfilled and the majority of Plaatbergers continued to live in mat or hartebeest houses.

10.2. Education

For the Wesleyan Missionaries education and religious teachings went hand in hand. A central Protestant belief was that everyone should be able to read and interpret the bible, therefore teaching potential converts and converts to read and write was top on the mission station agenda (Etherington, 2005:9) and literacy was the key to colonising the indigenous mind (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991:192) and making conversions (ibid:234). Mrs Cameron recognised this in her young unmarried female class, “It is worthy of remark that all in the class who can read have obtained salvation which the two have not yet obtained it can’t read” (Cameron, 1840a:360). The Wesleyans aimed teaching Christian values and Christian daily routines to the Plaatberg children in gender segregated classrooms. However, missionaries were deaf to the fact that converts heard the Christian message according to their own beliefs, current needs, and requirements, with outcomes that the missionaries did not intend (Elbourne, 1995:72). This disjunction becomes clear when looking at the blending of beliefs by rainmakers which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Furthermore, schooling interfered in the Plaatbergers daily routines and Cameron chastised the parents for interfering with the rules and regulations of the mission school by removing their children from school to assist with harvesting or herding duties (Cameron, 1842b:28). Although education was the medium through which children and adults were supposedly ‘colonised’, literacy appears to have been desired by the people of Plaatberg for strategic secular reasons, and Cameron commented at one point that although attendance at church had decreased, the number of scholars learning how to read and write had increased (Cameron, 1843b:172).

It became obvious to the missionaries that success in Christianising the local population required learning their language. They threw themselves into this task, eventually translating portions of the bible, catechisms, grammar, and schoolbooks, printing them in “Siralong, Sisuto and Koranna” as well as “Sichuana” and Dutch (WMS Memorandum, 1843:298). By 1839 Giddy informed the society that the societies printing press, safely housed in its own structure at Thaba Nchu mission station, had printed thousands of copies of catechisms, sections of the scriptures as well as books for the various mission

schools in Sotho, BaRolong, Korana and Dutch (WMN, 1839:143; 1843:298). The press later moved to Plaatberg with the Rev Giddy, where once again, a building was constructed for the accommodation of the precious press in 1845.

In 1837, the missionaries at Plaatberg reported that 78 girls, 70 boys and four adults were receiving reading, writing and religious instruction at Plaatberg (WMMS School Report, 1837:42). With this emphasis on literacy, not unexpectedly, slate tablets and slate pencils were found in V's Complex, and many more in PPH midden situated behind the chapel, which doubled as the schoolroom (Hunt:2020). The Wesleyans also encouraged girls to learn other skills and to this end a sewing school was established.

One of the Wesleyan Missionaries aims was to train selected indigenous people to become missionaries or "native teachers" as they were called, who would go out and convert their people through teaching, believing that locals would be more successful in converting their own people than British missionaries (Etherington, 2009:7). By 1838 the Wesleyan Missionary Society had established the Watson Institution in Grahamstown, which moved to Farmerfield mission in 1839, to train young 'black' men in a trade or as teachers, as well as educating the sons of chiefs (Schoeman, 1991:40; Vernal, 2012:112). Literacy and trade skills also provided the youth with the possibility of obtaining jobs within the colonial economy (Elphick, 2012:31). This is a further example of indigenous peoples (including the Plaatbergers) strategic use of missionaries as a resource to be utilised with the aim of enhancing status and opportunity in the changing frontier world. As early as August 1840, Cameron wrote that the schools at both Plaatberg and Lishuane were under the control of one of the indigenous youths who had been educated in Grahamstown (WMN, 1841:185).

Resistance to missionary work and conversions came not only from the cultural practices of the Plaatbergers themselves which were difficult to change but also from regional communities, for example the Cape Government and British and Boer settlers. The missionary emphasis on education caused an angry backlash from British and Boer settlers who accused them of at the worst, fostering black nationalism and political awareness amongst the locals and at the least, educating the locals out of the menial jobs the settlers and Boers desperately needed them for (Hexham & Poewe, 1997:129). The Wesleyan

missionaries were especially hated in Transorangia for their emphasis on educating indigenous people. This resistance intensified when the Wesleyans started to train black converts to become missionaries in their own right. In fact, the missionaries view of the Boers was even more scathing, in 1839 Daniel Lindley wrote "I do sincerely believe that the cheapest, speediest, easiest way to convert the heathen here is to convert the white ones first" (Hexham & Poewe, 1997:123).

10.3. Christianisation of the people of Plaatberg

According to the Wesleyans, acceptance of Christianity, which allowed converts to become members of the WMMS, involved the wholesale rejection of their traditional beliefs and lifestyle and the adoption of a civilised, Christian lifestyle based on middle-class values (Barker, 2009:97). This encompassed a whole range of lifestyle changes on the part of the Bastards ranging from modest clothing, western architecture, attendance at chapel services, pious behaviour, and a good Protestant work ethic, to name a few. An important aspect of pious behaviour from the missionary's perspective was to abstain from all excesses, an abstemious, tea total population was desired. Access to liquor directly undermined their ability to control their "flock" and the refusal to allow trade wagons to enter the station on a Sunday must have been a partial attempt to cut off supply on the most important church day.

The missionaries believed that their success in converting the "heathens" to western civilisation and Christianity was reflected in the adoption of European attire by the new converts, in other words the converts outward appearance was seen as a reflection of the inner state of the soul. In 1846 the Rev Giddy commented, that in his view, the effects that a Christian education had on BaSotho was highly beneficial as it "converted them from their raw and heathen state, slaves to the vilest passions, clothed in their filthy karosses, ignorant and untamed to the compliant native members as they come to chapel, pious, comparatively intelligent and happy, neatly clothed and generally decent in their appearance" (WMN, 1847:92). Missionaries and visitors to Bechuanaland missions distinguished "Christian natives" from heathens by applying a set of western standards of attire to the inhabitants of mission stations. Backhouse described Bastard fashion at Plaatberg for men as consisting of locally made tanned skin trousers and shoes with hats

manufactured in the colony, while the women wore dresses made from printed calicos which originated in Manchester finishing off their outfits with bonnets (Backhouse, 1844:385; Memorandum: WMN, 1843:298). Arbousset and Daumas who were generally not impressed by the Bastards, commented on their dress in 1836 “Those who are easy in their circumstances and pique themselves on their civilization, dress in European style; but many still wear the kaross, or cloak made of skins a cloak made from the skins of the sheep or the jackal sewed together” (Arbousset & Daumas, 1968:12). The insistence by Plaatbergers on wearing the kaross thus blending western clothing with indigenous attire was obviously of some concern to the missionaries. The blending of colonial and indigenous material goods (dress, ceramics, etc) and architecture used on a daily basis is an outward reflection of the issue of identity and syncretic values, echoed in the secretive and private expression of ritual and ceremony at De Hoop.

The missionary’s insistence on modest, neat, plain and sombre European clothing amongst their flock and the obvious importance thereof is reflected in the report to the WMMS on the Plaatberg community, where their intelligence appears to be linked to their adoption of acceptable attire and regular chapel attendance “We have a fine intelligent congregation at this place who are all well clothed, attend public worship very regularly and are most anxious for the continuation of their religious privileges” (WMN, 1840:66). The colonial and indigenous blending of attire is conveniently omitted from this report. It is clear that the Bastards developed a mixed fashion style, drawing on traditional forms of dress (veldschoenen and karosses) and blending them with European dress. Local examples of this mix are evident at the interface between coloniser and colonised (see Comaroff & Comaroff 1991, 1997) and elsewhere, for example, in the research done by Loren on the inhabitants of Los Adaes, Texas. She suggests that the hybrid fashion worn by mission station inhabitants reflects the emergence of their new identity on the colonial frontier (Loren, 2003 cited in Cochran & Beaudry 2006:199; Loren & Beaudry 2006:66; White & Beaudry, 2011:216). In the case of the Plaatberg Bastards, the shift towards a creole identity and attendant style of dress had already started in the Cape Colony when they lived with and worked for the Boers as slaves or labourers. The Plaatbergers had made the choice to live in both worlds, actively and strategically choosing aspects from each and in so doing forging a new identity on the frontier.

This view is clearly expressed in an illustration of a “Bastard” from the Caledon River Valley, found in Arbousset and Daumas travelogue published in 1846 (Figure 10.1). He is dressed in the style and attire of a Bastaard man described by many observers of the time. He is wearing what looks like a white doek⁴ under a wide brimmed hat, a striped shirt with a collar and possibly a neckerchief, trousers with pockets and leather shoes or veldschoenen. Veldschoenen were an adaptation of Khoekhoe animal hide sandals (Elphick & Shell, 1989:228). His outfit is completed with a flintlock musket over his shoulder, a knobkerrie in his other hand (which is a weapon that was usually, but not exclusively, carried by Bantu-speakers) a powder horn and around his waist a leather pouched belt (for shot), all essential accessories of a hunter.

This sartorial mix seamlessly meshes with the domestic structures behind the figure that depict a mat hut (Matjieshuis) adjacent to a rectangular European style thatch-roofed house with a chimney. The matjieshuis was the easily transportable traditional abode of Khoekhoe pastoralists (see Figures: 4.4, 4.12 & 5.32) that was still used by many of the Bastaards at the time. The Bastaard is placed in the centre of the drawing, walking between the “civilised” rectangular house with an internal fireplace and the mat hut, the abode of “heathens”. One can only speculate whether this cultural juxtaposition was deliberate or inadvertent, but whatever the case, it does highlight the missionary view of Bastaards as halfway between savage and civilised, displaying signs of “incipient civilisation”. Cameron in a letter discussing the Griqua and Bastaards wrote “They are both in a transition state from barbarism to civilisation” (Cameron, 1840:62). This contrast between traditional and colonial dwellings were more common on mission stations than the missionaries cared to admit.

⁴ A piece of fabric tied around the head.

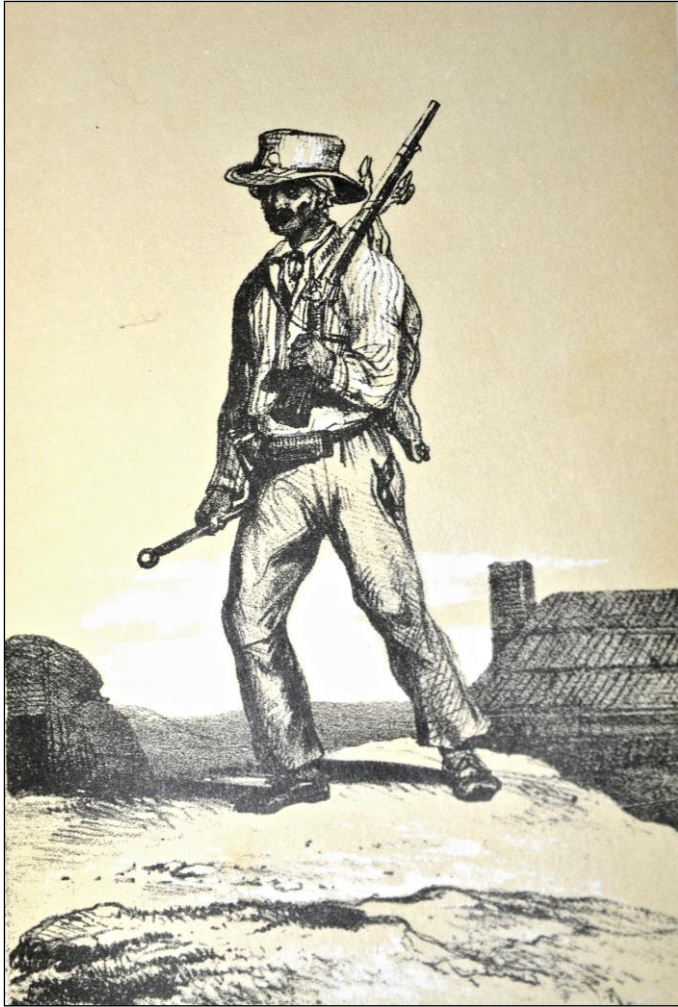


Figure 10.1: A drawing titled “Bastard” in Arbousset & Daumas publication of 1846 reprinted in 1968.

Ouzman suggests that different head coverings, and the absence or presence of a doek was one of the ways that creolised groups and individuals defined themselves (Ouzman, 2005:105). The dress of Bastaard men was not so much neat and pious but similar to the dress of trekboers, a style that was appropriate for hunters and pastoralists (Etherington, 2001:52; Borchers, 1861:117). Dress like architecture are just two of the many ways that Plaatbergers could draw on and manipulate in order to identify themselves as members of specific groups (see also Loren & Beaudry, 2006:256). The Plaatbergers constructed their own version of western dress, blending selected European fashion with more indigenous elements such as veldschoenen, skin trousers, the kaross cloaks and head doeks, which may have signified their identity as the Bastaards of Plaatberg, people who negotiated and lived in two worlds.

Cameron wrote about the material signifiers of mission station success in the Caledon River Valley quoted at the beginning of this chapter. A depiction of the neighbouring Griqua mission station of Lishuane illustrates the well behaved, neatly, and modestly dressed, apparently pious Griqua at worship in their reed chapel in 1834 (Fig. 10.2), which does not, of course necessarily correlate with private and inner belief and practice.



Figure 10.2: Painting by Charles Bell in 1834 of the Rev Edwards's congregation at Lishuane (Brooke Simons, 1998).

Plaatberg may have presented a similar picture in the attitude of Plaatbergers dress, as well as in the construction of the chapel. Years of contact with European colonists had influenced the Bastards to some extent, for example they spoke Dutch, and strategically wore western clothing and understood that an increase in status in the colony basically came down to converting to Christianity. European culture was well known to them (Penn, 2005:249), more so than the BaSotho, BaRolong and Ba Taung. From the discussion on clothing above, it is clear that the archaeology is unable to give substantial detail about the Bastards hybrid style of clothing, however, the documents come to the fore in providing this detail.

Knowledge of European technological practice and engineering was also gained through the labour Plaatbergers put into the mission stations built environment. The old reed

chapel could only hold 200 people, and an unusually large attendance meant that some people had to stand outside for evening service (Backhouse 1844:386). It could not keep out the cold, wind, and rain and services had to be cancelled in inclement weather (Cameron, 1845c:142, WMN, 1842:1843). The Plaatberg Bastards strategically assisted Rev Cameron when he asked them to erect a new brick-built chapel which was completed in 1842. The Plaatbergers assisted by making mud bricks, digging foundation trenches, collecting stones for the foundations, building walls, and collecting wood and reeds for the roof and plastering the walls internally and externally (Cameron1840a:356,360,369). The willingness of the Plaatbergers to help was a source of great happiness to Cameron, but they were employing a strategy of cooperative assistance as a willing labour force in order to remain within the relative safety of the mission station.

As discussed in chapter three, the missionaries and the Plaatberg Bastards agreed in 1839 that the elected Captain and his council would deal with all secular civil and governance matters without the interference of the missionary as long as they did not undermine Christian principles or retard missionary efforts at Plaatberg. Worship, schooling, and the Christianising effort were to be left solely in the hands of the resident missionary (Mears, 1970:22). It proved impossible to separate these aspects of daily mission life which naturally led to increasing tensions between the missionary, the captain, and his council. As discussed in chapter 4, land use and ownership became an issue that Rev Cameron tried to control in his attempts to regulate the presence of the Plaatbergers on the station as this affected his ability to Christianise the people. Cameron's interference in these matters may have influenced Cornelius van Wyk, his family and followers, to leave Plaatberg and settle permanently at the Rietspruit at an unknown date, far away from missionary influence, interference, and control.

The imposition of the western idea of time through the division of the day into minutes and hours, also sought to order day to day life, mould the Bastards into a compliant Christian community. Daily and weekly activities were centred around sacred events. The Plaatbergers were summoned to weekday chapel services (three on a Sunday), Quarterly meetings, Sunday school, prayer meetings, local preachers' meetings, class leaders' meetings, the Lords supper, Love feasts (which were reserved for members of the WMMS), and sabbath school, by the clock and the toll of the chapel bell (Cameron,

1840a:372; Cameron, 1842b:88). Ironically Cameron managed to persuade the Plaatbergers to purchase a chapel bell which replaced the crack of a bullock whip to summon them to chapel services (Backhouse 1844:386; Cameron, 1840a:372). Rev Giddy gave details of his daily and weekly missionary work routine in a letter to the WMMS: "On Monday evening the classes meet; Tuesday evening, prayer meeting in Dutch; every alternate Wednesday service in English; Thursday evening Dutch service; Friday morning the female Bible class; and on Saturday evening the Bible class for the males". His duties on the sabbath were more onerous as was the expected attendance of the Plaatbergers: "prayer meeting early in the morning, the school from nine to half past ten, service in Dutch from half past ten to twelve; Sisuto service from twelve to two; school from two to five and after sunset, service again in Dutch" (WMN,1847:85).

The success of these instruments of control to schedule Plaatbergers daily life and church activities was varied. As with the ritual privacy afforded the Plaatbergers through their possible use of De Hoop shelter, the missionary's call to both material and sacred order through the clock and bell did not always chime with the Plaatbergers own secular and sacred priorities. A certain amount of deliberate foot dragging contributed to low numbers at chapel services and latecomers to a service were locked out of the chapel (Cameron, 1843b:117). Additionally, the ever-present lure of the frontier lifestyle through mobility, in order to hunt and raid within and beyond the frontier, also undermined missionary order. While some excuses (sickness and harvesting) for absence were acceptable, the missionaries understanding and resolve must have been seriously tested, when under the excuse of illness, Plaatbergers prioritised daily chores (Cameron, 1840a:342).

Missionary assertion and imposition of power was expressed in other ways. As the layout of V's complex partially indicates, the grid like organisation of the station, and the position and size of the mission complex of buildings, were intended to induce cultural order. The layout of V's complex, however, and the domestic architectural form and spatial arrangements deflects this regimented ideal and the subtle material indicators from V's complex alludes to the private subterfuge of other mission expectations. As noted above, Cameron discouraged the consumption of alcohol, whilst Rev Giddy absolutely forbade its

presence on the mission station. On the one hand, the layout of the mission station was to accommodate wagons, but on the other, Cameron bemoaned the regular arrival of traders wagons bearing brandy (Cameron, 1841a:405) and even through the captain and his council, he was unable to assert a liquor prohibition.

The missionaries expectations for the Plaatbergers were for them to become right and proper missionary citizens. These expectations were asserted publicly through a number of mnemonics, as well as rules, regulations, prohibitions, and schedules. These were intended to manage, control, and order their daily, weekly and monthly lives, all underpinned by the expectation of regular and devout chapel attendance.

One wonders to what extent the threat of expulsion from the WMMS was of concern to members who did not meet or maintain WMMS standards. As indicated in the documentation and the archaeology, indigenous cultural practice continued and there never was a full and universal commitment to Christianity at Plaatberg. The public missionary assertions of control and authority was met with Plaatberger resistance, equally public and overt but also hidden and private. In this regard, it is worth considering what success the missionaries at Plaatberg actually had through a brief quantitative and qualitative assessment of membership and converts through the life of the mission station. WMMS records show that there were 100 members in the society in 1834 and supposedly 2500 people at the station, which appears to be somewhat unlikely, unless the missionaries optimistically included surrounding BaSotho villages in their count. A little later, in 1836 there were 213 members in the society and 360 Bastards at the station. This number swelled by 1839 to approximately 600 inhabitants of the station of whom only 140 were members of the society (Schoeman, 1991:71). In 1845 there were 450 people at Plaatberg, of whom 200 attended Sabbath School. This decrease in the number of Bastards living at the station highlights the missionaries ultimate lack of control, despite numerous strategies to keep the Plaatbergers on the station, the Plaatbergers still exercised considerable independence in terms of making settlement choices elsewhere. This was informed by their own economic and cultural values in a mid-nineteenth century context. Theoretically, there is some scope that future archaeological

research at Plaatberg can provide demographic data from the core area of the mission that can be compared to the numbers reported by Cameron.

Conversion or membership numbers aside, what was also important to missionaries was who they converted, and indigenous leadership and people of status within the Plaatberg community would have been important role models. There are indications in the Baptism and Marriage Register that Captain Baatje and some of his councillors had converted. A Korolus Baatje is recorded as being baptised on 11 October 1840. Cameron wrote with some pleasure that Captain Baatje who was a leader of the Society “prayed with great propriety and much fervour” at the ceremony to celebrate the laying of the chapel foundation stone (Cameron, 1840a:358). However, at times Cameron laments over the “indifference” with which the people received “the world of God” (Cameron 1843c:165) and in 1843 he wrote “I held a prayer meeting in the evening. It was not very lively” (Cameron, 1843c:197). This lethargy on the part of his congregation was not absolute and at times he reported that they were “large and attentive; especially in the morning and evening” but rather tellingly he continues in a short sharp sentence of disappointment “We have no conversions” (Cameron, 1844c:205). The Society rules which Cameron applied so rigorously did not always further his conversion aims. He refused to baptise a group of potential converts until they purchased European clothing, “There are several Basutos whom I judge fit for the fellowship of the church; but as I wish all whom I baptise if possible to be draped in European clothes and they plead inability to purchase them, their baptism on that account is delayed” (Cameron, 1841a:429). This highlights the Wesleyans insistence that converts be neatly and modestly attired in European dress. He ruefully admitted that the number of converts would have been higher but for his ban on strong alcohol which applied to all converts (Cameron, 1845c:87).

These numbers indicate that conversions were minimal throughout the history of the station, and as a measure shows that the mission station was not a success. Although not qualitative, the missionaries had much more success teaching the children to read and write. This contrast suggests further that Plaatbergers were also discerning and strategic in the choices they made about how they engaged with missionaries and the wider context of increasing colonial presence. While they appreciated the strategic practicalities of literacy in the economy of the colony, this did not necessarily go hand in hand with a

commitment to Christianity. Putting issues of alcohol prohibition aside, the lack of converts is a clear indication of the strength of the Plaatbergers cultural practices which resisted the Christian message.

Indigenous responses to Christianity are complex and varied, Graham points out the effects and outcomes of such an interaction cannot be generalised (Graham 1998:52). Often conversion to Christianity was motivated by access to political power (ibid:54) and as noted above, the Bastards held the view that the only way to gain status within colonial world was through Christianity and literacy (Penn, 1995:90). They hoped that by embracing Christianity (at least outwardly for some) they would achieve the status and independence in Transorangia which had been denied to them in the Colony (Keegan 1996:170). In the greater context of the colonial frontier in Transorangia, this strategy allowed Bastards to look both ways, and develop advantages south into the colony whilst maintaining cultural integrity in their immediate frontier context. As Elbourne points out, African converts response to Christianity cannot only be seen in terms of wholesale ideological resistance but rather a piecemeal acceptance and incorporation of European technology and myths (Elbourne, 1995:90). This was certainly the case at Plaatberg. The Plaatbergers willingly adopted the materiality and practicalities of the mission. Ploughs, pots and plates speak to new economic means and a certain degree of sedentism, while horses, wagons, guns and ammunition add to the historic lifestyle of the frontier and the continuity of an economy based upon mobility and the cultural importance of places beyond the bounds of the mission station.

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APPENDIX A

Alphabetical list and brief explanation of people mentioned in the text.

Carolus Baatje, Captain of the Plaatberg Bastards, who hailed from the northern area of the Cape Colony. After crossing the Orange River into Transorangia, they settled at Plaatberg on the Vaal with the BaRolong. They moved with the other groups on the Vaal Harts Rivers to the Caledon River Valley in 1833. The Plaatberg on the Caledon mission station was established for them in 1833.

Barend Barends, (also spelt Berend Berends) a wealthy Bastard leader living along the Orange River. He later became joint Captain of the Griqua with Adam Kok at Griquatown, until he moved with his supporters first to Daniels Kuil, then to Boetsap and later moved to Lishuane mission station in the Caledon River Valley.

Jan Bloem and his Kora. Jan Bloem was apparently a German fugitive from the Cape Colony who married into several Khoekhoe groups (Katse and Springbokke), forming alliances which enabled him to gather a substantial following. The core membership of this group were therefore descended from Khoekhoe herders. He was succeeded as leader by his son, Jan Bloem junior.

Adam Kok was descended from a slave in the Cape colony. He succeeded his father and grandfather as leader of a group of Bastards, (later Griqua) from Little Namaqualand in the Cape Colony and later settled along the Orange River. They became wealthy through hunting and their control of trade in Transorangia. Kok became joint Captain of Griqua Town with Barend Barends. He subsequently moved with his supporters to Philipolis.

Mzilikazi, chief of the Ndebele militarily powerful Ndebele group, who after 1830 established themselves in south-western Transorangia. In mid-1831 Barend Barends and his allies launched an unsuccessful commando against Mzilikazi. As a result of several attacks launched on Mzilikazi and his army by the Trekkers in 1836, Mzilikazi and his people moved north into what is now south-west Zimbabwe.

Moletsane, chief of the BaTaung who had been displaced from the Kroonstad area by the wars during the 1820s, carried out numerous successful raids in the area around the Vaal river. They settled near Mequatling, the PEMS mission station established for them in 1837. They were allies of the BaSotho.

Moorosi was the chief of the BaPhuti, a heterogeneous group of people with a fluid group membership which included BaSotho, Nguni and KhoSan speakers. The BaPhuti were allies of the BaSotho.

Moroko, chief of the Seleka-Rolong, at Plaatberg 1 on the Vaal River. Under his direction they subsequently moved to Thaba 'Nchu in the Caledon River Valley.

Sefunelo, (also spelt Sifonello) chief of the Seleka-Rolong moved constantly during the 1820s to avoid attack between the Vaal and upper Molopo and settled with Wesleyan missionaries at Maquassie until 1825 when they were attacked by Moletsane and his BaTaung and abandoned the settlement. They later moved to Plaatberg 1 on the Vaal River. He was succeeded by his son Moroko.

Sekonyela chief of the BaTlokwa had his stronghold at Marabeng. The Wesleyan missionaries established the Imperani mission station for the Batlokwa 6km from Marabeng. The BaSotho launched a successful attack on the BaTlokwa at Marabeng in 1853, when the mission station was abandoned.

Jan Taaibosch, Captain of the Kei-Korana. The core group were Khoekhoe, but group membership also included . Although they chose a mobile lifestyle of hunting and raiding, moved from the Orange River to settle on the Harts River and then moved to the Caledon River, initially settling at Umpukane mission station, and then they relocated to Merumetsu mission station. They abandoned the station and settled on the Vaal River soon after or during 1849.

Baatje van Wyk a resident of Plaatberg mission station and a councillor in the Plaatberg council. A Baasje van Wyk was killed in June 1865 on the Rietspruit.

Cornelius van Wyk was the ex-Captain of the Plaatberg Bastards, who may have left Plaatberg on the Caledon and settled with several other Plaatbergers, including his son's and his daughter on the Rietspruit.

Jacob van Wyk a resident of Plaatberg mission station and a commandant, (a military leader) in charge of the Plaatberg commando. He was killed in June 1865 on the Rietspruit.

APPENDIX B

The Excavation of Plaatberg

Initially, I became aware of the existence of a mission station close to De Hoop rock shelter whilst doing background research on the nineteenth century landscape in which the shelter was situated (1996-1998).

In 2013, I met Joanna Behrens (UNISA) and Amanda Esterhuysen (Wits) at the mission station to assess the viability of an archaeological investigation. The outcome of this reconnaissance was positive, and I applied for the excavation permit from SAHRA.

2014 - In 2014, we commenced the archaeological investigation, first by walking the entire site and plotting artefact scatters and due to the regular presence of a tractor and trailer on-site, we made a surface collection of artefacts that might be further damaged. We then chose one small scatter to excavate (Vm) in the remaining 3 days. This midden was extended the following year.

In 2015, a group of UNISA and Wits students (now joined by Tamsin Hunt), Amanda, Joanna and I excavated PPH, which we were later able to identify as the chapel. Tamsin and I moved south-west of PPH to excavate a small rectangular structure known as BH.

2016 - Further to discussions with Amanda and Joanna in 2016, I decided to concentrate on the area now known as V's complex and accordingly extended the excavation of the midden. The kook skerm was also excavated in 2016. Amanda and Tamsin started to plot the dimensions of the Vh structure.

Joanna and the UNISA students excavated the PPH midden behind the chapel and another group of UNISA students concentrated on a large scatter of artefacts known as the kitchen midden (KM) and associated structures.

2017 - I continued to chase the wall footings of Vh in 2017 and extended the excavation into Vh yard, with the help of UNISA students. Amanda and Tamsin investigated the remaining two large structures in the Mission complex (MH and HGH). The rest of the UNISA students and Joanna continued to excavate the large area in and around KM.

2018 – I continued with the Vh yard excavation and the investigation of the structure to the south of Vh, being Vbw. Tamsin and Amanda continued to concentrate on excavating selected areas in the Mission complex.

All of the artefacts from the PPH midden, PPH (the chapel), HGH and BH were analysed and used by Tamsin Hunt for her PhD. Tamsin sent me photographs of a selection of the imported ceramics from the mission complex.

I analysed all the artefacts from V's complex, as well as analysing the imported ceramics from surface collection in 2014.

APPENDIX C

Timeline 1833 - 1940

YEAR	DATE	EVENT
1833	4 May to 30 May 1833	Plaatberg on the Vaal and outlying villages sent a Reconnaissance party to the Caledon River Valley to find a new area in which to live. The move to the CRV took place later that year. Carolus Baatje and his Bastards settled at Plaatberg on the Caledon (PB).
1834		Due to a severe drought the Plaatbergers send their cattle to outposts. Rev Jenkins was the resident missionary.
1835		Rev Archbell was the resident missionary
1836		Arbousset and Daumas of the PEMS visit PB and estimated that there were 200 inhabitants. Mr Jenkins was the missionary, 3 salaried teachers, 213 members in the society, 147 adults and children in school and 360 under the care of the society.
1837		William Hind Garner was the catechist at PB. School Report: 4 adults; 70 boys and 78 girls: total 152.
1838		Mr Garner expels 14 Plaatbergers from the society for breaking the sabbath.
1839	12 July 1839	Mr Sephton moved to PB as catechist (Giddy's letter of 30 th January 1839). James Backhouse visits PB. 10 inhabitants had recently died of the measles. About 600 inhabitants; 140 church members; school, 65 boys & 63 girls. Strife within the mission over leadership.
1840	1 June 1840	Rev James Cameron and his family arrive at Plaatberg. Daniel Baatje was baptized in June 1840. Carolus Baatje baptized 11 October 1840. Cameron marks out foundations of new chapel and building commences. New church bell arrives from Cape Town.
1841	1 January 1841	Carolus Baatje chosen as lifetime Captain of PB. New mission house under construction. Demolition of old mission house. Cameron helps Captain Baatje in laying out the village in the form of a town. Moshoeshoe visits.
1842	January 1842 July 1842	New chapel completed. Ceremony. New mission house completed; Cameron pays Mr Leslie for masonry & carpentry work on the mission house £121 (Cameron:1842:25). Fears that some of the PB people may have joined a Griqua commando (May). Moshoeshoe visits. BaTlokwa stole horses from the Plaatbergers, Moshoeshoe recovers them. Daniel Baatje is Cameron's interpreter.

		Census: householders:62; population:380(400); wagons:20; Houses:200; Armed and mounted men:70. Great meeting of all the male inhabitants in the Raadhuis (Cameron:1842:17).
1843	March 24 April 19 September	Great Comet of 1843, correctly identified by Cameron was especially bright in March. Baatje Baatje and Sara Ceylon were married. Daniel Baatje and Betsy Catrina Ceylon were married by Giddy. Good wheat harvest (WMN:52:1843:298,299) Boers give Plaatbergers notice that they will take their harvest. Cameron's wife, Margaret grew ill, he started to think of leaving. Napier Treaty between the British and Moshoeshoe that effectively diminishes his territory but acknowledges his overlordship of the area in which the WMMS missions were located. As a result, Chief Moroko, Captains Davids, Taaibosch and Baatje anxious to enter into treaty of peace with the British Govt (Theal:1:57).
1844	January	Daniel Baatje, schoolteacher, and interpreter dies, "a great loss" to Cameron.
1845	March	Cameron left PB and Rev Richard Giddy, his family and printing press move to PB. Giddy estimates that there are 450 Plaatbergers in October 1845. Baatje tried to negotiate a deal with Joubert (on behalf of British Government) where he undertook to provide mounted and armed men when required, if he was paid a small salary (Theal:1:104). Maitland Treaty which was the second treaty that diminished the land held by Moshoeshoe.
1846	10 March October	Meeting at PB : British Resident, Kok, Moshoeshoe, Sikonyela, Moroko, Molitsane, Davids and Baatje (Theal:1:120) Baatje assists in repelling Jan Kok & his immigrants (Theal:1:124). Printing press busy, books & lessons, 120 children in school. Sabbath School; 200 adults and children under the care of 2 superintendents and 12 teachers; 12 local preachers and 13 class leaders.
1847	11 January	Giddy letter – wheat fields as well as oats and barley. Mission garden has cherries, gooseberries, and peaches. Betsy Catrina Baatje (widow of Daniel Baatje) married Phillippus Meyer.
1848	8 September 25 December	Hostile Boers cause alarm. Shaw: Chiefs Moroko, Sikonyela and Karolus Baatze well disposed towards the missions (WMN:1849). Christian Baatje and Magdalena van Wyk marry. He signed his name. Broadbent comments on large number of gardens and orchards, 1000s of fruit trees at PB (1865:200). Sir Harry Smith proclaimed British Sovereignty over Transorangia, known as the Orange River Sovereignty , which included the Caledon River Valley in which the Wesleyan missions were situated.

1849	22 January 14 May	Conference between British Resident and Moshoeshoe at PB in the presence of the Council of Platberg about the conflict between Moshoeshoe and Sikonyela (Theal:1:220) The Warden Line , a boundary drawn up by the British Resident, Major Warden further diminished the land controlled by Moshoeshoe John Thomas Daniel of Imperani and Mary Ann Sephton of PB were married by R. Giddy. Drought in the ORS 1849-1852. JJ Freeman tours the area between 1849 and 1850. "Spring supplies a steam to irrigate ground and gardens; many gardens, much land is cultivated, corn of all kinds raised; Bastards live in circumstances of considerable comfort"
1850	30 August September October November	Molitsane and his BaTaung attack Umpukane and the AmaFengu. The British, BaRolong, Korana, Boers & 20 Platbergers go to help. Platbergers receive 50 head of cattle taken from Molitsane as thanks (Theal: 1:299,321,322,328). Baatje sends letter to British Resident complaining about the BaSotho stealing his cattle (ibid:341). British Resident suggests that the AmaFengu settle around PB (ibid:349).
1851	6/12/49; 11/1/50 26 May 29 May 16 June 21 June 27 June 29 June 31 August 17 October	Cameron writes that Umpukane and Merametsu have been destroyed. Baatje asked the British Resident for 100 pounds of gun powder, 20 guns and 100 pounds of lead because of the great danger they were in (Theal:1:401). Baatje complained to the British Resident that the BaSotho have stolen 500 head of cattle - (Theal: 1:401) Warden in letter "I have directed the Boers and Griquas to follow the troops to Platberg Missionary Station" (Theal: 1:410). The troops consist of 2500 men under Major Donovan (Theal: 1:410), "camp near the Mission Station Platberg (Theal:1:414) for 10 days. Warden informs Moshoeshoe that he has arrived at PB. British troops and all the Platberg Bastaards and AmaFengu (including families and cattle) leave Platberg. Meeting at Viervoet; British, Kok, Moroko, Sikonyela, Taaibosch, Baatje, Hendrik Hendriks, Jan Bloem of the Sprinboks (Theal:1:415-419) with the aim of teaching Molitsane a lesson. Battle of Tihela took place at Viervoetberg, Molitsane's mountain stronghold for his cattle. Molitsane and Moshoeshoe were victorious, the British army and its allies retreated to Thaba Nchu. PB Mission station abandoned by all except the missionary and 2 or 3 English traders. BaRolong now occupy a site on the Modder River and 240 Platbergers and AmaFengu are settled between them and Bloemfontein. Platbergers, BaRolong and AmaFengu raid PB and surrounding area for their cattle and horses removed by the BaSotho, using ammunition supplied by Major Warden.
1852	13 December	Giddy remains at PB keeping busy by printing and ministering to the surrounding BaSotho villages. British army encamped at PB. British soldiers report on the ruins of 30-40 houses which were destroyed by the BaSotho after the Battle of Tihela (KS: :36). British versus BaSotho/ BaTaung war, known as the Battle of Berea , when the British army under General Cathcart crossed the Caledon River into

		Lesotho. Despite determined resistance by the BaSotho, Moshoeshoe sued for peace.
1853	15 February	After an absence of 18 months, the Plaatberg Bastards returned to the mission station. The Chapel, mission house, printing office, printing materials survived. Giddy's draught oxen were stolen (WMN: 1854:10).
1854	18 September	British withdrew from the Orange River Sovereignty and the territory is ceded to the Boer republic of the Free State . Dirk Christian and Leah Opperman married by Rev. Giddy
1855		
1856		Lung sickness (pleuropneumonia) devastated herds in 1856 and 1857 in Lesotho, The CRV and the Free State (Eldredge, 1993:78) Last Marriage entry into Baptism book was in July 1856.
1857	2 May	Rev John Daniel now missionary at PB. Giddy and family left for Colesberg a few weeks before this date (WMN: IV: September:1857:143)
1858	31 March 10 April 10 May 14 May	The War of Senekal or the 1st Basotho-Boer War . The Republic declared war on the BaSotho on 19 March 1858, over land and boundary's. On 31 st March the PB Bastards, Sotho and families fled PB for Thaba Bosiu. The Free State Boers attacked and destroyed Beersheba and Morija. The president of the Free State requested a cessation of hostilities. Rev Giddy arrived to visit the Plaatbergers only to find that they had fled to Thaba Bosiu with Rev Daniel. Boer commando passes PB on their way back to Bloemfontein. Although the BaSotho defeated the Boers, a peace treaty was signed which legitimised the Republic of the Free State gaining more BaSotho land. A few of the Plaatbergers returned and report that the rest of the people would return within the next few days. Lung sickness amongst the draught oxen at PB.
1859	7 June	Mr Ludorf, missionary at Thaba Nchu printing schoolbooks – press moved from PB after Giddy left. Mr Giddy visits and preaches to the PBB. Rev Impey who visited the station on a tour of the area observed that it had become almost exclusively a Basotho one and that the Bastard congregation had greatly diminished. He suggests that the Plaatbergers remove to Wittenbergen (WMN:1859:186) The Wesleyan Society withdrew missionaries from Lishuani, Umpukane and Impanani due to financial difficulties, leaving them in the care of 'native' teachers (Whiteside:1906:337)
1860		PB still under the ministrations of Rev Daniel Drought 1860-1863
1861		Reverend Cresswell was appointed as the new missionary at Plaatberg. Rev Ayliff visited PB in February 1861, observes extensive fields of "Indian and Kaffir corn". Carolus Baatje a very old man of about 84. Only about 100

		able bodied men. Buildings and houses need immediate maintenance, the fences broken, gardens need water, disgraceful state.
1862		The Great drought, Caledon river stopped flowing for the first time in living memory.(Eldredge:1993:78)
1863		
1864	16 March 10 September	ev Giddy makes a tour of stations; Bethany, Bloemfontein, Fauresmith, Philipolis. Tour to Bloemfontein, Thaba Nchu and Burghers Dorp, however, he does not mention Plaatberg.
1865	June 27 June 6 August 24 November	2nd BaSotho-Boer war also called the Seqiti War (1865-1866). The Boers were assisted by Moroka's BaRolong and Carolus Baatje's Bastaards amongst others. Mr Ludord, the missionary, fled Plaatberg at the commencement of the war (WMN,1865). Plaatbergers who had previously removed to the Rietspruit (25 miles from Bloemfontein) were murdered by the BaSotho. Those murdered appear to be the van Wyk family and their supporters. Only a few Bastard females and a Wesleyan teacher named Mr Baker remained at Plaatberg. Plaatberg was completely deserted.
1866		Boers victorious, Moshoeshe was forced to sign humiliating treaty known as the Peace of Thaba Bosiu . The Free State began surveying land for farms in the conquered territory.
1867	July	3rd BaSotho-Boer War . The Boers of the Orange Free State conquered the BaSotho. The Boers banned the missionaries from working and converted the mission stations into farms, they dug up fruit trees and reaped the crops. Plaatberg, Lishuani, Imperani and Umpukane ceased to exist (Whiteside:1906:338).
1868		Moshoeshe request assistance from the British and the BaSotho kingdom became a British protectorate.
1869		Convention of Aliwal-North ceded the conquered territory to Orange Free State. Where did the Plaatbergers go immediately thereafter? Eldredge says that they moved to Bokhate on Moshesh's invitation in 1869 (1993:62). "In 1869 another significant population of Griquas migrated from Plaatberg to Bokhate to live under BaSotho jurisdiction" (Rosenberg & Wiesfelder:2003:22)
1897		In 1897, the Plaatbergers were settled at Carolusrus north of Thaba Nchu.
1940		Their descendants were moved again, this time to Thaba Phatshwa in the Free State where they remain to this day.