

**A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO TWO RECENT  
HOUSEHOLDS OF THE MOTSE, BOTSHABELO MISSION STATION,  
MIDDELBURG, MPUMALANGA, SOUTH AFRICA.**

by

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**“A historical archaeological investigation into two recent households of the *Motse*,  
Botshabelo Mission Station, Middelburg, Mpumalanga, South Africa.”**

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted my work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

*Caroline Rosine Booth*

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## **SUMMARY**

The archaeological research discussed in this dissertation was conducted at Botshabelo, a nineteenth century Berlin Mission Society station located outside Middelburg, Mpumalanga. It focuses primarily on the collection of residential houses and homesteads in the area known as the *Motse*, meaning “village” in Sotho. This is where the mission station’s African residents lived. This research used archaeology to refine the chronology of changes to settlement in this area and to study the associated cultural material through analysis. It was through survey of the area, careful excavation of two of the houses of the *Motse*, together with the analysis of the architecture and associated material culture, that these households could be explored.

Although the mission station and its settlement dates from 1865, the material culture excavated and analysed in this project is primarily from the twentieth century, and thus from the recent and contemporary past.

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**ABSTRACT:**

The archaeological research was conducted at Botshabelo, a nineteenth century Berlin Mission Society station located outside Middelburg, Mpumalanga. It focuses primarily on the collection of residential houses and homesteads in the area known as the *Motse*, meaning “village” in Sotho. This is where the mission station’s African residents lived. This research seeks to use archaeology, specifically the study of the associated material culture, in order to refine the chronology of changes to settlement in this area, and to explore the ways in which the inhabitants interacted with other sectors of the mission station community and the then wider Transvaal society. Although the mission station and its settlement dates from 1865, the material culture excavated and analysed in this project is primarily from the twentieth century. It is through the careful analysis of these houses and their architecture, together with the associated material culture that the social and cultural values of the people who built and used them can be explored.

To date there has been a copious amount of research done on these mission stations in southern Africa, flowing mainly from the disciplines of history and anthropology (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Delius 1981; Japha *et al* 1993; Kirkaldy 2005; Vernal 2009). In contrast, however, there has been relatively little archaeological research carried out on the various mission stations within southern Africa (but see Ashley 2010; Boshoff 2004; Clift 2001; Jeppson 2005; Reid *et al* 1997). This research project is based in archaeology, and in particular in the discipline of historical archaeology, which can provide the methodologies and approaches that can be used to make sense of the history of the Botshabelo Mission Station and the *Motse*. This research therefore intends to contribute to the currently under researched field of mission archaeology within South Africa.

**Key words:**

**Historical archaeology, contemporary past, mission stations, Lutheran, ethnography, households, consumption, architecture, spatial analysis, social relations.**

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

The archaeological research discussed here, was carried out at Botshabelo Mission Station, located in what is currently the Nkangala District, in the Steve Tshwete Local Municipality, Mpumalanga Province, ten kilometres north of the municipal seat of Middelburg. Botshabelo was established in 1865 by two missionaries from the Berlin Mission Society. This research focuses primarily on the collection of residential houses and homesteads in the area known as the *Motse*, where the mission station's African inhabitants lived. This research is set within a very broad overview of the changing socio-political context of South Africa, particularly relevant to Botshabelo and the *Motse* during its 150 years of existence.

Botshabelo was established as an institutional mission station. This kind of institution was founded for religious, educational or social purposes. These organisations had strong rigid beliefs and considered the enforcing of restrictions as a means to an end. These mission stations were also more likely to be established near main centres (Kirkaldy 2005). Botshabelo was such an institution, constructed with a formal, civic nucleus or core and a village nearby where the converts or those who might be converted lived. This was a common form of station in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea of the institutional mission station was inspired by the "Moravian mother community at Herrnhut – that of an isolated, self-sufficient, theocratic and patriarchal Christian community based on religion and work as the twin pillars of the righteous life" (Japha and Japha 1997:8). Other examples of this type of mission station in southern Africa are Wallmannsthal, Kratzenstein, Genadendal and Wupperthal (Japha *et al* 1991).

The aim of this dissertation is to refine our understanding of the chronology of the settlement and the architectural changes that occurred over time in this mission village and furthermore, to

explore the household economies of two of the households. The research comprised the following:

- The collation and comparison of visual, cartographic and survey material relating to the history and spatial layout of the *Motse*, in order to understand its development over time and so contribute to the recreation of the history of the *Motse*.
- The excavation, documentation and collection of archaeological cultural material from two (2) of the house structures, which will assist in our understanding of the domestic economy and consumption patterns of these households.

This research forms part of a larger project which aims to investigate the political, economic and social relationships of the people who lived on the mission station and the role that Botshabelo played within the broader context of the missionary activity in southern Africa as a whole (Swanepoel 2013). Missionaries produced voluminous amounts of correspondence and documentation but mission village residents are often not highlighted in such documentation. There is very little existing literature available on the *Motse* and its residents, especially relating to their everyday lives. Archaeological research is therefore, in a unique position to rectify this. This research into the homesteads of the *Motse* assists in broadening our understanding of rural African households during the first half of the twentieth century aiding in the interpretation of how these people lived and interacted with each other in a climate of political, economic and social change happening within South Africa at that time. There has been no archaeology previously carried out on these houses of the *Motse*, although the area was the subject of an architectural survey in the early 1990s (Le Roux and Fisher 1991). It therefore becomes important that these homesteads and their households be investigated.

## 1.1 The Berlin Mission Society in South Africa.

Japha *et al* (1993) note in their review of mission settlements in South Africa, that by 1904 there were over 600 mission stations and 4000 mission outstations to be found around the country. These mission stations and outstations were affiliated to a wide variety of mission societies from various countries. Over time the processes of missionisation resulted in the transformation of these mission communities by introducing new forms of architecture and consumption as well as the ways in which people related to each other and their religious beliefs (Swanepoel 2013). Most of the research to date has focused on historical studies, but little is really known about these mission stations archaeologically, as there have been relatively few archaeological studies carried out on these types of sites in southern Africa. The purpose of this research was therefore, to contribute an archaeological perspective to the existing historical and anthropological literature on the mission stations in southern Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Delius 1981; Japha *et al* 1993; Kirkaldy 2005; Vernal 2009).

### 1.1.1 Founding and early history.

The mission society important to this research was the Berlin Mission Society. This Society was established in 1824, just after the end of the Napoleonic Wars and was “motivated by a combination of piety and patriotism and one of their ideals was that the Prussian state should play a part in Christianizing the world” (Delius 1984:118). The focus of missionary activity in South Africa was a result of this evangelical revival which took place throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and the missionary undertakings here were as fervent as anywhere else in the world. This resulted in the establishment of many missionary societies within the country that operated independently of traditional church structures. During this time there were

Methodist, Protestant, Catholic and Lutheran sects operating within South Africa, of which, the Berlin Mission Society belonged to the latter (Japha *et al* 1993).

In an atmosphere of moderate opportunities available to young men in Europe, these missionary societies, such as, the Berlin Mission Society provided a chance for advancement and the men who joined to become missionaries were generally well-educated and talented but financially poor, with a desire for upward mobility. The society thus, provided these men with a chance to attain privilege and prosperity within a life dedicated to God (see Kirkaldy 2005; Pakendorf 1997; Poewe and van der Heyden 1999; Scriba and Lislrud 1997).

The missionaries that arrived in South Africa were trained and prepared at the Berlin *Missionhaus* in Germany (figure 1.1). They were to introduce their Christian teachings and traditions to the indigenous population. These missionaries were instructed to be receptive to the spiritual needs of their followers, as well as to acquire a thorough knowledge of the people's language, grammar and histories. This was important, as the missionaries needed to establish strong relations with the indigenous peoples of the country (Poewe and van der Heyden 1999).

These German missionaries were committed to the Lutheran doctrine of dualism that is, the "attitude toward the self and the secular or external world" (Pakendorf 1997:259). This is the notion that there is a separation between the dedicated and rigid spiritual life and the non-religious outside world. However, these Lutheran missionaries also shared a common ideology with other church denominations, as Pakendorf (1997:256-257) clarifies below,

their world view revolved around concepts of sin, redemption and salvation, economically, it expressed itself in terms of the work ethic, that is, high productivity based on an internalized self-discipline, and ideologically it consisted of values such as orderliness, diligence, cleanliness, frugality.

Gunter Pakendorf describes this Lutheran legacy as being non-conformist by origin, these German Protestant missions “were mostly committed to the Lutheran creed and there is no doubt that they consciously applied the classic Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms – based on Martin Luther’s interpretation of Roman 13 – when dealing with secular authority” (Pakendorf 1997:257-258).



Figure 1.1: The Berlin *Missionhaus* (Hoffmann Collection: 702scr\_31a8260738fd350). Date unknown.

This means that missionaries regarded secular authorities as having been instituted by God and the “divinely-ordained task of the civil government was to provide the people under its rule with external righteousness and peace” (Kirkaldy 2005:80).

Another characteristic of Lutheranism is that they believed that hard and industrious work was at the heart of rebirth in Christ. Lutherans believe that only grace and faith can save people from sin. Thus, individuals must work to a strong ethical code and live their lives with a strong moral

code. This can be contrasted with other theological approaches that were implemented by other mission societies.

At the long running Methodist mission at Farmerfield in the Eastern Cape, for example, the missionaries had a different approach. Methodists believe that by doing good deeds and virtuous acts one can claim the Kingdom of God. That God's love is present in every human being and as such, is present in our everyday lives. So by living a life of cleanliness, piety and purity one can live in God's love on Earth. As Vernal (2012) states, the Methodist missionaries used simple but effective techniques, such as itinerant preaching, that of travelling around the country spreading the Word. The London Missionary Society was non-denominational but was formed by mostly Nonconformists and evangelical Anglicans, and it was a society without a strong uniform ideology (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Elbourne and Ross 1997).

What is apparent is that each of these missionary societies present in southern Africa, had their own world view which ultimately influenced the way they practiced religion, and in turn influenced the people they ministered to. They believed that their missionary activities could ultimately provide meaningful knowledge and change.

The first missionaries from the Berlin Mission Society were sent to Bethanie in the Orange Free State in 1834. Their influence spread to the Eastern Cape, where the mission station of Bethal was founded near Stutterheim in 1836. In 1850, the society decided to establish mission stations in Natal and Wartburg and Etembeni were founded as a result. During this period, the Orange Free State became the society's most successful area of outreach (Japha *et al* 1993). It was only in 1857, with the appointment of J.C. Wallman, an orthodox Lutheran, as Mission Director that missionaries were sent to the Transvaal for the first time. This interest in the Transvaal region continued when in 1865, T. Wangemann succeeded Wallman and he "took particular interest in

the development of the South African mission field and whose voluminous publications both testify to his zeal and remain an essential source for the history of the mission” in South Africa (Delius 1984:118). It is here in the Transvaal, that the Berlin Mission Society had its greatest successes and it is said, that by 1955 the Society had 73 mission stations and 1 069 outstations where they ministered to more than 111 000 African Christians (Scriba and Lislrud 1997).

### 1.1.2. Historical context.

When the Berlin missionaries expanded their activities into the Transvaal region they entered a complex social and political landscape. During this time, many communities were being dispersed within the interior of the country due to the instability caused by the *difaqane* and this, together with the Great Trek, the formation of the Boer Republics and the consequent arrival of the British, all led to a period of substantial turmoil (Boshoff 2004; Delius 1984).

#### 1.1.2.1 Twentieth century political landscapes.

The political landscape in the country at the time was problematic and difficult. The Great Trek took place from approximately 1836 to 1838, when a mass group of white farmers moved northwards from the Cape Colony. These farmers were entering areas that were volatile due to the consequences of the *difaqane* and its aftermath. These Voortrekker communities eventually settled in areas of Natal, between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers and also beyond the Vaal River and it is this region that became the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* (1852-1902) (Etherington *et al* 2012). The *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* (ZAR) was concentrated in three main centres. The first, near the town of Potchefstroom, the second near the town of Schoemansdal, at the foot of the Soutpansberg and the third around the town of Lydenburg in the east of the country. These areas were eventually combined in 1860 to form the ZAR, with Potchefstroom as its original capital

(Boshoff 2004). It is during this time of upheaval, and due to the continued resistance met by the missionaries in the Free State and the Eastern Cape, that the Berlin Mission Society decided to extend their missionary activities north of the Vaal River. It was however, customary for the missionaries to first obtain permission from Berlin before ministering to any of the groups found in the interior. The missionaries deliberated working with the Bapedi of Sekwati, the Ndebele in Swaziland or the Bakopa of Boleu. It was while waiting for this permission, that missionaries Alexander Merensky and Carl Heinrich Grützner first visited Sekwati of the Bapedi and were invited to start their ministry work in the area.

It was however, recommended by the Executive Council of the ZAR, that Merensky and Grützner only be allowed to minister among the Bakopa of Boleu. It is this decision that led to the establishment of the first mission station in the area at Gerlachshoop at Maleoskop in 1860 (Boshoff 2004). After the establishment of Gerlachshoop, the missionaries still looked to further extend their activities into Sekwati's territory and the Bapedi polity subsequently became the main focus of missionary effort by the Berlin Mission Society in the Transvaal. The first Berlin Mission Society missionaries to settle in this area were Alexander Merensky and Albert Nachtigal when they established their first mission station, Khalatlolu west of the Leolu Mountains in 1861. Then in 1863 and 1864, a further two mission stations were established – Phatametsane under the management of E. Endemann and the mission station of Ga Ratau, again under the supervision of Merensky (Delius 1984).

Further changes occurred within the interior, when Sekwati died in 1861 and his son, Sekhukhune, became chief of the Bapedi polity. When Sekhukhune gained power he began a process of reformation and during “the following thirty years the Bapedi society mustered sufficient strength to withstand Zulu, Swazi and Trekker attacks and the polity came to rival both

the South African Republic and the Swazi Kingdom as a focus of power and authority in the region” (Delius 1984:1). This resulted in Sekhukhune emerging as a military leader with a considerable reputation. At first he managed a good relationship with the missionaries already residing in the eastern Transvaal and so within the Bapedi polity. Sekhukhune benefited from their medical assistance and governing advice, especially with regard to the ZAR and their policies. The missionaries had originally been invited into the area by Sekwati, as his people had already encountered Christianity directly through meeting missionaries or through some other form of interaction with the Boer settlers in the area or through the migrant labourers they met in the Cape and Natal (Delius 1977). In a period where migrant labour was becoming the norm, political and economic stabilisation was needed, especially after the *difaqane*, and with the arrival of the Trekkers within the area. These early missionaries “provided potential succor and support for those who were or became in some way marginal in the society” (Delius 1984:112).

Within a few years of ascending to power, Sekhukhune became increasingly hostile towards both the converts in his polity and the missionaries, partly due to the lack of respect that they had for local rituals and customs. He saw converts as a “profound threat to the fabric of the society and to the basis of power and authority represented by Christians’ rejection of polygamy and brideswealth” (Delius 1984:116). This came to a head when Tlakale, a royal wife refused to adhere to Bapedi customs due to her Christian beliefs and her eventual baptism in 1864. This together with Sekhukhune’s dislike of his younger half-brother Kgalema (later Johannes) Dinkwanyane’s involvement with the Christians led to Sekhukhune’s dissatisfaction and eventual conflict with the converts and the missionaries within the polity. Due to this increasing hostility towards the missionaries and their converts, all three mission stations in Sekhukhuneland were abandoned by early 1866 (Delius 1984). By this time, Merensky had

already departed the area, with a group of converts under the leadership of Sekhukhune's brother, Johannes Dinkwanyane, in order to seek refuge in the ZAR. In addition, the Gerlachshoop station had been abandoned and some of the Bakopa converts from there had also gone to the ZAR under the leadership of Rammupudu (Delius 1984).

Due to the determination of the Berlin Mission Society to minister to these groups of converts, it was decided that Merensky should look for a farm to purchase in the ZAR that would provide a refuge for them. It was this farm that became the new mission station of Botshabelo.



Figure 1.2: Location of the Middelburg, Mpumalanga area.

Drawn by: C. Bruwer.

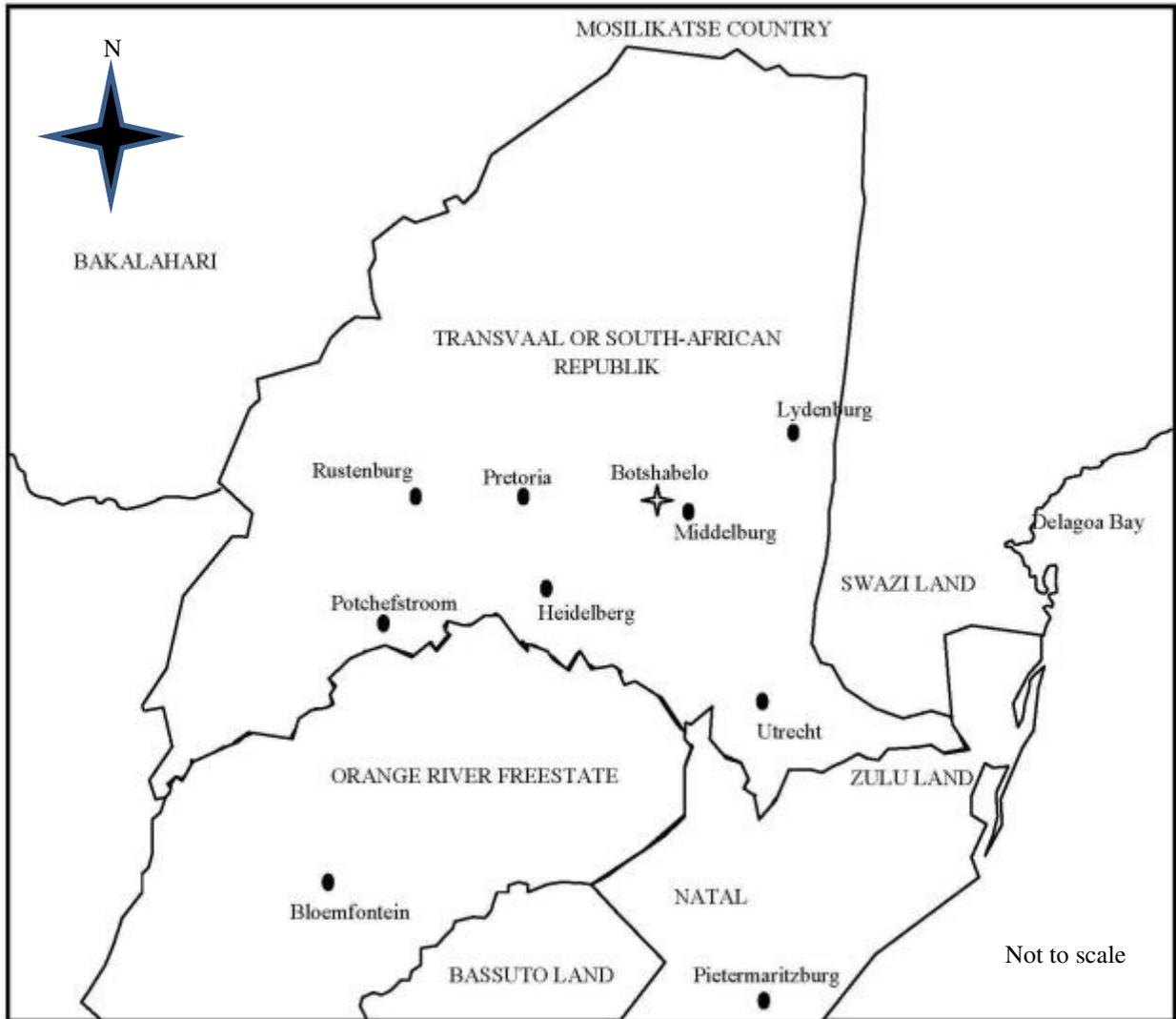


Figure 1.3: Botshabelo Mission Station relative to other major towns at the time of its establishment.

Drawn by: G. Booth.

Below is a table describing the chronology of events before, during and after the initial establishment of Botshabelo as a mission station in the area.

### 1.1.3 Chronology of the events before, during and after the establishment of Botshabelo:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>
1824	Berlin Mission Society is established.
1857	The first Berlin Mission Society missionaries are sent to the Transvaal.
1860	Establishment of Gerlachshoop mission station by Merensky and Grützner.
1861	Chief Sekwati of the Bapedi dies and Sekhukhune becomes chief.
1861	Merensky and Nachtigal settle in the Bapedi polity and establish first mission station at Khalatlolu.
1863/1864	Mission stations are established at Phatametsane and Ga Ratau.
1865	Botshabelo Mission Station is established near Middelburg.
1866	The three existing mission stations of Khalatlolu, Phatametsane and Ga Ratau are abandoned due to increasing hostilities in the interior.
1873	Johannes Dinkwanyane leaves Botshabelo with 335 followers to establish their own settlement.
1876	Relationships between the Bapedi polity and the local officials deteriorate and the 1876 War breaks out.
1878	Britain annexes the Transvaal.
1879	The Bapedi and the Zulu are defeated by the British.
1880-1881	The First Anglo-Boer War is fought with the British being victorious.
1882	Chief Sekhukhune is assassinated by his brother, Mampuru.
1884	The Transvaal becomes the <i>Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR)</i> .
1892	German missionary Johannes Winters and locally ordained ministers, such as Marthinus Sewuschane and some national helpers leave the BMS to establish the Lutheran Bapedi Church.
1899-1902	The South African War is fought between the Boers and the British.
1910	The ZAR becomes the Union of South Africa.
1914-1918	The First World War takes place and is the first truly global conflict.
1929	New National Party with Hertzog as leader comes into power in Union of South Africa.
1932	Coalition government formed between Smuts and Hertzog.
1939-1945	The Second World War takes place.
1948	System of <i>Apartheid</i> is implemented by the National Party.
1961	The Republic of South Africa is inaugurated.
1970	Botshabelo designated as a 'black spot' and forced removals ensue.
1994	Independence is realised for a free and democratic New South Africa.
2005	Land returned to land claimants, under the management of the Botshabelo Community Development Trust.
2015	Botshabelo Mission Station celebrates 150 years.

## 1.2 The historical background of Botshabelo Mission Station.

Alexander Merensky purchased the farm Boschhoek (now Toevlugt see Appendix 1) from Jan Abraham Joubert for 500 Prussian Thalers (The Transvaal Provincial Museum Service 1989) and co-founded the station with Carl Heinrich Grützner. The farm was located about ten kilometres north of Middelburg and was surrounded by unoccupied Boer farms, which Merensky would later purchase in his own name. As the Berlin Mission Society was not allowed corporate rights within the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* (ZAR), Botshabelo and all the subsequent land purchases were registered in Merensky's name (Delius 1984). Merensky and Grützner named their new mission station Botshabelo, meaning "place of refuge" in Sotho. The mission station is ideally situated in a valley with ample water, fertile soil and grazing due largely to the Klein Olifants River which runs through the property.

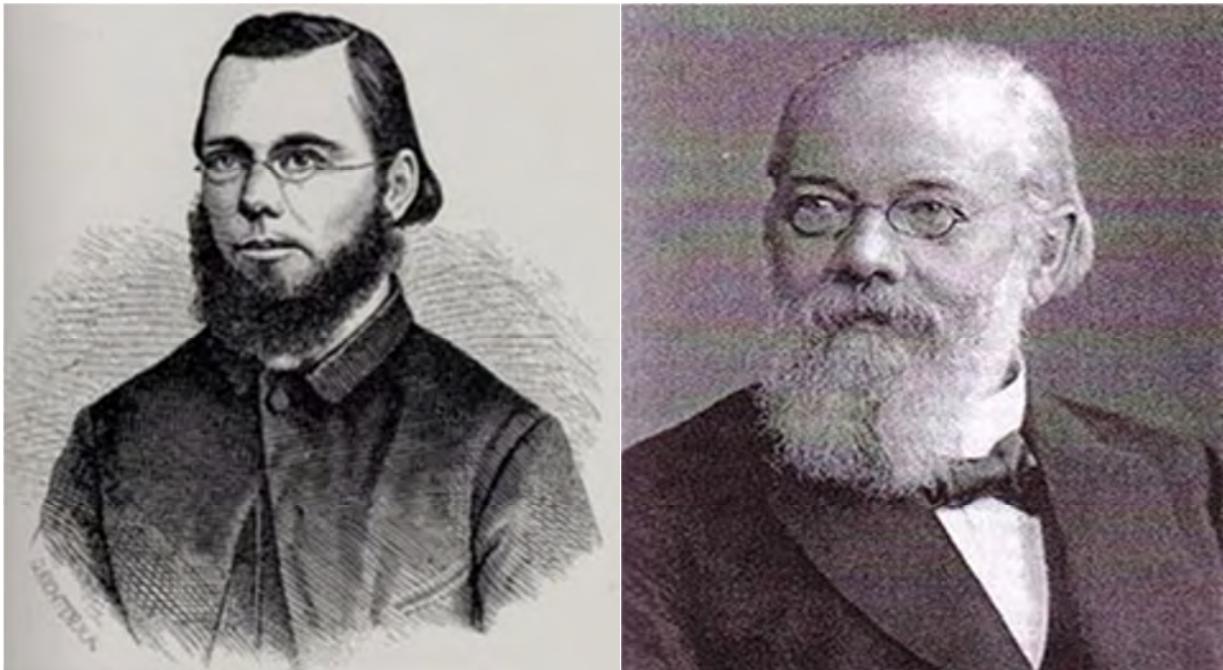


Figure 1.4: Alexander Merensky as a young (left) and older (right) man (Delius 1984; Google Images 2015).

Merensky records that he arrived at the farm with a group of dispossessed people from Sekhukhune's Bapedi polity where they joined a small group of Bakopa, who had already erected huts. These inhabitants had been living in the ZAR for some time, after fleeing the initial turmoil of the interior. Merensky describes how, during this time of establishment, the Bakopa assisted in quickly building many huts to provide safe shelter for those living at the fledgling mission station. After building a rudimentary mission house and church, he decided it was of great importance to erect a fort for protection. The fort was named Fort Wilhelm. In Merensky (1899)<sup>1</sup>, he states how this fort "resembled a peasant's fortification". Merensky (1899:224 as translated by J. Stone 1992) further laments that,

alas, being surrounded by enemies, we had to sacrifice all plans of spacious roads and beautiful settlement layout because of our security. This restriction, which had determined the native's form of village planning since olden times, had to do for us as well, and force us to erect the houses of those living in the plain as closely as possible.

The plain referred to in the quote is the area that is now known as the *Motse*. In figure 1.4 below, the *Motse* can be found on the flat, open grass plain, approximately one kilometre from the main mission complex. The remains of the mission village with its houses and stonewalled enclosures can clearly be seen leading off from the mission station's main road and over the small Keerom stream. The graveyard can be found in the far south of the site. The villages on the plain were positioned between the rocky outcrop in the south and the swampy area near the spruit in the north. It is said, that the Bakopa were the first to live in this locale and were

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<sup>1</sup> The English translation to Merensky's 1899 biography was provided by Jon Stone of the Department of Architecture, University of the Witwatersrand in 1992, as part of a Conservation Policy for Botshabelo by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) (Le Roux *et al* 2001). I have correlated the English translated sections to the relevant German, and as such, Merensky's book is used for referencing purposes.

allocated land downstream which they regarded as being very satisfactory. The Bapedi received land to the east near the Keerom stream (Mminele 1983).



Figure 1.5: A recent satellite image of the Botshabelo Mission Station complex. See discussion in Chapter 3.

(Image from *Google Earth* retrieved 2017).

Merensky (1899:230 as translated by J. Stone) did not get involved in land allocation but left the respective chiefs to distribute the land as he believed that,

if people manage as heathens to cut up the land peacefully according to the needs of the families, they would do it even better as Christians, and held it to be of greater use, under the circumstances, for me to abide by their customs.

Solomon Mminele (1983) who wrote about the history of Botshabelo as an education institution, notes that the Bakopa were allowed to settle on the farm only if their chief, Rammupudu would

be compliant to the authority of the *Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek*. One of the conditions was that they were allowed to maintain their identity as a “tribe” but were not allowed to provide protection to any enemies of the Republic. The Bapedi Christian refugees, on the other hand were placed under the personal responsibility of Merensky and “were not recognised as an organised tribe” by the Republic (Mminele 1983:29).

As mentioned previously, at its establishment the mission station only had a small church and temporary living quarters. Slowly over time, a parsonage and other more permanent buildings were constructed, together with a much larger church and for many years this 1873 church was the largest church in the Transvaal Province. These buildings, together with the school established in 1871, were all constructed using tenant and seminarian labour, those living and studying at Botshabelo, as seen in figure 1.5 (Delius 1984; Mminele 1983).

Botshabelo became an important educational centre in the area, with the establishment of a German School and training facilities for catechists and evangelists and by the late nineteenth century Botshabelo was a self-sustaining mission village, which “grew to be the most successful and noteworthy of all the Berlin Society Transvaal mission stations” (Japha *et al* 1993:19). The mission station also experienced a rapid increase in population and indeed by 1880, only 15 years after the mission station’s establishment, there were already 1480 inhabitants, of which 1213 were converted and by 1882 the numbers grew to 1700 inhabitants of which 1475 were baptised (Merensky 1899).



Figure 1.6: Seminarians working at Botshabelo Mission Station (Photo from the Hoffmann Collection: 624scr\_950fcf5e55b21). Date unknown.

Alexander Merensky left the mission station in the 1880s, to pursue other duties in East Africa and this ultimately led to a change in the way Botshabelo was managed and organised (Poewe and van der Heyden 1999). He was succeeded by Carl Theodor Nauhaus in 1883, who inherited custodianship of Botshabelo at a time when it was in a precarious position due to Merensky's involvement in Transvaal politics. Merensky had been very critical of the Transvaal government and when he was appointed by the British as Justice of the Peace for the Middelburg District, the ZAR government had lost confidence in him (Mminele 1983).

As pointed out before, education was of great importance for these missionaries and they carried on with this pursuit even though at times this was difficult. Their educational activities were

consistently interrupted by various periods of unrest and war. As Mminele (1983:135) states, during the period 1879 to 1902, “the missionaries at Botshabelo managed to remain dedicated to providing education to those at the mission station, even during the collapse of the Bapedi polity and two Anglo-Boer Wars”. One of the important accomplishments of the mission station occurred in 1906, when a training institution was finally founded for the training of teachers and Botshabelo’s educational endeavors continued. As Pakendorf (1997:265) states, “as comprehensive as its undertaking was in building schools and providing education, concentrated largely on primary schools; whatever further education was offered was mostly intended for training of the mission’s own evangelists and teachers”. It must, however be remembered that even though education was significant, it would not be subservient to the religious and spiritual responsibilities of the missionaries.

In 1910, South Africa became a Union and the social and political landscape started to change again. During this period, Botshabelo was a self-sufficient institution caught up in the transformations happening within South Africa. Due to the changes occurring within the country and particularly the internal politics of the time, the social and political landscape became increasingly complicated due to all the different groups found within South African society. By 1914, this became even more problematic, as the Union decided to enter the First World War for Britain. As Nasson (2014) asserts, the atrocities of the South African War still resonated within the country and it was widely believed by certain South Africans, that Germany should be prevented from executing similar war time acts against the people of France and Belgium. This decision also had implications for the German citizens living in South Africa, including the missionaries of Botshabelo (Nasson 2014). Due to the circumstances following the First World

War, Botshabelo was closed as a mission station from 1916 to 1926 however, the residents of the mission village remained during this period (Mminele 1983).

Unfortunately, a consequence of becoming a Union in 1910 was a movement in South Africa towards creating a political and social order systematically based on racial segregation (Freund 2012). One of the main causes for this is that the Nationalist Party broke away from the Unionist Party in 1913, and they started introducing a policy where black South Africans could be administered and suppressed (Posel 2012). This policy became most noticeable with regards to land and land ownership. In 1913, the Land Act was instituted and this formed the foundation for the geographical separation of people within the country. Events came to a head in 1929, after a decade of labour conflict, when the New National Party under the leadership of Hertzog came into power and started demanding independence from Britain (Freund 2012).

Until the outbreak of the Second World War, political power ebbed and flowed until a coalition government was formed between the Nationalist and Unionist Parties. This however, came to an end when Hertzog of the Nationalist Party did not want to support Britain again during this war. South Africa still entered the war in 1939, however, under Jan Smuts as Prime Minister. By the end of the war in 1945, South Africa had become more industrialised, which led to an increase in global economic prosperity for the country. Unfortunately, at this time not much changed in the policy affecting black South Africans, which only worsened in the years to come (Posel 2012).

### 1.2.1 Impact of *Apartheid* on land-ownership and education.

By 1948, even though South Africa was still part of the British Commonwealth, the country had become more autonomous, partly due to the gradual decline of Britain after the war, and partly due to the implications of its own economic development (Freund 2012). By this time, the

country started changing its internal policies and amended legislation and government programmes, as imposed by the National Party government in power. By the early 1950s, the country entered a political and social phase dominated by the policy of *Apartheid*. This policy was gradually being implemented and “was aimed at displacing blacks and replacing them with whites in all the more attractive niches of employment. This left teaching and preaching as virtually the only avenues of white-collar employment open to educated blacks” (Bonner 2012:294). Among the important reactions to this political and social change was the continued conversion to Christianity, followed by the separation from mission churches and the formation of indigenous African Zionist Churches (Bonner 2012). Some of the reasons for this eventual separation was the strict governance of the mission stations by the missionaries and the African pastors, not recognising the abilities of the converted, as well as, “delayed ordinations; low pay; lack of ownership of churches and schools that helpers and their congregations built; confusion by helpers of self-maintenance, which missions wanted, with self-rule, which helpers wanted” (Poewe and van der Heyden 1999:23). This was not a new phenomenon for the Berlin Mission Society, as in 1892, Johannes Winter (a BMS missionary) left the mission society in order to establish his own congregation with some of the African pastors and national helpers. Winter was so respected that he was asked by the African national helpers to leave with them. Due to his close interaction with the local African community that he ministered to, this brought about a change in his theology. He had a theology that was about love and capitulation, which was somewhat different from the Lutheran theology of studying and governing and organizing which is the very essence of pietism (Poewe and van der Heyden 1999). As Ruether (2002:378) notes, due to the fact that the Berlin missionaries were not really interested in the politics of the time, this eventually led to “striking cultural consequences, as Christians used their new faith to express diverse social aspirations”.

The new policy of *Apartheid* also had major implications for African education within the country and for Botshabelo as a mission station. Prior to 1948, African education was primarily furnished by missionaries at mission schools. However, these schools were deemed by Hendrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs at the time, as having “provided an inappropriately Western, liberal education aimed at an African elite” (Posel 2012:339). Urban churches and missionary movements continued to play a significant role in African education until the implementation of “the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953, which had a major impact on mission stations occupied by Africans all over the country. Many of these schools were founded on mission stations, such as Botshabelo, to service the people who lived in their surrounds, for instance the residents of the *Motse* or for those living further afield (Japha *et al* 1993). Verwoerd envisaged a new system of mass education with a ceiling placed on the level of knowledge and skill and in terms of the Bantu Education Act, all educational institutions were to be racially segregated (Elphick 2012; Japha *et al* 1993; Mager and Mulaudzi 2012; Posel 2012). This had a substantial impact on mission based African education and the African teaching profession all over the country. At this time, the Berlin Mission Society still believed that it was important to understand and study the indigenous culture and language, yet when the Bantu Education Act was implemented, they stated few objections against it (Elphick 2012). The reason for this could be their approach towards the spiritual, that is their religious life and that of the secular or external world, in this case the National Party government. The Lutheran Church makes a very clear distinction between the spiritual and the secular authority in what has become known as the “Two Kingdoms” philosophy. The missionaries accordingly took the stance not to be involved in the politics of the country (Nygen 2002; Pakendorf 1997).

As the new Education Act gained momentum, all government financial subsidies to the mission schools were terminated by 1957, and many mission stations had to sell or lease their land and schools to the government. At this stage, even members of the Berlin Mission Society were in agreement that the mission schools were “placing [an] intolerable financial burden on missions” and that these schools were merely serving a purpose of practicality and were “no longer needed for the Christianization of Africa” (Elphick 2012:296). This led to the Berlin Mission Society slowly withdrawing from South Africa due to financial and political reasons. Events further escalated in 1961, for those living at Botshabelo and the *Motse*, when South Africa gained its independence from Britain and became a Republic the country became even more regulated. For an African person everything in everyday life was governed by “permits and passes or by public prohibitions and prescriptions. All African nationalist organisations were banned in order for the government to retain control of their ideologies and policies” (Posel 2012:347). Being policed at all times led to frustration and bitterness, which in turn led to sporadic occurrences of violence and resistance.

Botshabelo Mission Station and the *Motse* were directly affected by two types of racial legislation; legislation relating to the occupation of land, and legislation relating to the provision of education and health services to black South Africans (Japha *et al* 1993). It was legislation, such as the Land Act of 1913 and the amended Land Act of 1936, “which consolidated the division of South Africa into areas designated for white and black occupation” and which finally determined the methods for the forced removals (Japha *et al* 1993:40). Mission stations were only affected by these forced removals from 1969, even though widespread removals were already happening all over the country, such as in District 6 in Cape Town and Sofiatown in Johannesburg. During this period, population or forced removals were enforced under the

auspices of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which was designed to separate designated residential areas based on racial occupation (Posel 2012).

Botshabelo, together with the *Motse* was officially designated a “black spot” in 1970 and the people of the *Motse* were forcibly removed in 1972. A “black spot” can be described as an area of land or a property, where black South Africans lived in what the National Government regarded as white South Africa (Japha *et al* 1993). Several of the houses of the *Motse* were bulldozed during the removals, and as reported in a newspaper article from *THE STAR JOHANNESBURG* (Monday August 28, 1972) “the last 200 African families living at Botshabelo have left and have been resettled at Motetema homeland near Groblersdal”.

In 1978, the Municipality of Middleburg bought the mission station for the purpose of developing the area for tourism. Part of the land was developed into a game reserve. It was eventually in 1983, that the last residents who still lived in the intact houses found in the *Motse* were moved to new houses elsewhere on the property (TPMS 1989).

The brochure produced by the Staff of the Botshabelo Museum (1989:1) summarised Botshabelo Mission Station as:

an important and influential centre where the Gospel was proclaimed among Black peoples; where Black and White received education and training and where commerce and industry were practiced. Seen against the background of its origins, Botshabelo was also a significant centre for German culture. A good many of the people that emerged from here have left their mark on the history of South Africa.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that Botshabelo has had a challenging but remarkable history within the South African landscape and that the collection of houses found in the *Motse* is a little known part of this history and should therefore be studied.

### 1.3 Outline of dissertation:

In the following chapter, this research project is discussed in the context of the archaeology of the contemporary past, exploring the themes of historical and mission archaeology, together with that of household archaeology and the archaeology of consumption. It is also in this chapter, that the theoretical approaches are assessed.

In Chapter Three, the history of the spatial organisation of the *Motse* as reconstructed through the analysis of documentary, pictorial and cartographic sources is discussed, so as to situate the *Motse* in its historic setting. The first part of the field work, that is, the survey is also presented.

Chapter Four describes the excavations carried out at two of the houses found in the *Motse* and their associated middens. It is this material culture recovered during the excavations that has been analysed as discussed in Chapter Five. The analysis of the glass, ceramics and the buttons, together with some of the other household artefacts found during excavations are described, explained and illustrated.

In Chapter Six, a discussion of the findings of this research project are examined in the context of the household, the architecture and the spatial organisation of the *Motse*, especially within a framework of the archaeology of the contemporary past. The final chapter presents the conclusions reached and provides a brief discussion on the future of mission stations such as Botshabelo.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORICAL/CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGY FRAMEWORK OF THE MOTSE.**

Researchers have provided an array of historical studies of mission stations and missionaries, but little is known about southern African mission stations archaeologically, as there have been relatively few archaeological studies carried out on these sites. Worldwide, such research is generally situated within the archaeological approaches concerned with understanding processes of European colonisation and post-colonial material culture (Orser 2004; Renfrew and Bahn 2009).

### **2.1 A brief introduction to historical archaeology and the archaeology of the contemporary past.**

The people who lived in the *Motse* were by all accounts ordinary people living normal everyday lives, using normal everyday material objects. It is these everyday material objects that James Deetz, called the ‘small things forgotten’ that are central to this research (Deetz 1996). But what is historical archaeology? A popular definition of historical archaeology is “the archaeology of the spread of European cultures throughout the world since the fifteenth century, and their impact on and interaction with the cultures of indigenous peoples” (Deetz 1996:5). This definition is not the most suitable and can be problematic, as it is very restricting in its approach, both in time and space. So, a more modern definition of historical archaeology can be described as follows: “a multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the “post-prehistoric” past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life” (Orser 2004:19). This definition is also somewhat awkward, as it also focuses on a certain period, that of the “post-prehistoric” past, and unfortunately, reference to the multidisciplinary qualities of historical archaeology is somewhat lacking. Of importance to Orser’s definition is that it highlights the nature of historical

archaeology as global. Jeppson (2005:80) identifies that historical archaeological research “in the global perspective becomes more about the study of, and the interaction between, new inhabitants, indigenous peoples, their descendants, and the changing landscape”. Historical archaeology is therefore global in scope and interdisciplinary in nature (Jeppson 2005). Historical archaeology is relevant to this project because it encompasses every scale from the smallest household artefact to the global historical description of the Berlin Mission Society. This framework aids in the interpretation of these different narratives and so finds meaning through the study of material culture together with history and ethnography.

This places historical archaeologists in a unique position to situate everyday material culture relative to the larger undertakings of colonialism and consumption. That being said, it becomes important when studying “the societies and events of the last 500 years of southern African history, [that] we do not seek to privilege that period of time most commonly associated with the rise and expansion of European colonialism, but rather to acknowledge that it is a period of time most relevant to an understanding of contemporary society” (Behrens and Swanepoel 2008:25).

So, in summary, historical archaeology is consequently, the study of people and their societies through the associated use of documentary sources, oral histories and ethnography and the analysis of associated material culture remains (see Deagan 1982; Deetz 1996; Fagan 2001; Little 1992; Orser 2004). So, by applying historical archaeology and its methodologies, a better understanding of the daily lives and the households of the people who lived in the village of the *Motse* in the recent past can be gained. With regards to the research on the *Motse*, there are various other sources available, apart from excavation and its associated artefacts, to assist in pulling together the narrative of Botshabelo, such as photographs, maps, various historical documents, together with the buildings and the relevant landscape.

In addition, the research carried out on the houses of the *Motse* and its associated material culture is situated within what some archaeologists have come to call the “archaeology of the contemporary past/world”, because excavated assemblages date to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (see Belford 2014; Flexner 2014; González-Ruibal 2014; Harrison 2011). This framework provides an opportunity to apply archaeology to the study of the more recent past. Contemporary archaeology is more than just the study of human origins and cultures, or the focus on particular time periods, this type of archaeology can be used successfully to study material culture belonging to and occurring in the present (Harris 2011), for example, the excavated material from the households of the *Motse*. Contemporary archaeology can assist in understanding the processes - social, political, economic and religious - associated with the modern world. It is also these issues, which unite or divide people within communities. It is along these lines that the archaeology of the contemporary past aims to study the contemporary world; from post-1918 to the present. The history of Botshabelo and the *Motse* in particular, has been contradictory and political, and as archaeology is inherently and inevitably political in nature, the past cannot be isolated from the present. Benford (2014:3) expands on this theme and views archaeology as part of “a continuum which stretches forwards and backwards”.

The archaeology of the contemporary past has at its core an interpretive approach in that it examines the relationship between material culture and human experiences in the context of the contemporary (Lamb 2004). This archaeology can assist historical archaeologists to simultaneously focus and concentrate on the connections between present processes and those of the recent past. As a result, archaeology can be applied to assist in explaining and understanding the lives of the everyday people through their associated material culture. This is also true of the residents of the *Motse*, whose lives were evidently not important enough to be comprehensively

documented within the various historical documents relating to Botshabelo and the mission station as a whole. Archaeology, is thus a means of making “the past more accessible and egalitarian, to recover lost, subaltern voices and in a way to close the distance between the past and the present” (Harrison 2011:141).

Below is a discussion of the various bodies of literature within a broader historical archaeology relevant to the study of the *Motse*, that of mission archaeology, household archaeology and the archaeology of consumption.

## 2.2 Mission archaeology.

It is necessary to place the archaeology of mission stations and the research on the *Motse* within the context of other global mission contexts. There have been numerous and diverse studies undertaken in various parts of the world, such as in the Americas ( Deagan 2012; Graham 1998), the Caribbean (Lenik 2011), Australia (Lydon 2005, 2009) and New Zealand (Middleton 2008, 2014).

An early and still significant study within this sub-field is that of Elizabeth Graham (1998) and her review of the various research projects undertaken in the Americas at the time. Graham (1998:25) concentrated on the archaeological research of mission sites in the Spanish-occupied territories of North America and Mayan Mesoamerica. By using archaeology and its methodologies, Graham tries to explain “the role that Christian missions and missionaries played in the European displacement of indigenous peoples in the Americas”. These missions were also predominately managed and financed by the Catholic Church, and this is evident in the extensive architecture of these Spanish mission stations in the New World. Another study of interest here is that of Kathleen Deagan (2012), where she and her associates from the University of Florida

used data and information recorded from 75 years of archaeological investigation carried out on the site of the Spanish Nombre de Dios Mission/La Leche Shrine in St. Augustine, Florida in the United States. Deagan undertook new excavations during 2009 and 2011, focusing primarily on the Chapel of La Leche and its occupational levels from pre-Columbian through the early Spanish colonial occupation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, concentrating on the mission occupation period through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicating that the local residents and the missionaries resided together at the mission station by this period. Deagan's research aims to understand and so interpret the development of the occupation and mission activity at the site (Deagan 2012).

In Australia, mission archaeology is a fairly new field. Jane Lydon and Jeremy Ash (2010:1) discuss the need to make these missions key places in the history of the "colonial contact in many settler-societies". They argue that mission stations in Australia should not be seen only as having positive or negative effects on the Aboriginal people. Attention should rather be placed on the fact that these mission stations assisted these communities by providing refuge from conflict, that is, they were places of control but also places where new cultures emerged (Lydon and Ash 2010).

Lydon's (2009) study of the Moravian Mission Station of Ebenezer in southeastern Victoria is important here. Her research concentrated primarily on the mission-house, as this building was seen as a symbol of order and authority. However, through excavation and the examination of the documentary sources, pertaining to this fairly successful mission station, the limitations of the missionaries' management system together with "their ongoing battle to maintain control over the residents, and the relative mobility and freedom of many residents" became apparent (Lydon 2009:16).

With regard to the field of mission archeology here in southern Africa, it is relatively under investigated. To date the research done on mission stations has been mainly focused on historical, anthropological and/or architectural themes (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Delius 1981; Japha *et al* 1993, Kirkaldy 2005; Pakendorf 1997; Vernal 2009/2012). The most notable of the anthropological studies is that of the Comaroffs' whose thorough anthropological research illustrated the encounter between the British missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Tswana (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). Peter Delius's (1981) detailed research of the Bapedi, Alan Kirkaldy's (2005) examination of the Berlin missionaries among the Vhavenda and Fiona Vernal's (2009/2012) study of the Farmerfield Mission Station and its African Christian community on the troubled Eastern Cape Frontier are all significant examples of the type of historical analyses of the mission field.

In contrast, however, there has been relatively little archaeological research carried out on the various mission sites within southern Africa (but see Ashley 2010; Boshoff 2004; Clift 2001; Humphreys 1989; Jeppson 2005; Reid *et al* 1997).

Mission archaeology focuses on the archaeology of a range of mission sites, which can include shedding light on the process of Christianisation by examining the material culture of mission sites and the people who used to live on the site and who interacted with missionaries (Clift 2001; Lydon 2009). Other themes include the study of settlement patterns with regards to space and social contact (Lenik 2011; Lydon 2009; Lydon and Burns 2010; Panich *et al* 2014), as well as missionaries and culture contact and interaction (Ashley 2011; Clift 2001; Graham 1998; Lane 1999; Smith 2014). Archaeology attempts to understand mission sites through the study of the material culture and spatially ordered remains left behind by these communities, such as that of the *Motse*, thus giving added insights into the narratives of the past. Archaeology provides a

basis for the investigation, understanding and evaluation of relevant historical sources through excavation and analysis. As the lives and the material remains of the everyday were not readily documented, archaeological research can contribute in completing the broader representation of the everyday. This being said, the “collaboration between historians and archaeologists can greatly enrich our understanding of complex social processes in the past and together they represent a formidable reassessment of a number of the orthodoxies in South African archaeology, anthropology and history” (Delius and Marks 2012:251).

The various studies carried out in southern Africa include, the research conducted by Ceri Ashley (2011) on the London Mission Society Lake Ngami Station found in the Khwebe Hills of northern Botswana, as part of a project on the archaeology of migrations in Africa. The intention of the study was “to explore the dynamics of human mobility and in particular the relationship between host and immigrant communities” (Ashley 2011:36). Reid and his colleagues also excavated in Botswana, where they investigated the Tswana and their responses to colonialism, especially pertaining to their architecture together with the “political, military, economic and/or religious control of one society over another” (Reid *et al* 1997:370).

Humphreys (1989) in his study describes Genadendal Mission Station in the Western Cape, as an archaeological setting within the Chainoqua territory of the Khoikhoi. Harriet Clift (2001) provided further archaeological data in her research, where she explored the ideas of cultural contact at Genadendal Mission Station, specifically with regards to the Khoekhoen inhabitants. This Moravian mission station was the first mission station to be established in South Africa in 1737 and it was here that the first European missionary intervention with indigenous lifestyles took place. Clift’s (2001:v) research was to find “evidence of the Khoekhoen who lived at the mission during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and to explore the ways in which

Khoekhoe communities interacted with mission establishments as a means of reinventing themselves in a changing world”. The Khoekhoen were a nomadic people who would arrive at the mission station for short periods of time and only during certain seasons depending on their migration.

In the Eastern Cape, Patrice L. Jeppson (2005: iii) “drew on ceramic assemblages from the Farmerfield Mission Station in order to draw up a model of identity formation based on comparative research from a variety of contexts” and in Gauteng, Willem Boshoff (2004) conducted excavations at Gerlachshoop Mission Station found north of the Vaal River. It was this mission station that would eventually lead in part to the establishment of the Botshabelo Mission Station.

It has been maintained that by 1911, “southern Africa had become one of the most intensively worked mission fields in the world. There were 693 mission stations in southern Africa, including Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe” (Japha et al 1993:21). So, what is evident from the above case studies and the limited amount of research accomplished to date is that, mission archeology offers the opportunity to explore the responses and adaptations imposed on the indigenous inhabitants of these missions found across southern Africa. These mission stations can take many different physical forms, and they range from a “few simple structures; in others there were large settlements, with many houses and relatively elaborate civic buildings” such as those found at Botshabelo Mission Station (Japha *et al* 1993:1).

### 2.3 Household archaeology

Relevant to the research on the houses of the *Motse*, is the increasing scholarship on household archaeology. Wilke and Rathje first introduced the term household archaeology in a publication

for the *American Behavioral Scientist* in 1982. Wilke and Rathje (1982:618) define “the household as the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group”. It is by excavating these households and analysing the associated material culture, that a clearer picture of who and how these people lived emerges. Household archaeology can thus be an efficient unit of analysis. However, the studying of these houses alone produces a limited view of those living in them. It is here, that household archaeology is in a special position to assist in developing a better understanding of the household structure. It assists in trying to understand the relationships between people within a social unit, the relationship between these people and their material belongings and their relationship with the world. Household archeology can thus focus on the lived experience (Allison 1998; Hodge and Gallagher 2010; Panich *et al* 2014).

There have been various definitions of the household as the field has developed. These include that of Nesta Anderson (2004:111) who maintains that “a household is a person or a group of people who live together in one or more structures, who carry out daily activities necessary for the maintenance and social reproduction of the group within a specific space associated with the residence, who interacts with other households”. Hendon (1996:48), defines “the household as a task-focused group that conducts many of its activities within a specific kind of physical setting”, what is known as a dwelling unit, which includes the indoor and outdoor space in which people live. Souvatzi (2014:241) describes the household as “the shared performance of a sphere of practices consisting minimally of production, distribution, consumption, transmission, and social reproduction”.

In the past, studies were dominated by investigations that focused purely on architectural remains to describe household behaviour and the household and its material culture was seen as being

inconsequential but, as Penelope M. Allison (1999:2) mentions, household archaeology has the ability to provide “a fuller understanding of changing domestic behaviour through a critical analysis of the complete record of household material culture – the house, its contents and their spatial relationships”. Mary C. Beaudry states that archaeologists should excavate these household sites in a way that they can make “persuasive links between the life history of sites – stratigraphic sequences and site formation processes – and episodes of household status, upheaval, and transformation” (Beaudry 2004:254). What becomes evident, with regard to these definitions, is that household archeology at its centre concerns itself with how people lived and how their households were organised. Households can thus, produce a unique perspective on understanding the past. By studying these units, information on issues such as status, production and consumption can be examined together with larger themes such as gender, identity and ethnicity, for instance (Pluckhahn 2010; Prossor *et al* 2012). Another aspect of household archeology is that it can provide a framework for comparative analysis, such as that attempted here on two households of the *Motse*. As Pluckhahn (2010:332) remarks, “an advantage to studying the household is that it is a more discrete and definable unit of analysis than larger and more permeable social formations such as community or polity”. By studying the houses and the households of the *Motse*, a comparative study can emerge focusing on the architectural design and settlement layout, as well as, the differences between the material cultures of these households.

Julia Hendon (1996:46) offers another perspective here, in that “all households in a society may be charged with the same basic tasks and interact with the same physical and social environment. But they do not necessarily respond in the same way to external conditions or organise themselves in the same way”. The residents of Botshabelo and the *Motse* were not living in

isolation; they were part of a greater society. This is important especially with respect to the social, political and economic relationships between the converts who lived in the houses of the *Motse* and the missionaries who managed the Botshabelo Mission Station and later, with regard to the residents that stayed to make this village home. As previously mentioned, the Berlin Mission Society sent missionaries to convert the indigenous population in various regions of South Africa. The relationship between the missionaries and the converts was volatile and wavered between submissiveness and resistance. An example of this was that the converts received religious and educational instruction from the missionaries but they also had to provide physical labour and rents to the mission station in return. Botshabelo was a successful enterprise in many respects that benefited both the missionaries and the residents of the mission station. The relationship between the missionaries and their converts and families was a complex one and had social, political and economic implications. The mission environment and its population were not static. There would be people arriving and departing, as well as still others participating in the migrant labour systems (Delius 1981; Etherington 1976).

These households and their activities were therefore, not separate from what was happening in and around them at the mission station; they were just another aspect of it (Spencer-Wood 2004; Wood 2004). The residents of the *Motse* were not isolated from society; they were part of the social, political and economic aspects of the mission station as a whole and the broader *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek* (ZAR) society and later, as part of a changing South Africa. Therefore, it can be said, that there are interconnections between household and larger political and economic processes.

Another aspect of household theory and research is that of power dynamics. It is through archaeological comparative studies, their spatial relationships and household material culture that these power dynamics can be investigated (Spencer-Wood 2004).

Since settlement layout is an important characteristic of household archaeology, space becomes an important factor. As Robin and Rothschild (2002:161) argue “archaeologists have demonstrated that space is not simply a passive backdrop for action, but is socially constructed and constitutive of social relations”. They believe that space retains the history and the memory imprinted on it by the people inhabiting it through time.

Household archaeology is therefore in a position to investigate and expose the most primary and intimate activities that take place in the home and by analysing the material culture of specified households, a better understanding of the daily lives of the residents of the *Motse* can be grasped.

#### 2.4 The archaeology of consumption.

Another applicable body of work to the investigation of the *Motse* is that of the archaeology of consumption. As Paul Mullins (2004:195) asserts, archaeology is again in the unique position to “confront the multivalent meaning of goods, probe the ideological roots of material symbolism, and emphasize that even the most commonplace objects provide insight into meaningful social struggles”. The development of consumption as a field of study is partially due to the Industrial Revolution, the growth of capitalism and the shifting from a self-sufficient producer-consumer to a totally modern consumer based household (Orser 2004). This perspective is fairly new, as many are not really interested in the histories of acquisition and consumption of mundane material goods. Usually, when these material goods are studied, they are viewed first and foremost economically. It was important to realise, that these material goods could be

researched within the social context and the understanding of complex social relationships, such as those relationships found within the context of mission stations (Birgit 1997; Groover 2014).

There are a collection of archaeological studies that can be defined as being rooted in the archaeology of consumption. Either through research focused on how people acquire and convey their understanding of goods with regards to their social, cultural and historical backgrounds or research concentrating on the symbolic meanings of things (Cipolla 2015; Groover 2005; Meyer 1997; Mullins 2004, 2011). Historical archaeology can provide an insight in recognising the similarities and differences of how commodities are consumed across time and space (Mullins 2011).

An interesting aspect of the archaeology of consumption is that of how people gain a sense of empowerment through material goods. Consumption can empower people and should be seen as more than just a process that “displays social status, evokes ethnicity, exhibits gender, or confirms other essential identities” (Mullins 2011:135). This concept is represented within the multifaceted relationship found between the missionaries and the residents of Botshabelo and the *Motse*. Mission stations, such as Botshabelo, have added to the development of the country and, by converting the local population and changing their customs and traditions have produced modern consumers. Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) explore these issues through their anthropological work. They argue that missionaries were vital to the process of colonisation, not through politics but through their subtle colonisation of lifeways and practice. The Comaroffs use a “material culture” framework to analyse the way the missionaries changed and transformed indigenous practices and beliefs. They focus on materiality and so introduce their European ideas of order, modesty and civilisation. The missionaries measured their successes by the notable changes seen, in particular, in the architecture and settlement patterns of the villages

surrounding the mission stations. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society, for example, wanted to “recast Tswana patterns of consumption” through changes in clothing habits, changes in architecture, interiority and domesticity (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997:218). Missionaries were ultimately and intimately involved in the colonial processes occurring within southern Africa. It must, however, be realised that it is more difficult to assess the religious beliefs of the converted than it is to analyse the aesthetic changes, such as architecture, clothing and the use of everyday cultural material (see also Birgit 1997; Clift 2001).

But this was a double-edged sword, as missionaries wanted the converts to follow what they believed to be a proper way of living by being more westernised, but were also worried that the new consumption habits would lead to materialism rather than just fulfilling basic needs. As Birgit (1997:329) remarks, the attitude the missionaries had towards consumption was that it was a means to an end, “it was a vehicle for the construction of a new, modern and ‘civilized’ identity”. The fact is consumption played a vital part in conversion. So, by using archaeological data from various households, a better understanding of the patterns of consumption can emerge. The analysis of such material culture can place the residents of the *Motse* and their households within the larger social, economic and political historical context at the regional level. As consumers, these individuals were making consumer choices “tempered by their own individual experiences, desires and opportunities” (Sweitz 2012:288). As industrial material goods, such as food and household items became readily available, these items became more affordable, especially at the turn of the century. This caused consumption of such goods to rise especially among the lower income classes and a mass market began to emerge.

So, by studying the usage of such everyday objects, such as glass and ceramics, information on diet, gender, literacy and status can be discerned, as well as the way people see themselves and

their place in society (Licence 2015). This can be said of the residents of the *Motse*, as most of the excavated material culture for this research project can be situated within the twentieth century. By this period the residents had formed their own identities and the missionaries were no longer attempting to influence the mission station population into a westernised way of life. These residents of the *Motse* were part of an emerging consumer class within South Africa, as well as, trying to find their position in a country undergoing political change.

As can be seen from the above discussions, archaeological material from the households of the *Motse* can assist in the understanding of consumption patterns, as well as, household relationships within the contemporary past.

### 2.5 Theoretical perspectives: Botshabelo and the *Motse*.

As discussed in the previous sections, the research on the *Motse* is set within an historical/contemporary archaeology framework. The aim of the study is to refine the chronology of material changes in this area of the mission station through the analysis of material and documentary sources and to look at the daily life through the lens of the excavated deposits.

The Botshabelo Mission Complex, including the *Motse*, was established as a self-contained community, which gradually increased in size by successful agricultural practices and social services of which education and health were the most important (Japha *et al* 1993). This was not easy, as the Berlin Mission Society had restricted financial support, which meant that these missionaries had to manage the mission station to produce and manufacture their own materials and products, which ultimately led the mission station to become fairly self-sustaining. There are many processes at play here between the various individuals living on the mission station. By

using an interdisciplinary approach and drawing on notions of anthropology, sociology, history together with archeology, an interpretive methodology can be utilised to investigate these processes.

Interpretive archaeologies first came to the fore in the 1980s and 1990s. Known as post-processualism, these archaeologists were interested in the cognitive view of culture and saw that culture as actively constructed and changed by individuals on a contextual basis (Sharer and Ashmore 1993). People, as individuals have their own thoughts and this in turn affects their behaviour and how they see their world. Interpretive archaeologies assist in trying to make sense of the past, as “it is not enough to look at adaptation to an external environment as an explanation but also to refer to people’s attitudes and beliefs” (Johnson 1999:98). It is important to understand past histories and material culture within their own cultural context. In order to figure out this context, archaeologists must attempt to examine the past from a subjective point of view, and as Lamb (2004) points out, archeologists, especially those studying the contemporary past, cannot detach themselves from having an introspective and interactive relationship with the people and the material culture that they are researching, as it is this relationship between the human experience and the material culture that is significant in the context of the contemporary environment. The interpretive archaeologies approach is recognised when there’s an interpretive relationship between the archaeologist and his or her research topic “with the implication of repositioning the individual as prime importance rather than just a component with the generalised system at large” (Lamb 2004:132). However, this approach is more suitably applied to the interpretation of particular locations and individuals or groups than providing broad and general explanations. As Johnson (1999:106) explains, material culture is seen as having several different meanings and values and as such the “material culture is like a

text and can be read, everyone who sees the text will not read it in the same way". This notion of hermeneutics is an important aspect as it is the study of meanings and how these meanings are assigned to things (Johnson 1999).

For the purpose of this study, a homestead of the *Motse* can be viewed as a collection of structures, comprising of a main house, with one or two additional structures found clustered together and also comprising of garden and kraal areas demarcated by stone walls, where a group of people lived and carried out every day activities within these indoor and outdoor spaces, thus placing this research firmly within the sphere of household archaeology. The limited studies previously carried out on the houses of the *Motse*, have largely been focused on the architecture and by applying an interpretive methodological approach to examine the residents of these houses, a clearer understanding can emerge. For example, was it the transformation in ideology through the teachings of the missionaries that led the residents of the *Motse* to build European-styled houses? Did they build these houses in this form as they were more simple and straightforward to build, and what meaning did the change in shape of these houses from the traditional round to the European-style have for the resident households living in these houses? The houses of the *Motse* were also built away from the main mission complex, and can be seen as a social and political division between the missionaries and the converts and their families. Could these social divisions also be found with the different houses and homesteads of the *Motse* and even within the household themselves? The houses are built with different structures and areas, and can be seen as a division between the private or domestic inside of the main house, and the public or the outside areas including the other structures, the garden, kraals and even the paths and roads. Could the private areas of the house be interpreted as being the emergence of the nuclear family? The inside walls being a division between household members and activity

areas. The residents of the *Motse* thus, took part in the world around them and as such cannot be seen independently of its cultural, social and political context.

In the following chapters the *Motse* will be explored further and some of the answers to these questions determined through the application of theory and methods of these sub-fields, and thus a better understanding of the *Motse* and its houses during the recent historic past can emerge.

### **CHAPTER 3: BOTSHABELO AND THE *MOTSE* IN SPACE AND TIME**

The interplay between documentary sources and archaeological data is at the methodological core of historical archaeology. These provide the foundation for the understanding of the *Motse* and its houses. Documentary, pictorial and cartographic sources often contain important information and descriptions that can offer us insights into how the site has changed over time. This can add to our interpretation of archaeological data both in comparative and supplementary ways. These sources can help inform on the landscape through space and time, and can contribute to our understanding of broader historical context, as archaeology can be partial in its coverage depending on the excavation strategy. The depictions of houses and household objects, people and activities contained in documentary and pictographic sources represent the experiences at a point in time. It must, however, be remembered when studying these pictures and related sources, that “pictorial evidence can be imbued with its own agenda and can reproduce ideal rather than actual behaviour” (Allison 1999:13).

#### 3.1 An introduction to the documentary/pictorial and cartographic sources on the *Motse*.

As part of the research on the *Motse*, various documentary, pictorial and cartographic sources were consulted and examined. These material sources were accounts of visitors to the mission station that recorded their experiences in travel journals, as well as, official documents, photographs and maps recorded by the missionaries themselves.

There are a few but significant historical studies that discuss the Berlin Mission Society and Botshabelo Mission Station (*inter alia* Delius 1984; Kirkaldy 2005; Le Roux *et al* 1991; Mminele 1983) focusing primarily on the history, the architecture or on the educational history of the site. These research projects drew on information from the meticulous documentation

accumulated by the missionaries. The missionaries of the Berlin Mission Society wrote profusely about their professional and personal lives in mission reports (*Missions-Berichte*), journals and in letters (Kirkaldy 2005; Poewe and van der Heyden 1999). They recorded and documented not only their histories, but those of the people they lived among. Added to this, are the few available travel journals of the visitors to the mission station.

Images in the form of sketches and photographs are significant in the reconstruction of the story of the *Motse* and the mission station. Of great value to this research project was the database for the Hoffmann Collection. This collection was compiled to provide knowledge, insight and understanding through the writings and images from the work of missionaries such as Carl Hoffmann between 1913 and 1958, as seen in figure 3.1 below. These archives with their primary sources are indispensable with respect to the documentary and pictorial record of the missionaries and the people who lived at Botshabelo and the *Motse*. The Hoffmann Collection of Northern Sotho Cultural Heritage (<http://hoffmanncollection.hu-berlin.de>) was compiled by Dr. Anekie Joubert from the Humboldt University Berlin (<http://www.iaaw.hu-berlin>), together with the library archives of the University of South Africa and the University of Pretoria and is available to researchers in digital format (<http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/4954>).

Missionary, traveller and visitor accounts that were written during the first 25 years of the Botshabelo's existence provide a glimpse into the organisation and functioning of such an institution. However, these colonial authors were somewhat selective in what they chose to recount and convey regarding the mission station and used the information for their own objectives. These sources all focus primarily on the mission station itself, and not much information is reported on the village of the *Motse*. Currently, much of the available material on Botshabelo dates to the early years of the mission station.

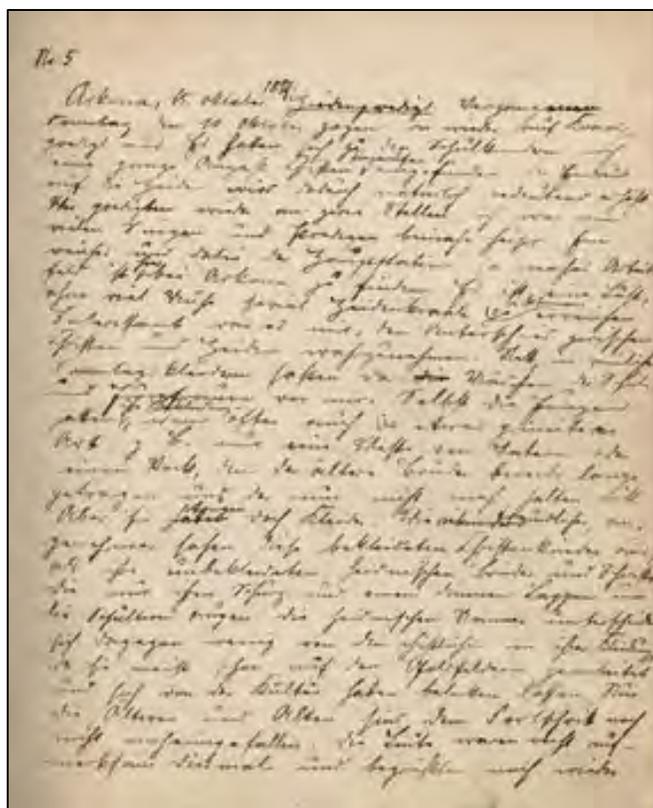


Figure 3.1: An example from Carl Hoffmann's Journal.

(The Hoffmann Collection: 485pre\_4a49e6aabf569d6). Date unknown.

As Barbara Little (2006) cautions, documents such as those written by the missionaries and travellers, can be obscure and biased in content and should be read, interpreted and analysed critically. It is here, that archaeology can be of importance in filling the spaces left by the inconsistencies found in these sources.

The same must be said of pictorial sources and maps. As noted by Hamilakis *et al* (2009:287), pictorial sources are “material memories of things they have witnessed”. Here again, the sketcher or the photographer imbues his or her own values and beliefs and as such, influences the content and framing of the image. Colonialists used to use images to form distinctions between different societies and cultures by separating them into typologies such as tribe, languages and

racial types (Hamilakis *et al* 2009). Alan Kirkaldy (2005:145) in his research extensively studied various missionary photographs of the Vhavenda. He states that one needs to learn “to read missionary photographs as mirrors of mission ideology, to use them as guides to missionary ideas of what is right and wrong, proofs of their ambivalence towards African cultures and – more recently – as a privileged source for the study of material culture in African societies”. An example of this concept can be seen in figure 3.2 below, where the missionary is portrayed as the focused preacher and the learners being attentive and respectful to what they are being taught. This photograph has been carefully composed, as this type of image would have been circulated through missionary circles, as to demonstrate the good work that was being achieved.



Figure 3.2: A ‘typical’ missionary scene where the subjects are presented in an orderly and civilised manner. (The Hoffmann Collection: 871scr\_e2ee277a0f964fa). Circa 1930s.

During his tenure at Botshabelo, Alexander Merensky drew various maps, documenting the spatial organisation of the mission station from its establishment onward. His drawings were an important tool in the management of the mission station, in community planning, in addition to showing the settler government that they were an organised and planned institution in the area. Merensky was, in fact, a skilled mapmaker, assisting Jeppe in the production of the 1868 map of the Transvaal (Carruthers 2003).

Maps can also be seen as statements of power and control. The maps drawn of Botshabelo and the *Motse* were a means by which the missionaries expressed their ownership, power and control of the land by demarcating how the mission lands would be distributed and utilised. Maps can influence, support or amend social, political and historical contexts by managing the landscape (Bendell and Harwood 2006; Duminy 2011). In this way the missionaries could manage the physical landscape of the mission station. As Greenstock (1877:49) notes during his visit to the mission station, the vast piece of land amounted “to five farms in one block, altogether thirty thousand hectares”. These documents, pictorial and cartographic sources are significant in placing Botshabelo and the *Motse* within the historical landscape.

In the following section the spatial information currently available is drawn from documentary, pictorial and cartographic sources and used in order to reconstruct the establishment, development and change in the mission village over time.

### 3.2 Botshabelo and the *Motse* in space.

Below are the satellite images for Botshabelo Mission Station, which is found on the farm Toevlugt 269/JS (see topographical map in Appendix 1). The mission station is situated in a valley with mountain ridges on either side at the confluence of two streams of the Klein Olifants River. The first image (figure 3.3) is of the mission station itself and the church can be seen in the shape of a cross in the centre of the image, with the Merensky parsonage on the left. The assortment of school and commercial buildings can be observed. The rectangular walled area observed was used for the growing of crops in earlier years. Fort Merensky (formerly Fort Wilhelm) can distinctly be noticed on top of the hill to the east.

The prime significance of Botshabelo ultimately lay in its overall function as a successful mission station. While emphasis is put on the official buildings comprising the main mission station (Japha *et al* 1993), it is important that the surrounding environment should not be neglected and should also be included within studies of and conservation plans for the greater mission complex.

The second satellite image (figure 3.4) is that of the *Motse*, found on a grassy plain south of the main mission station complex. The *Motse* is accessed by a road leading off the main dirt road of the mission station and across the small Keerom stream. The individual homesteads with their walled enclosures can be seen. These homesteads are currently in various stages of dilapidation and only a fraction of the original village remains today. The Klein Olifants River can be seen in the west and to the south of the village, which was important for both water and fertile soil for agriculture.



Figure 3.3: An aerial view of the Botshabelo Mission Station complex.

(Satellite image from *Google Earth Pro* retrieved 2017).



Figure 3.4: An aerial view of the *Motse*.  
(Satellite image from *Google Earth Pro* retrieved 2017).

### 3.3 Botshabelo and the *Motse* in time.

For the purpose of this research project, the relevant available published and archival material will be applied to gain a clearer picture of the chronology of the *Motse*.

The earliest visual representation of spatial planning at Botshabelo is a sketch map dating from the end of 1865 (?). Already on this map many of the distinctive features that have since endured for 150 years at Botshabelo are indicated including the fort, graveyard and residential areas. Early settlement on the *Motse* is indicated as taking the form of two villages. These are labelled 14 and 15 on the drawing (figure 3.5) and named as Bakopastadt and Bapedi respectively and represent the settlement of the groups of Bakopa and Bapedi who arrived in tandem with Alexander Merensky in 1865. These two groups likely occupied different areas because of pre-existing ethnic affiliations and existing political loyalties under the respective leadership of individuals such as Rammupudu and Dinkwanyane.

This hand drawn map could have been sketched to describe the future planning for the mission station. For example, the stippled outline of Fort Wilhelm suggests that it was still in the planning stages or in the process of being built. Merensky was correct in assuming that the plain was ideal for settlement, as it was nestled between two ridges and was next to the river, which would be ideal for protection. The locale had an abundance of natural resources, such as rocks and thatching grass for building. Furthermore, there was constant water available from two springs located today as wells near House 11.21 and House 11.11 on the University of Pretoria survey map, as seen in figure 3.16 and discussed in the survey section of this chapter. The graveyard is found to the southeast of the *Motse* near the ravine leading to the river and is marked as 16 on the map. The graveyard, as it is found today, is enclosed by a rectangular stone wall and is divided into two separate sections. The old graveyard became too small and an

additional one was built next to it. The graveyard is one of the oldest structures on the mission station and is an integral part of it. It is located quite a way from the main mission station complex but is situated close to the African village (Pienaar 2014). Clearly visible at this stage as well are the areas set aside for gardens for the residents living in the *Motse* area.



Figure 3.5: Hand drawn map of Botshabelo Mission Station (The Hoffmann Collection: 938scr\_b305a1534b1c529).

Circa 1865.



One of the first visitors to Botshabelo was Hermann Theodor Wangemann (Pakendorf 2011). Missionary Wangemann became Director of the Berlin Mission Society in 1865, at the time of the establishment of Botshabelo. He was very interested in the development of the South African mission field and documented his findings through sketches and journals. The main themes in his sketches are the landscape and the life of the mission stations. Wangemann was one of the first to document Botshabelo and the *Motse*, when he visited the mission station in 1868. As can be observed in figure 3.7 below, there are huts erected along the ridge of the hill with Fort Wilhelm on top for the safety and protection of the mission station. This indicates that the earliest style of architecture was made of readily available materials and was quite transitory. Because of this it is unlikely that any archeological evidence has remained. These dwellings were replaced at a later date by stone buildings.



Figure 3.7: Fort Merensky and the first buildings at Botshabelo Mission Station (Wangemann 1868:384/385).

In figure 3.8, the grass domed huts of the *Motse* can be viewed on the grass plain, with the huts visible on the hillside. This sketch shows primarily round structures in the villages which appear to be organised around a central kraal. Very few square buildings are evident in the mission settlement as a whole, except for the church and assorted mission structures that are described and discussed by Wangemann in his documentation.



Figure 3.8: Fort Merensky on the hill with the mission station with the villages in the background (Wangemann 1868:208/209).

The map below was drawn in 1870 (figure 3.9), and concentrates on the physical landscape of the area, which include, the ridges and the rivers. The drawing shows the bordering farms, numbered on the map as A, B, C and D, and the year they were bought. For example, Farm A was bought by Isaak de Jager in 1865. The numbers in the adjacent column specify the *morgen*, a unit of measurement for area. In the centre of the diagram is Botshabelo with its church and

fort. This map, if compared to the satellite images in this document, is accurate and detailed and already shows the general configuration of the mission station and its overall layout. The two villages of the Bakopa and the Bapedi are indicated on the map, and are seen as part of the greater mission station landscape. The mission station at this time was surrounded by Boer farmers, who were not altogether happy with the presence of the mission and its inhabitants in their midst. They feared that violence and resistance would follow the converts and followers to the mission station during this time of internal instability in the area (Mminele 1983).

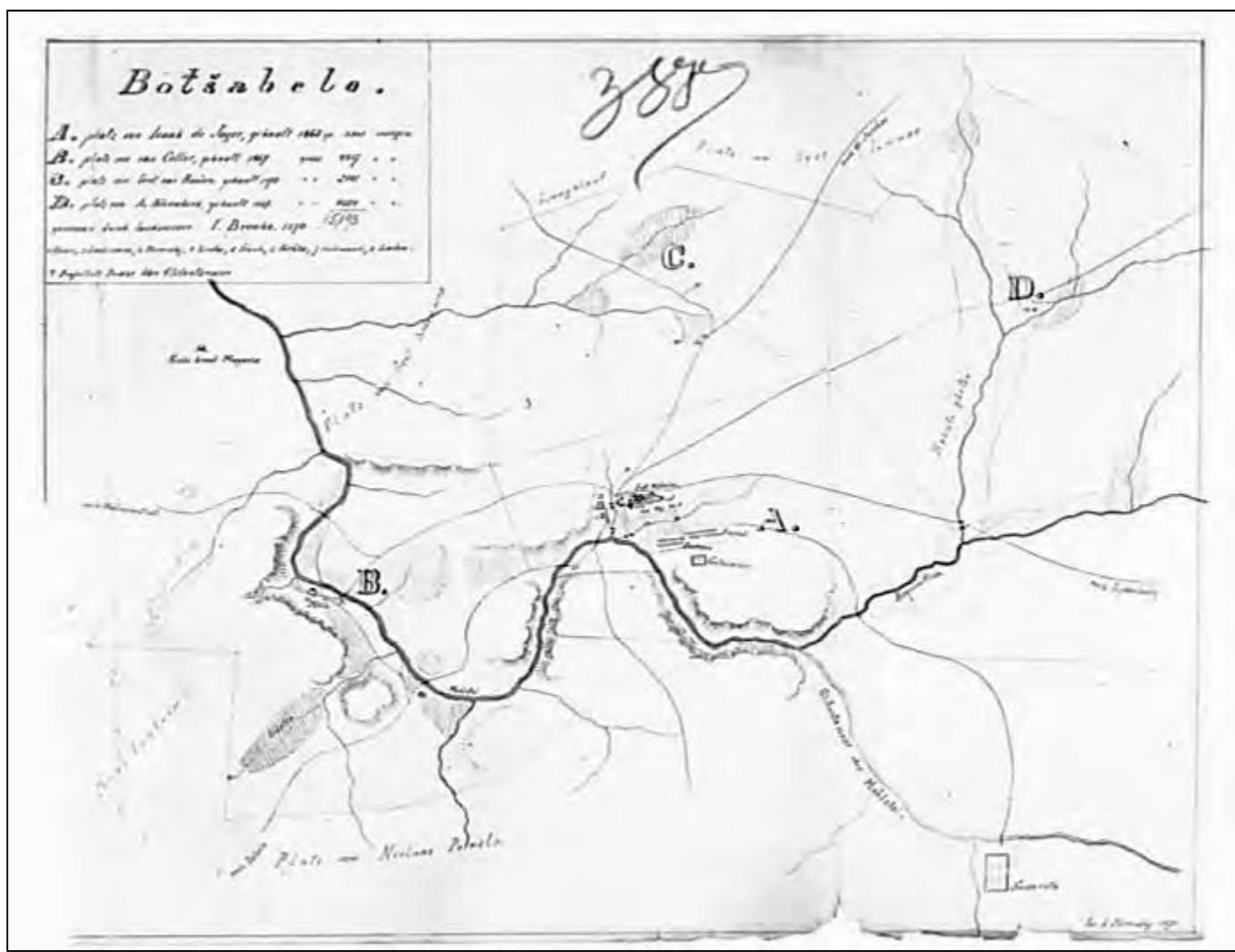


Figure 3.9: 1870 survey map. (The Hoffmann Collection: 936scr\_140fef26b23642).

Alexander Merensky documented in detail the establishment, activities and accomplishments taking place at the mission station in various letters, journals and in his book, written in German *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Transvaal, 1859-1882*, (*Memories of Mission Life in the Transvaal, 1859-1882*), written and published in 1899.

Merensky writes in his autobiography about the events surrounding his arrival in the area and the subsequent establishment of the mission station. He delivers a methodical narrative and the prints throughout his book have been meticulously drawn providing significant details. The lithographic print in figure 3.10 was drawn after 1873, when the new church was built and before 1882, when Merensky left the mission station. Fort Wilhelm's size in the drawing is exaggerated, together with the church and the school house, in contrast to the other structures, thus emphasizing the permanence and safety of the community. The mission station is depicted from the south with the church door facing the area of the *Motse*.

The drawing shows the *Motse* as having a combination of square and round structures, even though at this stage there are predominately round huts with conical roofs, what are referred to as "cone-on-cylinder" (rondawel) structures (Frescura 2008). Square stone-walled areas are apparent in the image and were probably used for orchards, crops or animals, as grazing sheep can also be seen in the foreground.



Figure 3.10: A view of Botshabelo depicting the two distinct villages in the foreground (Merensky 1899:349).

In 1877 Mr. Greenstock, a missionary from the Church of England visited Botshabelo. He was very impressed by the way the station was being managed by Merensky, but was surprised by the fact that the Berlin Mission Society missionaries were so poorly paid (Greenstock 1877). Scarcely a year later in 1878, Edward Sandeman (1880) was also impressed by Merensky's accomplishments and the management of the mission station, especially with regards to the construction quality of the buildings, and the fact that the local inhabitants were being trained as ironmongers, wagon-makers and carpenters by the mission staff.

Sandeman (1880: 157) states in his text, that there was a "huge native village", set aside from the mission station. This was reaffirmed by General Wolseley (1880/1973), who at the time was a veteran soldier with the British Army and who supervised the capture of Sekhukhune. He visited Botshabelo in October 1879. The General describes the mission station as being quite a large village that contained about 1500 inhabitants, with good school houses and a church that could hold a congregation of 600 people. He saw the mission station as being a thriving establishment, where many of the inhabitants had started to build houses out of stone and brick. He was impressed with the neatness and cleanliness of the houses and the surrounding enclosed spaces around them.

Figure 3.11 is Merensky's last map of Botshabelo and its surrounds drawn in 1882. This map can be seen as a representation of Merensky's tendency to interpret the world in terms of European values and experiences. His map is quite detailed with respects to the main mission buildings and structures, such as the church and forts. There are two forts found in the *Motse* and the cross-hatched areas on the map surrounding the two forts and along the hillside depict the mission villages found on the mission station. These areas are not mapped in any detail and can be seen as demarcating the separation of the main mission complex from the villages.

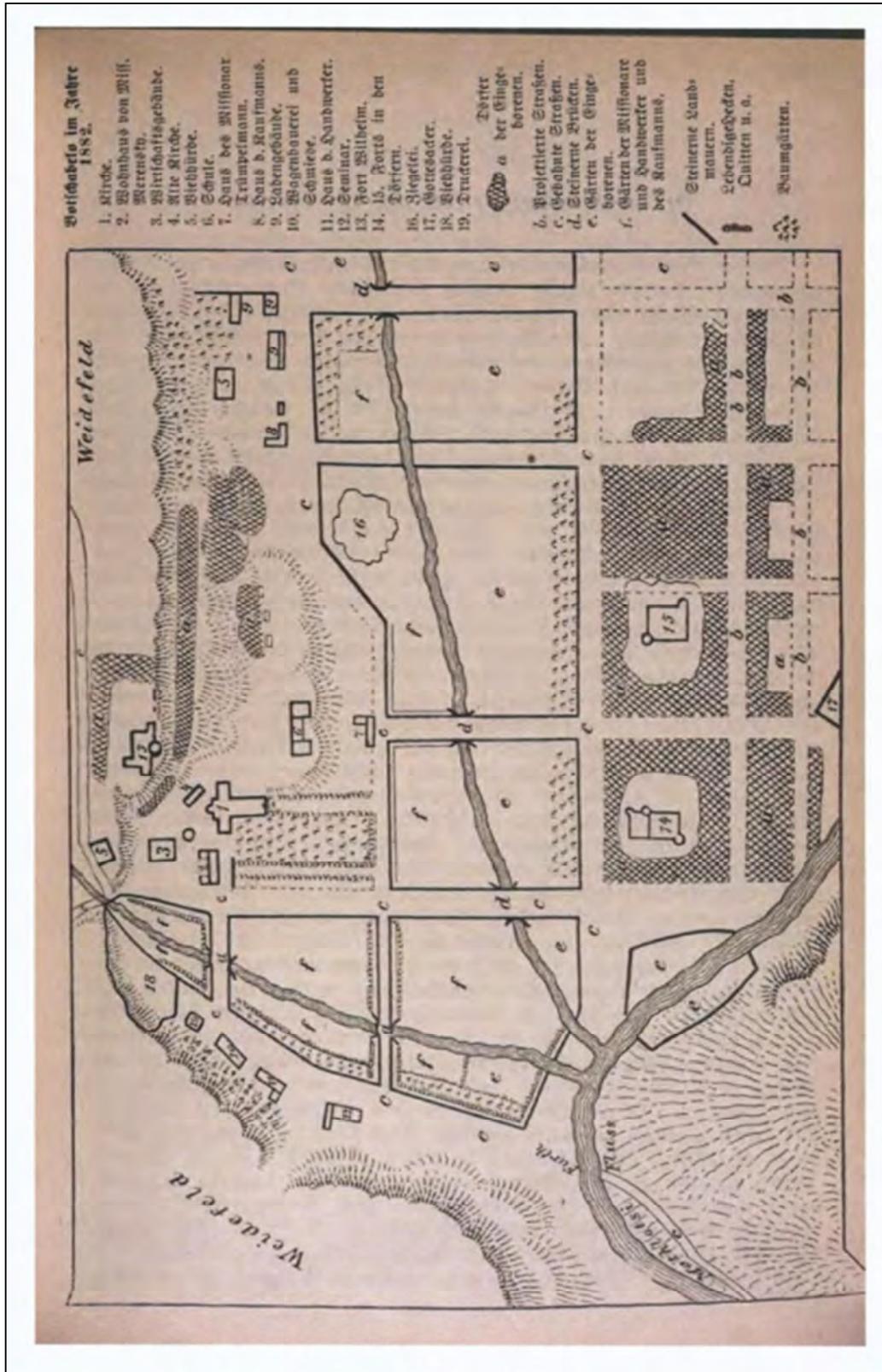


Figure 3.11 Merensky's map of Botshabelo Mission Station (Merensky 1899:231).

The map also provides information on how the mission land was distributed and allocated for various functions, such as farming and industry. The map clearly illustrates the various field systems, already observed in Wangemann's drawing (figure 3.8), where crops can be seen growing in the enclosed area below the church and these field systems can also be seen in the earlier maps (figures 3.6 and figure 3.9). Merensky (1899) describes the mission station as having areas dedicated to the growing of mealies, millet, beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkin and vegetables. Fruit trees were also planted, such as peach, apricot and lemon. There were cattle, which provided fertilizer for the fields and sheep, as seen in the Wangemann's sketches.

In Merensky's diagram, there appears to be future planning for a grid-like pattern for the roads in the villages and further expansion of the settlements. The mission station grew substantially over the next few years and as Merensky states:

Botshabelo, developed more and more into a station of some significance, from where expeditions could be mounted, and which provided safe retreat from the enemy should it ever be needed (Merensky 1899:236 as translated by J. Stone 1992).

Merensky tends to talk about the mission station as a community, and he might have viewed the villages as being attached to the mission station but also separate from it. However, even though he was fully immersed in the management of the mission station, he was very much focused on the religious, social and educational aspects of the residents of the mission station, which stemmed from his Lutheran teachings and goals as a missionary.

By the time that Herr Wangemann returned to Botshabelo in 1886 (after Merensky's departure), the mission station had undergone drastic changes in the 20 years since his last visit and he particularly describes the development of square houses. Wangemann as a result was very pleased with the progress of the mission station as a whole (Le Roux and Fisher 1991).

All these accounts mention how impressed these missionaries, travellers and visitors were with Merensky and his management of the mission station and the way the mission station was arranged to identify itself with a European-style institution. The writers concentrate on what the European missionaries had achieved. In contrast, very little is said in these sources about the *Motse* and its residents. When the villages are mentioned they are described with words such as ‘cleanliness’, ‘neatness’ and ‘proper’ (Sandeman 1880; Wolseley 1880/1973). No mention is made of the daily lives of the people who lived here. These descriptions can be viewed as a separation between the missionaries and the residents of the villages. It is in these circumstances that historical archaeology becomes important, as it provides a means to tell these narratives of the forgotten.

The aerial photograph (figure 3.12) shows Botshabelo and the surrounding areas in 1943, 78 years after its founding. As shown in the earlier maps drawn by Merensky and the recent satellite images, the church can be seen in the shape of a cross, with the parsonage next to it. Fort Wilhelm (Fort Merensky) is again visible from the top of the hill behind the church, together with various kraals for keeping sheep and cattle. As per Merensky’s 1882 layout of the mission station, the top of the ridge was used for grazing and in the photograph good grazing land is visible. Most of the mission buildings are located in a linear pattern along the hillside. These buildings are all situated close to each other. The church and the parsonage are separate from the other buildings and have open space around them. On the satellite image (figure 3.3), a couple of new buildings are observed post-1943. Otherwise, not much has changed in the general configuration of the mission station if compared with Merensky’s 1882’s sketch. With regards to the *Motse*, however, the two different villages of the Bakopa and Bapedi cannot be distinguished in the aerial photograph.

The agricultural fields described by Merensky in his book, can be clearly seen, as well as, the orchard situated on the parcel of land found directly across the street from the church precinct. The trees can be recognised as they are planted in rows. The agricultural land is positioned between the main mission station complex and the village of the *Motse*. The two forts in the *Motse* are well defined on the photograph, and can be found in the centre of the structures on either side of the road transecting the village. It is evident from the photograph that there were some substantial homesteads, mainly situated at the entrance to the village. Further back towards the river, smaller homesteads and houses can be observed in a linear pattern along the roads. These structures consist of both square and round shaped features. There are also two large kraals (animal enclosures) erected near the river towards the graveyard. The graveyard can be viewed at the bottom of the photograph. The graveyard was of significance to the mission village, and as noted by Missionary Papke (1937), a teacher at the Seminary, a memorial was held every year at the cemetery to celebrate and remember the dead.

There is an absence of documentary or pictographic sources pertaining to the spatial organisation of the *Motse* in more recent years and the settlement was largely destroyed in the 1970s as a result of the *Apartheid* processes. Botshabelo was designated a 'Black Spot' in 1970 and the residents of the *Motse* were forcibly removed by 1972 (Japha *et al* 1993). As mentioned before, many of the houses were bulldozed during the removals and the effects of this event are clearly seen in the piles of stones and building rubble found at the *Motse* today.



Figure 3.12: Aerial photograph of the Botshabelo Mission Station and the *Motse*.

(National Geo-spatial Information. Aerial photograph 1:35000. No. 04826. Cape Town. 1943).

Another result of the forced removals are the white paint marks visible on a few of the houses, for example, near the front door of *Motse* house 11.19 (figure 3.13). According to Le Roux and Fisher (1991) these white marks were due to the actions taken by Mr. Peter Klaus and Mr. Hans Gastrow, who ran across to the *Motse*, during the forced removals when the bulldozers were demolishing the houses and started painting white S's to depict that the houses were staff houses and should be left alone. This is most probably the reason why there are still some houses left relatively intact today.



Figure 3.13: *Motse* 11.19 with white paint marks still visible (Photo: Author's own).

After the forced removals, Botshabelo was used as a teaching college until 1979 and then became an open-air museum and nature reserve. At this time the site attracted academic interest. The study conducted in 1991 by Schalk Le Roux and Roger Fisher from the University of Pretoria was an architectural survey of Botshabelo, and particularly, of the *Motse*. This was part of a project to restore the *Motse* to its original condition commissioned by the then Middelburg Municipality. The study comprises of descriptions and sketches of the various houses and their

relevant condition, as they were at that time. There is also a site plan of the *Motse* (figure 3.16) that assisted in the subsequent survey discussed in the following section. This site map was originally drawn up in November 1980 by the then Transvaal Museum Services. The UP survey team made use of the same numbering system as the original site map to keep the information consistent. This information is significant as the site has deteriorated considerably in the past 25 years.

### 3.4 An overview of Botshabelo and the *Motse* in space and time.

At its establishment, the original houses of the *Motse* were pole and reed dwellings together with grass domed huts, which evolved over time into stone, brick and plaster structures with thatched and/or zinc roofs, of which a few remain at Botshabelo today (Frescura 2008). These houses and their architecture, together with the associated material culture can be seen as being expressive of the social and cultural values of the people who built and used them. This research can add meaningful information regarding how the inhabitants of the *Motse* lived, especially with the lead up to the forced removals in the 1970s. These missionaries, it can be said, measured their successes by the noticeable changes seen, in particular with respects to the architecture and the settlement patterns of the villages surrounding their mission stations (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Japha 1993; Kirkaldy 2005; Vernal 2012) as did contemporary visitors and observers (Sandeman 1880; Wangemann 1886; Wolseley 1880/1973).

The photograph below (figure 3.14 - date unknown) depicts both huts and square built houses in the *Motse*. The change from round to rectangular dwellings is a general research problem within the southern African context due to the changing educational, social, political and economic circumstances occurring within the country at the time. This photograph suggests that the architectural transition was a gradual one, and even though there is no distinctive separation of

the two sections of the villages conveyed in the photograph, the notation at the bottom of the photograph still indicates the two sections (Bakopa and Bapedi), as discussed in the various documentary sources of Merensky and Wangemann, indicating that the settlement may still have been divided along lines of ethnic affiliations.



Figure 3.14: A photograph of the *Motse* (The Hoffmann Collection: 590scr\_92808254c55c84e). Date unknown.

Today the *Motse* can barely be described as a village, and it is difficult to notice any differences in the architecture of the various houses and homesteads still visible in the area, as there are only remnants in existence today. As stated by Sandeman (1880:157) in the previous section, he noted when he visited Botshabelo in 1878; there was “a huge native village”. This was a few years after Johannes Dinkwanyane of the Bapedi left the mission station with a small group of converts in 1873. Subsequently there was another departure of a further group in 1892. This could have been the reason that the two villages eventually merged to form one large village. Naude (2007) observes in his research, that the original grass domed huts, which were common in the region at the time (as seen in Wangemann’s and Merensky’s sketches), were replaced by walled structures with cone-on-cylinder dwellings, as seen in figure 3.15. It is these structures that eventually made way for the rectangular stone walled and thatched roof houses found at the *Motse* today. As mentioned before, this transition in architectural styles occurred gradually over a period of time and was not always simple and sometimes the various architectural forms were combined in one homestead.

Through the above discussion of documentary, pictorial and cartographic sources what becomes evident is that there is considerably more to investigate regarding the chronology of the *Motse*. The settlement has changed noticeably from the first pole and reed huts at the mission station’s establishment in 1865 to what became Merensky’s European-style institution. It developed into a mission settlement, as described by Japha *et al* (1993), one that had its homesteads and houses grouped not too far from the mission core, that of the church, the school and the other functional buildings belonging to the mission station that benefitted all those that lived in the area. It must be noted that the *Motse’s* development was a gradual one and that transition of the house structures from round to rectangular appears more time related than associated with conversion.

It can be said, that the changing economic, educational and social contexts of the inhabitants of the *Motse* had as much to do with such transitions, as did religious conversion and as such, it may, in part, be a generational shift. This is a question that needs further investigation.

From the sources consulted in this chapter, it took at least a decade for the commencement of the transition in the architecture and settlement layout that the missionaries sought and prayed for.



Figure 3.15: An early sketch of the *Motse* homesteads (The Hoffmann Collection: 928scr\_f61a809c95dc966).  
Date unknown.

The documentary/pictorial and cartographic material was significant to this project. However, another important aspect was the carrying out of a foot survey of the *Motse*. In terms of this project, an archaeological survey may be explained as the “systematic attempts to locate, identify and record the distribution of archaeological sites on the ground and against the natural geographical and environmental background” (Fagan 2001:528). An archaeological survey is the methodical process by which archaeologists collect information about the location, distribution and organisation of past cultures across a large area.

The survey will be discussed below, introducing the methodology used and results obtained, that ultimately contributed to the next stage of the field work, that of archaeological excavation.

### 3.5 The survey of the *Motse*.

The survey was the starting point for the fieldwork carried out on the *Motse*. The survey was undertaken with the research aims in mind, to refine the understanding of the settlement and the architectural change over time of these homesteads and the way in which the inhabitants of the *Motse* interacted with the community as observed through the material culture of the households.

Before starting the actual fieldwork, the existing information in the forms of maps, photographs and drawings were reviewed as discussed above. Included in this was an assessment and study of the previous survey conducted by the University of Pretoria's Architectural Team in 1991 (figure 3.16: Le Roux and Fisher 1991). This survey was important in understanding the orientation of the site and the information was used in conjunction with this current research to assist in the investigation of the chronology and the settlement layout. For the purpose of continuity, the same numbering system was used. The first house numbered on the site plan of the *Motse* is house number 11.2. The University of Pretoria's team surveyed the village moving from west to east and documented 32 extant structures of various sizes. Two of these are water wells numbered 11.11 and 11.21, with 11.9 being a fort and 11.16 being the other possible fort depicted on the historical maps and visible in the aerial photograph. All the other structures were either houses or out buildings, such as kitchens and outside toilets. However, in the original survey conducted by the architectural team, only the most intact houses, that is, the houses marked on the site plan were systematically documented. The area seen in the aerial photograph (figure 3.12) towards the graveyard is littered with ruins that were not originally surveyed and documented by the UP survey and are marked on the map as question marks (?).

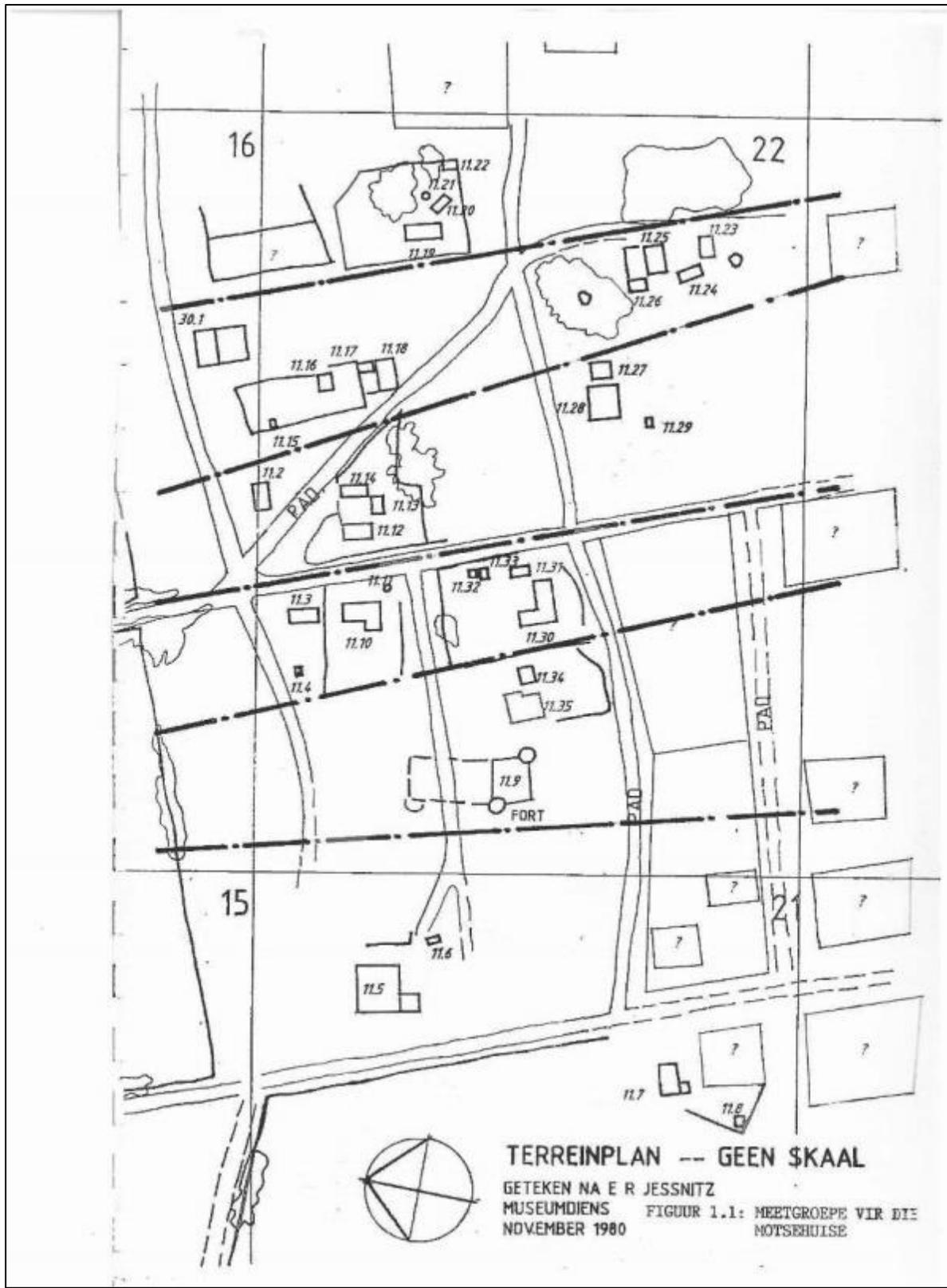


Figure 3.16: A Copy of the Area Plan used by the UP Architectural Team in 1991 (Le Roux and Fisher 1991).

The 2013 survey was conducted during the annual UNISA Archaeological Field School, held at Botshabelo Mission Station from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> August 2013. It was decided to carry out the survey during the Field School, as at this time of year (winter) the grass is usually burnt or short, which assisted greatly in the visibility of features and structures. There were also students to assist with the actual legwork which contributed to their training in archaeological methods.

A judgmental survey was conducted on the site of the *Motse* and the greater Botshabelo area. The survey provided a practical way to assess which of the homesteads would have the best potential for excavation and where the most suitable areas for possible middens found. The survey also concentrated on the intact houses of the *Motse*, and as most of the houses in the area have been bulldozed during the forced removal large areas of the site was not plotted (as seen in figure 3.17). As the intent of the survey was to provide adequate information that would prepare for excavation, documentation and collection of archaeological cultural material for the study and analysis of two (2) houses of the *Motse*, it was decided before the survey began that two potential sites would be chosen, one in the east and one in the west of the village, to remain true to the literature as discussed in Chapter 3. As a result, the survey assisted in the collection of data about the site, the distribution and organisation of these homesteads.

The 2013 foot survey began by becoming familiar with the University of Pretoria's architectural teams' survey map of the *Motse*. To keep the data consistent, the survey commenced on the west side of the site, closest to the Klein Olifant's River and walking to each intact house in this area, they were surveyed and documented following the UP Survey method. Waypoints for the different houses were collected using a hand held Global Positioning System (GPS) as plotted in figures 3.17 and figure 3.18.

The first satellite image (figure 3.17) is that of the foot survey carried out in the *Motse*, starting from the main road entering Botshabelo in the south and walking north towards the village. The plotted areas can be seen to the west and then to the east of the village. The second satellite image (figure 3.18) is that of the extensive foot survey done of the greater Botshabelo/*Motse* area, which assisted in providing a more comprehensive picture of the landscape. This however, was difficult because of the distances experienced between the main mission station complex, the *Motse* and the property as a whole. The surrounding terrain became challenging due to the steep and rocky topography.

Most of the extant houses found in the *Motse* today are rectangular, with house number 11.25 also having a cone-on-cylinder type structure within its boundary walls. This structure is found to the back of the property.

Concerning the architecture of the structures of the *Motse*, structure 11.9 has been identified as being one of the forts depicted in the cartographic sources, especially Merensky's 1882 map. These forts were constructed in historic times to provide security and protection to those living in the villages at a time when the inhabitants feared reprisals from Sekhukhune (Delius 1981). There is not much of this fort remaining today, as most of the structure has deteriorated and collapsed. These ruins have some remnants of characteristic thicker walls and a small round structure with loop holes, as seen in figure 3.19 and figure 3.20.

The second fort is possibly the structure identified in the University of Pretoria's survey as 11.15, 11.16, 11.17 and 11.18. Structure 11.15 has totally collapsed, with a fallen wall in the north east corner of 11.16 possibly being the remains of a round bastion. The surface scatter around this area is prolific.

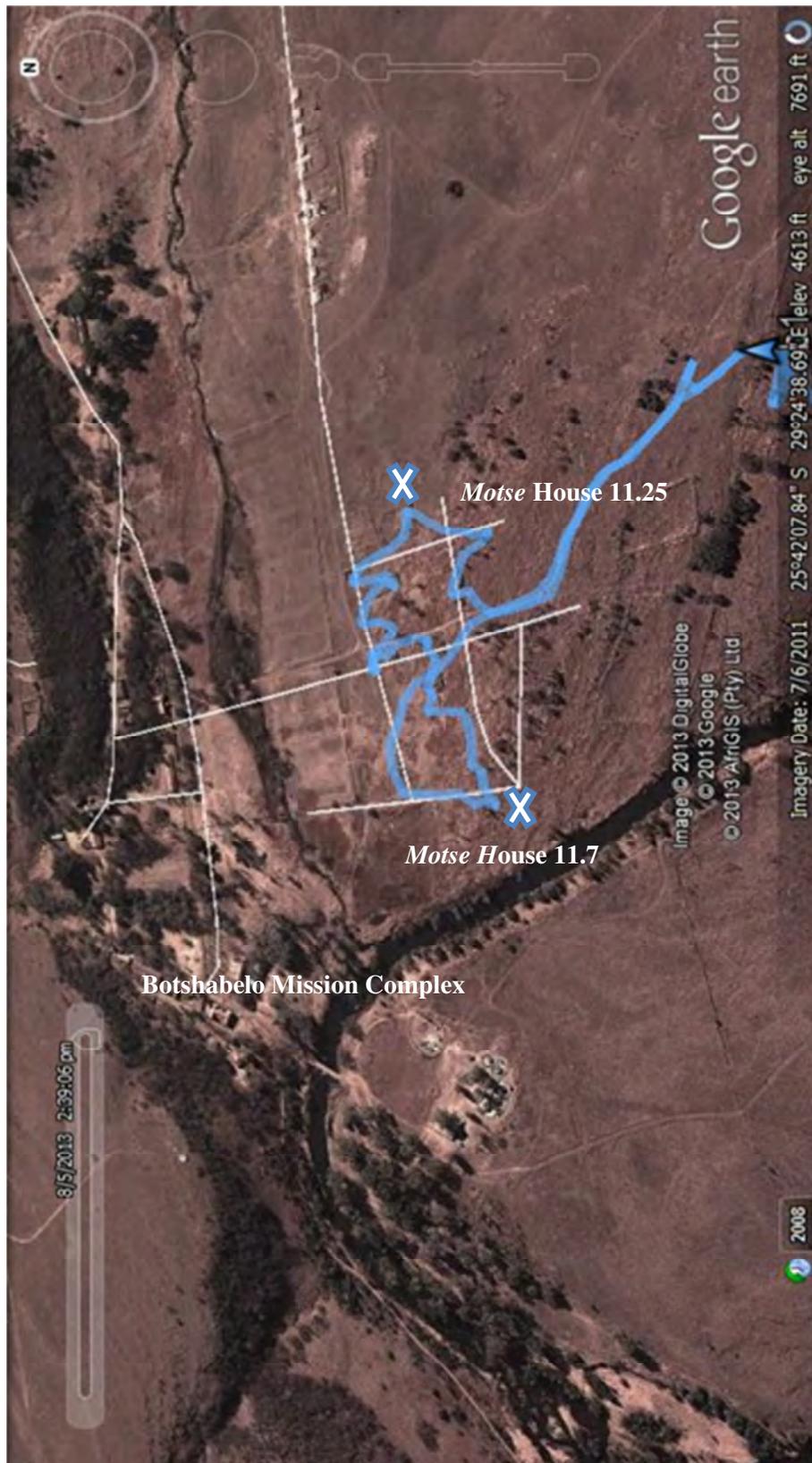


Figure 3.17: The GPS tracking of the foot survey of the *Motse* (August 2013).





Figure 3.19: A photograph of the Fort (*Motse* 11.9) with a loop hole (Photo: G. Booth).



Figure 3.20: The thicker wall of the Fort can be clearly seen. (Photo: G. Booth).

As mentioned above, it became evident during the foot survey that there was a fair amount of surface scatter littering the entire site. These included various glass sherds and glass bottles of various colours, as well as, various types of ceramics and metal as seen in the figure 3.21 below. Possible middens were also identified during the survey.



Figure 3.21: A sample of the types of surface scatter found during the 2013 survey (Photo: Author's own).

As pointed out previously, these houses have deteriorated quite significantly in the last 25 years, as can be seen in figures 3.22, 3.23 and 3.24. As viewed in the photographs, the materials used in the construction of the outside walls, the verandah walls and the boundary walls are all local undressed stone. The stones were neatly packed, especially the houses' external walls. These walls were unplastered. The roofs were made of thatch with trusses made of poplar wood poles (Le Roux and Fisher 1991:7 translated from Afrikaans by the author). The windows and doors were well built and were plastered and painted white in a decorative style. Floors were initially traditional mud floors, which were eventually covered with cement, as observed at house number 11.25.



Figure 3.22: *Motse* 11.25 as surveyed by the UP Architectural Team and by the researcher in 2013.

(Photographs on the left are from Le Roux and Fisher 1991 - photographs on the right: author's own).



Figure 3.23: *Motse* 11.25 as surveyed in 1991 and then during the field work in 2013.



Figure 3.24: *Motse* 11.25 as surveyed in 1991 and then during the field work in 2013.

(Note how the buildings have deteriorated).



Figure 3.25: The wrought iron grave markers found at the graveyard. (Photo: Author's own).

The foot survey was completed with an inspection of the graveyard. The graveyard is situated approximately one kilometre from the church in the main mission station complex and was probably placed at the outer border of the settlement due to the lack of suitable space around the church. The graveyard was only used by the missionaries and the residents of the mission settlement and presumably only includes those who had converted to Christianity (Pienaar 2014). There are numerous headstones in the shape of metallic crosses belonging to some of the missionaries and their families who died at Botshabelo, as seen in figure 3.25. There is a sharp contrast between the elaborate European-style grave markers found at the entrance of the graveyard and the many stone packed graves, some with modest headstones but most of the graves are unknown (figure 3.26).



Figure 3.26: A photo of the unmarked stone cairns found in the graveyard. (Photo: Author's own).

It became apparent during the survey that at some point there was an attempt to establish the houses of the *Motse* in a grid-like pattern along the main roads found in the village. Merensky's 1882 sketch shows a grid pattern in the area of the *Motse* and these roads are still visible from north to south on the aerial photograph of 1943. In the photograph, clear linear rows of houses and homesteads can be seen. These houses and homesteads seem to spread out from the main access road to form little clusters between the roads in the village. It must be said, that not much of this is evident today due to the destruction caused during the forced removals and most of the evidence of a grid-like pattern has been destroyed. But it is mentioned in the various travel journals that the village was found to be neat and orderly (Sandeman 1880; Wolseley 1880). With regards to grid-patterns, the architectural team mentions that there is a diagonal road leading from house number 30.1 to homestead 11.25, and that this road is older than the straight roads found in the village. This fact could not be corroborated during the 2013 survey or in any

of the other sources. This road could simply be a cattle track used by the present inhabitants of Botshabelo.

The foot survey of the *Motse* unfortunately did not contribute any additional information to that already provided by the UP architectural survey. However, what has become apparent is that the site has deteriorated since 1991 and is continuing to do so. A more detailed survey of the village is needed, one that will include all the relevant structures and ruins visible so as to give a better picture of the spatial landscape of the *Motse*.

The foot survey was thus, the first step in this research and provided the introduction and orientation necessary, to lay down the foundation for the excavations that followed.



Figure 3.27: The terrain surrounding Botshabelo and the *Motse* (Photo: Author's own).

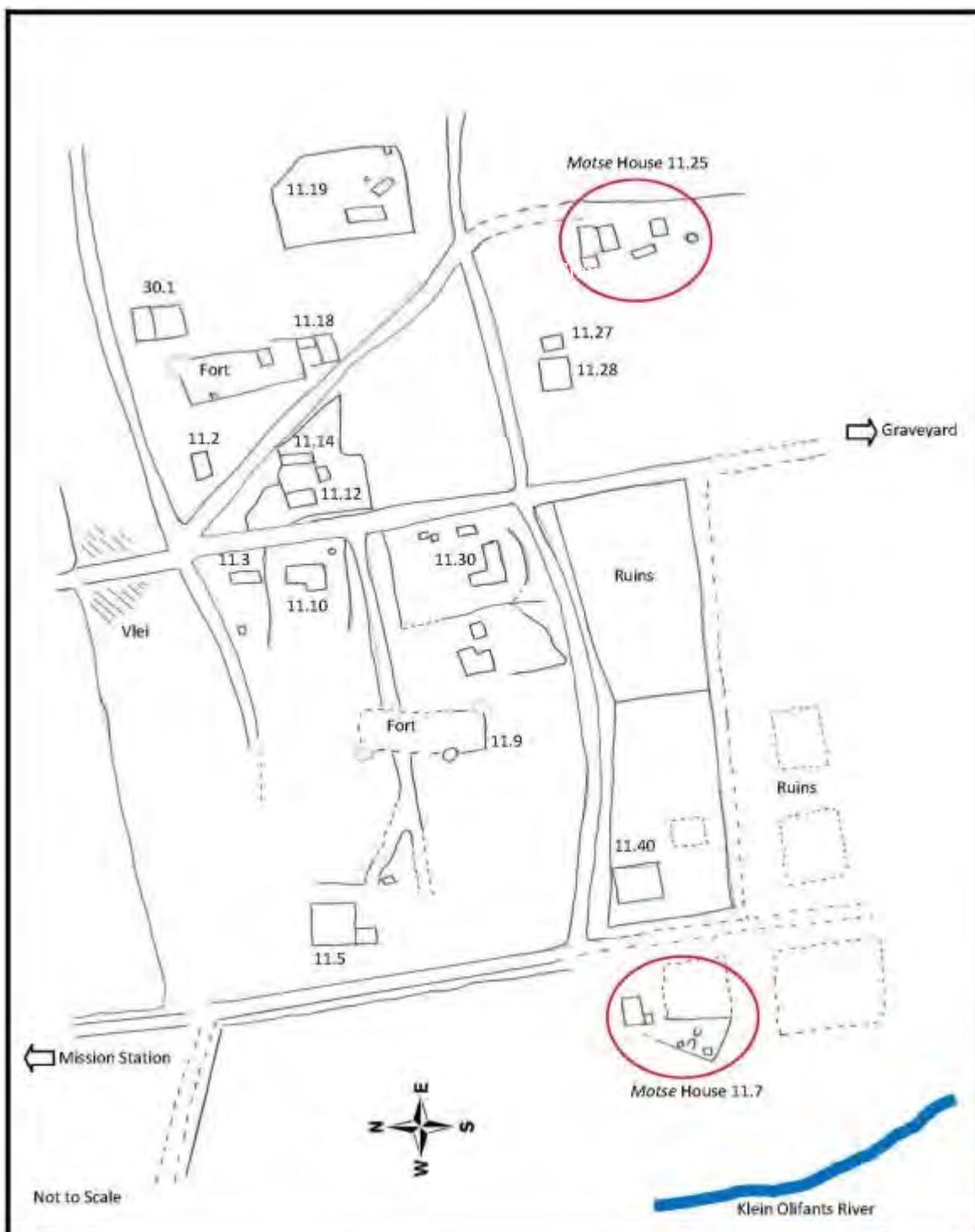


Figure 3.28: Sketched map of the survey area in 2013 based on the UP study of 1991 showing the two selected excavation sites. (Sketch not to scale).

(Drawn by: C.R. Booth).

#### **CHAPTER 4: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE *MOTSE*: THE FIELDWORK**

The following is a discussion of the excavation undertaken at the *Motse* (figure 4.1.) The objective of the excavation was to excavate midden deposits associated with two households, the analysis of which would allow a clearer picture to emerge of the residents who lived in these homesteads. The excavation, although limited in scale, yielded useful material culture that provided valuable information regarding the houses and the households of the *Motse*. The accompanying maps provide only a rudimentary introduction to the two loci discussed. Further mapping was planned for the 2015 excavation season but due to personal circumstances this was unfortunately not accomplished.



Figure 4.1: The *Motse* today (Photo: N. Swanepoel).

#### 4.1 The excavation:

After the completion of the 2013 survey, it was determined that midden deposits related to two homesteads would be excavated and analysed, one homestead each from the east and west of the village respectively would be compared. With regards to this project, a midden can be described as being a concentration of discarded cultural debris (Licence 2015).

There are many different definitions concerning what an excavation is (*inter alia* Fagan 2001; Greene and Moore 2010; Renfrew and Bahn 2008). However, for the purposes of this research, an excavation can be defined as “the disturbance of the ground in archaeologically controlled conditions, may be needed to reverse the burial process” (Roskams 2007:1). It is through careful excavation that the chronology, the consumption and the spatial organisation of the relative households can be examined. So the aim of the excavation was to identify, define, uncover, date and, by understanding the transformation processes, interpret each chosen archaeological context on the site (Green and Moore 2010; Roskams 2007).

Excavations took place during the annual UNISA Archaeological Field School held from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> August 2014. Winter is usually the best time to excavate this area, as the grass is shorter and/or burnt. This assists in the visibility of the outlines of the various structures. During this period, there is also the unlikely chance of heavy rain in the interior of the country, which can make excavating difficult and problematic.

There were 26 students in attendance who were divided into three different teams working in three different areas around the Botshabelo Mission Station complex. Two of these teams were working on the houses that were identified for excavation in the *Motse*. The first homestead that of *Motse* 11.7, colloquially named by the students as ‘Pylon’, is found in the western section of

the village and the second house, *Motse* 11.25 named 'Lemon Tree' in the eastern part. These houses are numbered on the survey map (figure 3.27). These two homesteads were chosen because of their positioning in the village and their associated middens. There was also a lot of surface scatter observed in the vicinity of these homesteads during the initial survey. The first locus *Motse* homestead 11.7 consists of two stone structures, a small garden, an outside bread oven and two kraals. In contrast, *Motse* homestead 11.25 has four rectangular and one cone-on-cylinder structure. This homestead is enclosed by a small stone wall. Presently these structures are in various stages of dereliction and collapse.

The main objective of the excavation was to identify the chronology of the occupation of these households and to investigate the household economies of two *Motse* households within their broader historical context.

#### 4.1.1 *Motse* homestead 11.7 – 'Pylon':

*Motse* homestead 11.7 is found in the western part of the village, not far from the Klein Olifants River. This homestead includes two distinctive structures, of which one is the main house, as seen in figure 4.2, and the other, a small square structure attached to the back of the main house. The main building faces north towards the mission station and the church. There are also two smaller ruins found within the homestead area, which are possibly smaller outbuildings but are most probably kraals (animal enclosures). All of these buildings were built of stone, which is endemic to the area and the main house was originally plastered on the inside, as is evident from the remnants visible in the inside left-hand corners of the main room.



Figure 4.2: *Motse* house number 11.7 (Photo: Author's own).

Presently, these buildings are in various stages of collapse, and nothing of the thatch roof remains. The stone masonry is very neat. There are five window cavities and three doors, one in the front and two in the back. The windows and door frames have been plastered and painted white, as seen in figure 4.2.

The main house is the largest of all the structures and is 11.64 metres in length and 9.56 metres at its widest. It has one room in the interior at present; however, this could have been two rooms as there is still evidence of the anchor bricks. There is a second building attached to the main house that could perhaps have been the kitchen as seen below in figure 4.3. This structure can also be seen on the floor plan in figure 4.9.



Figure 4.3: *Motse* homestead number 11.7 with the attached back structure (Photo: Author's own).

The excavated midden is located at the southwest side of the homestead, in what appears to be the backyard. It is here, that the outdoor oven (figure 4.4) is found, together with two kraals. A garden path leading from the back door to the area of the outdoor oven can also be seen.

The midden is found between a smaller round structure to the south and a heap of collapsed rocks facing north. The midden is approximately three metres long by two metres wide and has taken the shape of a small hill, as seen in figure 4.5.

After the site was cleared, so as to see the structures and the surrounding area better, a site grid was established and a trench was laid out for excavation. This was set up one metre on the north/south and two metres on the west/east axis, so as to ensure that the grid lay lengthwise across the top of the midden.



Figure 4.4: The remains of the outdoor oven. (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.5: One of the two round structures with the midden visible to the right of the photograph

(Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.6: A view of *Motse* homestead 11.7 from one of the bulldozed houses (Photo: Author's own).

The squares were labelled M20 and N20 and were excavated in arbitrary levels of ten centimetres. Square M20 obtained a final depth of 80 centimetres, when the soil colour changed to a dark brown and bed rock was reached. This square proved to be rich in material culture including glass, ceramic and metal. Square N20 was excavated to a final level of 30 centimetres. Unfortunately, the square had been compromised by an animal burrow in the north east corner and was subsequently closed. The grid was subsequently extended to include squares P11 and Q11, which were the site of another potential midden. This midden is found to the northwest, next to the small structure attached to the main house. P11 was excavated to a level of 30 centimetres and this square contained a sizeable amount of material culture. Due to time restraints Q11 was not excavated. In total 1.4m<sup>3</sup> of soil was excavated from the three squares at *Motse* homestead 11.7.

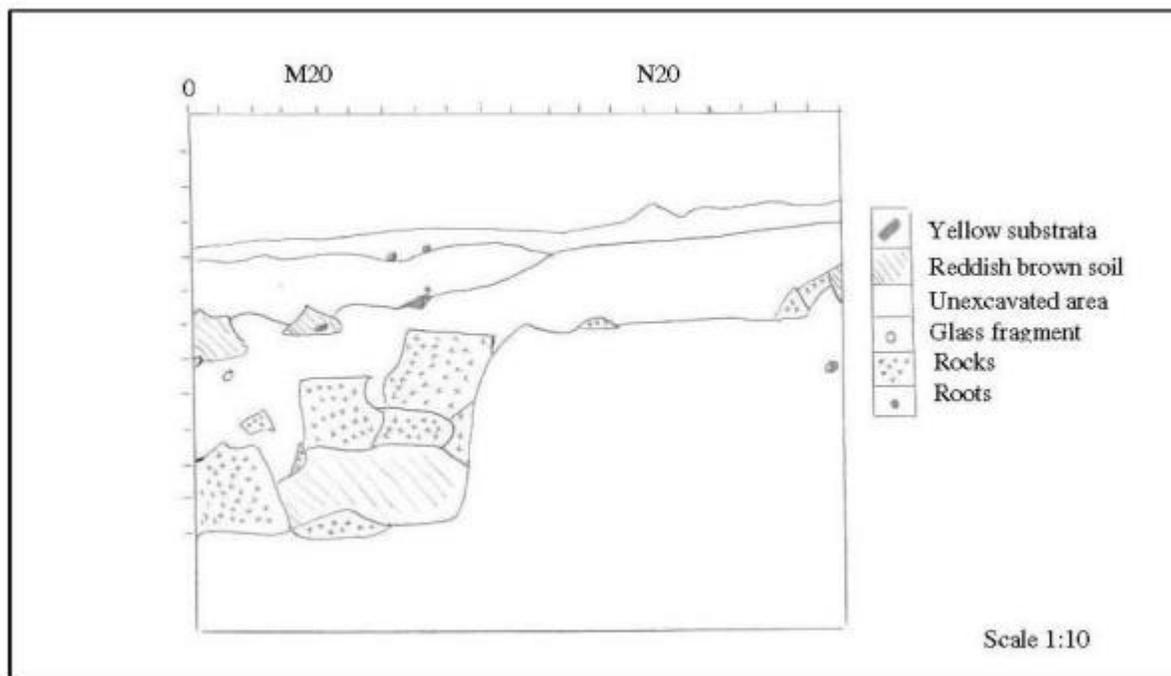


Figure 4.7: North profile of M20-N20.

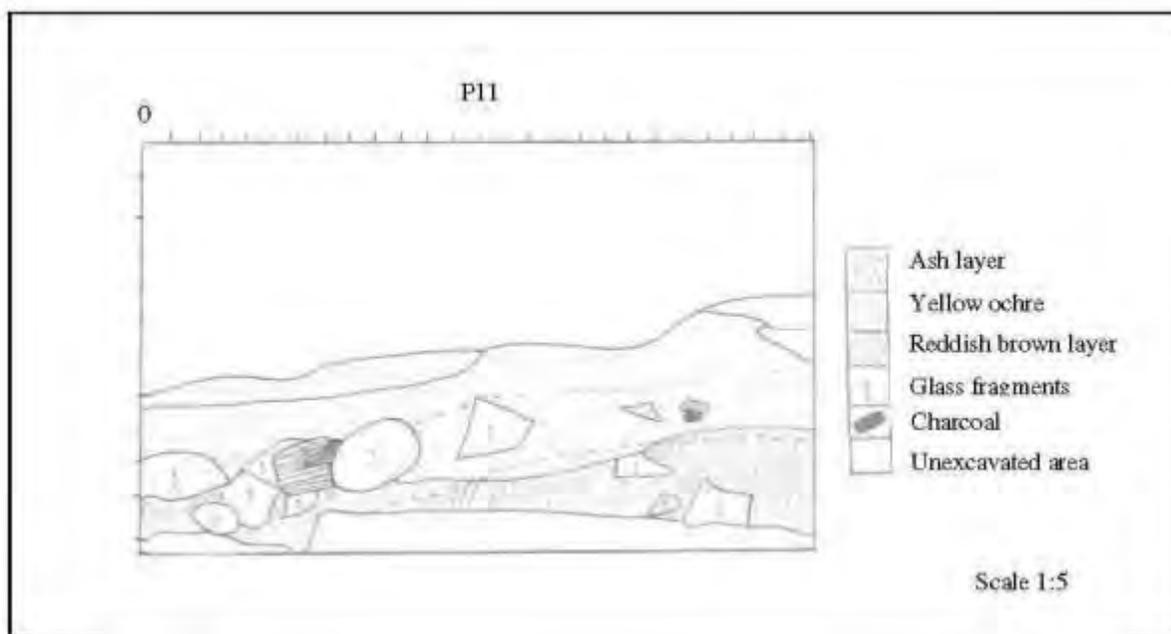


Figure 4.8: Northern profile of P11.

Prepared by C.R. Booth.

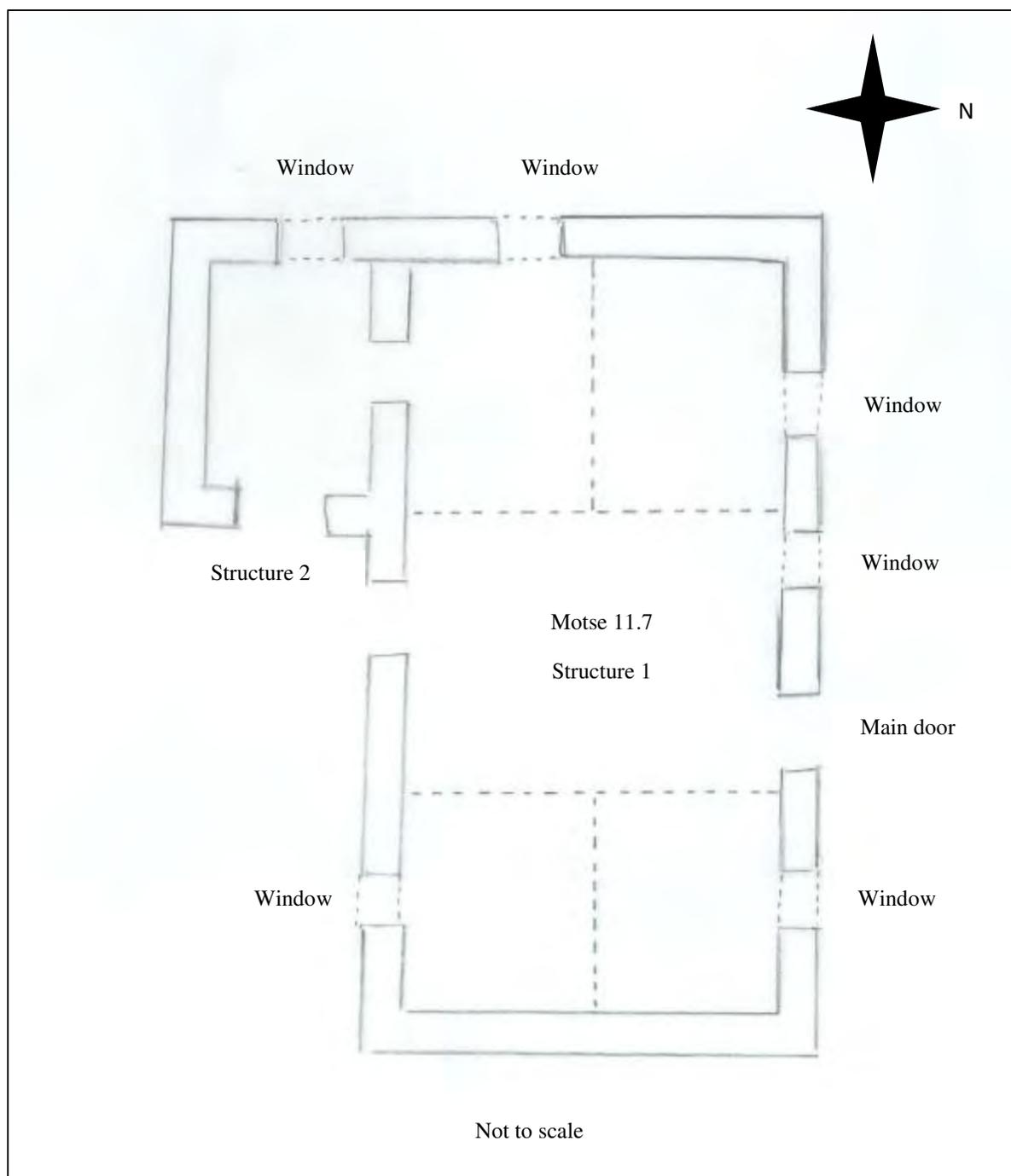


Figure 4.9: Floor plan of the main house of *Motse* 11.7 based on Le Roux and Fisher (1991).

Prepared by C.R. Booth

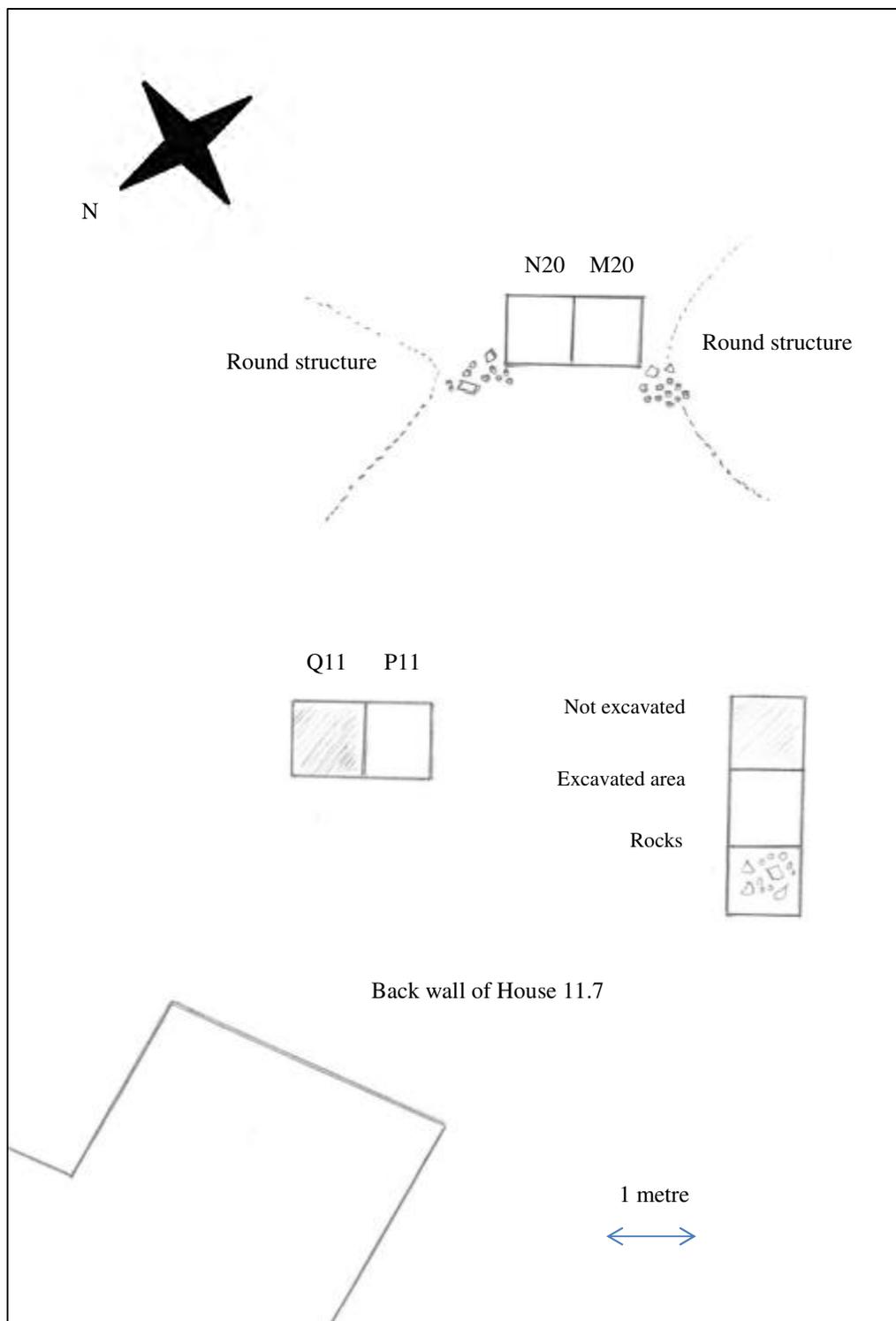


Figure 4.10: *Motse* homestead 11.7 locus map prepared by C.R. Booth

#### 4.1.2 Motse homestead 11.25 – ‘Lemon Tree’:

*Motse* homestead 11.25 is found in the south eastern part of the village. This homestead consists of four rectangular buildings of various sizes and one cone-on-cylinder structure, at the far end of the site near an animal kraal (enclosure). This group of structures appear to be well organised. These structures are all built of stone and have evidence of being plastered in the past. The largest of the buildings is the main house, as seen in figure 4.11. It is 9.77 metres in length and 7.38 in width and has three rooms, as can be seen on the floor plan in figure 4.17. Their function appears to be living areas and maybe a kitchen at the centre as there is evidence of a fireplace. Only the room to the left, as observed from the front door, still has a cement floor. There is another structure adjacent to the main house which suggests that the homestead was enlarged at some point (figure 4.13).

There is also another outside building found south of the main house towards the round structure as seen in figure 4.14. This structure is 8.23 metres long by 3.68 metres wide. The only window of this stone structure is covered by chicken mesh. The function of this building could not be determined.

There is also a small round structure found in the south of the homestead, which appears to be a cone-on-cylinder type structure (figure 4.15). This cone-on-cylinder structure has a diameter of 4.45 metres and is enclosed within the small boundary wall. As with *Motse* 11.7, these structures were also in various stages of collapse. These structures are also built of stone and no evidence of the thatched roof remains.



Figure 4.11: The main house of *Motse* homestead 11.25 (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.12: Interior of *Motse* 11.25 with the white plaster and the remnants of a fire place. (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.13: The second structure adjacent to the house of *Motse* 11.25 (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.14: The outside building found south of the main house. (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 4.15: The cone-on-cylinder structure attached to *Motse* house number 11.25 (Photo: Author's own).

The midden associated with this homestead is found to the west of the main house. This midden was fairly flat and widespread in an area of approximately ten metres. After clearing this site from east to west, all surface material in the designated area was collected and documented. A grid was set up running north to south in four by one metre squares (4 x 1).

These squares were labelled: K12; K13; K14 and K15, as referred to on the site map. Excavation began in the ashy areas of K12 and K13. These squares were also excavated in arbitrary levels of ten centimetres. It became evident that there were large rocks present together with gravel inclusions that made excavating difficult. This was most probably collapsed walling from the homestead. A level of 20 centimetres was reached in K12 and 30 centimetres in K13.

The grid was extended to the west, and the students began excavating in squares labelled L12 and L13 in ten centimetre levels. Square L12 attained a level of 30 centimetres, as did L13.

Excavation in these squares was abandoned when it became apparent that they had been disturbed by animal activity. The excavation moved onto square L14 and a depth of 20cm was reached with very little cultural material being uncovered. The grid was further extended to include square L11. There were more large rocks present here that could be part of the collapsed walling. Only a depth of 20 centimetres was attained. At the completion of the excavation, 1.4m<sup>3</sup> of soil was removed from the seven squares at *Motse* homestead 11.25.

The excavations, as well as, all the excavated cultural material were thoroughly documented on site and the artefacts carefully bagged and labelled, ready for the laboratory. The fieldwork thus, comprised of methodical planning, surveying, excavation and collection of archaeological material, recording and documentation in the form of field notes, photography and drawings including stratigraphy. The above must all be done meticulously, as excavation techniques influence the results.



Figure 4.16: *Motse* house 11.25 excavation area with one of the students (Photo: Author's own).

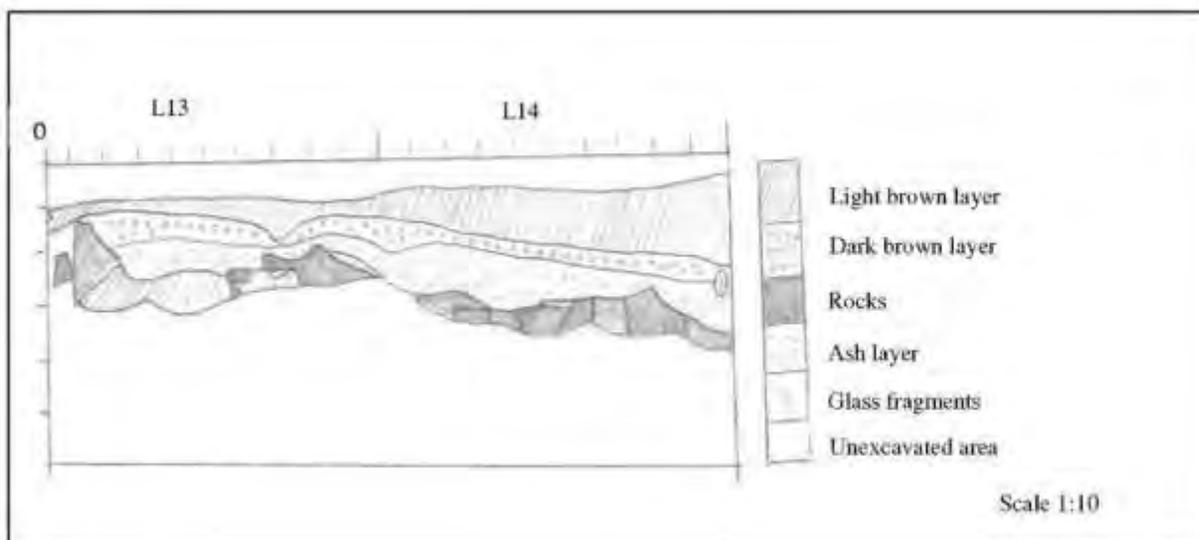


Figure 4.17.: Section drawing of the west wall of L14, L13, L12 and L11.

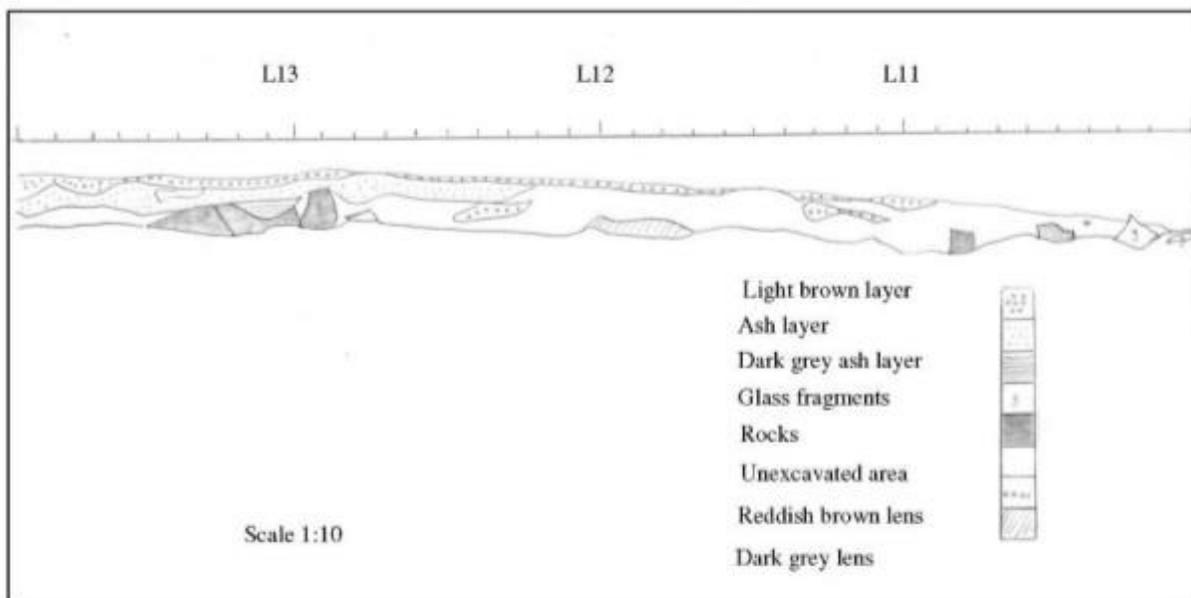


Figure 4.18: Section drawing of the south wall.

Prepared by C.R. Booth

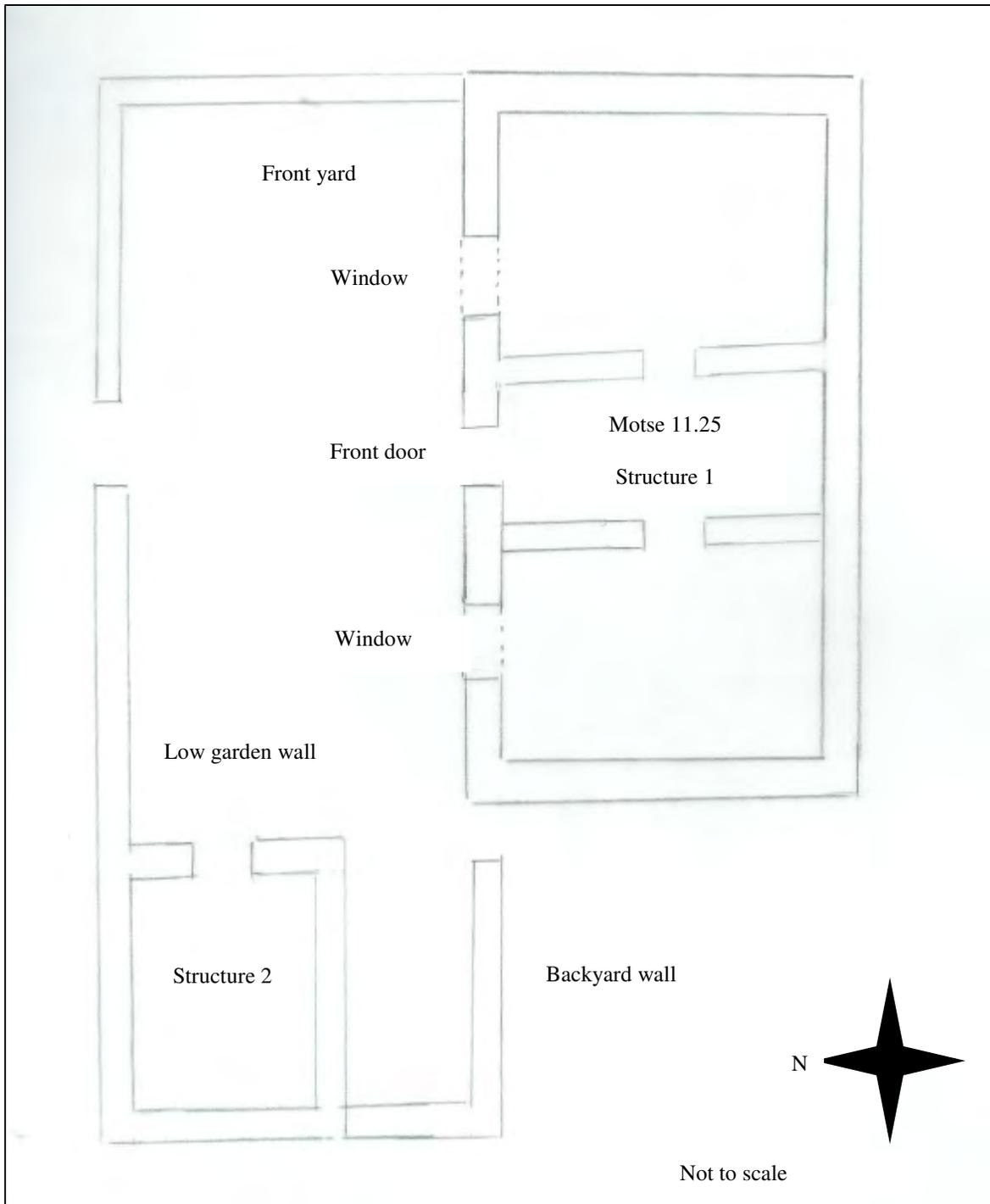


Figure 4.19: Floor plan of the main house of *Motse* 11.25 based on Le Roux and Fisher 1991).

Prepared by C.R. Booth

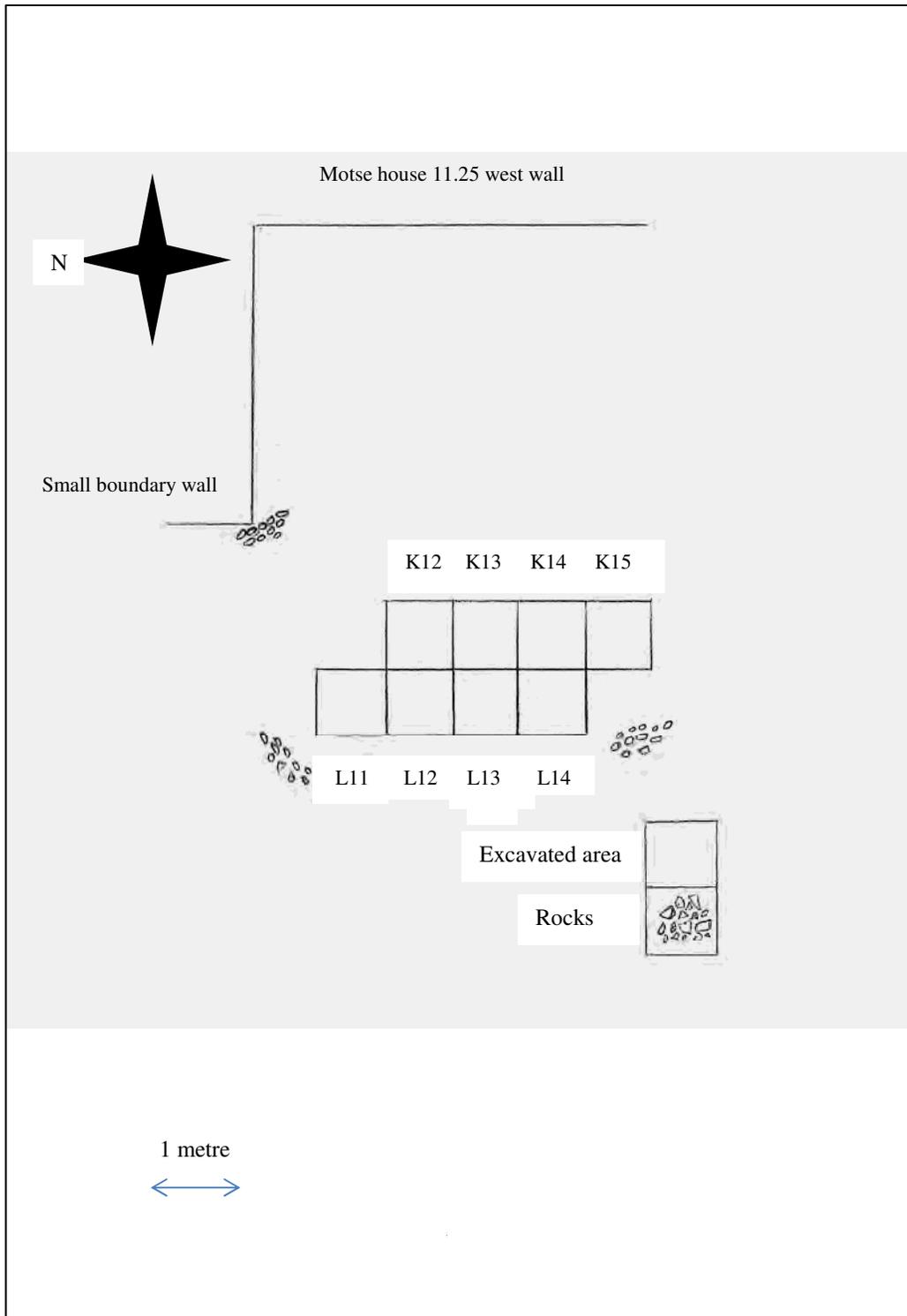


Figure 4.20: *Motse* 11.25 locus map prepared by C.R. Booth



Figure 4.21: Positions of excavated sites.

(Satellite image from *Google Earth Pro* retrieved 2017).

## **CHAPTER 5: THE TWO HOUSES OF THE MOTSE: THE ANALYSIS**

The research of the *Motse* is set within an historical archaeological context, with its aim to refine the chronology of the architectural and cultural changes in this section of the mission station, through the analysis of the combined material sources and cultural material excavated. This will assist in determining how the residents interacted within the mission community and provide information on their daily lives by investigating the households and their consumption patterns.

As discussed in the previous chapter, two houses of the *Motse* were excavated. The cultural material associated with both houses, *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25, consisted primarily of ceramics, glass fragments and glass bottles of various colours, metal artefacts, plastic items and house fragments. However, before discussing the analysis of the selected cultural material, it is important that a brief description of the laboratory protocols that were followed be given. It is vital that the archaeological context that was so carefully recorded in the field be preserved throughout the laboratory procedures. The Oxford English Dictionary for Students (2006:819) defines protocols as being “the formal record of scientific experimental observation”. It is the standard operating procedures, a list of instructions to perform an experiment or to do an analysis. Such protocols are also used in the processing of artefacts after an excavation. These artefacts need to be sorted, cleaned, labelled and catalogued, identified and classified, measured, photographed and drawn.

The material culture excavated from the *Motse* was sorted into artefact classes, namely glass, ceramics, metals, beads and plastic for example. A total of 33 individual categories were classified, as seen in Table 5.1.

These artefacts were then carefully sorted and cleaned and recorded on the Field Inventory Form (Appendix 2). The artefacts were then labelled and catalogued. A catalogue number was assigned to each find. The catalogue number includes the site name and number/the house number/the artefact number. For example: TGVT269/11.7/01.

A unique number is given for special and small finds and these include the site name and number/the house number/the square name/the level/the artefact number. An example of this is TGVT269/11.25/K12/0-10cm/01. All of the catalogue numbers were recorded on the Catalogue Forms (the complete *Motse* Artefacts Catalogue can be found on disc in Appendix 3).



Figure 5.1: Some metal artefacts that have been cleaned and sorted, waiting to be labelled and catalogued.

(Photo: Author's own).

The most important point to note here is that “there are no two bags of artifacts in the world that have the same set of identifying numbers” (Ortman *et al* 2005:5). In total 3018 bags of artefacts were labelled and catalogued during the laboratory efforts on the houses of the *Motse*. It was decided that the analysis for this project would focus primarily on the glass and ceramics, as

these assemblages would contribute in determining the chronology of the deposits of these two houses of the *Motse*, as well as informing on the consumption of household members. The buttons were analysed for comparative purposes. Analysis is therefore used to identify the attributes, function, form, date/age, manufacturing methods and material types of the relevant cultural material retrieved (Ortman *et al* 2005).

With respect to the glass analysis, the glass pieces were examined by studying the colour, rims, lip, body and bases. During the ceramic analysis the attributes of fabric, form, decoration, technique of decoration, colour and pattern were studied. Buttons were analysed for comparative data.

At the time of this research, the metal assemblage was being analysed by an Honours student, Yolandi Adams, as part of the greater Botshabelo Mission Station project. Future research will be carried out on the faunal and botanical materials, as well as, the beads and plastics.



Figure 5.2: The buttons being labelled and catalogued. (Photo: Author's own).

Table 5.1: The presence or absence of types of cultural material and its association between the houses of *Motse 11.7* and *Motse 11.25*.

Artefact category:	<i>Motse 11.7</i>	<i>Motse 11.25</i>
Brick	x	
Batteries	x	x
Lime samples	x	
Fauna	x	x
Flora	x	x
Slate samples	x	x
Metal/tin cans	x	x
Ceramics	x	x
Glass	x	x
Local ceramics/pottery	x	
Dagga	x	x
Wax	x	
Upper grinding stone	x	x
Human teeth	x	
Chalk	x	
Shell	x	x
Concrete	x	
Toothpaste tubes	x	x
Cardboard	x	
Cork	x	
Leather	x	
Ochre	x	x
Buttons	x	x
Beads	x	x
Foil	x	
Fabric	x	x
Plastic	x	x
Rodent nest	x	x
Rubber		x
Plaster		x
Carpet		x
Labels		x
Skin lightening cream		x

## 5.1 Glass.

Before the analysis, all the glass fragments were washed and sorted according to house, square and level. Each of the diagnostic glass pieces were assigned their own catalogue numbers but the undiagnostic glass was consigned to a sample, for example, all the undiagnostic clear glass of the same square and level was counted and the sample bagged and assigned a catalogue number.

With regard to the analysis of the glass excavated from *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25, the intact vessels together with the glass fragments were examined taking bottle type or function, rim, lip, body, base, mould seams and colour into consideration. A total of 1595 glass pieces (both intact and fragmented) were counted and analysed for *Motse* 11.7 and 1136 for *Motse* 11.25.

The two households were analysed individually and will thus be discussed separately.

The analysis revealed that the glass vessels found at the homesteads of the *Motse*, included beer and alcohol bottles, preserve jars, medicine and cosmetic vials and jars, as well as, household containers used for poisons and disinfectants for cleaning. This glass is of various colours such as blue, green and brown but clear glass was the most common. There were also tableware sherds, lighting and window glass found.

### 5.1.1. The glass of *Motse* homestead 11.7.

Few individual complete bottles and distinctive pieces of glass were excavated. As most of the glass found at the site was fragmented, these complete bottles and distinctive pieces can provide useful information. A number of complete bottles were recovered, including alcohol (wine and beer), food containers (sauce bottles and preserve jars), as well as, cosmetic and medicinal jars.

These complete bottles had makers' marks, such as the soda mineral bottle with "The Property of Sparkling Mineral Water Works Middelburg TVL" embossed on it, an ink pot with the name 'STEPHENS' and a sauce bottle with 'TOMANGO' embossed on it. One of the fragments is an oval clear glass bottom with 'TALANA' marked on it. A circumstance that developed from the aftermath of the First World War was that South Africa began to manufacture and produce its own products. This made the country more self-sufficient, as observed in the development of the glass industry by Lastovica and Lastovica (1990). TALANA Glass, which was established as Glass Limited in 1917, marked the bases of their early bottles from 1928 with TALANA and a letter that indicated the year of manufacture until 1952. After 1952, the bottles were marked with a triangle and code letters to indicate the date that the batches of bottles were manufactured (Dale Lewis pers. comm. 29 August 2015).

Most of the intact bottles from *Motse* 11.7 are clear in colour, except for one brown beer bottle and one blue medicine bottle. In South Africa, coloured glass started making an appearance in 1928, and was used for descriptive purposes (Coetzee 2012). For example, blue glass was mostly used for medicine or poison bottles. According to Mackay (1984), glass medicine bottles starting making an appearance in the 1600s but it was really only in the latter part of the 1800s with the emergence of patent medicines that these types of medicines became popular for use in remote areas. All the complete bottles and jars are machine-made and have either screw or crown tops as closures. There are two medicinal bottles that have stoppers as closures. The alcohol bottles, the jars, two of the sauce bottles and a medicine bottle all have round bases. The ink pot, the sauce bottle and the blue medicine bottle all have oval bases. The glue bottle with a rubber dropper is square and the 'TALANA' fragment is oblong in shape.

All of these complete bottles are modern, as the mould markings reflect a seam running from top to bottom in a straight line and through the lip, and are, therefore, modern glass mostly date after the 1920s. The LENNON medicine bottle has the maker's mark 4T49, which places this bottle in 1949. It is very difficult however, to try and date bottles according to the various numbers found on the bases as these are more often than not batch and registration numbers (Lastovica and Lastovica 1990; Lewis 2014). Lennon Limited was founded in Port Elizabeth in 1850 by Berry Grey Lennon, a pharmacist. It was only after his death in 1877 that the company flourished, and in the 1930s it became the largest pharmaceutical company in the southern hemisphere and is still in existence today (Coetzee 2012).

A couple of complete cosmetic jars but mostly fragments representing CHESEBROUGH and PONDS products were also recovered. Chesebrough Manufacturing Company produced petroleum jelly or Vaseline. It was founded in 1859 by a chemist who was interested in using oil products for medicinal purposes. Chesebrough named his product Vaseline from the German word for water (wasser) and the Greek word for oil (olion). His product was first patented in the United States in 1872 and in England in 1877. Chesebrough Manufacturing Company was distributing its products throughout the States and England by the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Pelser 2013). Ponds cold cream was developed by a pharmacist, Theron T. Pond of the United States in 1846 as "Ponds Golden Treasure". Then in 1886, the name was changed to "Ponds Extract". It was however, only in 1905, that "Ponds Cold Cream" emerged (Coetzee 2012). Then in 1955, Chesebrough merged with Ponds Cream and in 1987 the company was acquired by Unilever (Pelser 2013). The jar, as seen in figure 5.4, has both names on the base, it most probably post-dates the merger in 1955.

With regards to Coca-Cola, the soda made its debut in the 1880s as a syrup and was sold by the glass in pharmacies or as they were known in America – drug stores. It was in 1916, during the First World War that the trade mark hobble skirt design made its appearance (Orser 2004). As seen in figure 5.5, the Coca-Cola bottle fragment has white decal lettering first introduced in 1957.



Figure 5.3: Bottom of a TALANA bottle.



Figure 5.4: Chesebrough cosmetic jar.



Figure 5.5: A fragment of a Coke bottle.

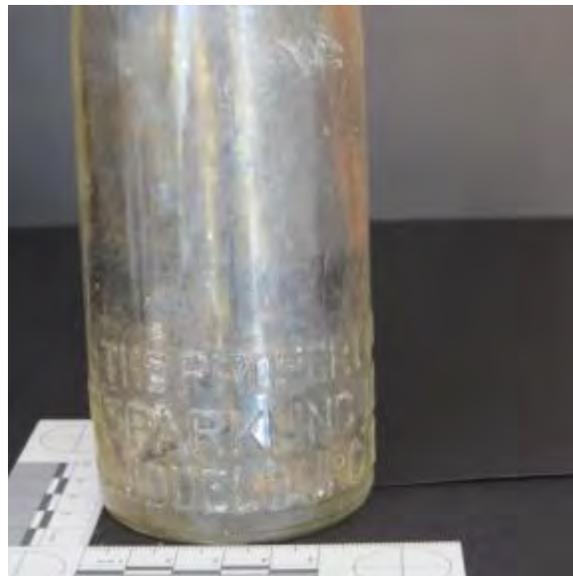


Figure 5.6: Embossed sparkling water bottle.

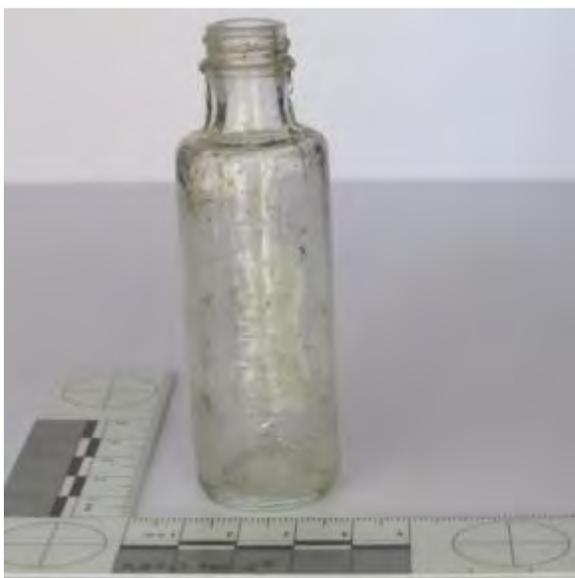


Figure 5.7: A Lennon medicine vial.



Figure 5.8: A Ponds Cold Cream jar.



Figure 5.9: Glue dropper bottle.



Figure 5.10: Stephens Inkwell.

(Photos: Author's own).

Table 5.2: Maker's marks from *Motse* 11.7.

Maker's marks from <i>Motse</i> 11.7	NISP n=
Property of Sparkling Mineral Water Works Middelburg TVL	3
STEPHENS Inkwel	1
TOMANGO	1
PONDS CHESEBROUGH	4
LENNON	2
....WART	1
BREWER	1
OPUYT...HIED	1
...RIES AND WINES	3
WINERY FILLED B..STE	1
..OKTER ..IESON SE .. EWENS ESSENS	2
DANISH DAIRY	1
CHAMBERLAINS	2
TRADE M	1
.. RETORIA	1
SA...G OIL	1
Distillers Corporation	1

Colour is also of importance when identifying and dating glass vessels and fragments. Glass is coloured through the addition of a variety of chemical oxides. For instance, cobalt is added to make blue glass and iron oxide or borate of lime is added to make green glass. The white milk glass used for cosmetics, such as cold creams, is produced by adding zinc or tin oxide (Lewis 2014).

White milk glass was produced as a substitute for porcelain (Mackay 1984). Cobalt blue bottles were used as containers for either medicines or poisons. Brown and green bottles used for household disinfectants, cleaning agents and poisons and were usually embossed or ribbed for easier identification. Brown and green bottles were also used for alcohol such as beer (Lastovica

and Lastovica 1990). Glass colour therefore also informs on function type. Aqua glass can be significant in the dating of the glass fragments. The colour is caused by too much iron found in the sand used for the manufacturing process. When such glass is present on a site it usually implies that it predates the 1920s. Clear modern glass became more widespread after 1920 due to the new technologies available to glass manufacturers and so fewer impurities were present in the glass manufacturing process. The distribution of the coloured glass of *Motse* 11.7 can be observed in Table 5.3, where brown glass was the most prevalent.

Applied colour labelling made an appearance around the 1930s and can contribute to the dating of glass fragments but this is sometimes difficult, as most of these items were mass produced. An example of applied colour labelling found at the homestead of *Motse* 11.7 is that of a milk bottle with DANISH DAIRY printed on it, as noted in figures 5.11.



Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12: Examples of applied colour labelling found on a milk bottle and a sunflower oil bottle  
(Photo's: Author's own).

Most of the bottles and jars analysed have external screw or crown tops as seen in figure 5.13. A couple of the bottles, especially the medicine vessels had cork or glass stoppers. It was only in 1852 that the external screw thread was introduced. The internal screw top was developed in 1872 and the crown top that is so common on beer bottles in 1892 (Lewis 2014). However, the Lastovicas' (1990) state that the crown tops were only used at the Union Glass Ltd factory at Talana after 1920.

There were round, oval, oblong and square bases present but no bases with pontil scars were present in the assemblage.

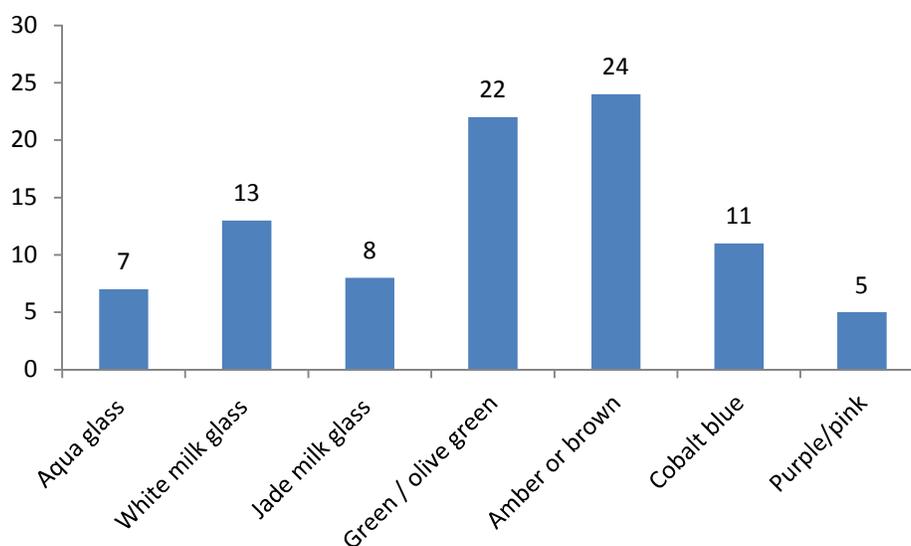


Figure 5.13: A sample of the finishes of the various bottles found at *Motse* 11.7.

(Photo: Author's own).

Table 5.3: The number of individual specimens of coloured glass found at *Motse* 11.7.

Colour	Time Period as per Horn(2006)	NISP n=
Aqua glass	ca1800-1920s	7
White milk glass	ca 1890s-present	13
Jade milk glass	ca 1890s-present	8
Green / olive green	ca 1860s-present	22
Amber or brown	ca 1860s-present	24
Cobalt blue	ca 1890 - present	11
Purple/pink	ca 1885-1920	5
		NISP: 90

Figure 5.14: Distribution of coloured glass excavated at *Motse* 11.7.

The photographs, figures 5.15 and 5.16 show the seal and neck from a Dutch Gin bottle- olive green in colour with OPUYT HIE embossed on it, and as per Dale Lewis (pers. comm. August 2015), this could stand for LOOPUYT SCHIEDAM, which was produced in the late 1800s and the early 1900s. Gin distilling was the one of the main activities carried out in the town of

Schiedam in Holland. “A ‘seal gin’ is the term used to describe a case bottle with a glass seal applied to the shoulder” (Lastovica and Lastovica 1990:37).

Figures 5.18 and 5.19 are examples of soetolie (sweet oil) bottles, which usually consisted of coconut oil and were used in cooking and for medicinal purposes (Lastovica and Lastovica 1990). Another example of the coloured glass recovered from *Motse* 11.7 is a fragment of pink tableware (figure 5.21).

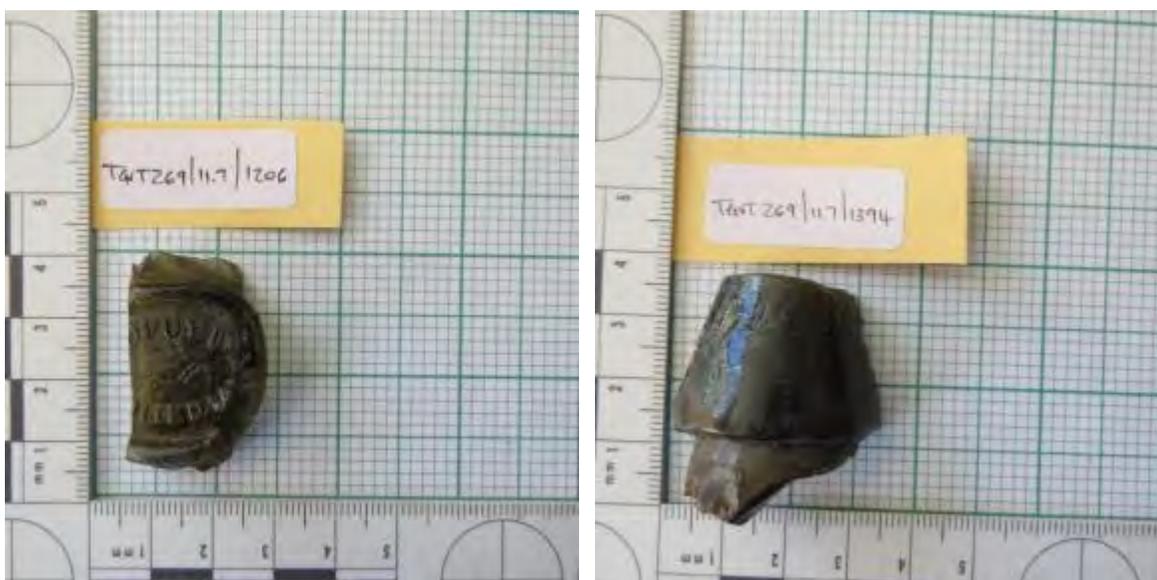


Figure 5.15 and Figure 5.16: Seal and lip from a Dutch gin bottle. (Photos: Author's own).

In total there are 407 number of individual specimens (NISP) from the *Motse* 11.7 excavation, of which 22% are coloured glass. Of the 90 fragments of coloured glass, one was pink tableware and the other 89 were from bottles and vessels. The 317 fragments of clear glass included 67 tableware fragments, 16 lighting glass and three fragments of window glass. These represent 78% of the glass assemblage. The remaining 231 clear glass fragments are from glass vessels and bottles and characterises 73% of the glass assemblage.

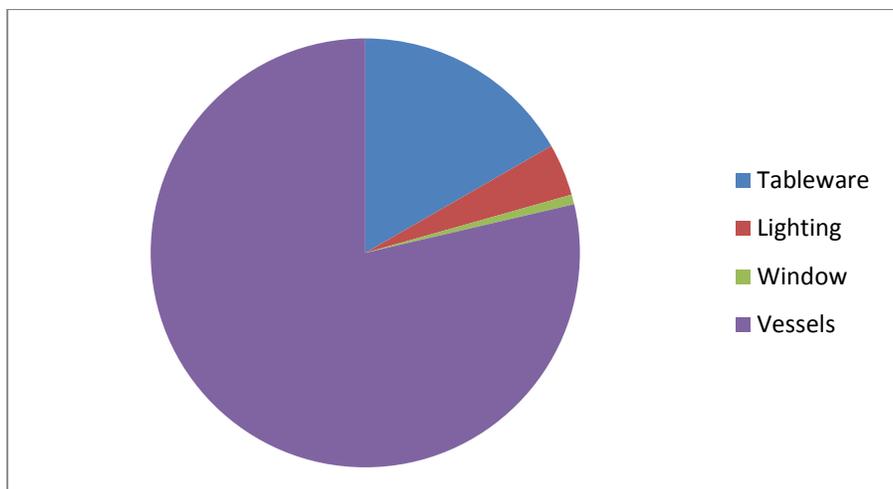


Figure 5.17: The types of glass from *Motse 11.7*.



Figures 5.18 and 5.19: Fragments of soetolie (sweet oil) bottles.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figure 5.20: An olive green ampule.



Figure 5.21: A fragment of pink tableware.

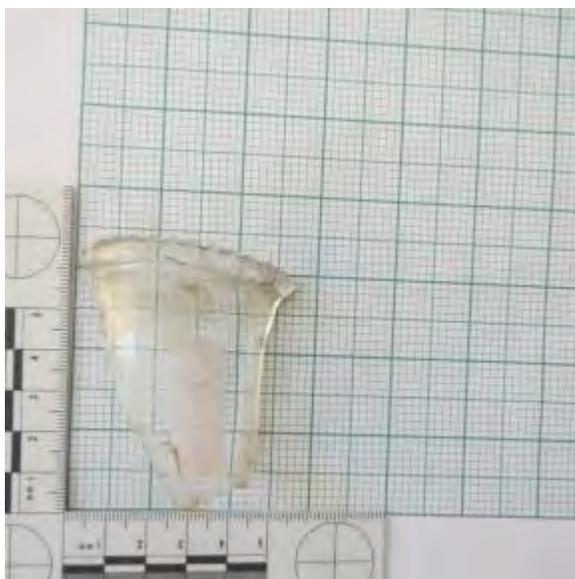


Figure 5.22: A fragment of lighting glass.



Figure 5.23: Tableware most probably a milk jug.

(Photos: Author's own).

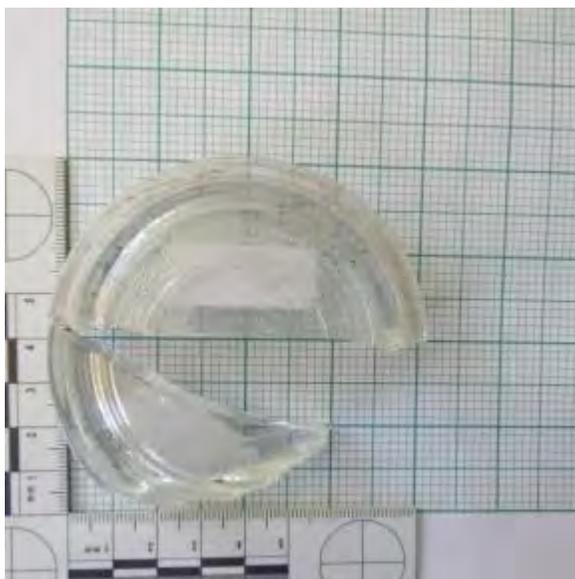


Figure 5.24: A clear canning jar lid.



Figure 5.25: A fragment of a saucer of jade milk glass.

(Photos: Author's own).

The distribution of the glass described in Table 5.5 and the graph below, indicates that the lower, less disturbed layers of deposits contained a higher artefact density on average than the surface scatter. This could suggest that these layers were from when the site was well established. The surface scatter collected could have been deposited through animal disturbance, such as grazing or other processes. Square P11 had more material culture and a reason for this could be that it was closer to the main house. Square N20 was following a similar artefact distribution to M20 before it had to be closed due to disturbance.

Table 5.4: Classification of the glass from *Motse 11.7*

Midden Square NISP n=		Clear n=	Colour	Base		Finish		Mould seams/machine made
Surface	52	39	13	Oval Round	4 10	Crown top Stopper Screw top Cork	1 2 7 1	20
P11	105	85	20	Oval Round Oblong	1 15 5	Stopper Screw top Cork	1 17 1	17 No seams: 1
N20	47	35	12	Oval Round Oblong	4 7 2	Screw top Crown top Cork	5 1 1	5
M20	193	170	23	Oval Round Oblong Square	13 30 4 2	Screw top Crown top Dropper top Cork	49 5  1 3	77 Tooled: 1

Table 5.5. The distribution of the glass at *Motse* 11.7 presented by square and unit.

Midden Square/Unit	Level	NISP n=
General	Surface	52
		Total: 52
P11	Surface	2
	0-10cm	34
	10-20cm	57
	20-30cm	12
	Total: 105	
N20	0-10cm	34
	10-20cm	9
	20-30cm	4
	Total: 47	
M20	0-10cm	13
	10-20cm	5
	20-30cm	12
	30-40cm	33
	40-50cm	28
	50-60cm	44
	60-70cm	46
	70-80cm	22
		Total: 203
		Total NISP: 407

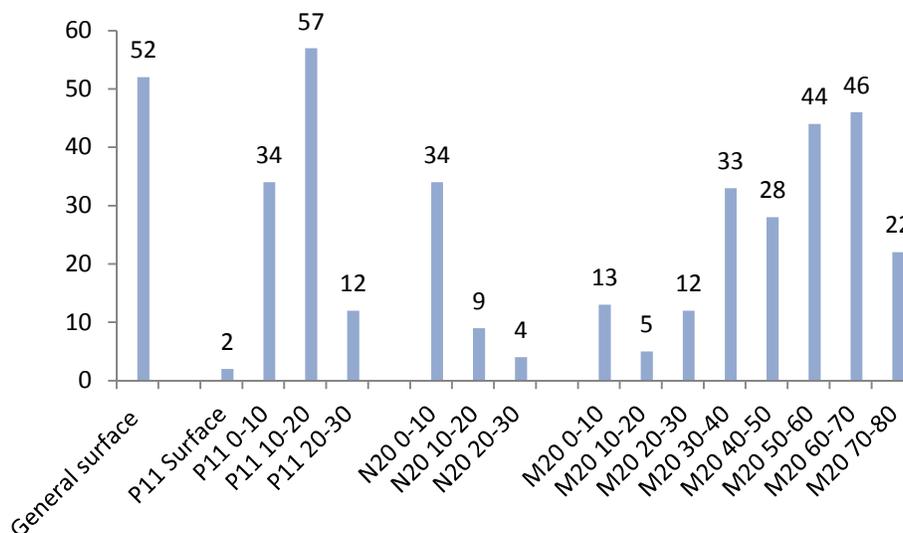


Figure 5.26: Distribution of the NISP for *Motse* 11.7.

#### 5.1.2. The glass of *Motse* homestead 11.25.

The glass assemblage from *Motse* 11.25 during analysis was found to be very fragmented and shrapnel-like and many of the shards/fragments were undiagnostic. There were only a couple of bases and finishes and these were also fragmented and could not assist in dating the material. Very few complete bottles and distinctive glass fragments were excavated. There were however, a few noteworthy pieces found in the assemblage, included an aqua glass stopper and five complete bottles, that of, an oval ink bottle with STEPHENS embossed on its plastic top; a glass deodorant roll-on; a cosmetic PONDS jar; a WOODS medicine bottle for coughs and colds and a preserves jar. All are made of clear glass, are modern with screw tops and are machine-made.

The aqua glass stopper (figure 5.27) is likely one of the oldest pieces in this assemblage and of the excavated cultural material as a whole. Aqua glass dates from the early 1800s onwards, until improvements in glass manufacturing in the 1920s made glass clearer with fewer impurities and

glass items became more delicate and more accessible to consumers (Horn 2006). Other aqua glass fragments were present in this assemblage, seen here in figure 5.29.

Figure 5.30 is an example of a STEPHENS Inkwell. Stephens Ink Company has a long history that began in 1838 in the United Kingdom. By 1852, the company was the leading manufacturer of ink writing fluids and other stationary items. The company expanded to South Africa and by 1896, had an office in Durban run by Harold Stephens. The company expanded all over the world and the Stephens product range had 150 different kinds of inks by 1951. Slowly, due to the introduction of the typewriter and the carbon ribbon, ink sales started to decline.<sup>2</sup>

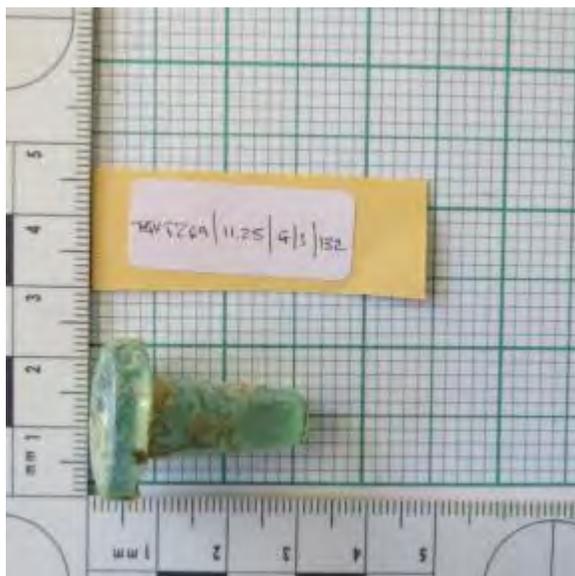


Figure 5.27: An aqua bottle stopper.



Figure 5.28: A modern bottle stopper from France.

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<sup>2</sup> Ink bottle [www.stephenshouseandgarden.com/assets/ugc/docs/inkcompanytimelinerevised.pdf](http://www.stephenshouseandgarden.com/assets/ugc/docs/inkcompanytimelinerevised.pdf) 12/10/2016

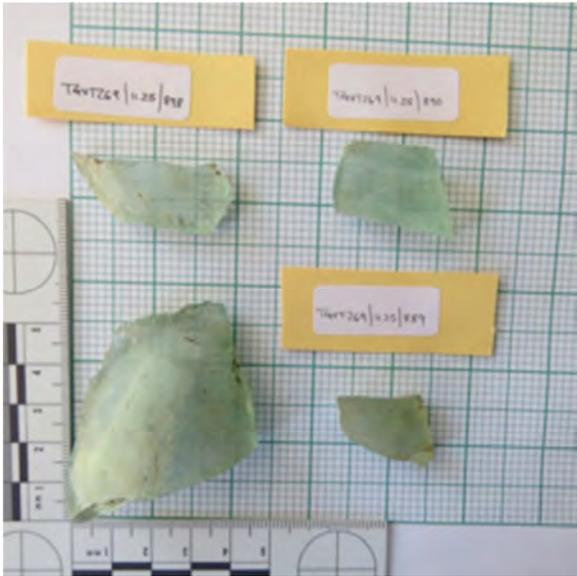


Figure 5.29: Various fragments of aqua glass.



Figure 5.30: Stephens Inkwell



Figure 5.31 Wood's medicine bottle.



Figure 5.32: A preserve jar.

(Photos: Author's own.)

Another branded glass bottle from the house of *Motse* 11.25 is the WOODS Peppermint Cough Syrup bottle, as seen in figure 5.31. This product is originally from Australia where it was introduced by WE Woods Limited in 1905 for the relief of coughs and colds. This company expanded into South Africa not long after its establishment. This bottle is machine made and has a plastic top and dates to circa 1940-1950s.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the bottles and jars analysed had external screw or crown tops. A couple of the medicinal vessels had cork or glass stoppers as seen in figure 5.36.

Table 5.6: Coloured glass found at *Motse* 11.25.

Colour	Time Period as per Horn(2006)	Amount
Aqua glass	ca1800-1920s	12
White milk glass	ca 1890s-present	1
Jade milk glass	ca 1890s-present	0
Green / olive green	ca 1860s-present	17
Amber or brown	ca 1860s-present	14
Cobalt blue	ca 1890 - present	5
Purple/pink	ca 1885-1920	1
		NISP: 50

As observed in the above table, green and olive glass was more predominant at *Motse* house 11.25. Green and olive glass was usually used for either alcohol or household containers consisting of liquids such as cleaning materials and poisons.

<sup>3</sup> Woods Cough Syrup [www.collections.museum.com.au/items/1680745/html](http://www.collections.museum.com.au/items/1680745/html)

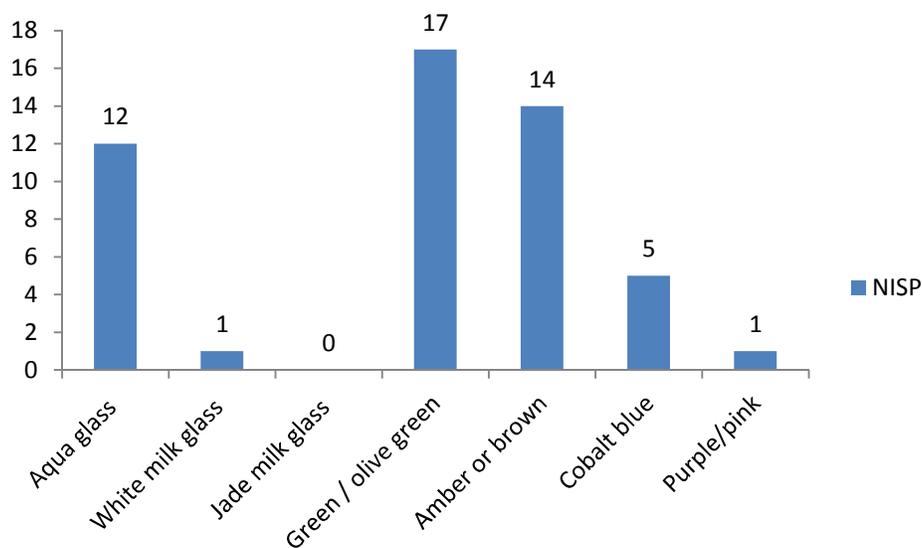


Figure 5.33: Distribution of coloured glass excavated at *Motse* 11.25.

As previously mentioned, applied colour labelling started making an appearance in the 1930s and within this assemblage there were numerous glass pieces, especially of soda bottles, such as a ginger beer bottle and a SPARLETTA bottle found during excavation (figure 5.34 and 5.35).



Figure 5.34: Ginger beer bottle with ACL.

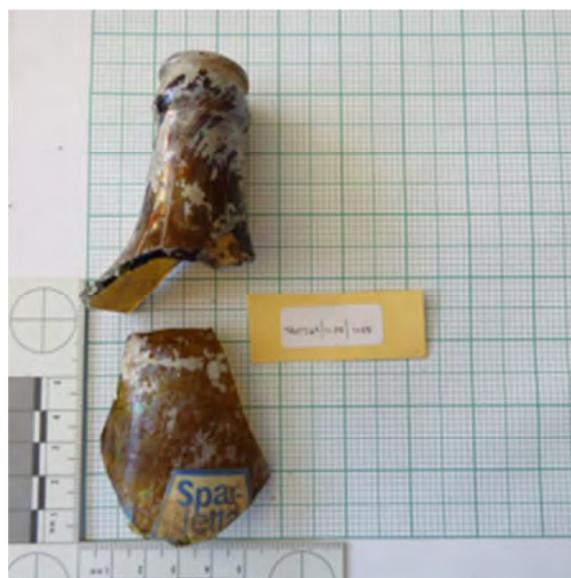


Figure 5.35: Crown top with neck with ACL.

(Photos: Author's own).

Table 5.7: Maker's marks from *Motse* 11.25.

Maker's marks from <i>Motse</i> 11.25	NISP n=
STEPHENS Inkwell	1
PONDS CHESEBROUGH	1
WOODS Great Peppermint Cure	1
DISTILLERY Ltd	1
PRESSER..JA..	1
PHILLIPS Milk of Magnesia	1
SPARLETTA	1



Figure 5.36: Clear stopper and screw top lips.

Figure 5.37: A complete glass deodorant ampule.

(Photos: Authors own).

Milk of Magnesia was developed by Charles H. Phillips as a laxative in 1873. He named his emulsion based on its milky appearance made of a solution of 8% hydrate of magnesium with water. His pharmaceutical company began manufacturing the product in 1880. From 1906, the company started embossing its trademark into the bottles but the newest glass bottles from 1920 onwards have no embossments on the body only the glass makers mark on the base. This bottle seen in figure 5.38 is most probably from the 1960s.



Figure 5.38: Phillips Milk of Magnesia.

(Photo: Author's own).



Figure 5.39: Poster for Philips Milk of Magnesia.

([www.productmanufactures.blogspot.com](http://www.productmanufactures.blogspot.com))<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Milk of Magnesia bottle [www.productmanufactures.blogspot.com/.../genuine-phillips-milk-of-magnesia.html](http://www.productmanufactures.blogspot.com/.../genuine-phillips-milk-of-magnesia.html)

Table 5.8: Classification of the glass from *Motse* 11.25.

Midden Square NISP n=		Clear n=	Colour	Base		Finish		Mould seams/machine made
Surface	26	10	16	Oval	4	Stopper	1	13
				Round	3	Screw top	2	
				Oblong	1	Cork	1	
				Rectangular	1			
K12	37	28	9	Round	1	Crown top	1	12
				Oblong	4			
K13	28	19	9	Round	1			3
K14	24	19	5			Stopper	1	5
						Screw top	4	
L11	19	14	5			Screw top	1	2
						Cork	1	
L12	17	16	1			Screw top	1	1
L13	26	24	2	Round	1	Screw top	3	5
				Oval	1			
L14	37	31	6	Round	9	Screw top	9	12
				Oval	1	Crown top	1	

Table 5.9: The distribution of the glass at *Motse* 11.25 presented by square and level.

Midden Square/Unit	Level	NISP n=
General	Surface	26
		Total: 26
K12	0-10cm	24
	10-20cm	13
		Total: 37
K13	0-10cm	14
	10-20cm	10
	20-30cm	4
		Total: 28
K14	0-10cm	13
	10-20cm	11
		Total: 24
L11	0-10cm	11
	10-20cm	8
		Total: 19
L12	0-10cm	12
	10-20cm	5
		Total: 17
L13	0-10cm	20
	10-20cm	6
		Total: 26
L14	0-10cm	10
	10-20cm	27
		Total: 37
		Total NISP: 214

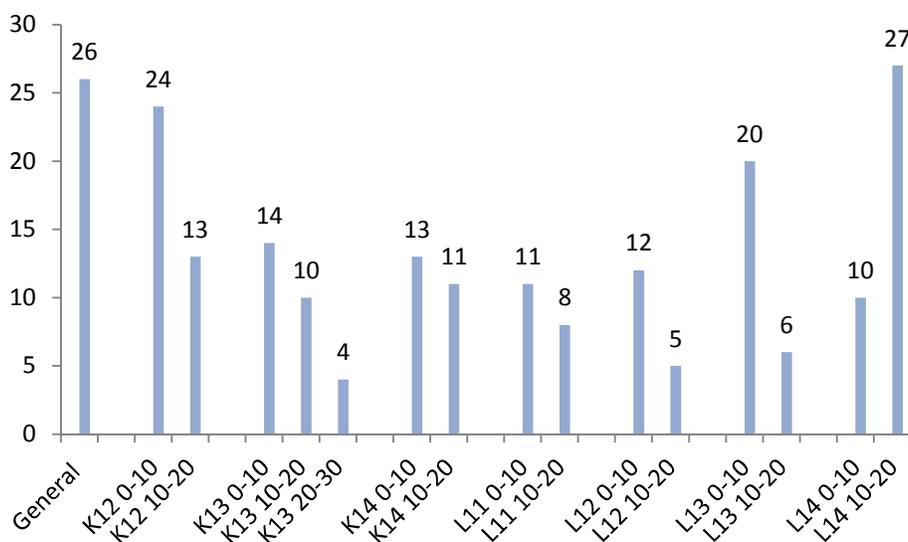


Figure 5.40: Distribution of the glass fragments per level for *Motse* 11.25.

The above table (Table 5.9) and associated graph indicate that the later levels (0-10cm) seem to have higher material density overall. Square K12 is found closest to the small boundary wall just behind the second structure of the homestead. Square L11 has the least and is situated near rubble and collapsed walling. This could be a result of the disturbance to the site by the initial bulldozing in the 1970s.

In total there are 214 glass fragments from *Motse* 11.25, of which 50 fragments or 24% are of coloured glass. The other 164 fragments are of clear glass, which include 26 tableware fragments; 18 lighting glass and 13 fragments of window glass. The remaining 107 (50%) clear glass fragments are from glass vessels. In total 76% of the glass assemblage is made up of clear glass fragments.

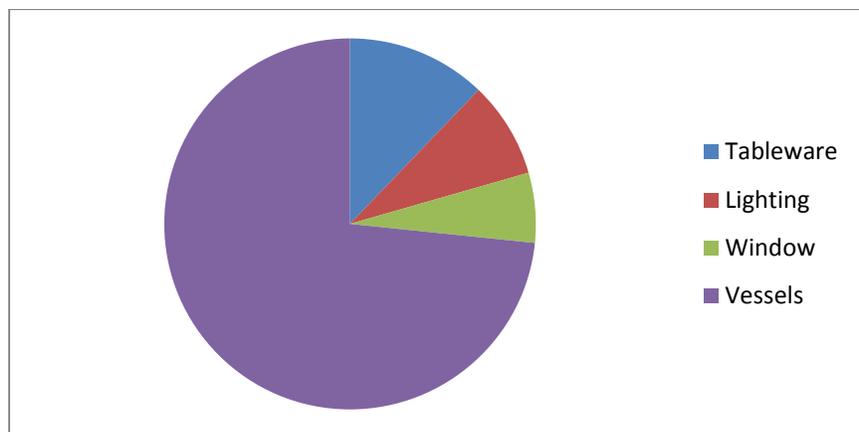


Figure 5.41: Types of glass found at *Motse* 11.25.

With regards to the glass analysis, most of the material dates from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, this notion is confirmed for instance, by the two LENNON bottle bases which date from 1949 (4T49) and (2T51) 1951 respectively. The TALANA base also has a date of 1951 (5 51). There are, however, a few artefacts that possibly date from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century / early 20<sup>th</sup> century which may have been subject to heirlooming.

### 5.1.3. Comparative analysis of the glass.

The glass analysis revealed that most of the glass excavated from these household were from clear bottles and jars. *Motse* 11.7 had more glass pieces overall, yet the assemblage was more utilitarian in nature. This could mean that the glass used by this household was more useful and practical in function. The glass indicates that the household of the *Motse* 11.7 used more foodstuffs such as sauces, oils, milk and preserves. There were also a larger percentage of medicinal vessels and cosmetic jars found. This is not too dissimilar to the glass assemblage excavated from *Motse* 11.25. However, fewer glass pieces were obtained from this household, with a difference emerging in the amount of lighting glass and tableware recovered. There was also more aqua glass analysed from this homestead.

Table 5.10: Comparative analysis of glass found at *Motse 11.7* and *Motse 11.25*.

NISP n=	Motse 11.7		Motse 11.25	
Total pieces	407	69%	184	31%
Vessels/bottles: Coloured glass				
Aqua glass	7	37%	12	63%
Jade milk glass	8	100%	0	0%
Green/olive glass	22	56%	17	44%
Amber/brown glass	24	63%	14	37%
Cobalt blue glass	11	69%	5	31%
White milk glass	13	93%	1	7%
Purple/pink glass	5	83%	1	17%
Clear glass	317	70%	134	30%
Vessels/bottles:				
Medicine vessels	21	91%	2	9%
Sauces/oils	9	100%	0	0%
Alcohol/beer/wine	55	86%	9	14%
Jar/preserves	38	78%	11	22%
Cosmetics	21	57%	16	43%
Ink wells	1	50%	1	50%
Glue bottle	1	50%	1	50%
Household	1	50%	1	50%
Soda/mineral	13	57%	10	43%
Milk	8	67%	4	33%
Tableware :				
Colourless	67	72%	26	28%
Coloured pink	1	100%	0	0%
Other:				
Lighting glass	16	47%	18	53%
Flat glass/window glass	3	19%	13	81%

## 5.2 Ceramics.

With regards to the homesteads of the *Motse*, ceramic analysis was important to this study. By examining these sherds, more information on the everyday lives of the residents of this area could be obtained. Ceramics are items that are made from fired clay or similar materials. These are mostly household items such as tablewares, including plates, cups and saucers and containers such as, jars, as well as building materials such as tiles and bricks. By using the archaeological data, collected from the glass and the ceramic analysis, a better understanding of the patterns of consumption can emerge. By analysing the cultural material, the residents of the *Motse* and their households can be placed within the larger social, economic and political activities happening within this region during the recent historic past. As with the glass, the ceramic analysis should be used in conjunction with all the other information attained from and about the site.

Both local and imported ceramics were recovered from the homesteads of the *Motse*. These ceramics are similar to those found on other colonial-era sites around southern Africa. Ceramics that are found on these sites are usually “categorised by their body, i.e. the clay from which the fired ceramic is made” (Malan 2009:4). There are three basic groups, stoneware, earthenware and porcelain, which was one of the main characteristics used to distinguish between local and imported ceramics.

The analysis of the locally manufactured low-fired coarse earthenware will be discussed first.

### 5.2.1 The local ceramics of *Motse* homestead 11.7.

The same sorting, cleaning and cataloguing procedure, as discussed with regards to the glass assemblage, was applied to the local ceramics.

Examination revealed that the local ceramics excavated at the homestead of *Motse* 11.7 is coarse low-fired earthenware and was most probably made from local clay and tempered with sand and baked in fire. This kind of earthenware is what African farming communities traditionally used for food preparation and cooking, as well as, containers and water vessels.

Local ceramics were only excavated from *Motse* house 11.7. There are a total of 20 sherds, which are brown/red in colour with black temper. There are a couple with black and grey colouring and graphite shading and/or decorated with horizontal lines and stippling. Some of these pottery sherds are dark and have a burnt appearance.

Only 20% of these pottery sherds were decorated.

The analyses of the local ceramic sherds excavated at *Motse* 11.7 are as follows:

Table 5.11: The total number of ceramic sherds excavated.

Fabric/Ware	Form	Decoration	n=
Coarse earthenware	Pot	Horizontal lines	1
		Stippling	3
		Plain	16
		Total: 20	

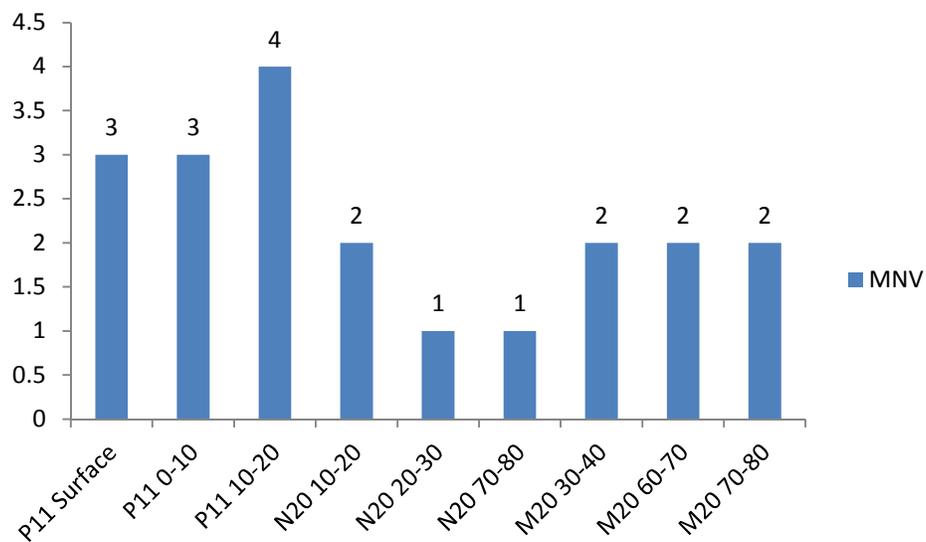


Figure 5.42: A representation of the total number of local ceramic sherds excavated.



Figure 5.43 and Figure 5.44: The decorated local ceramics excavated.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figure 5.45 and Figure 5.46: The decorated local ceramics.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figure 5.47: Modern Bapedi pottery bearing the same decorations as those found on the sherds from *Motse* 11.7.

(Huffman 2007:206).

The four decorated sherds (as seen in figures 5.43 – 5.46), have rim notching, stippling and horizontal lines that are synonymous with Huffman's description of modern-day Bapedi pottery.

Below is the discussion regarding the imported ceramics of the two households of the *Motse*.

### 5.2.2 The imported ceramics of the *Motse*:

When analysing the imported ceramics from historical archeological sites, such as the *Motse*, identification is based on three main categories, that of ware, decoration and form. These categories are all diagnostic in nature and can all contribute to the analysis and dating of the assemblage (Kinahan 2000; Malan 2009). With regard to ware, refined and industrial earthenware are the most common type of ceramic found on historical archaeological sites. These are made from soft, low-fired clay and appear fine in texture. These earthenwares are still fairly porous and have to be glazed in order to make them totally waterproof. Earthenware can be coarse in texture and earth-coloured or fine-grained and ranges in colour from white to grey to yellow (Horn 2005; Malan 2009). This type of ceramic is often decorated and decoration can “range from blue-on-white oriental patterns to polychrome hand-painted, transfer-printed, or decal decoration, to relief- molded patterning with gilding, or any combination of the above” (Horn 2005:3). Thus, analysing these ceramics by their decorative characteristics can also assist in examining the ceramic assemblage. Plain white earthenware is also often found at historical sites. The third characteristic that of form, relates to the way the vessel was used and the functional description of form type is applied, for example, a plate, a cup or a bowl (Malan 2009).

The analysis of the two houses of the *Motse* began with a total sherd count for each house. The ceramic assemblages were analysed independently by house, unit and level. When analysing the

ceramics from *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25, a system for describing the ceramic vessels by body or ware type, form type, function, colour and decoration was utilised, as described in Malan (2009). The weight, thickness and length of each sherd were also measured. While examining the assemblage, an estimate of the minimum number of vessels (MNV) present was obtained. Cross mends were also taken into account. The calculation of the minimum number of vessels was obtained by using form as the identification characteristic. This was done by taking rims, foot rings (bases) and body fragments into consideration. This is very important, as “this is the means to estimate the number of vessels recovered from a site, and to quantify the relative amounts of each different type at a site” (Malan 2009:34). Where sherds could not be adequately characterised they were classified as undiagnostic.

No complete ceramic vessels were found at either house, and very few almost complete vessels were excavated.

#### 5.2.2.1 The ceramics of *Motse* homestead 11.7.

The ceramics examined from *Motse* house 11.7 was determined by using the above procedure, as set out in Malan 2009. The sherds analysed were all fragmented. In total 297 sherds of refined industrial ware were counted, with a total of 167 minimum number of vessels (MNV). Of these, 53% were decorated and 47% were plain, undecorated industrial whiteware. All the fragments were useful kitchen and tableware form types made up of plates, cups, bowls and jars, except for a couple of architectural types in the shape of tiles. With regards to the ware or body type, 99% of the assemblage is industrial ware.

Industrial wares can be defined as the “mass-produced, factory- and machine-made wares first manufactured in Britain and later throughout the world, from approximately the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century

to the present” (Malan 2009:21). These ceramics were decorated using various methods, such as applying different colours by painting or printed designs or by adding pigments to glazes and enamels (Malan 2009). Below is a table of the ceramic decoration of the ceramics of *Motse 11.7* based on the classifications in Malan (2009).

Table 5.12: Ware and decorated ceramics recorded from *Motse 11.7* with percentages.

Type of ceramic decoration	Sherds	MNV	%
Lithographic printing	30	23	14%
Transfer printing	15	15	9%
Sponged	23	19	11%
Slipped industrial ware	8	8	5%
Gilding	13	7	4%
Lustre	5	5	3%
Relief moulded	4	2	1%
Whiteware	199	88	53%
Total	297	167	100%

Table 5.13: The classification of types of forms at *Motse 11.7*

Type of ceramic form	Sherds	MNV	%
Tableware:			
Cup	50	30	18%
Plates and saucers	78	41	24.5%
Kitchenware:			
Jars	9	6	4%
Bowls	2	2	1%
Architectural:			
Tiles	3	2	1%
Sub-Total	142	81	48.5%
Undiagnostic	155	86	51.5%
Total	297	167	100%

Very few stoneware pieces were recovered. Stoneware is fired at a temperature high enough that the clay becomes vitrified and thus non-porous. It is hard, dense and opaque. Stoneware is usually stone-coloured and can be coarse or fine-textured. These vessels were usually bottles or jars used for the storage of food and drink and are usually glazed on the inside but left unglazed on the exterior (Lastovica and Lastovica 1990; Malan 2009).



Figure 5.48 and Figure 5.49: Salt-glazed stoneware fragments from *Motse* 11.7.

(Photos: Author's own).

Porcelain is the most refined of the ceramics and is usually white to grey-white in colour. It is fine-textured and non-porous and is fired at high temperatures. Porcelain is seen as being expensive and is indicative of affluence and or the presence of woman in the household (Horn 2005; Malan 2009). No porcelain fragments were discovered at house *Motse* 11.7.

Malan (2009) however, cautions that, care must be taken when trying to analyse ceramics from sites that date to the 1900s, as some earthenware characteristics are similar to those of porcelain and it becomes difficult to use these categories to accurately classify ceramics. It is for this

reason that a decoration-based typology was used to analyse the assemblages from the *Motse* households. The various decorations observed during the ceramic analysis are discussed below.

Malan (2009) notes that lithographic printing, such as these examples seen in figures 5.50 -5.55 for *Motse* 11.7 and figures 5.82 – 5.89 for *Motse* 11.25, became the typical type of printing after 1870. These ceramics are manufactured by attaching a complete lithograph or design to the glazed surface. Lithographic printing made an appearance in South Africa in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Coetzee 2012). This kind of printing has become very popular in recent times.

Figures 5.56 – 5.61 are examples of the transfer printed ceramics found at *Motse* 11.7 and figures 5.85 – 5.88 of those discovered at *Motse* 11.25. At first all tissue printed transfer wares were blue in colour and this was the principal colour until 1840s. At this time multi-colour printing came into being. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the blue printing became paler in colour. Transfer printing also becomes inexpensive to produce from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onward and Malan (2009:38) remarks that due to this “these materials are abundant on sites from this time period, irrespective of social class of the inhabitants”. Transfer printing was available until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Malan 2009).

Spongeware is low-cost, mass produced earthenware decorated in bright colours. This is a type of decoration applied to underglazed biscuit by applying pigment with a sponge. After 1845, “the denser part of the sponge was cut into shapes such as stars, flowers and geometric designs” (Malan 2009:27). Kinahan (2002:74) comments that because this was an inexpensive style, it was “held in low esteem, most pieces do not carry a maker’s mark, and attribution to a specific pottery or time period is problematic”. This decoration type was very popular on 19<sup>th</sup> century

industrial wares and carried on into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Malan 2009). Examples can be seen in figures 5.62 – 5.67 for *Motse* 11.7 and figures 5.89 – 5.92 for *Motse* 11.25.

Examples of slipped industrial ware, figure 5.68 and figures 5.93 – 5.95 are earthenware with slipped decorations, of which bands were the most popular. These bands were manufactured in various widths of horizontal lines and stripes in different colours (Kinahan 2002). This decoration is limited to the outside rim of the earthenware. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century this was the cheapest decorated ware in England and North America. A modern version termed glazed banded ware made an appearance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Malan 2009).

Gilding was also found at both houses, figures 5.69 – 5.72 for *Motse* 11.7 and figures 5.96 – 5.99 for *Motse* 11.25. This is the application of gold to the surface of a ceramic with an overglaze. As seen in the figures, gold was used to decorate rims, to paint bands on whitewares or to highlight moulded wares (Malan 2009).

Very few fragments of lustre decorated ceramic were uncovered. This is also an overglaze decoration that has a thin metallic layer lying on top of the glaze. “The iridescent (mother-of-pearl) lustre effect seen on some 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century ceramics was obtained by using a glaze containing bismuth” (Malan 2009:27) and can be seen in figures 5.73 and 5.74.

Relief moulding ceramic wares are complex-shaped, mass produced articles and can take the form of tea cups, as seen in figures 5.75 and 5.76, and saucers, figure 5.77, 5.78, 5.100 and 5.101.

These ceramics can be fluted or spiral shaped (Coetzee 2012). It must also be remembered that the presence of undecorated earthenware is as descriptive as the decorated fragments and can contribute significantly to the narrative of the households of the *Motse*.



Figures 5.50; 5.51; 5.52; 5.53; 5.54 and 5.55: Lithographic printing.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.56; 5.57; 5.58; 5.59; 5.60 and 5.61: Transfer printing.

(Photos: Authors own).

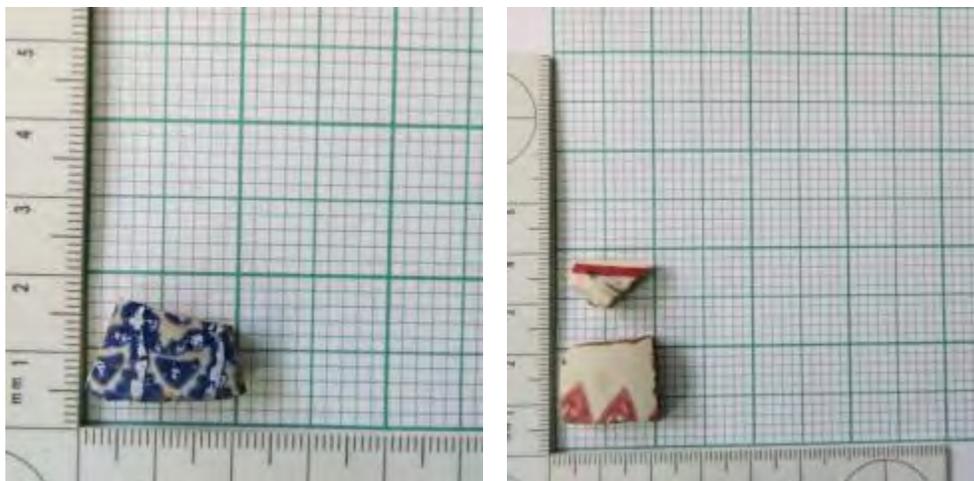
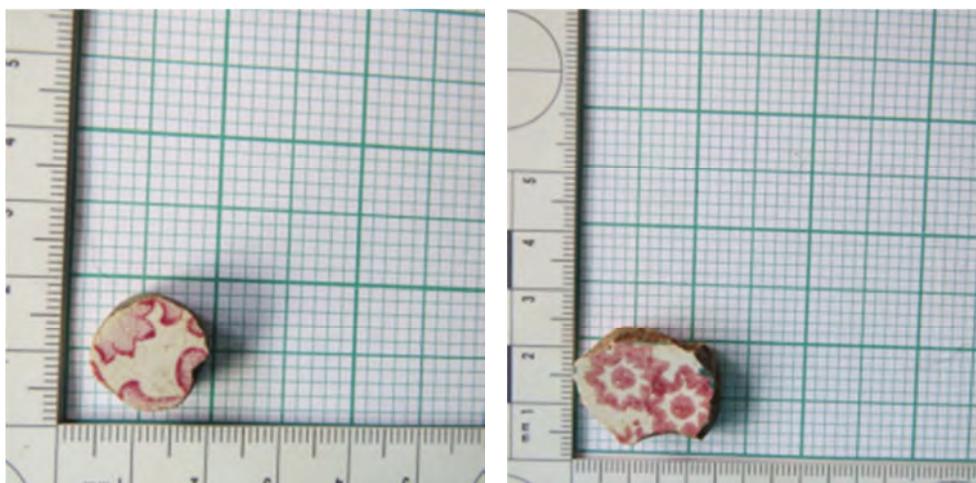
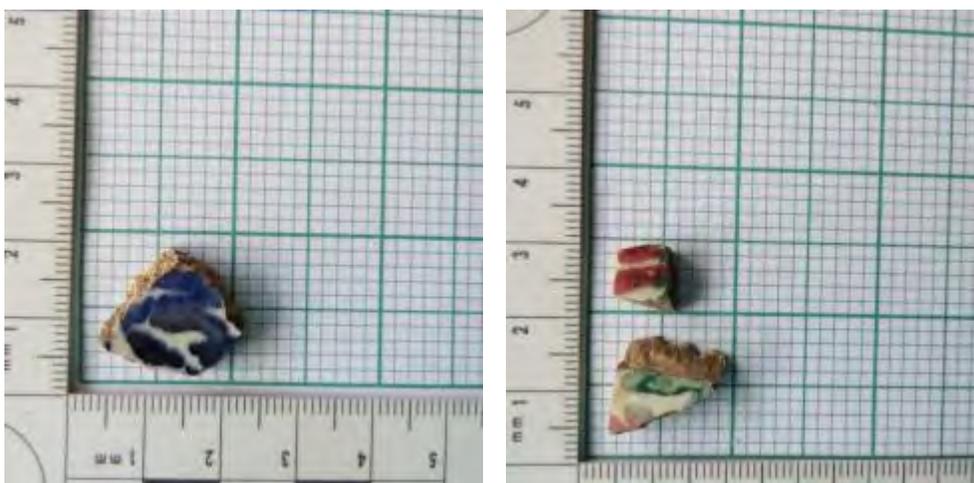


Figure 5.62 and 5.63: Sponged ware.



Figures 5.64 and 5.65: These are most probably tokens made from sponged ceramic fragments.



Figures 5.66 and 5.67: Sponged ceramic fragments.

(Photos: Author's own).

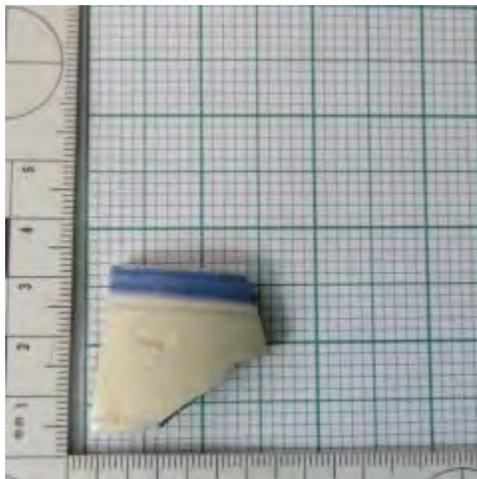
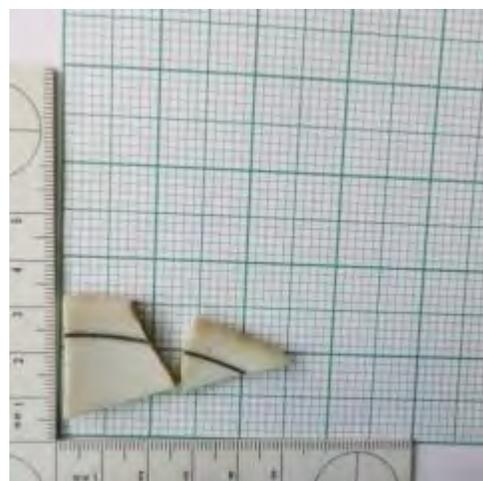
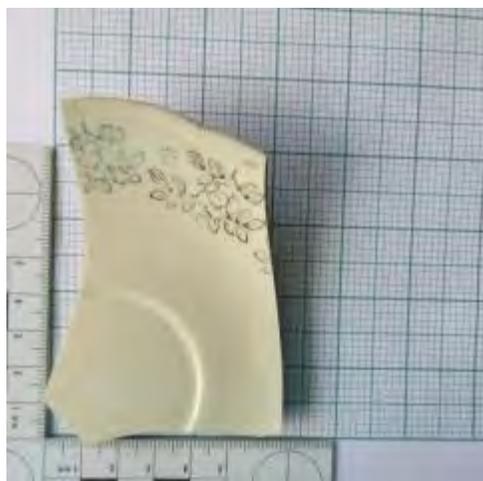


Figure 5.68: Slipped industrial ware.

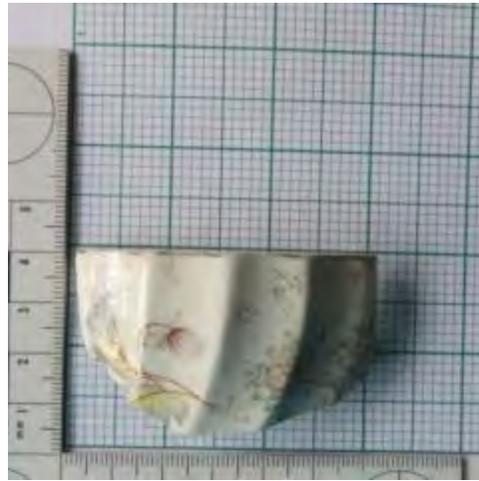


Figures 5.69; 5.70; 5.71 and 5.72: Examples of gilding on excavated ceramics.

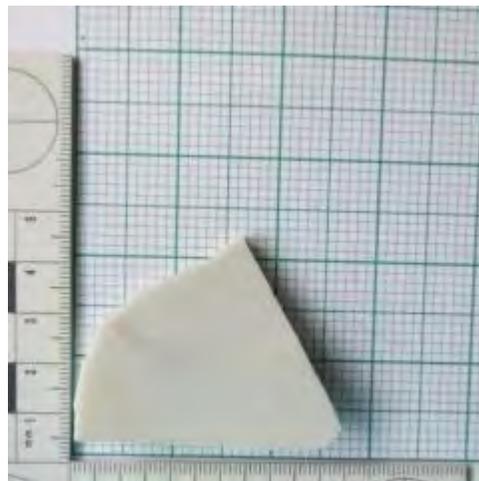
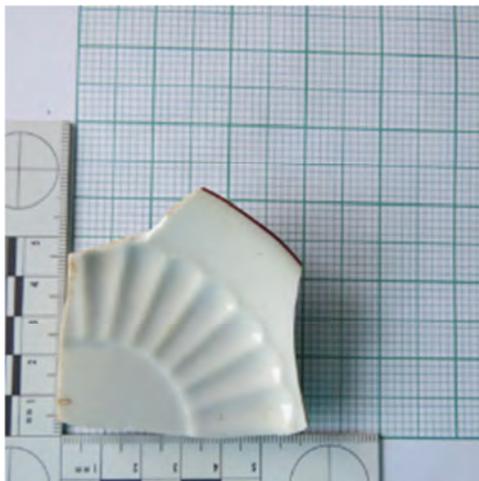
(Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.73 and 5.74: Modern lustre decorated ceramics.

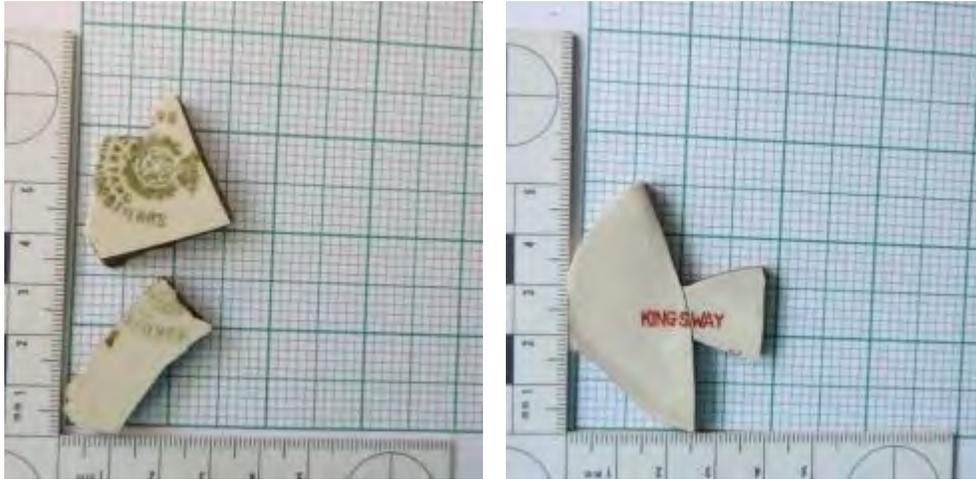


Figures 5.75 and 5.76: Relief moulded ceramics.



Figures 5.77 and 5.78: Relief moulded saucer and a fragment of undecorated white ceramic.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.79 and 5.80: Examples of maker's marks.



Figure 5.81: Maker's mark with Made in England.

(Photos: Author's own).

With regards to the above, maker's marks started appearing on ceramics in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but they date primarily from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Not much information could be obtained regarding the maker's mark in figure 5.79. It consists of a crown on top with letters and a wreath. This type of mark was first used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but more commonly in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These maker's marks usually have the town where it was produced or the manufacture's name printed on it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Maker's marks <https://www.kovels.com/marks/pottery-porcelain-marks/crown-circle-or-oval.html>.

Malan (2009:30), states that “Made in England’ is a 20<sup>th</sup> century term”. These five fragments were the only ones found with maker’s marks on them. Maker’s marks were only found at *Motse* 11.7.

Table 5.14: Maker’s marks discovered at *Motse* 11.7.

Figure number:	Maker’s Mark	Description
5.72	...CAETANO SA..RO..FILNOS	A printed green crown above a wreath with a circle in the centre on cream ceramic.
5.73	KINGSWAY	Printed in burgundy red on white ceramic.
5.74	MADE IN ENGLAND CRANBERRY IA	Found on coarse beige earthenware.

#### 5.2.2.2 The ceramics of *Motse* homestead 11.25.

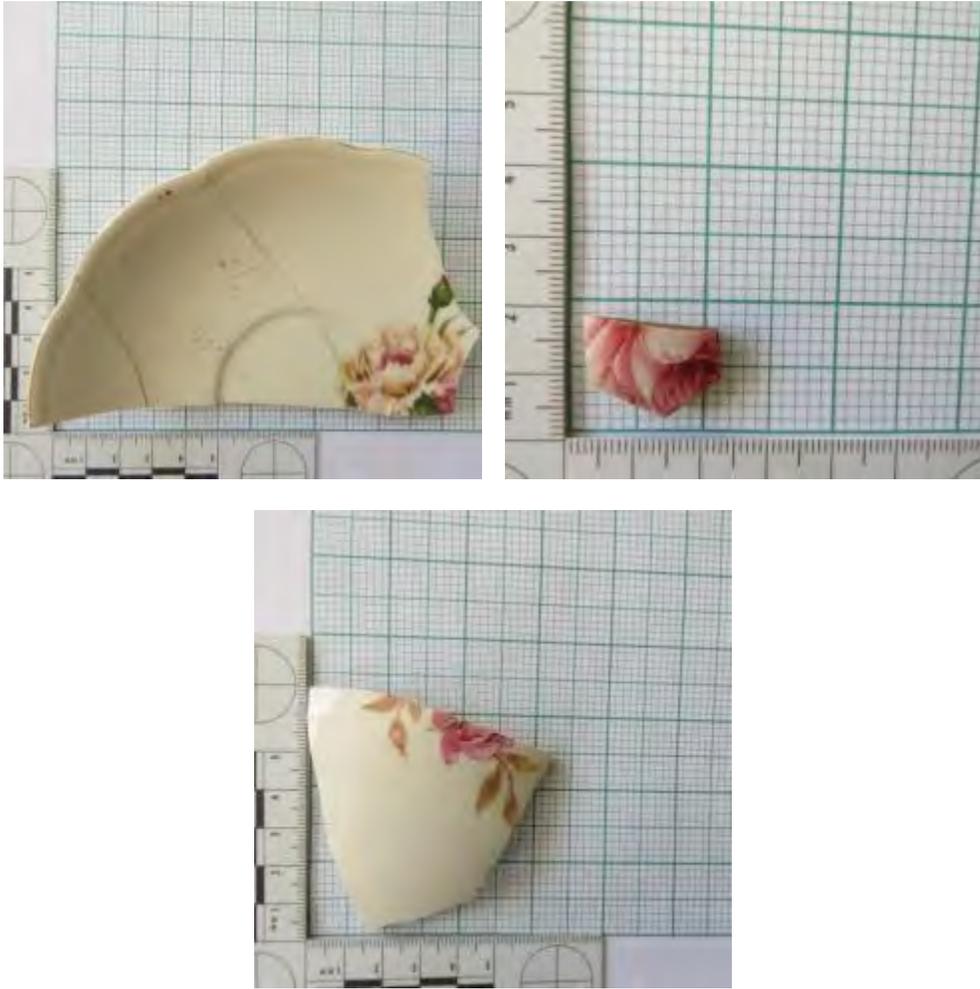
The same procedure was used in the analysis of *Motse* house 11.25, where a total 194 sherds of refined industrial ware were examined, with a total of 92 minimum number of vessels (MNV). Of these, 64% were decorated and 36% were plain, undecorated industrial whiteware. All the fragments were useful form types such as plates, cups, bowls, jars and a pot lid. With regards to the ware or body type, 99% of the assemblage is refined earthenware. Only one fragment of stoneware was recovered from the midden. No porcelain fragments were uncovered at *Motse* 11.25.

Table 5.15: Ware and decorated ceramics recorded at *Motse* 11.25.

Type of ceramic decoration	Sherds	MNV	%
Lithographic printing	16	14	15%
Transfer printing	17	17	18.5%
Sponged	10	10	11%
Slipped industrial ware	8	6	6.5%
Gilding	20	10	11%
Lustre	1	1	1%
Relief moulded	2	1	1%
Whiteware	120	33	36%
Total	194	59	100%

Table 5.16: Ceramic forms at *Motse* 11.25.

Type of ceramic form	Sherds	MNV	%
Tableware:			
Cup	14	9	10%
Plates and saucers	27	15	16%
Kitchenware:			
Jars	3	1	1%
Bowls	3	1	1%
Pot lid	2	1	1%
Sub-Total	49	27	29%
Undiagnostic	145	65	71%
Total	194	92	100%

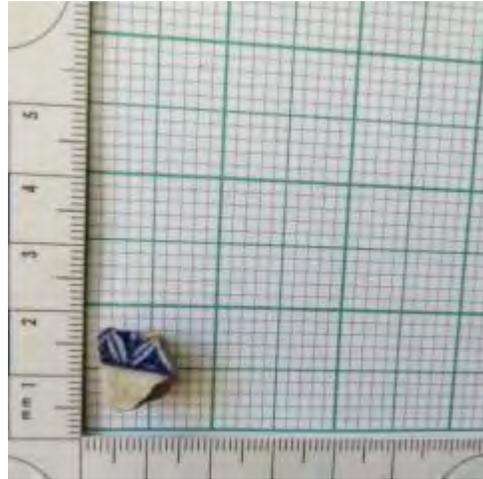


Figures 5.82; 5.83 and 5.84: Lithographic printing from *Motse* 11.25.



Figures 5.85 and 5.86: Transfer printing.

(Photos: Author's own).



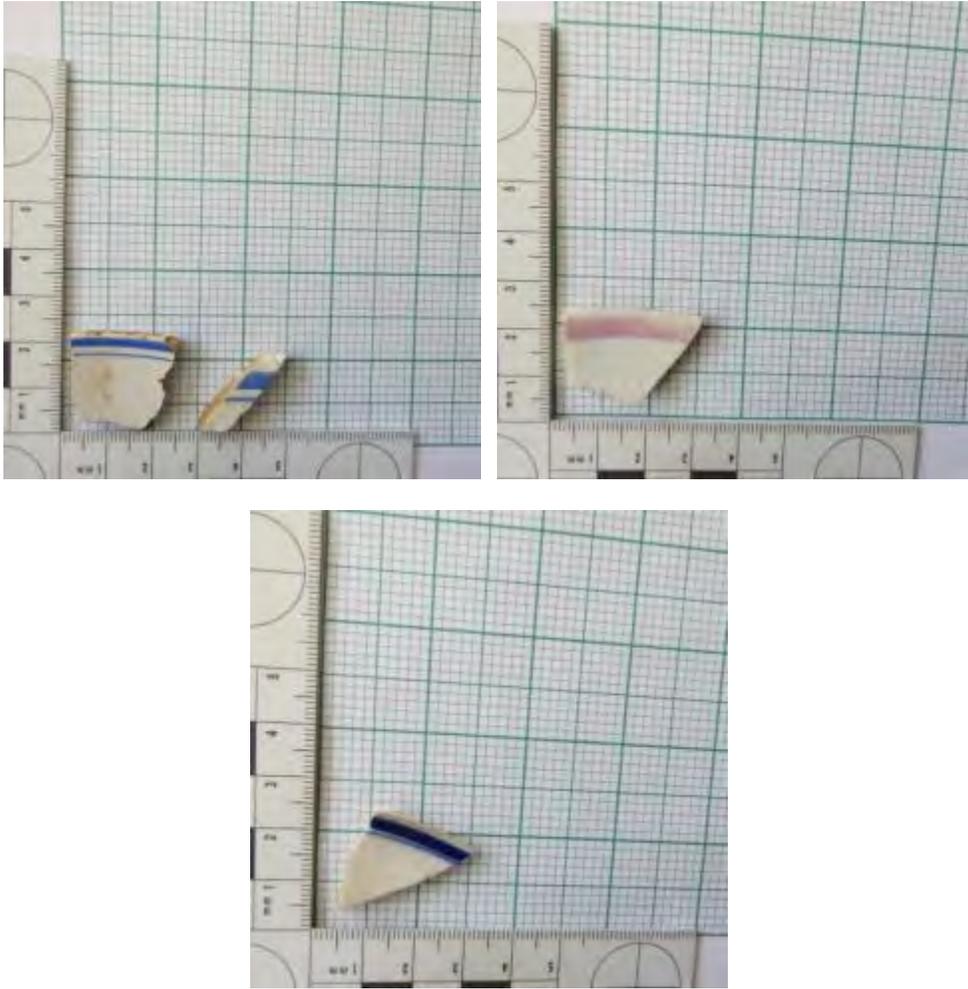
Figures 5.87 and 5.88: Transfer printing.



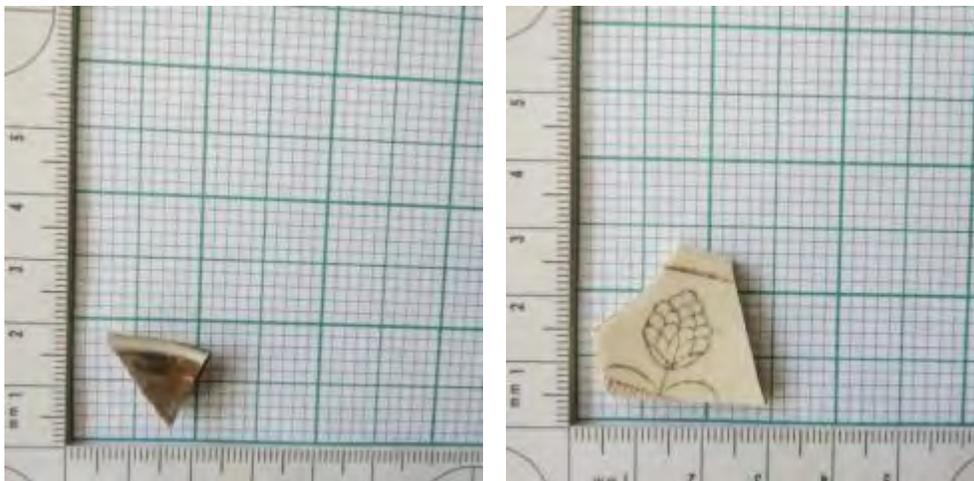
Figures 5.89 and 5.90: Sponged ceramics.



Figures 5.91 and 5.92: Sponged ware ceramics. (Photos: Author's own).

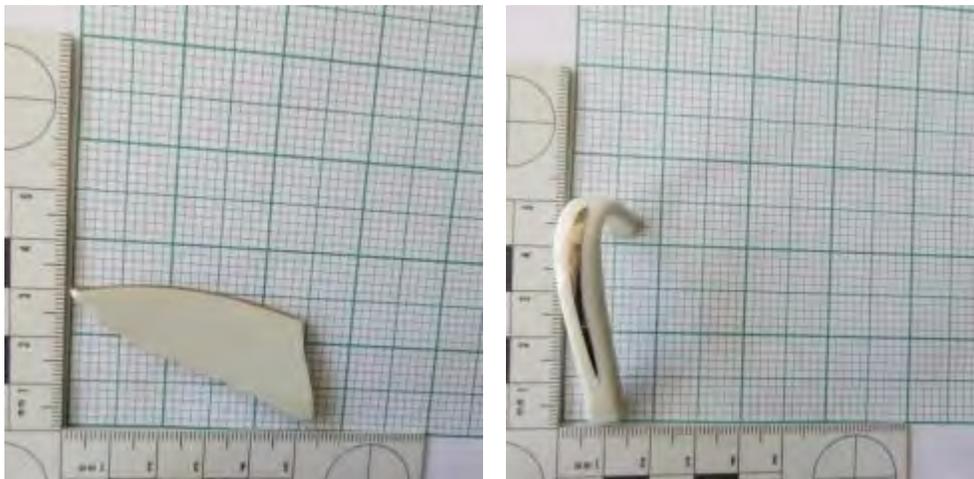


Figures 5.93; 5.94 and 5.95: Slipped industrial ware or banded ware.

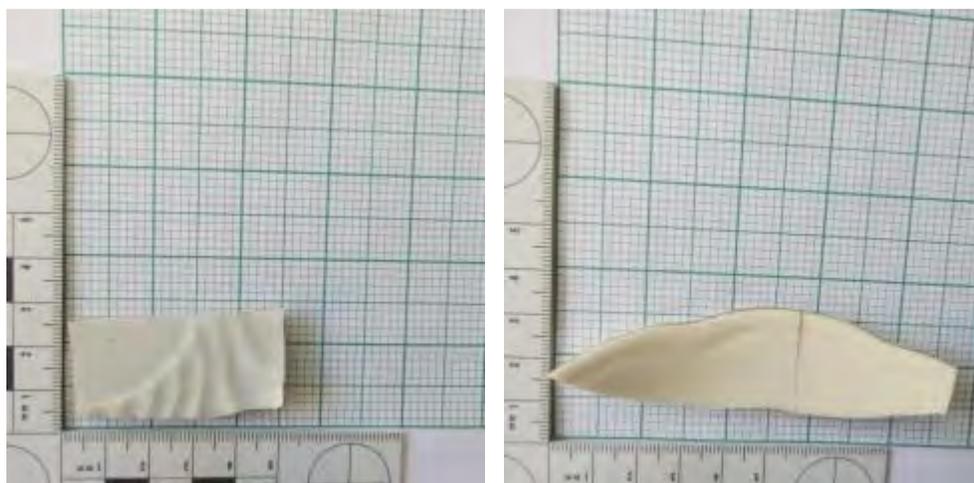


Figures 5.96 and 5.97: Ceramic fragments with gilding.

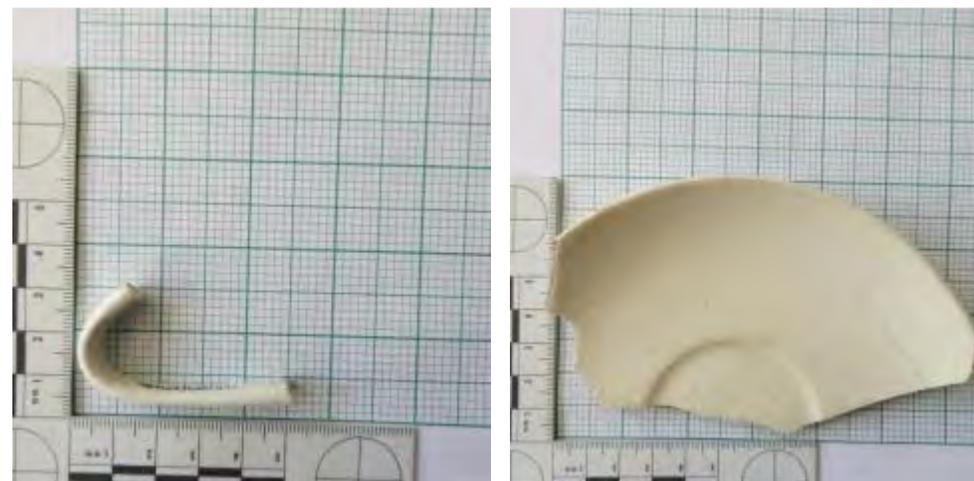
(Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.98 and 5.99: Ceramic fragments with gilding



Figures 5.100 and 5.101: Relief moulding ceramics from *Motse* 11.25.



Figures 5.102 and 5.103: Examples of undecorated whiteware. (Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.104 and 5.105: The remains of the pot lid excavated from *Motse* 11.25.

(Photos: Author's own).

The ceramic assemblages of the two houses of the *Motse* included undecorated and decorated ceramics. The assemblages were quite fragmented, especially *Motse* 11.25. These pieces represented an array of table and kitchenware, including tea cups, plates, saucers, jars and bowls, which, as seen from the discussion above, have a variety of decorative motifs. One of the primary functions of ceramics relates to foodways. Malan (2009:38) describes foodways as, “the whole interrelated system of food consumption, procurement, distribution, preparation and consumption, shared by all members of a particular group”. Ceramics form part of household artefacts and relate to the social, political and economic relationships found within the household and the external environment. The types of ceramics found at the houses of the *Motse* convey this impression.

The ceramic assemblage from *Motse* 11.7 has slightly more decorated sherds at 53% and 47% plain white undecorated fragments, which compared to *Motse* 11.25, shows a higher decorated percentage at 64% and only 36% are plain undecorated whiteware. However, *Motse* 11.7 has a larger decorated sample, with equal counts of sponged and lithographic printing fragments, equal

counts of gilding and transfer printing. *Motse* house 11.25 has a higher count of transfer printing and then lithographic printing. Based on the amount of decorated material found at *Motse* 11.25, this household could have been of a higher social standing, as a household's means would influence the type of ceramics found. In the past Malan (2009:38) notes that transfer printing was largely associated with the poor, but that no "real status conclusions can be made from the presence alone of transfer prints from the later 19<sup>th</sup> century" because by this stage, transfer printing was universal on all historical sites, regardless of status. The forms of ceramics, such as the delicate tea cups and the other colourful decorated ceramics could indicate that there were women living here.

The household of *Motse* 11.7 had almost equal amounts of decorated and undecorated ceramics. Sponged wares, as previously mentioned, as well as, lithographic printing wares were generally mass-produced industrial wares with production continuing into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some of the same patterns especially that of the lithographic print 'Rose' design occurred at both loci.

Many of the ceramic types discussed here have known dates of production and manufacture and this can be applied for relative dating, and thus give an approximate date for the site (Malan 2009). The analysis substantiated that the ceramics of these households of the *Motse* most probably date from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century / early 20<sup>th</sup> century through to the recent past.

Table 5.17: A comparison table of the ceramics found at *Motse 11.7* and *Motse 11.25*.

Minimum number of vessels (MNV) n=	<i>Motse 11.7</i>		<i>Motse 11.25</i>	
	MNV	%	MNV	%
Fabric				
Stoneware	2	67%	1	33%
Earthenware	165	64%	91	36%
Refined industrial wares	167	64%	92	36%
Undecorated	76	70%	32	30%
Decoration	89	60%	59	40%
Lithographic printing	23	64%	13	36%
Transfer printing	15	47%	17	53%
Sponged	23	70%	10	30%
Slipped industrial ware	8	47%	9	53%
Gilding	13	65%	7	35%
Lustre	5	83%	1	17%
Relief moulded	2	67%	1	33%

### 5.3 Buttons.

Buttons were also examined as part of the assemblage associated with the *Motse* homesteads. As with the glass and ceramics, the buttons were carefully cleaned, sorted and catalogued. Analysis was carried out according to material type, shape, colour and the number of holes in the button. Thickness, diameter and weight were also measured. The analysis of the buttons was completed in order to add data for relative dating purposes.

Shelter, food and clothing are the three basic needs for human existence and should be researched as being part of everyday life (Rivers 1999). Buttons are part of clothing, together with hook and eyes, belt buckles and shoe remnants that are found on historical sites. Clothing usually does not survive and is rarely found in archaeological sites. But what little clothing is found is usually underrepresented in archaeological sites and these artefacts should be studied as part of the material culture, as these clothing items were important to the people who lived at the sites (Rivers 1999). However, buttons can provide limited information regarding how the residents actually lived and thus their main function is in assisting with the chronology of the site. Dates are only an indication of when the buttons were manufactured and not the date of deposition. It is for this reason that the buttons will be used in conjunction with the glass and ceramic analysis.

#### 5.3.1 The buttons of *Motse* homestead 11.7.

The word button is derived from the French “*bouton*” and is usually a small piece of metal or other material, such as porcelain, ceramics, wood or plastic. A button is used to connect different parts of clothing together by means of a buttonhole. Buttons are items that are both utilitarian

and fashionable. Buttons can provide information on what types of clothing were worn by the residents of a particular historic site (Rivers 1999).

In order to examine the buttons of the *Motse*, a typology had to be created according to material type and allocated a category based on the composition (Marcel 1994).

There were 34 individual buttons excavated from the homestead *Motse* 11.7, of which 30 different types were identified. Plastic buttons account for 79% of this total. All the buttons except one are round. There is one square pink plastic button with 2 sew holes. Loop shanks are present in one plastic and two metal buttons. There one metal button with “OUR OWN MAKE” embossed on it. The button can be described as a typical trouser button. All the others are two or 4 sew-through buttons. These can all be categorised as being modern.

Buttons by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were becoming ordinary and mass produced and cheaper materials were being used for manufacturing. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, clothing styles became simpler and inexpensive. Men starting adopting the 4-hole button style as the standard. Plastic buttons started making an appearance in the 1930s but came into their own during the Second World War as new technology emerged. The button industry switched almost entirely to plastic after the war (Woodward 1996).

Table 5.18: Description of the buttons from *Motse* 11.7.

Material type	Shape	Diameter	Colour	No. of sew holes	Count
Ceramic	Round	3 x 11mm	White	4	1
	Round	3 x 19mm	White	4	1
	Round	5 x 11mm	Clear	1	1
				Sub-total	3
Metal	Round	4 x 17mm	Metallic	4	1
	Round	3 x 14mm	Metallic	4	1
	Round	10 x 24mm	Metallic	1	1
	Round	13 x 12mm	Metallic	1	1
	Round	3 x 17mm	Metallic	4	1
	Round	2 x 18mm	Metallic	2	1
	Round	7 x 14mm	Metallic	0	1
			Sub-total	7	
Plastic	Round	2 x 12mm	Brown	4	1
	Round	2 x 12mm	Cream	4	1
	Round	3 x 19mm	White	?	1
	Round	5 x 11mm	Blue/green	1	1
	Round	2 x 16mm	Cream	2	1
	Round	3 x 15mm	Clear white	2	1
	Round	3 x 14mm	Khaki	4	1
	Round	2 x 18mm	Yellow	2	1
	Round	2 x 16mm	Brown	4	1
	Round	3 x 17mm	Green	2	1
	Round	4 x 18mm	Yellow	2	1
	Round	4 x 18mm	Cream	2	3
	Round	15 x 10mm	Grey	2	1
	Round	25 x 16mm	Cream	2	1
	Round	1 x 11mm	Grey	4	2
	Round	3 x 14mm	Black	4	1
	Square	3 x 15mm	Pink	2	1
	Round	5 x 22mm	Red	1	1
	Round	3 x 14mm	Dark brown	4	2
	Round	2 x 12mm	Red	4	1
			Sub-total	24	
				Total	34



Figure 5.106: The plastic buttons of *Motse* 11.7

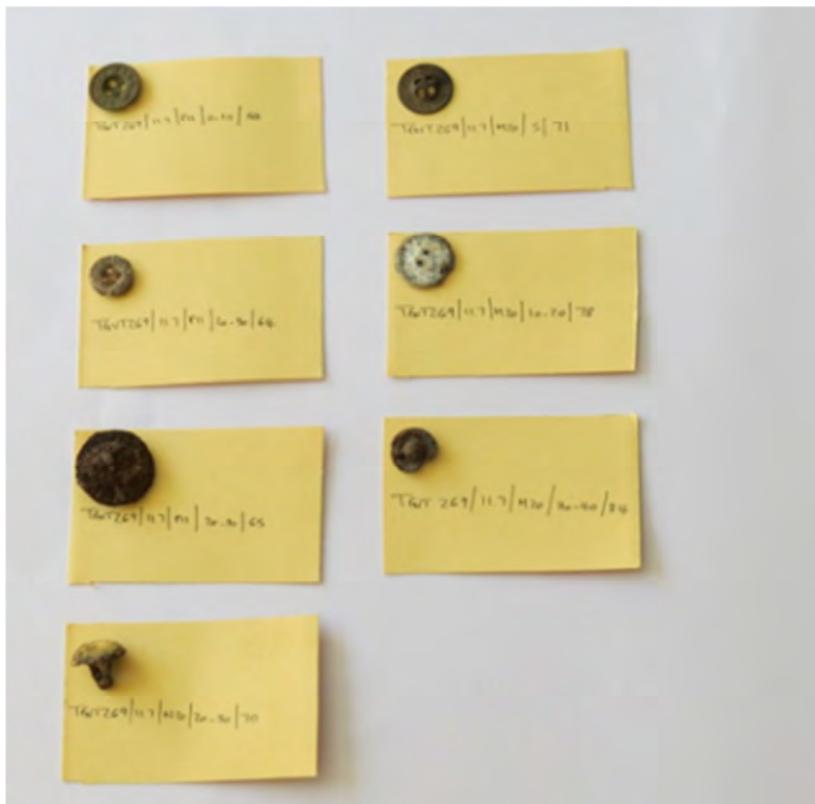


Figure 5.107: The metal buttons from *Motse* 11.7. (Photos: Authors own).

### 5.3.2 The buttons of *Motse* homestead 11.25.

There were 21 individual buttons excavated at the homestead *Motse* 11.25, representing ten different types. Plastic buttons only account for 29% of this total. Most of the fasteners are metal, which included 8 fragments of press studs. There are four ceramic buttons which includes one square white ceramic button with a key shank. All the buttons except one are round. All the others are two or 4 sew-through buttons. There is one metal button with “MIDDLEBURG STORE BROS” embossed on its front. This is a typical trouser button. These buttons and fasteners can be described as being modern.

By analysing the buttons, in conjunction with the glass and ceramics, the assemblage supported the chronology of the two loci and confirmed the data collected from the overall analysis of the cultural material that the site possibly dates from the end of the nineteenth century and/or beginning of the twentieth century up to recent times.

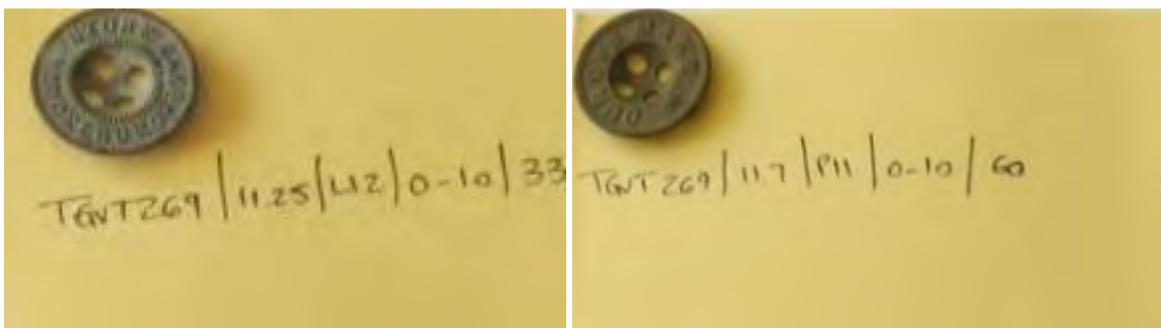


Figure 5.108 and figure 5.109: Marks embossed on the metal buttons.

(Photos: Author's own).

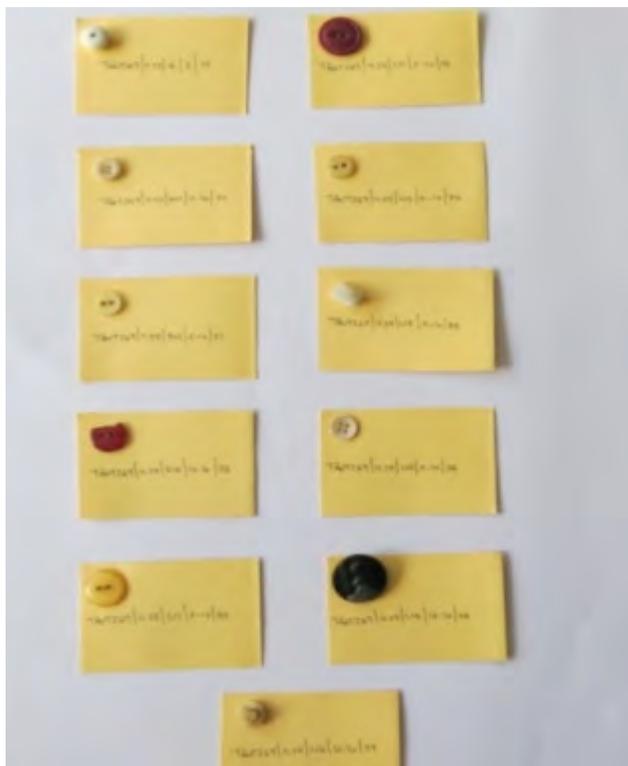


Figure 5.110: The plastic buttons.

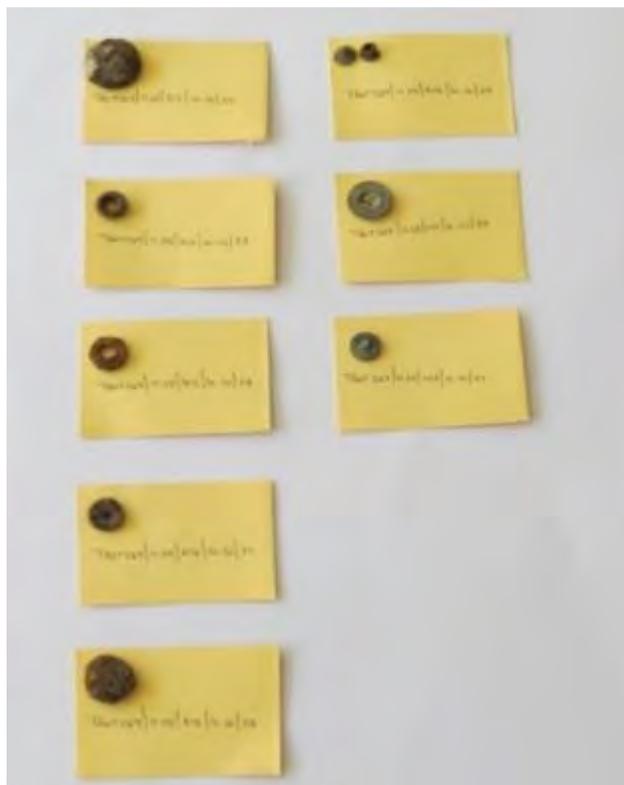


Figure 5.111: The metal buttons excavated.

Table 5.19: Description of the buttons from *Motse* 11.25.

Material type	Shape	Diameter	Colour	No. of sew holes	Count
Ceramics	Round	6 x 12mm	White	1	1
	Round	2 x 11mm	White	1	1
	Square	8 x 11mm	White	1	1
	Round	1 x 10mm	Pearl	4	1
				Sub-total	
Metal	Round	8 x 23mm	Metallic	?	1
	Round	5 x 12mm	Metallic	Press stud bottom	4
	Round	3 x 14mm	Metallic	Press stud top	5
	Round	7 x 7mm	Metallic	1	1
	Round	3 x 15mm	Metallic	4	1
				Sub-total	
Plastic	Round	2 x 10mm	Yellow	2	1
	Round	3 x 13mm	Red	2	1
	Round	3 x 16mm	Mustard	2	1
	Round	3 x 19mm	Red	2	1
	Round	2 x 11mm	Beige	2	1
				Sub-total	
Total					21

#### 5.4 Supplementary analysis.

In total 1.4m<sup>3</sup> of soil was excavated from the middens at *Motse* homestead 11.7 and 1.4 m<sup>3</sup> of soil was also removed from the midden at *Motse* homestead 11.25. As seen in Table 1, there were various types of cultural material present from the houses of the *Motse*. This material consisted of building materials, such as bricks, plaster, concrete and nails and screws. Household items such as plastic, metal tins and containers, as well as, the glass and ceramics discussed in the previous sections, were present in the middens. Organic food products, such as butchered soup bones and chicken bones together with apricot and peach pips were recovered. Various packaged food items were uncovered including rice packets, margarine and yoghurt

wrappings. Modern medicinal packaging, such as MED LEMON, ENO and DISPIRIN wrappings were also found. By studying the usage of these everyday items, information on the diet, literacy, gender and status can be determined, as well as, the way the residents of the *Motse* saw themselves and their place in society (License 2015).

The cultural material can contribute to the story of the residents of these homesteads. For instance, a human tooth was found in the midden at *Motse* 11.25. Teeth are quite commonly found at archeological sites. This tooth was the upper first molar from the right-hand side of the jaw from an adult individual. From the size of the cavity found in the tooth, this person had very poor oral health and lived in severe pain before the tooth fell out. The tooth was not pulled, as there is no evidence of tool marks (Dr. A. Effting pers. comm. March 2015). At *Motse* 11.25, there were only two intact tubes of Colgate toothpaste excavated, of which, one had an expiry date 6 55, however, a total of five intact tubes of toothpaste were recovered of various makes, such as Dental Care, President and Colgate from *Motse* 11.7. The Colgate tubes had expiry dates embossed on them – 52021 and 5315.



Figure 5.112 and figure 5.113 are examples of the toothpaste tubes excavated. (Photos: Author's own).

The cultural material unearthed at *Motse* 11.7 was very utilitarian in nature. This is evident in the household items found in the ceramic, glass, plastic and metal assemblages. A large portion of the glass assemblage is alcohol and beer bottles together with sauces, oil, milk, metal cans and preserve bottles and jars. These are used for cooking, and could have been used in the clay oven at the back of the house (Le Roux and Fisher 1991). There were also a larger percentage of medicinal vessels and cosmetic jars excavated at this homestead. A larger percentage of undecorated ceramics were analysed from this household, with more sponged and lithographic printing emerging from the decorated ceramics.

Glass and plastic beads are present and very little clothing (except for the buttons); toiletries and scholarly items were found. Most of the buttons analysed here were plastic and quite recent.

The same amount of cubic volume was excavated from both *Motse* homestead 11.7 and *Motse* homestead 11.25, but the cultural material sample from *Motse* 11.7 was definitely larger than that of *Motse* 11.25. There was also a different pattern emerging from the analysis of the cultural material from *Motse* 11.25. For example, this assemblage includes items, such as silk stockings, skin lightening creams, POND'S Cold Cream pots, a heel from a yellow high heeled shoe, wool, a sewing needle, modern kitchen plastics and glass and plastic beads indicate that possibly it was primarily women who lived at this homestead. With regards to the button analysis, mostly metal press studs were analysed which are also primarily worn by women. A total of eight skin lightening cream tubes were uncovered, of which three were imported from the USA marketed as ARTRA Skin Tone Cream (figure 5.114). These items were only recovered from the midden at *Motse* 11.25. As Thomas (2012) notes, skin lightening creams were being marketed to black South African women from the 1930s onwards and these products were both imported and distributed by African American companies but there were products also being made in South

Africa, such as Karroo Skin Lightening Cream (figure 5.115), by a company based in Middelburg, Eastern Cape and owned by an Afrikaans businessman. By the mid-1950s lightening creams and other similar products, were very popular and being sold in large numbers. These products were applied to the face to conceal blemishes, to even out skin tone and to lighten skin tones (Thomas 2012). Almost no male-specific artefacts were found.



Figure 5.114 and figure 5.115: Examples of the two types of skin lightening creams recovered from the site.

(Photos: Author's own).

It is also evident from the analysis that very little alcohol and beer was consumed in this household. Unfortunately, most of the glass and ceramic pieces excavated at *Motse* 11.25 were very fragmented. This could have occurred when these items were discarded or when the area was bulldozed during the forced removals. More decorated ceramics were examined from this household, with transfer and lithographic printing being the most popular styles. Also of interest are the ink bottles, chalk, Bic pen tops, dice and marbles found, which indicate that there were probably teachers and scholars living here.

With regards to the food consumption of the household of *Motse* 11.25, the residents of this household also bought processed foods together with conventional foodstuffs. These processed

items included Tastic Rice<sup>6</sup> introduced in South Africa in 1961 and Earlybird Chicken Livers, with Earlybird Farms<sup>7</sup> established in 1968. These packages were unearthed fairly intact, as seen in the figures below.

There are also metal bottle tops such as Black Cat Peanut Butter<sup>8</sup> that was being produced since 1926. This packaging was found with cut soup bones and a few apricot and peach pips.

There was also a number of EVEREADY battery cells recovered from both sites. These were most probably used to power radios, as there was no electricity available in the *Motse*, and this can be verified by the bulbous chimney glass fragments recovered from both middens, used for lanterns and oil lamps.



Figure 5.116: A modern packet of Tastic rice on the right next to the Tastic packet excavated from *Motse* 11.25.

<sup>6</sup> Tastic Rice [www.tastic.co.za](http://www.tastic.co.za)

17/10/2016

<sup>7</sup> Early Bird Farms (Pty) Ltd [www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot](http://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot)

17/10/2016

<sup>8</sup> Peanut Butter [www.iol.co.za/lifestyle/people/the-brands-that-define-mzansi-1704594](http://www.iol.co.za/lifestyle/people/the-brands-that-define-mzansi-1704594)

17/10/2016



Figure 5.117: An older jar top for Black Cat Peanut Butter on the left and a modern jar top on the left.

(Photos: Author's own).



Figures 5.118 and 5.119: Examples of the tin cans excavated, this was probably a Bully Beef tin.

(Photo: Author's own).

The Eveready Battery Company was established in 1914, when the American Eveready Company, developer of the flashlight, merged with the National Carbon Company. This company was responsible for the invention of the first D-size dry cell battery. In the 1920s, the

Eveready brand started to spread to other countries including South Africa and opened in Port Elizabeth in 1937. It was in 1957, that the 9V transistor battery was introduced.<sup>9</sup>



Figure 5.120: Packaging for the Eveready Batteries from the 1950s. ([www.eveready.com](http://www.eveready.com)).



Figure 5.121: Fragments from an Eveready 9v transistor battery. (Photo: Author's own).

The material culture of *Motse* 11.7 indicate that there were indeed also women living in this household, as observed from the cosmetic pots and jars, the ceramic sherds and the beads for example. The cultural material also implies that this household used traditional items, such as the locally produced pottery discussed in section 5.2.1 and the upper grinding stone seen in figure 5.122, together with westernised household items. The cultural material from *Motse* 11.7 comes

<sup>9</sup> Eveready Batteries [www.eveready.com/aboutus/pages/about-eveready.aspx](http://www.eveready.com/aboutus/pages/about-eveready.aspx)

across as being more modest and utilitarian, even though there was a fair amount of alcohol and foodstuffs consumed. This gives a sense that this household was quite social and interacted with their community and the broader mission station settlement.

The household of *Motse* 11.25, as reviewed above, used more consumable and packaged items. These packaged items were only found at this household. It could mean that these items were purchased by residents who were working and earning, in order to be able to afford these kinds of products. This together with the other artefacts recovered, conveys the opinion that these residents of this household were educated working women who were well dressed and groomed. The homestead of *Motse* 11.25 also lends itself to the idea that a larger family lived here as more outbuildings are evident than the house of *Motse* 11.7. The cultural material indicates that it is possible that there is a slight chronological difference between the deposits excavated from the two households, with *Motse* 11.7 being older than the more modern *Motse* 11.25. The excavation at *Motse* 11.7 was vertical in orientation, extending to sterile soil at a depth of 80cm, as opposed to the horizontal extent of the excavation at *Motse* 11.25, which went to a depth of 30cm at a stone layer. It is possible that older deposits may be present below the stone tumble.



Figure 5.115: Upper grinding stone from *Motse* 11.25.

The analysis of the two houses of the *Motse* has shown that regardless of the fact that the artefacts were every day and mundane, they provide an interesting insight into the lives of the residents and their families who lived in this part of the mission station. The analysis revealed that the chronology for the two households range from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century / early 20<sup>th</sup> century through to the mid-1970s.

These items discussed in this chapter are very basic and ordinary and yet they are important in any household, as they assist in making families' lives more comfortable and secure. By analysing the glass, ceramic and button assemblages of the homesteads *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25, together with the cultural material as a whole, an improved understanding of these households emerges, which will be discussed in the following chapter together with the settlement layout of this area of the mission station.

## **CHAPTER 6: THE HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS OF THE MOTSE:**

### **THE DISCUSSION.**

The original residents of the *Motse* and their descendants have long since gone, but their everyday stories have remained in the ruins of the village. It is through archaeological excavation and analysis that light can be shed on the domestic history of the *Motse* in the recent past. The structures and middens of these two houses, *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25, have provided a glimpse of this through the material culture, thereby providing a better understanding of the ordinary, everyday lives of the people who lived here.

In this chapter, the architecture and spatial organisation of the *Motse* will be discussed, followed by a description of how it could have been, living in a household in a rural mission village in the early to mid-twentieth century.

#### 6.1 Settlement layout, spatial organisation and architecture of the *Motse*.

Botshabelo Mission Station was originally established as a place of refuge and safety. The *Motse* is situated about one kilometre from the main mission station complex and approximately ten kilometres from the town of Middelburg. It is located on a grass plain situated between the Olifants River and the sharp ridges of the surrounding hills. This landscape was ideal for settlement, as it had ample rocks for building, clay and water from the adjacent river, and grass for the thatching of roofs. The positioning of these villages of the Bapedi and Bakopa at their founding was intentional, and with time it placed the *Motse* residents within the wider mission station community. Mission stations were primarily seen as locations where people were encouraged to settle and through their architecture of elegant buildings and churches exhibited a presence of colonial power and ideology (Flexner 2014). This can also be said of Botshabelo, and in its day the church was elaborate and authoritarian. It could be viewed as a display of

power and control by the missionaries over the landscape, but to many of the initial residents of the mission station, it was probably considered to be the heart of the mission station. Botshabelo can be described as being established as a permanent settlement, with a core which provided educational and other services to the residents and the surrounding areas, such as the *Motse*.

Botshabelo Mission Station can also be viewed as an institution. It has a set of formal structures, demarcated by stone walls with regimented space and buildings, set apart from each other depending on function. This type of institution had training facilities for religious and other educational requirements, as well as, a boarding school and various other small scale industrial activities (Middleton 2010; Flexner 2014). The *Motse* was established away from the church and parsonage and was thus set apart from it. This could have been for both practical and political reasons. Due to the topography of the area, space is limited around the main areas of the mission station, which most probably could not accommodate the numbers of converts and potential converts that followed Merensky at its establishment. It was also important for the residents of the mission station to have access to the agricultural lands nearby. The historic maps and documentary sources indicate there were residents living in the *Motse* from the beginning. Alexander Merensky, at this time left most of the management of the *Motse* in the hands of the relevant chiefs. This could be advantageous to the chiefs, as they could oversee the villages, while keeping the missionaries at a distance.

The situation was a bit different at mission stations in the more northern rural areas outside of the immediate political sphere of the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek*, where the missionaries had a more submissive and passive relationship and were essentially controlled by the local chiefs (Kirkaldy 2005). These mission settlements were generally smaller and found in remote areas of the country where the main focus of the missionaries' was conversion. As Flexner (2014) notes, in

these situations the local people were more likely to use mission resources for their own purposes, such as needing interpreters to deal with the government administration. There was, however, a relationship between mission institutions such as Botshabelo, and these smaller rural mission settlements in that they served as a training ground for local pastors and mission helpers (Kirkaldy 2005).

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this document, it is the personal and professional journals, letters and illustrations produced by missionaries, such as Alexander Merensky, Theodore Wangemann and Carl Hoffmann, who documented the activities of the mission stations. In terms of the broader questions being asked in this dissertation, there are several observations that can be drawn about the changes in architectural style that occurred over time. The analysis of the documentary and pictorial sources suggest that the transition of the house structures from the traditional round to the European-style rectangular form appears associated with the accumulation of a number of socio-political, cultural and economic changes rather than the straightforward conversion of the original inhabitants. As seen in the pictorial documentation left by Wangemann's early sketches, the photographs in the Hoffmann Collection and the aerial photograph of 1943, almost eighty years after conversion, there were still cone-on-cylinder structures to be found in the village. Naude (2007:226) notes in his research regarding cone-on-cylinder structures that mission stations were "among the first settlements where vernacular African and European architectural traditions came together and to some extent [were] forced to either fuse or co-exist" (also see Frescura 2008).

This transition most probably commenced within the first ten years of the establishment of the mission station. Edward Sandeman (1880) mentioned how impressed he was by the appearance of the large village when he visited the station in 1878. The documentary/pictorial and

cartographic sources show that there were initially two villages established in the *Motse*. These villages possibly merged after the departure of Johannes Dinkwanyane and other groups.

General Wolseley also mentions on his visit in 1879, that he was impressed with the village and its houses with their yards (Wolseley 1880/1973). By 1886, twenty years after the establishment of Botshabelo, Wangemann describes how the mission station had undergone drastic changes and that rectangular houses were more evident, however, there were still traditional round structures present (Le Roux and Fisher 1991). The transition of these architectural styles from cone-on-cylinder structures to European-style houses thus occurred over time and was therefore not so straightforward as sometimes been proposed. For example, there are unroofed round structures and rectangular buildings still visible in the aerial photograph of 1943. We do not know at what time the round structures became unoccupied. To a certain extent, this transition was initiated through the conversion and education of the residents by the missionaries, however, the residents could have decided to change building styles, as square houses were easier to build, they provided more room and natural building materials were easily available. This reiterates the Comaroffs research on materiality and the influence of the missionaries on transformation through dress, agriculture and architecture of the Tswana (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997).

As noted in Japha *et al* (1993) most mission stations were organised and planned settlement layouts, with rectangular houses laid out in parallel rows, such as that seen at Bethanie and Kratzenstein. In the aerial photograph of 1943 (figure 3.12), the *Motse* appears to follow this pattern. Today, there is little difference in the original 1882 settlement layout depicted by Merensky (figure 3.11) to that of the aerial photograph. However, apparently this wasn't always the case. It is mentioned that in the 1880s, members of the Berlin Mission Society were still having difficulties implementing a grid-like settlement pattern for the traditional structures in

which most of the mission residents lived at Botshabelo and the *Motse* (Japha *et al* 1993). The mission core is approximately the same, except for a couple of new buildings, such as the educational facilities. The *Motse* location is relatively unchanged in the historical sources.

Today the *Motse* is a village in ruins. Through the processes and problems associated with socio-economic issues and abandonment of Botshabelo by the Berlin Mission Society, together with forced removals in the case of the *Motse*, the area has undergone a forced deterioration. An important theme in this research is that of the residents of the *Motse* being forcibly removed in 1972 with many of the houses bulldozed during the removals. This act of destruction has had a decisive impact on the *Motse* as an archaeological site.

In the village, there are 32 intact structures of various sizes, two water wells, a fort and possibly the second fort still located on the site. The structures associated with the *Motse*, include houses and outbuildings, such as kitchens and outside ablutions, cone-on-cylinder structures, kraals and small walls. Architectural remains have always been important in archeological studies and in particular small-scale structures. The information gathered from these types of structures can provide important evidence in human behaviour (Steadman 1996). These structures can provide important information concerning the built environment associated with the *Motse* and other Berlin Mission Society stations in South Africa.

By the mid-twentieth century, there appears to be two rectangular house types present in the *Motse*, as well as, numerous round structures with rectangular yards. The first type can be described as being rectangular in shape, originally having one room with no internal walls, with windows in asymmetrical façade facing the street, as seen in the photograph below (figure 6.1). These houses were constructed of stone, plaster and clay with a thatched roof. These typical house types started changing, as they were easily modified and expanded to include additional

rooms when needed, especially to the rear of the houses, as seen in *Motse* 11.7. Clear alteration outlines can be seen where construction was undertaken. As these houses evolved to meet the changing needs of the household, they developed into homesteads, which is the second type of house found in the *Motse*. This is where yards have been created between the main house and the other outbuildings, such as the kitchen and the outside ablutions. In this type of house, attempts have been made to demarcate the living space by deliberately building small stone walls creating a boundary, and thus a homestead. As part of a community, the residents of these households most probably had a need for personal space and privacy, and so defined the boundaries to their home. These houses also evolved by adding new rooms and some of these rooms are divided by internal walls, as can be seen at *Motse* 11.25. The social relationships of the household and the greater community can be observed in the construction of the boundary walls and the positioning of the entrances of the various structures.

Thus, these houses of the *Motse* consisted of various structures and areas, and can be observed as having a division between the private or domestic inside of the main house, and the public or outside areas including the gardens, kraals and even the paths and roads. There is evidence that the outside areas found between the main houses and the outside buildings were used for socializing, work activities, as well as gardens and fruit trees. This spatial layout can be seen as “a division between public and private space and isolation from wider society” (Lydon 2005:217). Robin and Rothschild (2002) provide a very interesting discussion on the social dynamics of public or outdoor space. These outdoor living areas and spaces are significant to many aspects of life. It is in these spaces that the individuals of a household interact with each other and also with the community. It is these “social, economic and ritual activities and

meanings conducted in areas around and between buildings” that are of critical social importance (Robin and Rothschild 2002:163).

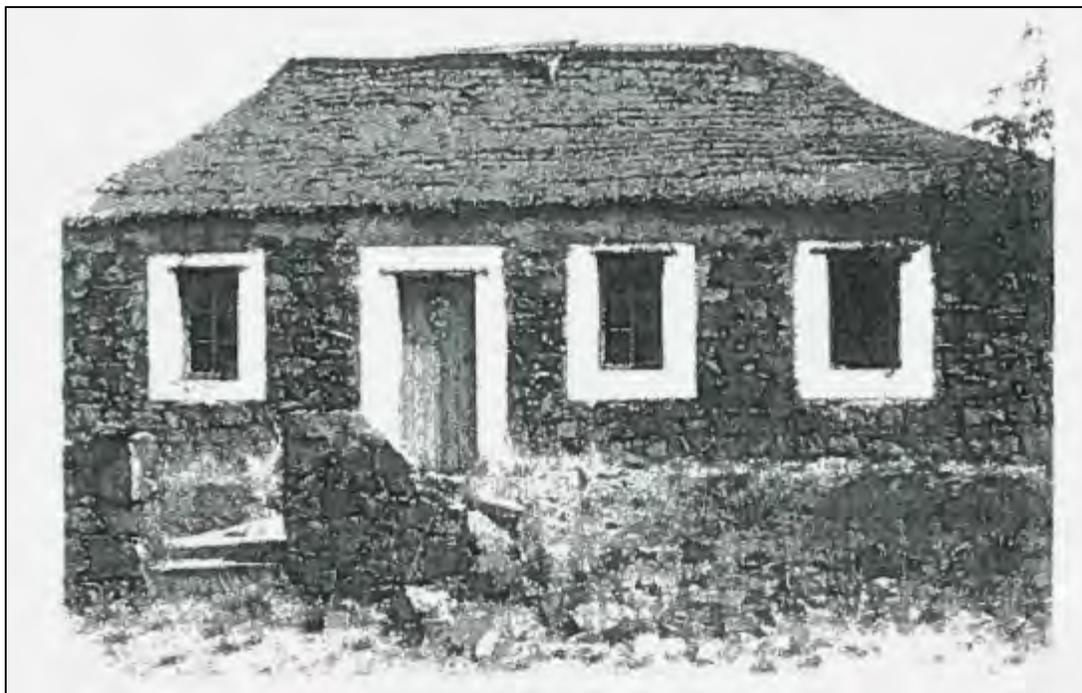


Figure 6.1: An intact house of the *Motse* circa 1900 (TPMS 1989:11).

The structures of the *Motse* are examples of vernacular architecture, buildings that are constructed “in agreement with cultural norms and without the aid of trained architects and builders” (Orser 2004:184). These buildings are important in the research of the cultural and historical landscape. So, with regards to this research project Botshabelo Mission Station falls well into the definition given by Japha *et al* (1993:3) regarding mission stations, being that:

Missions are small rural settlements or complexes of buildings on defined pieces of land, which were developed by and are or were controlled by a church as centres for an existing or potential Christian community, and which cater for, or are inhabited by the rural poor.

By studying the settlement layout, the spatial organisation and the architecture of the *Motse*, a better understanding of the village and its residents in the contemporary past can be attained.

## 6.2 The households of the *Motse*:

Archaeology is in a unique position to study these houses and their households. As Clift (2001) notes, there are subtleties involved in the relationship between the missionaries and the people living at the mission station that are not always explained within the historical record. Therefore, studying the archaeological record of the *Motse* is significant, as it assists in providing information not evident in the historical documentation, as well as, presenting the importance of researching the recent and contemporary past. Graham (1998:27) states for instance that, historical documentation “naturally places importance on the story and views of the European colonizers, whereas, archeology with its focus on material culture of all the inhabitants of a mission station allows the voices of the flock to be heard”.

The early missionaries used subtle colonisation and transformed the lifeways and customs of the early converts, and this in time brought about political and economic changes, not only in the moral order, the community but also, in the sphere of culture and the understanding of self (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). It is these notions that most probably filtered down through the years from family to family, and becomes important in the understanding of the social relationships within these household. People create their own space, and give meaning to this space, in relation to their social and cultural beliefs (Orser 2004).

The layouts of these homesteads are such that each house had a small garden and access to communal land which could be used for either grazing or agriculture (Japha *et al* 1993). There are also various kraals evident throughout the site that was used for herd animals, such as sheep and cattle. The gradual move of the *Motse* residents from producing their own food, to a consumer society is depicted in the material culture, as demonstrated through the glass, the ceramics, saw cut faunal bones, as well as, the various modern packaging excavated.

Food consumption, as described by Malan (2009:38) includes the “procurement, distribution, preparation and consumption, shared by all members of a particular group” or household. The homesteads of *Motse* 11.7 and *Motse* 11.25 had assorted household items present in the middens, such as plastic, metal cans and containers together with the glass and ceramics. As described in Chapter 4 of this document, it was decided to excavate middens associated with two of the houses. The first midden for *Motse* house 11.7 was positioned between two round structures that were most probably kraals and near the clay oven, so an ideal place to discard household rubbish. The second midden for *Motse* 11.7 is found not too far from the back wall of the main house. As for *Motse* house 11.25, the midden is located on the west side of the house behind a small wall and just outside the yard. It could be that this household threw their rubbish over the small wall to discard it.

The research for this project concentrated on the glass and ceramic assemblages excavated from these two houses. A large portion of the glass assemblage is alcohol and beer bottles, these mostly found at *Motse* 11.7. The amount of alcohol bottles also gives the impression that this household was social and interacting with the larger community. During the earlier years at the mission station, it was prohibited to buy and drink alcohol especially brandy. Drinking alcohol was seen as being impure (Merensky 1899). Drinking alcohol, even in recent times could be seen as a form of resistance against the establishment. There is a bread oven associated with this homestead, and it is possible that beer was used for the baking of bread. With regards to the ceramics, there was an almost equal amount of decorated and undecorated types analysed for this house. There were some traditional items, such as local ceramics and an upper grinding stone still being used, together with historic household items. Most of the material culture was modest

and utilitarian in nature, and there seemed to be a large amount of food and drink consumed at this household.

In contrast, *Motse* house 11.25, has more decorated ceramics than undecorated, with more tableware being present. Household income would also influence the type of ceramics discovered at a home. The items such as silk stockings, cosmetic jars, the packaged food and medicinal items, the skin lightening creams discussed earlier, together with a lack of any male specific items, offer the impression that there were educated, well dressed women living here. Thus, these individuals had the means to buy butchered meat, packaged goods and various household items for their homes. Items such as skin lightening creams and other toiletries were expensive to purchase (Thomas 2012). With regards to the analysis for this project, the cultural material excavated from the households indicate that it is possible that there is a slight chronological difference between the two assemblages, with *Motse* 11.7 containing some older items than the more modern *Motse* 11.25.

The material culture of these households can be seen as an indication of the socio-economic status of the people living in the *Motse*. As Sweitz (2012) notes, households leave behind a record of their past consumer behaviour which is reflective also of their socioeconomic class relationships within these communities. Further, as consumers these individuals and households were making decisions within their larger societal circumstances.

Thus, by analysing the artefacts from the two houses of the *Motse*, the data obtained can provide information on the socio-economic status of the household, which in contemporary archaeology can be very complex (Groover 2014).

As Hendon (1996:46) remarks, all households in a society may have similar responsibilities regarding certain tasks and interaction within the same physical and social landscape. However, these households “do not necessarily respond in the same way to external conditions nor organize themselves in the same way”. This becomes evident from the analysis of the cultural material of the residents of these two houses of the *Motse*. These residents were attentive to their homes and to themselves. The consumption pattern indicates that members of these two households were most probably working, either at Botshabelo School, in the nearby town of Middelburg or further afield in the larger cities, such as Johannesburg. Thus, the two households of the *Motse* were part of the same landscape, that of Botshabelo mission station, but responded to social circumstances and organised themselves differently (Hendon 1996).

These mission establishments were complex settlements where various communities resided, who maneuvered through the various aspects of colonialism every day (Panich *et al.*: 2014). The residents who lived in the *Motse* were no different. As Meyer (1997) comments in her study on religion and material culture, mission institutions not only played a significant role in colonialism but also in the creation of modern consumers. Archaeology is in the distinctive position to study this, together with the meaning these goods and products had for their consumers. These commodities are usually studied in an economic context, it is however, important to realise that these material goods have a social and political context and the understanding of the complex social relationships are important (Meyer 1997; Groover 2014). Such a product is the skin lightening creams excavated from *Motse* 11.25, which appeared due to an emerging African consumer market, especially after the Second World War. As Thomas (2012:5) notes, even though skin lightening creams were primarily used by the European population in South Africa, these products also appealed to the African and other darker races

“who sought to navigate social hierarchies that privileged lightness, and to achieve aesthetic ideals rooted in both colonial and precolonial conceptions of beauty”.

As the historical and political situation changed in South Africa, mission stations, such as Botshabelo transformed from religious to largely educational institutions during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as mission schools became more important. It is here, that the residents of villages, such as the *Motse*, came into contact with new ideas and customs, which included hygiene and appearance. Unfortunately, the missionaries saw products and items, such as cosmetics and lavish clothing as indulgent, and against what they were trying to teach, “a simple, wholesome and largely rural way of life that they viewed was rapidly disappearing with industrialisation and the spread of consumer capitalism in Europe and the United States” (Thomas 2009:26). These ideas were fostered by the students being exposed to media, such as magazines and newspapers. One of the earliest magazines was that of BANTU WORLD. This magazine was developed in the 1930s, to offer an opinion to the more respectable African population, such as those educated at mission schools, who worked mainly as teachers, nurses, clerks and the clergy (Thomas 2009). Another magazine was DRUM magazine, established in Cape Town in 1951 (as seen in figure 6.2). This magazine reported life in the 1950s and 1960s in the larger centres such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. These types of magazines were created primarily for the emerging African consumer market. It can be said that, it was these mission schools that produced this market by teaching the students literacy. Through reading, these scholars were exposed to advertisements and stories relating to them. So, even though it was the missionary who prohibited the wearing of certain types of clothing, as well as, face and head adornments, they laid the foundation for African consumerism through advocating dress and cleanliness (Meyer 1997; Thomas 2009). Brigit Meyer (1997) states that this change in

materiality caused tension, as the missionaries were worried that the adoption of these new trends will lead to material desires rather than just fulfilling the basic needs to shelter, food and clothing. Both Flexner (2014) and Lydon (2009) touch on this point, as they are of the opinion that these new habits were highlighted by class and especially gender. In this regard, women were expected to behave in a certain way that represents European domesticity, without ever really becoming the equals of Europeans.



Figure 6.2: A couple of magazine covers from Drum Magazine circa 1956.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Drum Magazine <http://historydesignlove.worldpress.com/2011/10/09/the-origins-of-drum>

By 1945, South Africa had become more industrialised, which led to economic prosperity for the country and by 1948, when the National Party attained power, the road for a South African Republic had begun. It is at this time that the country started changing its internal policies and amending legislation and government policies as imposed by the National Party (Freund 2012; Posel 2012).

So, by the 1950s, the country entered a phase dominated by the policy of *Apartheid*. During this period, population or forced removals were enforced under the interests of the Group Areas Act of 1950, which was designed to separate designated residential areas based on racial occupation (Posel 2012). Many mission stations in South Africa were affected by the forced removals from 1968 onwards (Japha *et al* 1993). As reviewed in this document, the *Apartheid* policy had major implications, especially for African education within the country. Prior to this, education was primarily provided by mission schools such as Botshabelo. It is through this policy and especially because of the impact of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 on the mission schools that made many of the mission stations in South Africa obsolete. Financial support to mission schools was reduced in 1954 and eventually terminated in 1957. Due to this most of these teaching institutions became controlled by the government. The government gave these mission stations a choice of either selling or leasing the school to the government or to run them without financial support as private schools (Japha *et al* 1993; Mminele 1983). At first, the members of the Berlin Mission Society at Botshabelo, decided to co-operate with the government as they hoped that this would help them remain open.

However, by 1957, the Berlin Mission Society had reassessed the situation and transferred all educational institutions to the government largely due to economic reasons (Mminele 1983). The Berlin Mission Society finally decided to leave South Africa in the early 1960s, due to these

financial and political reasons but mostly because these schools were no longer theological in nature (Elphick 2012).

In 1961, South Africa became a republic and the country became even more regulated. This unfortunately affected the everyday life of the residents of the *Motse* and this would have influenced the social, political and economic dynamics, which existed within these households of the *Motse* and in the wider community as a whole.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

The goal of this research on the houses of the *Motse* was to refine our chronological understanding of the development of the settlement and the architectural transition of these homesteads, and so explore the chronology of the *Motse*, through the analysis of documents and related sources and the material culture excavated.

Very little is known about the archaeology of Botshabelo Mission Station and the *Motse*. So by undertaking this research, the residents of the mission station's story can be told, one that is important to the heritage of the country. Archaeology is in the unique position to assist in providing a more rounded representation of how the residents of the *Motse* lived.

The missionaries from the Berlin Mission Society were sent to southern Africa to convert the indigenous population and so instill a moral way of life. Through the adoption of new architectural styles and dress, these missionaries saw these transformations as important steps to becoming "a believer in Christ" and that changes in architecture and clothing in turn reflects "spiritual turning and spiritual change" (Kirkaldy 2005:153-154). Thus, Christianity was recognised by the missionaries as a means to restore peace amongst the wayward indigenous communities (Elbourne 1995). However, this was not so simple and conversion not so straightforward. As Birgit Brammer (2007:24) observes, there existed "a strange duality in German missionary policy. On the one hand, they wanted to convert all the *heathens*, but at the same time, they went to great lengths to ensure that the local population maintain their culture and avoid becoming too influenced by white people". This idea aligned to the ethnographic policies that were important to the missionaries and their work within these communities. The African residents of the *Motse* for instance, maintained certain aspects of their culture, as can be seen in the architecture and spatial layout of their homesteads. As Boshoff (2004:467) states, these

“German missionaries were European outsiders, neither colonists nor representatives of a colonial power in South Africa. However, they formed part and were instruments of the world wide Western colonial expansion that was taken place in Africa during the nineteenth century”.

All that is currently known of the *Motse* is through missionary reports and journals, as well as traveller accounts. These material sources are the views of colonial actors and most of the literature is centred on the main mission station and the accomplishments of the missionaries that lived there. It can be said, that the lack of information on the *Motse* is also a form of power over the residents of the village. As yet, the oral traditions and oral histories relating to the *Motse* still have to be explored as important and invaluable sources.

Japha *et al* (1993) note that between the 1860s to the early 1950s, there were 135 mission settlements and stations established in the then Transvaal. Some of these still remain today, but many have been destroyed and abandoned, often as a result of the forced removals of the residents of these settlements. Merensky (1899:347 as translated by J. Stone) remarked in 1880, 15 years after its establishment,

We can thank God heartily that here the Basutos had found something they needed: a place of safety where they could live in peace amongst believers. All the work we, and they, had done had been to the glory of God. The heathens who had foiled and fought us were gone, yet we lived on in security and the station was like a hill town, safe and well-protected.

Unfortunately, Merensky’s words would not last and almost a hundred years later, through the policy of *Apartheid* the mission station and the *Motse* would no longer “be safe and well-protected”.



Figure 7.1: Rubble from a *Motse* house bulldozed during the forced removals (Photo: Author's own).

Botshabelo needs to be conserved, as it has an important place in the history of the country. As Japha *et al* (1993:47) state in their study “many missions are affected by three fundamental problems:

- they have been subjected to removals, or have lost mission land through various processes and are therefore subject to, or are likely to become subject to legal disputes
- most are experiencing serious socio-economic problems, related mainly to levels of poverty and changing demographic profiles
- many have lost their historic roles as centres which provided community education and service”.

Unfortunately, the above is a description of the problems being experienced at Botshabelo today, and the existing physical condition of the surviving mission station, is largely the result of these various processes and problems. Today Botshabelo Mission Station can be characterised by deterioration and decline.



Figure 7.2: The remains of the Botshabelo Museum in the Merensky House in 2014. (Photo: Author's own).



Figure 7.3: Some of the old exhibits from the Botshabelo Museum. (Photo: Author's own).

Botshabelo has been involved in a continuous struggle over land claims, and in 2005 the mission station land was awarded to a 1000 families, various descendants of those who had been forcibly removed.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, this has resulted in a number of management problems for the site which have had a deleterious effect.

In conclusion, it must be stated that Botshabelo and the *Motse* are significant to the history of the country. It originated as an institute of learning and an important centre of commerce. It was also here that the Bible was first translated into Sotho and is the foundation of the Bapedi Evangelical Lutheran Church (Poewe and van der Heyden 1999; Swanepoel 2013). It was at Botshabelo that Alexander Merensky drew the first comprehensive maps of the Transvaal and South Africa, and where his good friend Karl Mauch, set off to find Great Zimbabwe (Duminy 2011). Botshabelo is also the birthplace of many prominent figures, including the geologist Hans Merensky, the world famous Ndebele mural painter Esther Mahlangu and Gerard Sekoto, the famous artist.

It is by drawing on the various historical sources, together with careful archaeological investigation of the site and these households that the forgotten story of the *Motse* can be told.

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<sup>11</sup> [www.theheritageportal.co.za](http://www.theheritageportal.co.za)

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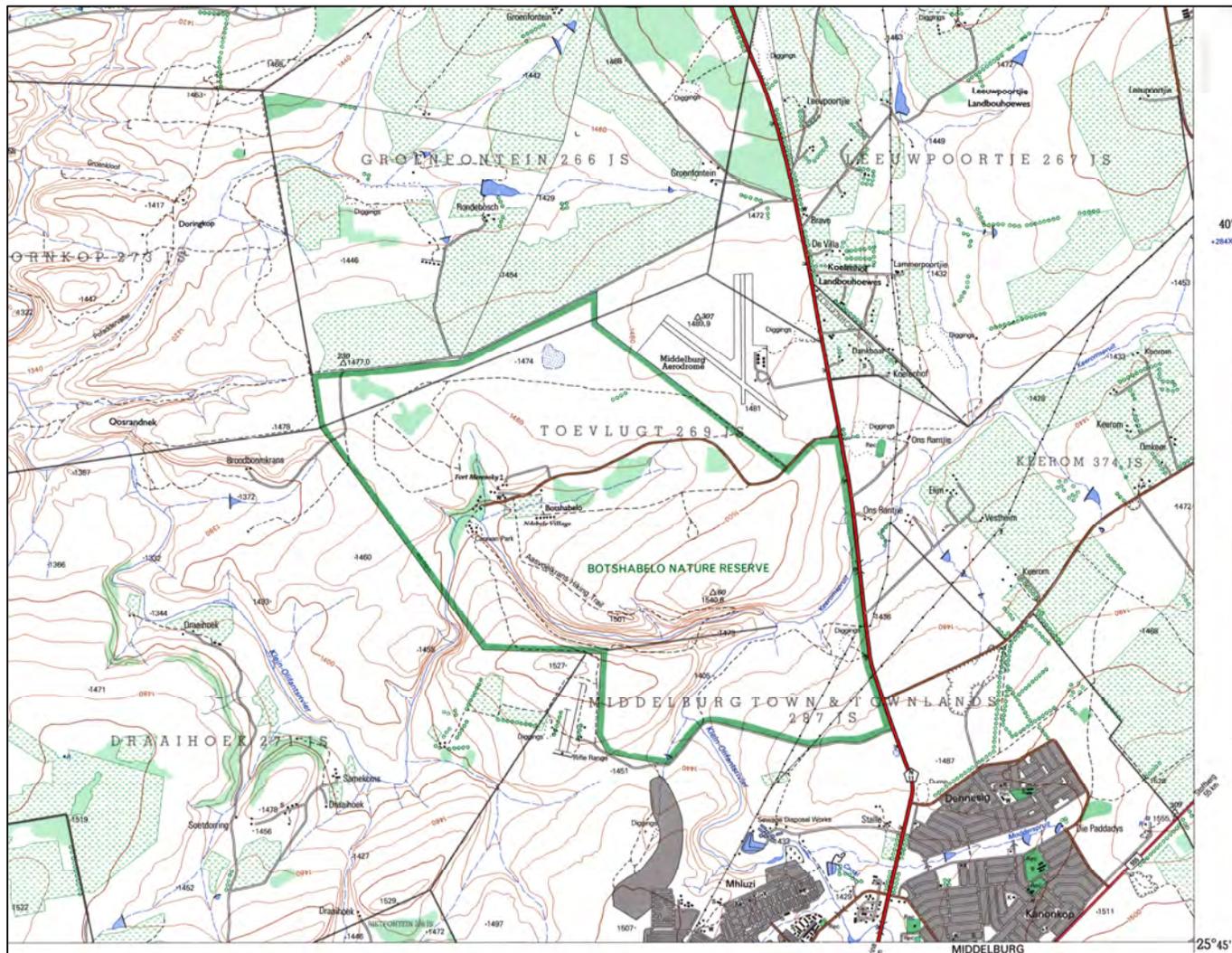
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**Personal Communication:**

Dr. Andy Effting: Dentist – meeting held on the 20<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

Dale Lewis: Bottle enthusiast – meeting held on the 28<sup>th</sup> August 2015.

**APPENDIX 1: A TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE FARM TOEVLUGT**



2529CB Lammerkop (1998): Published by the Chief Directorate: Survey and Mapping (Map Source).

## APPENDIX 2: COMPLETED FIELD INVENTORY FORMS.

**Botshabelo Mission Station: 2529CBI Toevlugt 269/JS****The Motse:****Field Inventory Form**

Site: 11.7 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Grinding stone	1	434
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Dagga	4	17
09/08/2014	N20	70-80cm	Y		Rodent nest	1	60
07/08/2014	M20	Profile	Y		Fabric	1	1
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Fabric	2	2
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Stone	1	Discard
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y		Ochre	1	5
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	23	25
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Concrete	1	92
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Concrete	1	3
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Concrete	5	27
08/08/2014	M20	Profile	Y	Y	Concrete	4	2
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Brick	6	6
05/08/2014	N20	Burrow	Y		Brick	16	23
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Brick	53	168
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Brick	15	27
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Brick	29	60
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Brick	5	290
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Brick	2	2
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Brick	6	2
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Brick	35	93
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Brick	3	3
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y		Brick	5	11
07/08/2014	M20	20-40cm	Y		Brick	2	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Lime	137	276
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Lime	172	224
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Lime	11	26
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y		Lime	338	526
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Lime	82	251
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y		Lime	2	4
09/08/2014	N20	Burrow	Y		Lime	38	30
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Lime	184	437
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Lime	206	671
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Lime	27	48
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Lime	73	235
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Lime	53	106
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Lime	13	41
07/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y		Lime	12	37
07/08/2014	M20	20-40cm	Y		Lime	1	0

Form used for sorting and washing

**Botshabelo Mission Station: 2529CBI Toevlugt 269/JS****The Motse:****Field Inventory Form**

Site: 11.7 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
08/08/2014	M20	Collapse	Y		Lime	7	2
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Slate	8	27
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y		Slate	5	9
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Slate	6	5
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Slate	2	4
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Slate	5	45
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Slate	3	15
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Slate	4	38
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Shell	25	1
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y		Shell	10	0
09/08/2014	N20	Burrow	Y		Shell	4	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Shell	2	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Shell	10	0
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Shell	3	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Shell	11	0
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Shell	22	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Shell	40	1
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Shell	27	0
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Shell	5	0
09/08/2014	General	Surface	Y		Flora	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Flora	102	16
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Flora	44	16
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Flora	6	1
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y		Flora	3	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Flora	6	1
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Flora	2	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Flora	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Flora	2	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Flora	19	11
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Flora	12	8
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Flora	5	3
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Flora	3	0
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y		Flora	1	0
09/08/2014	N20	Burrow	Y		Flora	3	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Ochre	1	2
08/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Plastic (battery)	1	23
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	19	13
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Batteries	6	137
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	20	17

Form used for sorting and washing

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Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight
06/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	2
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	batteries	2	86
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	12	10
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	8	10
09/08/2014	M20	Surface	Y	Y	Plastic	5	9
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	23	43
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	11	12
06/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic	4	26
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Plastic	7	5
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Plastic	12	14
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Plastic	3	8
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Plastic	5	2
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	4	46
09/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Local pottery	3	66
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	2	22
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	1	3
09/08/2014	N20	70-80cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	1	14
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	2	13
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	1	7
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	2	7
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Local pottery	3	30
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	12	1
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Cardboard	3	13
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	1
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal bottle top	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal bottle top	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fabric stocking	1	9
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	5	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Slate	1	3
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Slate	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	2	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Wood	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Battery	3	10
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Cork?	1	0
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Cork?	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	3	1

Form used for sorting and washing

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Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	1	6
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Slate	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal tin	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Toothpaste tube	1	9
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Toothpaste top	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic vinyl	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	2	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic/rubber	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Cardboard	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Leather	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Leather	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Slate	1	2
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	5	2
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	1	2
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Slate	1	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Foil	4	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Leather	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	20-40cm	Y		Batteries	2	45
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Batteries	2	37
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Foil	2	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Chalk	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Metal	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Leather	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Leather	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Foil	3	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Plastic	2	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Glass	1	3
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Plastic vinyl	1	0
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Batteries	2	38
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Foil	1	0
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Batteries	3	115
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	0
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Fabric	2	0
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Leather	1	0
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Toothpaste tube	1	7

Form used for sorting and washing

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Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Fabric	1	2
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Plastic	4	0
08/08/2014	M20	Profile	Y		Shell	6	0
08/08/2014	M20	Profile	Y		Fabric	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y		Fauna	41	216
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y		Fauna	74	123
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y		Fauna	8	4
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y		Fauna	29	146
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y		Fauna	16	15
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y		Fauna	5	39
09/08/2014	N20	70-80cm	Y		Fauna	1	0
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Fauna	16	59
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Fauna	8	16
06/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Fauna	15	26
07/08/2014	M20	20-40cm	Y		Fauna	1	1
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Human tooth	1	3
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y		Fauna	73	141
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y		Fauna	28	163
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y		Fauna	31	168
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y		Fauna	13	14
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y		Fauna	7	28
09/08/2014	N20	Surface	Y	Y	Metal	6	90
08/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Metal	1	70
07/08/2014	M20	Surface	Y	Y	Metal	13	280
08/08/2014	M20	Collapse	Y	Y	Metal	2	4
09/08/2014	M20	From wall	Y	Y	Metal	1	73
09/08/2014	M20	From wall	Y		Fauna	1	7
09/08/2014	M20	From wall	Y		Shell	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	94	172
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	85	292
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y		Ochre	8	18
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	60	85
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	126	291
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	71	282
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	47	67
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	69	349
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	21	78
06/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	53	124
06/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Flora	1	0

Form used for sorting and washing

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Site: 11.7 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
07/08/2014	M20	20-40cm	Y	Y	Metal	5	18
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Metal	237	586
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Metal	139	506
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Metal	194	538
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Metal	56	119
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y	Y	Metal	23	35
08/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Button	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	4	1
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Press studs	11	2
08/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Button	2	3
05/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	2	0
05/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Safety pin	1	0
05/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic toy	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	1	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal bottle top	1	7
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y		Ochre	4	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Button	1	2
05/08/2014	M20	Surface	Y	Y	Button	4	3
05/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	2	1
05/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	1	2
05/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y		Leather	1	2
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Buttons	2	1
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	4	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Shell	11	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Lead	1	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	3	1
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y		Flora	1	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	4	0
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Button	1	0
07/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y		Foil	3	0
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Button	5	1
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Button	4	1
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Button	2	3
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Button	2	0
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y	Y	Button	1	0
07/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
08/08/2014	Q11	Surface	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	5	0
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	12	2

Form used for sorting and washing

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Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Bead	5	0
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	8	0
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	10	0
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
05/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	3	0
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	2	0
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Ceramics	33	191
04/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	44	151
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	18	73
09/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	7	32
09/08/2014	N20	70-80cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	4	10
08/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Ceramics	6	23
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	37	119
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	53	127
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	23	31
09/08/2014	M20	Surface	Y	Y	Ceramics	3	3
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	9	46
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	7	30
06/08/2014	M20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	15	86
07/08/2014	M20	30-40cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	14	116
07/08/2014	M20	40-50cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	11	46
08/08/2014	M20	50-60cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	14	106
08/08/2014	M20	60-70cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	45	418
09/08/2014	M20	70-80cm	Y	Y	Ceramics	5	46
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Glass	1	76
09/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Glass	75	1183
08/08/2014	P11	Surface	Y	Y	Glass	2	32
08/08/2014	P11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Glass	111	535
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Glass	189	1587
08/08/2014	P11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	1	1
09/08/2014	P11	20-30cm	Y	Y	Glass	48	202
06/08/2014	N20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Glass	123	779
06/08/2014	N20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Glass	35	677
06/08/2014	N20	20-30cm	Y	Y	Glass	22	180
08/08/2014	M20	Profile	Y	Y	Glass	3	22
04/08/2014	M20	0-10cm	Y	Y	Glass	61	1089
06/08/2014	M20	10-20cm	Y	Y	Glass	29	140

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Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
08/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Grinding stone	1	1231
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y		Dagga	4	2
07/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Dagga	1	2
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y		Dagga	3	9
07/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y		Rodent nest	1	87
07/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y		Plaster	1	12
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y		Plaster	1	5
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y		Slate	3	5
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y		Slate	2	1
09/08/2014	General	Surface	Y		Dagga	9	32
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y		Dagga	21	35
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	3	0
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y		Ochre	4	3
07/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y		Dagga	2	15
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y		Dagga	31	15
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	4	0
08/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	2	0
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y		Ochre	3	0
08/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Dagga	3	3
08/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	3	0
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y		Dagga	25	6
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y		Ochre	4	0
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y		Shell	51	0
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y		Shell	15	0
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y		Shell	1	2
05/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y		Battery	1	8
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y		Battery	1	18
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y		Battery	3	38
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Battery	2	82
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Pencil lead	1	0
06/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Dice	1	2
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Marble	2	2
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Marble	1	5
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Chalk	1	2
08/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Chalk	1	2
04/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Coin	1	6
07/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Coin	1	5
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Film strip	1	0
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Film strip	4	0

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Site: 11.25 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Carpet	1	162
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Jewellery	1	0
07/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Shoe heel (w)	1	25
07/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Rubber	1	8
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Shoe (m/sch)	3	42
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y		Flora	2	0
07/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y		Flora	5	4
06/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y		Flora	4	4
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y		Flora	4	4
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y		Flora	4	0
07/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y		Flora	7	5
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y		Flora	1	0
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Flora	3	1
08/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y		Flora	2	0
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y		Flora	3	2
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y		Flora	1	0
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
08/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
08/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y		Fabric/stocking	1	8
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	7	0
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	2	0
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y		Fabric/stocking	1	8
06/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	1	0
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	5	0
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y		Fabric	3	0
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y		Fabric	5	14
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Plastic	23	142
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	14	13
08/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	6	10
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	3	25
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	10	27
08/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic	7	6
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	23	15
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Marble /widget	1	5
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	8	15
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	12	2
06/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	5	5
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	5	15

Form used for sorting and washing

**Botshabelo Mission Station: 2529CBI Toevlugt 269/JS****The Motse:****Field Inventory Form**

Site: 11.25 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight
07/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	11	2
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	17	12
07/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	7	2
07/08/2014	L13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Plastic	8	22
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	24	23
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Plastic	48	30
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Labels	2	0
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Fauna	7	4
05/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	11	33
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	12	31
05/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	5	4
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	15	66
08/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Fauna	10	31
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	12	7
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	14	17
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	21	31
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	9	13
05/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	18	28
06/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	10	29
07/08/2014	L12	20-30cm	Y	Y	Fauna	2	11
05/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	14	22
06/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	11	102
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Fauna	7	36
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Fauna	5	8
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Button	1	2
05/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	2	0
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	4	3
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	1	0
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	5	1
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	3	2
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	2	0
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Plastic	1	0
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Button	3	2
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Button	2	1
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Bead	3	0
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	4	0
04/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	3	0
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	1	0
08/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Bead	1	0

Form used for sorting and washing

**Botshabelo Mission Station: 2529CBI Toevlugt 269/JS****The Motse:****Field Inventory Form**

Site: 11.25 Midden

Field date	Unit	Level	Sorted	Washed	Classification	Count	Weight (g)
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	3	1
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	21	2
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	2	0
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	6	0
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Bead	8	0
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Bead	4	2
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Ceramic	39	118
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	15	22
08/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	14	31
04/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	13	36
08/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	9	79
09/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	3	9
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	13	16
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	15	38
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	15	25
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	6	13
06/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	16	31
06/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	9	15
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	19	77
08/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	5	15
07/08/2014	L14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	4	7
07/08/2014	L14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Ceramic	10	91
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Metal	53	1134
04/08/2014	K12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	27	62
05/08/2014	K12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	80	194
04/08/2014	K13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	54	59
05/08/2014	K13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	57	201
08/08/2014	K13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	28	161
08/08/2014	K14	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	36	183
08/08/2014	K14	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	56	356
04/08/2014	General	Surface	Y	Y	Wax	1	4
08/08/2014	L11	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	81	215
08/08/2014	L11	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	36	37
05/08/2014	L12	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	29	60
07/08/2014	L12	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	26	50
07/08/2014	L12	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	5	8
06/08/2014	L13	0-10cm	Y	Y	Metal	76	263
06/08/2014	L13	10-20cm	Y	Y	Metal	60	119
09/08/2014	L13	20-30cm	Y	Y	Metal	1	2

Form used for sorting and washing



APPENDIX 3: MOTSE ARTEFACT CATALOGUE ON DISC