

**“To save breakage and inconvenience”:
rural probate inventories and pewter as an ‘evident absent’ in
19th-century colonial South Africa**

Nicholas Zachariou

Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, South Africa;
Anthropology & Archaeology, University of Pretoria, South Africa; nick.zachariou@outlook.com

ABSTRACT

The investigation and analysis of the ceramic assemblage from the 19th-century European farm Kerkplaats, a site in the rural Karoo, Northern Cape, revealed a notable disjuncture in the ratio of hollow to flat forms. This anomaly was investigated further through the examination of probate inventories, which, in turn, revealed patterns of rural tableware use that both commented on and challenged the ceramic assemblage. This paper considers this disjuncture and evaluates probates as sources of historic material culture data in rural areas. Analysis of probates identifies a rural tableware ‘signature’ in the first half of the 19th century, which was reliant on pewter forms, particularly plates and dishes. The use of pewter, selected for functional reasons, provides some comment on social processes of material culture ‘modernisation’ in rural areas. Finally, pewter, all but absent from the archaeological record, is posited as an ‘evident absent’ that should be considered in analysing tableware and the domestic sphere on the 19th-century colonial frontier.

KEY WORDS: historical archaeology, material culture, probate inventories, pewter, ceramics, colonial archaeology, British Empire, tableware, consumption, consumer practice.

‘Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence’ is an aphorism that has stuck with me throughout my short archaeological career. It was Simon Hall who first told me this and who reminded me, when I first started archaeology, to consider it when analysing my trench, sieve finds, assemblage, site, and so on. I (mis)understood it as ‘just because you can’t see it, doesn’t mean it wasn’t there’, which makes it a suitable saying for this study, as well as for an issue dedicated to the wonderful work of Professor Hall. I am considering an artefact that is rarely recovered in archaeology, yet, I will argue, is an important aspect of tableware in the household. As ‘evidence of absence’ in my own research, the tableware assemblage at Kerkplaats, a 19th-century site in the semi-desert Karoo, South Africa, demonstrates how, from an absence, can come a much larger study.

In this paper I take the household as the basic unit of social and economic production, particularly in the rural sphere (Allison 1998, 1999; Groover 2003: 5–6). Rural households, in this instance, are those of pastoral Dutch speakers, sometimes referred to as *trekboers*, existing on the fringes of the Cape colony. These Dutch rural dwellers, although European, did not see themselves as part of the same colonising apparatus as the British Empire of the 19th century. Frequently itinerant, these groups were pushed, or pulled, from the more settled regions of the colony to the frontier in search of land, formulating their own identity on the frontiers of colonial settlement (Guelke 1976, 1985, 1988; Shell 2005; Van der Merwe 2006).

The frontier is a zone of intercultural contact and cultural innovation: a space of mixing that leaves a palimpsest of contested dialogues and materiality (Thompson 1983; Russell 2001; Legassick 2010). On the frontier, colonial hegemony is uneven and diffuse. Voss (2008: 21) suggests that in understanding this, agency becomes significant,

particularly in relation to various forms of colonial power and culture contact. The culture contact framework I use recognises a small-scale, simplified metropole–periphery model, but does not rely on a basic colonised–coloniser dichotomy, or unidirectional paths of cultural influence (Groover 2005: 231–4). This approach considers the way in which social subjects lived their daily lives, and acknowledges that material culture often contains the subtleties of cultural change and continuity (Silliman 2005). The households under discussion desired, owned and consumed ‘things’, and it is the nature of these ‘things’—tableware in this case—that provides an indication of consumer practice, status and identity (Kopytoff 1986; Groover 2005: 239–40; Mullins 2011: 139–41).

Tableware, defined as forms of material culture used in food consumption, are a strong marker of identity and social standing in the colonial household. This is because tableware is closely related to foodways—a recognised gauge of social differentiation and identity—and tableware items are loaded with significance in quotidian practice and symbolic and status behaviour (Yentsch 1990: 27; Malan 1993: 148; Peres 2017; Twiss 2019). Tableware is also often quantitatively rich and is usually well preserved in the archaeological record.

It is at this point that I must acknowledge the influence and inspiration of Ann Smart Martin’s 1989 article, ‘The role of pewter as a missing artifact: consumer attitudes to tablewares in late 18th century Virginia’ on this study. While Martin’s focus on Colonial Virginia predates the time period under question here, parallels were drawn in terms of rural conservatism, the economic and symbolic value of pewter items, and their more practical functional uses. In her article, Martin (1989: 1) considers pewter as an alternative and companion to ceramics, which subsequently ‘provides a documentary framework of consumer choice amidst social and marketing pressures’. I kept this observation in mind as I undertook the analysis described in this paper. I will return to Martin in the discussion.

While Malan (1993) has provided an extensive review of 17th- and 18th-century Cape tableware, a quick overview here, as it pertains to pewter forms, is useful. Certainly, pewter was a common tableware item at the Cape from the start of Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) settlement (see Abrahams 1996: 40, 44; Jordan 2000: 138; Malan 2007). From 1740 to 1780, Asian porcelain became the primary ceramic and tableware form in the Cape, although pewter persisted in the household, albeit in different roles (Klose & Schrire 2014). From the beginning of the 19th century, and the start of British administration, British ceramics began to replace Asian wares in the colony. It is in this period that we begin to see an Anglicisation or ‘modernisation’ of tableware at the Cape, spurred by mass production and an increase in imports, that re-evaluated or reconfigured social values. These shifts, often reflected in material culture, did not affect all segments of society at the same time. Pewter, nominally an ‘older’ form, lost its lustre for urban dwellers but regional variability persisted, primarily in rural areas, where evidence paints a different picture.

Despite pewter’s acknowledged presence on the colonial table and as a key part of historic foodways, there is an absence of pewter analysis in archaeological studies in southern Africa. One reason for this absence is that pewter, an alloy of tin and copper and other metals, is rarely recovered from archaeological contexts. Its durability meant that it rarely broke or became unusable, and if it did become bent or dented it could be recast to appear new. Pewter wares could also be resold at a good price

or reused to harden bullets or make bullet moulds and other utilitarian household items. Whereas a chipped or damaged earthenware pot could be deposited in a dump and subsequently enter the archaeological record, broken or irreparable pewter was discarded through resale or reuse. Thus, Schrire's (2014a) anthology of VOC-period archaeology at the Cape describes only two items of pewter table- or kitchenware (Schrire 2014b: 213–4).

As pewter is rarely recovered archaeologically, it is only in close readings of documents that its presence becomes felt. Here, I will use probate inventories from the early 19th century. Probates are lists of household inventories drawn up at the death of an individual. The lists describe all their moveable and immoveable possessions, usually for inheritance purposes. Probates provide a rich avenue of inquiry into goods owned and used in households, along with associated social and economic factors. Like most archival sources, there are some methodological issues, particularly when considering the nature of probates in rural areas, both on their own and in relation to their urban counterparts.

In this paper, I examine probate inventories of rural households. I comment on the functional and social value of pewter in South Africa at the beginning of the 19th century, particularly in rural areas and in relation to the metropolis. I begin with briefly providing the archaeological context that frames this study, and then I summarise the use and limitations of rural probates in analysing the material culture of the rural household. Using the probates and other accounts, I sketch a rural tableware signature that can comment on the rolling tide of 'modernity' encapsulated in the European material culture frontier.

THE EVIDENT ABSENT IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF KERKPLAATS

It was the analysis of a ceramic assemblage from a mid-19th-century rural site that initially prompted this investigation. The Kerkplaats site, situated about 40 km north of Fraserburg in the Northern Cape, South Africa, had two occupation phases, notwithstanding possible earlier occupation by San (Fig. 1). The first of these is from 1799 to 1806, when Kerkplaats was, very briefly, the London Missionary Society (LMS) station of Zak River. In 1806, the site was abandoned and seemingly deserted until reoccupation by Dutch farmers from the Eastern Cape in the early 1830s. This second phase of occupation lasted until c. 1860. In this phase, Kerkplaats was a functioning sheep farm, until the main *werf* (farmyard) was moved approximately 1 km west to its present position. The existing structures, including a T-shaped farmhouse, various kraals and outbuildings, were left unoccupied and were essentially absorbed into late 19th-century livestock management systems.

Most of the items recovered from archaeological investigation, including ceramics, glass, metal, fauna, ostrich eggshell, glass beads and lithics, came from open-air contexts through systematic gridded pick-ups and plotted finds in and around the *werf*. Excavated deposits throughout were shallow (<30 cm). Dating of artefacts, where possible, was done through morphological and typological means. Analysis showed that most of the artefacts recovered dated to the second phase of occupation, c. 1830–60. Material culture unequivocally tied to the mission period, or that suggested an unambiguous 19th-century non-European presence, was negligible (see Zachariou 2017).

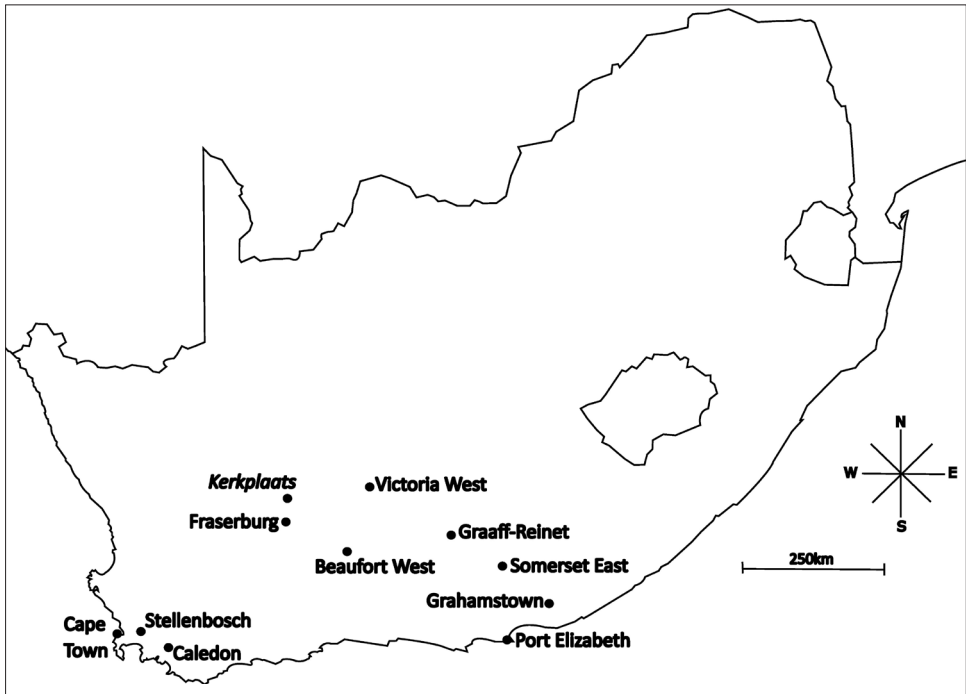


Fig. 1. South Africa showing Kerkplaats site and major cities and towns mentioned in the text.

The ceramic sample was the largest artefact group by far (minimum number of individuals or MNI = 7014, minimum number of vessels or MNV = 445) and is described in detail by Zachariou (2017). Over 75% of the vessels were European refined earthenware (REW), of which slip-decorated and transfer-printed wares made up nearly 70%. Slip-decorated bowls were remarkably common. Ware ratios skewed towards hollowware forms, so that for every flatware form, such as a plate or dish, there were six hollowware forms, mainly bowls, in the table- and tea-ware categories (Fig. 2).

This ratio was unexpected, as other 19th-century Karoo sites (although from later in the century) show a far more equal mix of hollow and flat forms (Moffett 2010; Cottee 2015). Sample bias was discounted, as was the potential role of glass tableware.¹ The assemblage was then compared to a smaller sample from the later post-1860 *werf* on the farm (Zachariou 2017: 164–6, 178–206). Here, the ratio between hollowware and flatware was more equal, which confirmed the discrepancy in ratios from the main assemblage. This disjuncture between forms was considered significant, particularly in terms of the absence of flatware. While there was no expectation that the amount of flatware and hollowware would be equal, it was unusual that there were almost seven times more hollowware vessels than flatware. This led to an examination of probate

¹ The glass assemblage was not analysed beyond simple counts and identification: over 80% of the vessels were round-bodied liquor bottles (MNI = 4236, MNV = 103).

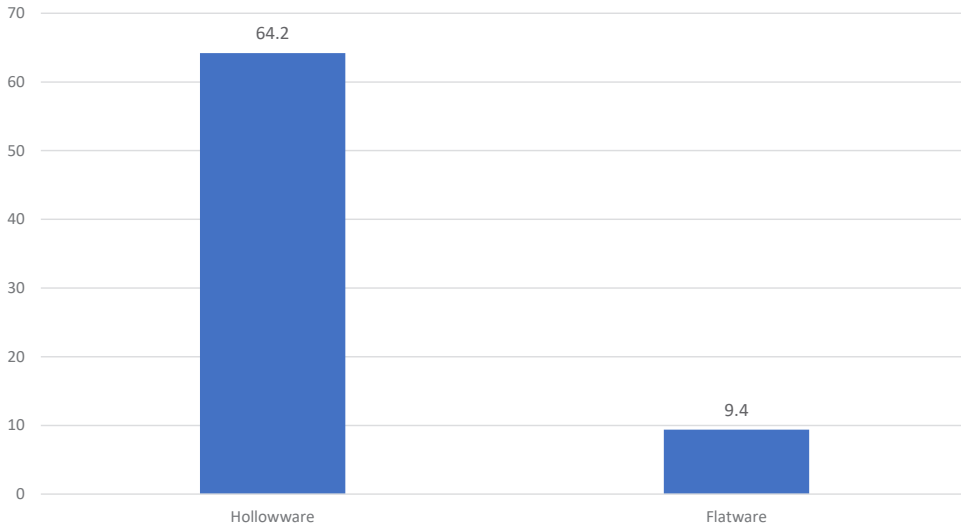


Fig. 2. Percentage minimum number of vessels (MNV) of hollowware and flatware REW forms at Kerkplaats (MNV = 332).

inventories from rural households, to question if this disparity was unique to Kerkplaats or perhaps a larger trend across the early 19th-century rural interior.

PROBATE INVENTORIES

In the Cape, probate inventories were collected by VOC officials and later by British agents from the 17th to 19th centuries. They were compiled to ensure the fair division of a deceased's estate (see Malan 1990, 1993: 26–30). Physical copies are stored in the Western Cape Archives, but most of the probate records for the Cape, including those used in this study, are digitised and available in online repositories.² The probate contained lists of everything owned by the individual at his or her death. This included household items, tools, hardware, livestock, property, debtors and creditors, as well as slaves. A list of family members was included, as well as witnesses, appraisers and relevant agents. Lists did not always include the items' monetary value, but possessions were often listed from most to least valuable, or vice versa, although items could also be grouped by the rooms or structures in which they were found, or, in the case of smaller households, broadly by type. Sometimes stock and enslaved people were listed under separate headings. There was little reason to hide valuables or to misrepresent stock numbers on purpose; hiding a valuable item simply meant that it would not legally pass down to an entitled heir. This does not mean that some misrepresentation did not occur, or that some minor pilfering and fraud did not take place among squabbling heirs and testators.

In southern Africa, the use of probates in archaeological research has been dominated by the work of Antonia Malan (1990, 1993, 1997, 1998). Malan (1993)

² All probates mentioned and used in this study are available to the public online at http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/. For a full list of probates used, please contact the author.

mainly focuses on changes in material culture in urban households from 1750 to 1850. The probates of rural households have been used in studies by Newton-King (1987), Lucas (2006) and Mitchell (2007, 2008). Much of this research, whether rural or urban, has the household of the 18th century as a nexus. Certainly, the 18th century is when the probate archive is at its richest, but probates were still recorded well into the 19th century. Little work has been done on these later probates, particularly of those from rural frontier households. There are several reasons for this, including simple research choice, wider variety of sources, and methodological issues, discussed in more detail below.

The most significant issue is that rural probates are generally less detailed than their urban counterparts. Many urban households and established farmsteads were inventoried room by room. In contrast, only two of the over 200 rural probates examined below provided room-by-room listings. Additionally, it appears that the descriptions of individual items were more detailed in urban households compared to their rural counterparts. This may be because poorer rural households tended to have fewer—and cheaper—possessions, meaning less attention was given to describing them. Another reason may be because many rural households were situated at a distance from bureaucratic or administrative centres. Trained agents and appraisers were unlikely to travel such distances simply to list items in a routine appraisal, so untrained local administrators or field cornets usually filled in for them. This also means that, in general, rural probates could be incomplete or inaccurate, as items of low value could be omitted or ignored, or gathered into undetailed, vague groupings, such as ‘assorted ware’ (see Bedell 2000: 240–4). Unscrupulous field cornets and witnesses could also potentially have ‘overlooked’ items for their own personal gain.

A further methodological issue lies in the units of comparison and scale. Probates list possessions at a given point in time, specifically the death of an individual. An archaeological assemblage, on the other hand, contains material from the entire occupation of a site (theoretically, at least, as artefacts may have been removed or destroyed). Direct comparison between the two is fatuous, as the quantification of tableware in an archaeological assemblage will far exceed the numbers listed in a probate. Comparison must occur on a broader scale, that of trends and patterns in frequency of occurrence and quantity, whereby probate data is converted into a sequence and made roughly compatible with the archaeological scale. Ideally, patterns and trends identified in probates will act as a snapshot of household possessions (or an archaeological assemblage) at a single moment in time. This also dismisses any fatuous comparison of vessel counts from an excavation and from a probate.

Another, more practical, methodological concern is that of language and translation. English was the administrative language of the colony after 1815, meaning probates written in Dutch were translated into English for official purposes. It is unclear who undertook translation or where and when it was done. Owing to such translations, there is some ambiguity in terms, especially where Dutch ‘folk’ names are given to everyday household items. In addition, Cape Dutch had no formalised rules of spelling, and English equivalents do not necessarily capture the full range of nuances or meanings a word might have. Consequently, direct translations of terms and descriptors from Dutch to English cannot always be taken at face value.

Despite these limitations and methodological issues, rural probates from the 19th century still provide a wealth of information.

RURAL PROBATES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

A variety of probate data sets were examined in different configurations to interrogate the nature of the ceramics at Kerkplaats and explore the ‘absence’ of flatware. As the focus is on a broader rural tableware signature, the largest sample will suffice here. Before expanding on this, I will briefly dwell on the process as it relates to the Kerkplaats site.

The initial probate investigation focused on a set of 15 probates from households situated in relative proximity, both geographically and temporally, to the second Kerkplaats occupation (Zachariou 2017: 218–25). In terms of wealth, monetary values were not provided on the probates, so wealth must be measured by other means. Stock numbers give a relative, but not absolute, idea of wealth—at the time, an individual’s wealth was commonly measured by the size of their breeding stock (Smuts 2012: 19) and a larger flock implied above-average means. For this reason, and because of the lack of specifics, I have used stock magnitude, primarily that of sheep, as an indicator, or suggestion, of wealth. Nonetheless, the suggestion here is not that wealth reflects tableware choices, but rather that lifestyle and pastoral practice does.

With this in mind, the average number of sheep per household in the sample is about 1 264, ranging from 289 to 2 802. These are small flocks, as a wealthy sheep farmer in the Sneeuwberg, for instance, would own upwards of 13 000 sheep. At the other end of the spectrum, Thompson (1827: 325, 328), travelling in the colony in the 1820s, suggested 500 sheep as a good start for the first-time stock farmer. With these parameters in mind, no household appears incredibly wealthy nor incredibly poor on the broader scale. Although wealth differences are suggested by the probates, I would suggest that there is a homogeneity in wealth and a similarity in pastoralism among all the households in this sample. Incidentally, in this small sample, only one probate listed ‘typical’ luxury goods, such as gold and silver. Tellingly, it was also the only probate that listed enslaved people, and also listed the most sheep.

An analysis of the tableware contained in these probates demonstrated some recognisable trends. The first was that wealthier households—those with comparatively more stock—owned more tableware. The second was that flatware (plates and dishes) made up nearly 80% of all tableware (Fig. 3). This stood in stark contrast to the Kerkplaats ceramics, where flatware formed only around 10% of the total (Fig. 2). Finally, this small probate sample showed that pewter forms were common: around one third of plates, 80% of dishes, and nearly half of all flatware combined, was pewter (Zachariou 2017: 225). To investigate this ratio further, the sample was expanded to 222 probates selected by date and place.

Probates recorded between 1825 and 1834 were included in this larger sample. The starting date was selected for two reasons. Firstly, the decade between 1825 and 1834 provides a reasonable time span from which to gauge any changes in the material culture of rural households as demonstrated by the probates. Secondly, this period includes the second, post-mission occupation at Kerkplaats, the time to which most of the archaeological items date. The end date was chosen because the number of probates published after 1834 is negligible.

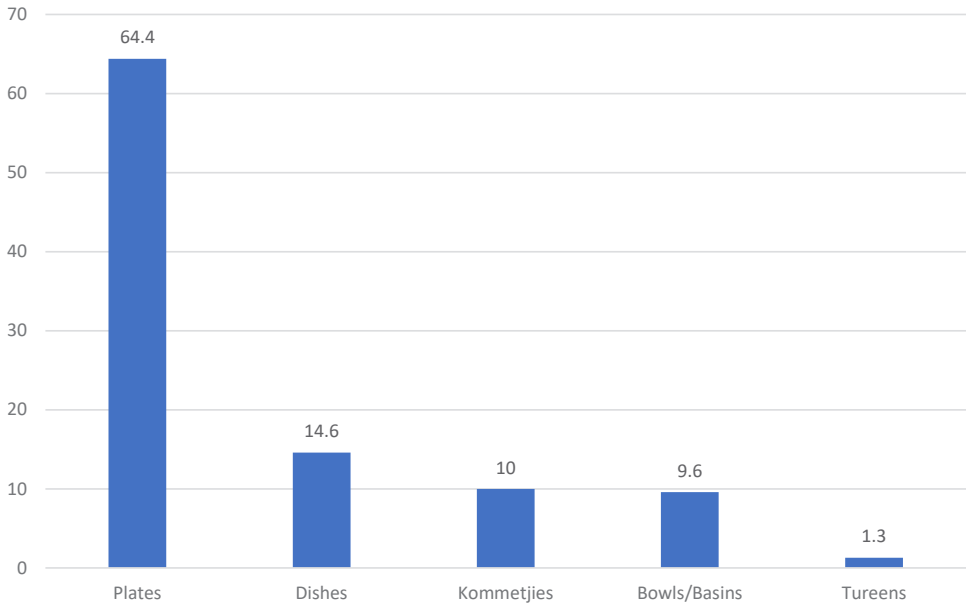


Fig. 3. Percentage of tableware forms in a sample of 15 rural probates.

The second aspect used to select probates was that the probate had to come from a household that was recognisably rural, and not from a small town or village. The initial sample of 15 probates suggested that remote rural households displayed some homogeneity in goods owned and wealth displayed.

By the 1820s, the Cape Colony was divided into eleven districts: Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Clanwilliam, George, Uitenhage, Albany, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort and Worcester (Fig. 4). During the first half of the 18th century, *trekboers* and *burghers* (citizens) leaving the Cape initially moved north-west and eastward on either side of the Great and Little Karoo (Thompson 2001: 46) (Fig. 4). They settled in Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam, George and Uitenhage. The easternmost districts (Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet) were physically the farthest from Cape Town.

By 1798, the extent of European settlement was bordered by the Fish River to the east, the Sneeuwberg Mountains to the north-east and the arid Karoo to the north (Fig. 4). These border regions, although geographically remote, were relatively established and settled by the late 1820s. Population density data from 1841 support this, as Albany, George, Swellendam, Somerset and Uitenhage have the highest values (Table 1).

Underpinning the different settlement emphasis was climate and aridity. The wetter eastern districts along the south coast, while not ideal for cropping, contained far more desirable land than districts to the north, such as Worcester, Beaufort and Clanwilliam. Here rainfall was minimal and the landscape dry and inhospitable. Agriculture was limited to pastoralism and mobile transhumance; permanent settlement was predicated on an adequate water supply (Penn 1986: 64–5, 1995; Mitchell 2002). As a result, these regions were sparsely populated, as well as geographically and socially on the frontier of colonial settlement (Table 1). Graaff-Reinet is an anomaly, as large parts of this

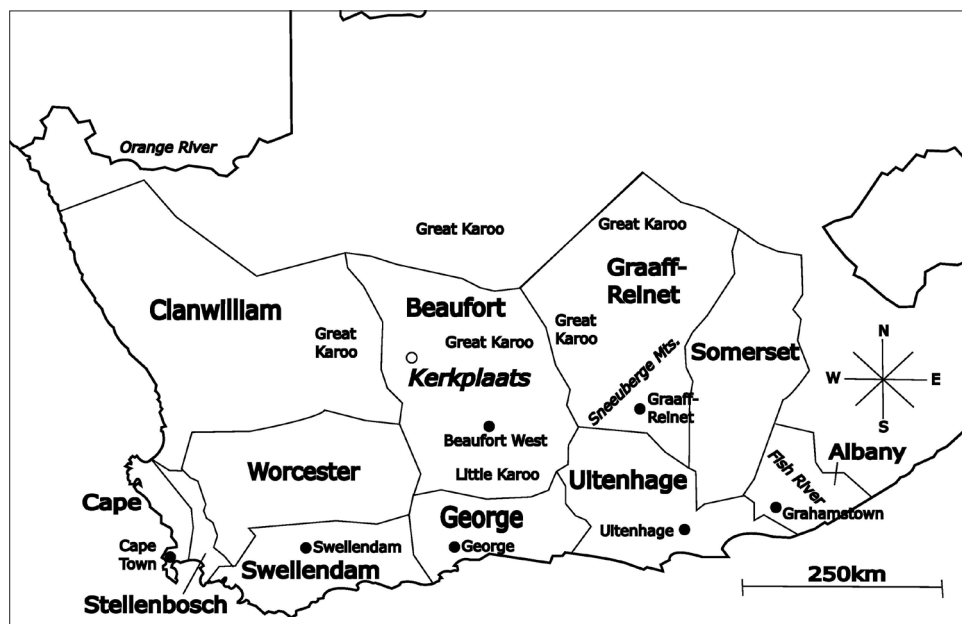


Fig. 4. Cape colony c. 1832, showing district boundaries, principal district towns and as the Kerkplaats site.

district fall within the arid Karoo, yet European settlement was well established by the last quarter of the 18th century, drawn by the pools of the Seacow River valley, the grass of the Sneeuwberg and illicit trade with Khoe speakers and other pastoralists (Neville et al. 1994: 65).

Many, but not all, probates explicitly mention where the appraisal took place. Sometimes this was the name of the farm or loan place, sometimes a subdistrict or

TABLE 1

Cape Colony district information, including number of probates, stock statistics (mean (M), median Mdn), standard deviation (SD), and range (R)), population density in 1841 and distance from Cape Town (CT) to major towns. Data from Blount (1821), Chase (1843) and Martin (1836).

District	No. of probates	Stock M	Stock Mdn	Stock SD	Stock range	Pop. per mile ²	Dist. from CT (km/days)
Albany	7	329.29	511	317.6	745	11.25	872/12
Beaufort	16	480.33	584	357.41	1200	0.2	462/10
Clanwilliam	15	242.67	127.5	314.5	1072	0.22	231
George	26	62.58	53	214.48	736	2.75	373/9
Graaff-Reinet	53	840.87	657	732.47	2782	1.03	665/12
Somerset	39	649.71	638	544.01	2336	1.6	784/13
Swellendam	30	19.4	70	42.84	114	2.5	220/7
Uitenhage	19	102.37	130	133.2	436	1.22	754/11
Worcester	17	629.71	560	685.38	1880	0.2	113

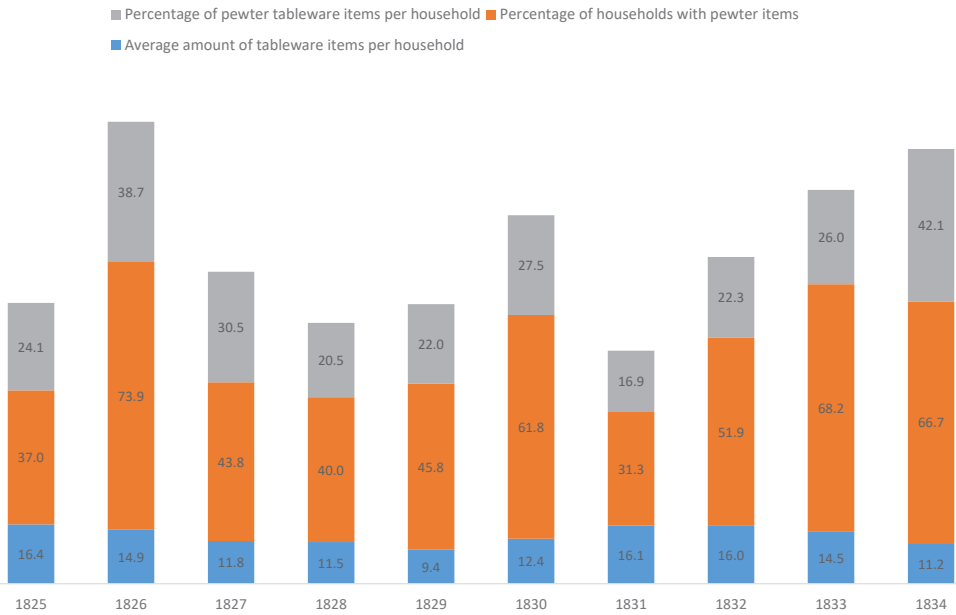


Fig. 5. Chart showing the average number of tableware items, the frequency of probates containing pewter forms, and average percentage of pewter in each probate in rural probates for the years 1825–34.

field cornetcy; at other times a broad or vague region was given. Probates from the Cape and Stellenbosch districts were not used; although these districts contained rural homesteads, they had been settled for longer and were close to Cape Town. It was also assumed that because of this proximity they were more likely to be influenced by prevailing urban fashions and would not reflect the same processes as those in more distant areas.

All the tableware entries in the sample probates were counted and tabulated. Forms considered tableware were plates, bowls (*koms/kommetjies*), dishes (*schotels*), soup tureens and basins. Cups and saucers, tea and coffee pots were also listed, as was the number of sheep and other stock, as well as enslaved people. The year, reference number, place and district were noted, as was the language in which the probate was written (Dutch or English). From these figures, a data set was formed that tabulated and quantified tableware from all districts except the Cape and Stellenbosch. Tableware forms were listed and divided by material into earthen, pewter or unspecified. This would give a general idea of how much of each material was present in each household, expressed as a percentage of the total tableware in the household. (Table available on request.)

To highlight broader tableware patterns in rural districts it was decided to assess the probates by date and district. Doing so would identify whether time or geography was influencing tableware. To this end, the dataset was subdivided by year and by district. For each subset, the average number of tableware items, the proportion of households with pewter, and the average percentage of pewter items in these households were calculated.

Figure 5 shows the patterns of tableware and pewter ownership and frequency from 1825 to 1834. Although the percentage of households with pewter fluctuates from year

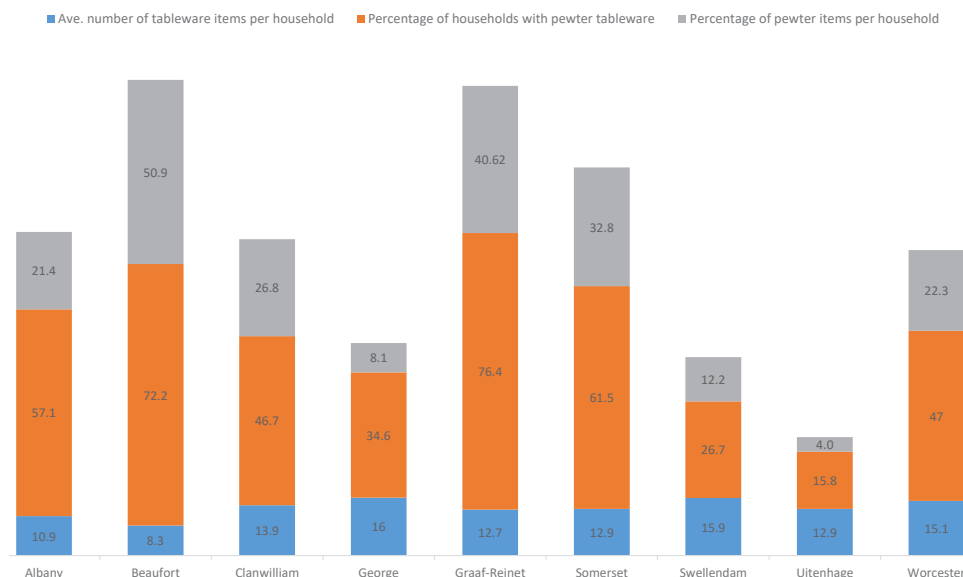


Fig. 6. Chart showing the average number of tableware items, the frequency of probates containing pewter forms, and average percentage of pewter in each probate in rural probates in each district.

to year, the average number of tableware and proportion of pewter in every household stay relatively consistent. The data suggests that in these ten years, rural households were not drastically increasing the amount of tableware they owned, nor were they noticeably altering the amount of pewter they possessed.

More meaningful is the second set of probates divided by district. The average number of tableware forms stays relatively constant across districts; however, the proportion of probates containing pewter is far less constant, as is the quantity of pewter in each probate. The average proportion of pewter items per probate roughly follows the trend of pewter frequency (Fig. 6).

This suggests meaningful variation in pewter ownership in rural households from district to district. In Beaufort, pewter items account for just over half (50.9%) the total tableware in the district and the amount is similarly high in Graaff-Reinet (40.62%). Both the Clanwilliam and Somerset probates have over a quarter of their tableware in pewter (26.8% and 32.8%, respectively). Albany and Worcester are unusual, as around half the probates from each contained pewter; yet, proportionally, pewter items accounted for less than a quarter of the tableware (21.4% and 22.3%, respectively), suggesting that pewter was commonly found in households, but in small quantities. On average, 52% of all rural probates contain at least one pewter tableware item. Clanwilliam, Albany and Worcester sit at this average, while Graaff-Reinet, Somerset and Beaufort sit well above and George and Uitenhage well below. This warrants further exploration.

The three districts with the highest frequencies and quantities of pewter—Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset—were large territories far from Cape Town and on the northern frontier of colonial expansion (Fig. 4). The colonists in these districts were primarily itinerant *trekboers* and pastoralists operating on the margins and in the semi-desert Karoo. The prominence of stock farming, particularly of sheep, is common to

all three districts. In Graaff-Reinet, an average of 840 sheep was listed in each probate, with 650 in Somerset and 480 in Beaufort. These three districts had the highest median, standard deviation and range in sheep numbers of all districts (Table 1).

Rural households in Uitenhage, Swellendam and George, the districts with the most negligible pewter frequencies and quantities, practised different farming methods, were less reliant on seasonal transhumance and were the regions of early colonial expansion out of the Cape. The households in these districts averaged only 100 sheep or fewer per household, and had much lower medians, standard deviations and ranges in terms of sheep numbers than Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset (Table 1). They also had a longer history of colonial occupation—by the late 1820s, the town of Swellendam had been in existence for nearly 80 years—and, compared to districts to the north, were well established by the second quarter of the 19th century. Access to the metropolis was simple and less time-consuming. Even the 862 km from Cape Town to Grahamstown was traversed by a well-maintained post road that passed through the towns of Caledon, Swellendam, George and Uitenhage (Chase 1843: 206).

An initial observation from this large sample is that pewter occurred primarily as flatware in rural households, and more frequently as plates than dishes (Zachariou 2017: 228–31). Next, to dig deeper and to draw a parallel with the Kerkplaats ceramic assemblage, the sample was reduced to probates from Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet and Somerset only ($n = 108$), as these districts shared similar proportions of pewter and were all geographically remote from Cape Town. In this smaller sample, the probates contained an average of 12 tableware items. Those with plenty of pewter generally had fewer tableware items, mostly under four, while those with no pewter whatsoever had more (Zachariou 2017: 231–2). The tableware items in these households were generally flatware plates and dishes, irrespective of raw material. Plates were slightly more common than dishes, but these forms generally appeared in probates as a ‘package’ and it was rare to find the one without the other (Zachariou 2017: 234).

Geography and the nature of pastoralism in these areas appear to have been major influences on patterns of pewter use and possession in rural districts. We can assume that market access for each household in these remoter areas was roughly similar and subject to the same processes: the towns of Graaff-Reinet and Beaufort were each more than ten days’ travel from Cape Town (Fig. 4). Frequency of pewter does not correlate directly with the number of sheep owned or with wealth, but the correspondence between the data sets suggests that there is a link between owning pewter and the practice of pastoral, transhumant sheep farming—households practising transhumant pastoralism tended to have more pewter than those that did not. To provide some context for the nature of rural tableware, particularly pewter items, it is worth looking at patterns from urban areas.

PEWTER IN URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

Pewter was a common tableware form from the beginning of VOC rule at the Cape. Officers ate off pewter sets, often alongside imported Asian porcelain. Other evidence suggests pewter forms were common in most households throughout the 18th century and that a mix of pewter, silver and porcelain items was used at the table when dining (Malan 1993: 152, 2007). Generally, by 1825 it appears that pewter tableware had fallen

out of fashion in urban households and the homes of the rural elite in the Cape (Malan 1998–99: 56–7).

Data from urban probates and shop stocklists support this. In 44 probates from the Table Valley area around Cape Town between 1825 and 1834, fewer than 10% had pewter tableware, which was limited to dishes and substantially dwarfed by the number of REW items. This is evidence of a significant shift in the presence and status of pewter in urban households. Nonetheless, pewter had not disappeared completely. A list of recommended household articles for newcomers to the Cape emphasised pewter plates and a few wealthier Cape households still had some pewter forms in the 1820s (Malan 1993: 169, 171–2).

A few Cape Town traders continued to sell pewter into the early 1830s. In 1829, a store in Loop Street had 22 pewter plates, 68 pewter dishes and a further 145 unspecified (presumably not pewter) tableware forms for sale (MOOC8/46.93, 1829). In 1830, a shop on Zieke Dwars Street had ‘two doz: and four puter [sic] plates’ for sale, but ‘194 other plates’ (MOOC8/45.45, 1830). The quantity of pewter for sale is dwarfed by other, presumably ceramic, forms, suggesting that demand for ceramics was greater. Indeed, in 1831, at least one Cape Town store listed ‘blue and white’ REW plates, dishes and basins, but no pewter tableware at all (MOOC8/46.43, 1831). By the middle of the century, ceramic imports were worth over double that of tin, pewter and tin-plated wares combined (Van de Sandt de Villiers 1852: 104–5).

Pewter’s decline in urban areas is also tied to more qualitative aspects related to aesthetics, social factors, fashion and function. At the aesthetic level, pewter manufacturers and suppliers could not compete with their ceramic counterparts. Ceramics were available in a variety of types, forms, decorations and sets. In comparison, pewter wares were limited in design and decoration, and grades were only ‘hard’ or ‘soft’. Ceramics broke, were discarded and then replaced, but pewter’s durability limited this replacement market. Another significant change was that, by the 1830s, ceramics were produced en masse in Staffordshire, England, and the scale of this production enabled further elaboration of design and form. Mass production also allowed for a range of price levels and affordability for most members of society. The scale and rate of pewter production and consumption simply could not keep up.

Refined earthenware was subject to widespread, expansive marketing techniques based on social emulation and emulative spending (Martin 1989: 8–9). The quality, decoration, price (REW was generally cheaper than pewter in South Africa) and forms of REW were all marketed in ways that emphasised their social utility, which heightened their importance as status symbols. The nature of dining and elite urban domestic arrangements were also changing, so that the 18th-century emphasis on the multipurpose *voorkamer* (literally ‘front room’) shifted towards room specialisation and an emphasis on personal space (Ross 1999: 84). This meant that the extensive displays of porcelain, silver and pewter that once graced *voorkamers* and signified social and economic status were shifted to the back of the house and no longer on show.

The onset of British colonial rule at the start of the 19th century saw an increasing British presence in the Cape market. As with other British colonies, the Cape became part of the machinations of the broader colonial economy and a convenient market for goods produced in England, including Staffordshire ceramics (see Ross 1983; Peires 1989; Lester 2000: 281–3; Lawrence 2003). This market was harnessed by British

merchants in both London and Cape Town and a wealthy mercantile class developed in the Cape during the early decades of the 19th century. These groups worked with the Home Office to make economic and market decisions that best served the interests of the British Empire and ensured that the Cape was integrated into British colonial trade networks (Feinstein 2005: 27–30; Zachariou 2017: 240–50). One of the results was the increasing Anglicisation of Cape Town, as British fashion and taste became embodiments of broader global market decisions. This led to the colony's own consumer revolution, which, in turn, meant an increase in the selection of goods for sale, and subsequent changes in taste and fashion (Worden et al. 1998: 88–102; Klose & Malan 2000; Lawrence 2003: 25).

Cape society emphasised class and economic distinction, perhaps a holdover from the hierarchical structure of the VOC era, but definitely a by-product of British occupation. In colonial Virginia, REW often acted as a social symbol in class demarcation, particularly in the dying years of the 18th century, when REW was flooding the North American ceramic market (Martin 1989: 9). This may also have been the case in the Cape in the early 19th century—urban households, influenced by British colonial fashion, trends and status markers, purchased REW in large amounts as soon as it became available.

PEWTER TABLEWARE IN THE RURAL HOUSEHOLD

Although the trend in urban areas was for the presence of pewter to decrease after 1825, this does not appear to have been the case in rural districts. As demonstrated by the probates, pewter did not decline in the years immediately following 1825. What is also noticeable in the probates is the prevalence of an inherently conservative table- and kitchenware signature in rural areas. Evidence suggests that there was little in the way of variety: wares were limited to plates, dishes, *kometjies*, bowls or basins and tureens. One household in Somerset had a 'blue vegetable dish' and 'blue pie dish', and another had a '*tartpan*' (MOOC8/41.20, 1825; MOOC8/47.40, 1831). Bread plates were present in two homes in Graaff-Reinet (MOOC8/48.14, 1832, MOOC8/46.95, 1832). There was, however, not a simple dichotomy between a progressive urban metropolis and a conservative rural periphery. Instead, I suggest that rural households made choices predicated on the utility of an item that took account of social emulation but was not governed by it.

Conservativeness in tableware was a choice made through emphasis on functional or economic utility over and above anything else. The spread or adoption of a particular type of object, at the simplest level, is defined either by its functional value or its social value. Emphasising functional value would mean the spread of an item was defined by the buyer's functional requirements. Purchasing decisions would be made based on functional or economic value, and adoption would be slow and piecemeal, particularly in the case of mendable pewter. Functional value was important to mobile frontier farmers who lived at a distance from regular sources of supply. For them, delicate earthenware plates were impractical; unbreakable pewter forms were much more suitable for a household on the move (Van der Merwe 2006: 225). Pewter was less likely to crack and break than earthenware, both in the home and on the road. It could be repaired, remade or recycled if it did break. Additionally, it had resale value. Pewter therefore had more economic capital in rural areas, where supply was erratic, than in

urban ones. For highly mobile households reliant on the occasional *smous* (itinerant trader) or infrequent visits to rural towns or even Cape Town to access goods, pewter's characteristics were ideal. For the *smous* traveling on rural roads, ceramics were also far more likely to break before he reached his customers. The persistence of pewter in probates suggests that rural households had agency in their purchasing decisions within rural patterns of consumption. Certainly, this agency was operating within limited supply, but rural consumers still found space to make choices (see Zachariou 2017: 251–64). Although rural frontier dwellers were removed from the British Empire in comparison to urban dwellers, Newton-King (1987) demonstrates that frontier farmers were open to 'civilised' British commodities and relied on imported goods more than is assumed.

By the mid-1830s, there is evidence that the stock of rural traders was matching that of their urban counterparts. In 1834, a Somerset East shop could sell '34 doz: and 10 white plates' and '3 doz: and 2 blue edged plates', as well as 11 basins and '2 sets and 4 cups and saucers', in addition to textiles, clothing, stationery and hardware—but no pewter forms whatsoever (MOOC8/74.26b, 1834). This is only one shop in one district, but it does suggest that by 1834, pewter tableware was perhaps becoming less common in rural villages and shops. Modernity, as defined by ceramics in the Cape, was slowly reaching up to the rural frontier and was carried by rural merchants and traders.

Still, rural dwellers were more likely to invest surplus income in basic, functional necessities, such as guns, wagons and furniture, or consumables, such as rice and tea, than to buy typical urban luxury goods such as gold watches, mirrors, snuffboxes, wigs and gloves (Newton-King 1987: 9). In the last quarter of the 18th century, the more settled interior farmer, according to Sparrman (1785: 166–7), had 'plenty of timber to fell' but little in the way of domestic comfort—their belongings not 'in any wise correspondent to [the] large flocks and herds possessed by these graziers, and the plentiful tables they could afford to keep in consequence of these possessions'. Rural households certainly participated in the colonial economy and were lured by the innovations of industry. However, conspicuous displays of wealth and status were less important to rural households than to Anglicised Capetonians, or, alternatively, were misread by European observers.

This may be linked to the development of a distinct rural Dutch identity, purposefully separate from urbane Englishness (see also Malan 1993: 186; Zachariou 2017: 295–6); this distinction was recognised by British colonial authorities. Rural Dutch grievances about official colonial policy—which ultimately led to the Great Trek—were perhaps also influenced by inherent differences in culture and lifestyle and the 'uneven impact of the waves of modernisation' brought about by British colonial rule (Tamarkin 2009: 4–13). This was a long-standing issue that was evident in the push-back by Dutch farmers to changing stock-management practices in the late 19th century, the result of cumulative pressure from an earlier time (see Tamarkin 2009). These themes of material culture 'conservativeness' (or tradition) and identity formation are closely intertwined—pewter plates certainly served a functional and economic purpose, but also helped galvanise an identity separate from modern Britishness, either intentionally, as an active choice, or unintentionally, as feedback from pursuing function over social value.

More prosaically, this difference is apparent in the accounts of travellers passing through rural districts at the time. George Thompson (1827: 117) attended a public auction near Caledon in 1822 with a ‘party of farmers’ and was alarmed by the ‘rustic and even barbarous’ meal of boiled ox, ‘heaped upon the table in huge pewter-plates ... Such scenes are, I believe, not infrequent among the ruder class of boors’, he noted, before warning that the ‘wandering graziers of the northern frontier’ were particularly uncouth and immoral (Thompson 1827: 117–9). Other English travellers throughout the 19th century were also dismissive of frontier farmers, if not downright patronising, particularly regarding their conservativeness. In 1804, Robert Percival (1804: 204), near Graaff-Reinet, places the ‘country Dutch’ in a different sphere to their urban brethren: the former’s ‘manners, habits and dispositions seem [from] a race entirely distinct from those of more civilised parts of the colony’. Steedman (1835: 66–7) describes frontier farmers as dull, lazy, unmotivated and obsessed with tradition:

the Solitary Boor is too apt to talk of his grandfather, to plead old custom as a bar to experiment, and to hold himself excused from the labour of thought, by a dutiful adherence to the habits of his infancy.

This opinion was not universal, however, as those Dutch farmers with porcelain and REW on the table were admired and praised. Thompson, visiting an ‘old and settled’ farmer in the Graaff-Reinet district, marvelled at the farmer’s wealth, praised the food and approvingly described the tableware of silver spoons, ‘capacious tureens of well-burnished pewter’ and china and ‘English delf’ [sic] plates (Thompson 1827: 141–3). Thompson observed through a lens of social distinction that was distinctly urban and British. The very fact that he noticed and described the porcelain and REW on the table of the rich Graaff-Reinet farmer speaks directly to a recognition of objects as markers of social status. More practically, Thompson’s observations situate in action and context what is only listed in inventories and archaeological assemblages.

Pewter and earthen tableware listed together in probates were also used together in the household, but this practice may have taken some time to come into existence. New arrivals to the frontier, yet to settle permanently, carried with them primarily pewter forms. In fact, immigrant households new to the Cape were recommended to carry pewter, particularly if they planned to establish themselves in more remote, marginal regions. *Tegg’s Handbook for Emigrants*, published in London in 1839, was specifically intended for those ‘living at a distance from a settlement’, who ‘must be more or less dependent upon themselves’ (Tegg 1839: v). Tegg (1839: 6) recommends ‘pewter plates, dishes, basins, and mugs’, as these ‘will save breakage and inconvenience ... In every possible case ... substitute tin, copper and pewter for crockery-ware’. The only ceramic recommended is robust coarse earthenware for pickling pots, jugs and jars (Tegg 1839: 6). Napier (1849: 164) also suggests that any traveller *trekking* inland carry ‘a kettle and gridiron ... along with a pewter plate’.

With this in mind, we can surmise that itinerant *trekboers* and new immigrants carried pewter as they moved into the interior. Eyewitness accounts confirm this. James Alexander met a *trekking* farmer and his wife in the Karoo in 1836–37, living in *matjieshuise* (circular mat huts), and eating off pewter plates on a makeshift wagon-chest table (Alexander 1838: 49–51).

The probates suggest that households with more pewter contained less tableware overall, as well as fewer stock, which, in turn, suggests a less settled, more transient

domesticity. As these households settled and established themselves, they could access and acquire more goods, specifically ceramics. Ceramic wares may have shifted pewter into different roles or out of the home altogether. Perhaps, as in urban areas, earthenware gradually replaced pewter forms for specific uses; the probates are ambivalent on this, but show that from 1825 to 1834 rural households were not increasing the overall amount of tableware they owned and were neither gaining nor ridding themselves of the pewter they possessed.

Dwindling supplies of pewter in rural shops also implies that pewter forms in rural households were not newly purchased but persisting over time. Their durability and hardiness, instead of creating fresh demand, was simply ensuring that they remained in use for longer periods of time. If this is the case, it gives weight to the process of 'modernisation' occurring where ceramic forms were replacing pewter items in rural homes. For these households, pewter was a holdover from previous or earlier domestic material culture, not to be purchased new, and ultimately to be replaced by ceramic forms.

It is possible that, through time, households that contained both pewter and REW used each for different occasions or different tasks. This interpretation is suggested by the contrast between Alexander's (1838: 49–51) observation of the itinerant Dutch couple eating off pewter plates on a chest and Thompson's (1827: 141–3) description of an 'old and settled' farmer with a dining table of pewter, porcelain, REW and silver. Because of their delicacy and aesthetics, ceramic plates may have been reserved for display or for use by guests at special events, whereas pewter forms—more sturdy but less glamorous—were used for everyday meals or for travel and *trekking*. Alternatively, everything was used together in a mishmash of tableware, as Thompson observed.

The probates show that when a household contained both REW and pewter, the plates tended to be ceramic and the dishes pewter. Once a household possessed these forms, its tableware grew in quantity, primarily with the introduction of hollowware. Another point to consider is a general preference for hollowware by rural dwellers in general and the Kerkplaats household in particular. Bowls are multifunctional and can be used for food storage, preparation and consumption, for both eating and drinking. A preference for bowls is also evident in other rural or 'peasant' households at a distance from a metropolis (e.g. Webster 1999; Kinahan 2000). Households with proportions of both ceramic and pewter tableware were perhaps in the process of establishing a settled domesticity or had reached a point in the establishment of domesticity where the quantity of both forms suited their needs, wants or desires.

When the social value of an object is emphasised over functional or economic considerations, the spread and adoption of the object is relatively speedy (Martin 1989: 18). Such was the case with ceramics at the Cape: in the early 19th century, ceramics had social value embedded through innovative marketing and an emphasis on social emulation. The spread of ceramic ware in urban areas was rapid. In contrast, new fashions were less likely to impress in conservative rural spaces; here, pewter was a sound economic and functional investment. For a rural household that already owned unbreakable pewter ware, the purchase of a dozen ceramic plates was perhaps unnecessary, sometimes even irresponsible; such acquisitions only happened after permanence on the landscape was reached (Martin 1989: 18).

CONCLUSION

Purchasing decisions and consumer practice in rural areas, particularly regarding ceramics, were made with functional and economic aspects in mind. ‘Modern’ ceramics did not simply replace pewter; pewter was kept for an extended time and its functional aspects were still recognised. Embedded practice recognised pewter’s utility, particularly in itinerancy and *trekking*, and often ran contrary to Anglicised Cape taste. Social emulation and concomitant adoption of ceramic forms, so prevalent in urban areas, only occurred after the domestic realm was settled and no longer itinerant. The continuation of pewter forms on rural farms is an expression of this practice. Decisions were made within a rural market governed by external factors, set within the colonial British and urban spheres. As the rural market became more closely intertwined with this sphere and its fashions and tastes, pewter became less available in rural areas.

With all this in mind, what can be said of the ceramic forms both present in and absent from the Kerkplaats assemblage? Hollowware outnumbered flatware at a rate of 8.5:1. This skewed ratio emphasised the absence of flatware in the ceramic assemblage, which led me to the consideration of household preference, and then to the introduction of other data sources. Analysis of rural probates from a similar period in similar marginal areas showed that pewter forms, particularly plates and dishes, had a significant presence in rural households. This could explain the absence of ceramic plates and dishes at Kerkplaats: flatware is present in such negligible amounts in the ceramic assemblage because these forms were made of pewter and were therefore not discarded in a midden. The household at Kerkplaats probably continued to use pewter flatware well into the middle of the 19th century.

The ‘evidence of absence’, apparent as a disjuncture in forms in a ceramic assemblage, led to the development of a larger question around tableware and forms in rural areas in the early 19th century. The ‘evident absent’—pewter—was considered only through an investigation of other sources, in this instance probates. With probates and other sources, we can outline the development of a broader rural tableware pattern over time: a new household arrived on the landscape carrying only pewter forms, perhaps twelve or so pieces, mainly in the form of plates and dishes. Over time, and with increasing permanence on the landscape, some ceramics were required, mainly plates, replacing their pewter equivalents, which had been melted down, sold for scrap, passed on to workers, or traded with other groups in the region. With this base of REW plates and pewter dishes, more items were added, mainly hollowware forms such as bowls and basins. Later still, tea-ware, matching dining sets and even greater varieties of wares were added as the household became more settled, with more livestock, and as distance from markets shrank with the closing of the frontier and the development of infrastructure through the second half of the 19th century.

Any analysis of the archaeological signature of the rural household in 18th- and 19th-century southern Africa is incomplete if it considers only archaeologically sourced ceramics. This is particularly so in the case of tableware. At worst, reliance on ceramics (and to a lesser extent glass) means that these forms become proxies for all tableware. Ceramics evidently constituted only a portion of the goods in a household, so any ceramic assemblage, notwithstanding differences in temporal scale, offers only a limited perspective of what was used on the table, what was eaten, and what material culture constituted the household.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank Tim Forssman for his comments on early drafts of this paper.

REFERENCES

- Abrahams, G. 1996. *Foodways of the mid-18th century Cape: archaeological ceramics from the Grand Parade in central Cape Town*. DPhil thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Alexander, J.E. 1838. *An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa, through the hitherto undescribed countries of the Great Namaquas, Boshmans, and Hill Damaras*. Volume I. London: Henry Colburn.
- Allison, P.M. 1998. The household in historical archaeology. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 16: 16–29.
- Allison, P.M. 1999. Introduction. In P.M. Allison (ed.), *The archaeology of household activities*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–19.
- Bedell, J. 2000. Archaeology and probate inventories in the study of eighteenth-century life. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2): 223–45.
- Blount, E. 1821. *Notes on the Cape of Good Hope made during an excursion into that colony in the year 1820*. London: John Murray.
- Chase, J.C. 1843. *The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, etc. etc. with statistics of the colony*. London: Pelham Richardson.
- Cottee, E. 2015. *The House Midden ceramics: a description and assessment of a late 19th century assemblage*. BA Honours project, University of Cape Town.
- Feinstein, C.H. 2005. *An economic history of South Africa: conquest, discrimination and development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Groover, M.D. 2003. *An archaeological study of rural capitalism and material life: the Gibbs farmstead in southern Appalachia, 1790–1920*. New York: Kluwer.
- Groover, M.D. 2005. The Gibbs farmstead: household archaeology in an internal periphery. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9 (4): 229–89.
- Guelke, L. 1976. Frontier settlement in early Dutch South Africa. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (1): 25–42.
- Guelke, L. 1985. The making of two frontier communities: Cape Colony in the eighteenth century. *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historique* 12 (3): 419–48.
- Guelke, L. 1988. The anatomy of a colonial settler population: Cape Colony 1657–1750. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21 (3): 453–73.
- Jordan, S.C. 2000. Coarse earthenware at the Dutch colonial Cape of Good Hope, South Africa: a history of local production and typology of products. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 4 (2): 113–43.
- Kinahan, J. 2000. *Cattle for beads: the archaeology of historical contact and trade on the Namib coast*. Studies in African Archaeology 17. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- Klose, J. & Malan, A. 2000. The ceramic signature of the Cape in the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the Tennant Street site, Cape Town. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 55: 49–59.
- Klose, J. & Schrire, C. 2014. Asian ceramic collections from VOC sites at the Cape. In C. Schrire (ed.), *Historical archaeology in South Africa: the material culture of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 101–41.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commoditization as a process. In A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64–91.
- Lawrence, S. 2003. Exporting culture: archaeology and the nineteenth-century British Empire. *Historical Archaeology* 37 (1): 20–33.
- Legassick, M.C. 2010. *The politics of a South African frontier: the Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the missionaries*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien.
- Lester, A. 2000. Global capitalism, social dislocation and cultural discourse in South African history. *South African Historical Journal* 42 (1): 277–89.
- Lucas, G. 2006. *An archaeology of colonial identity: power and material culture in the Dwaars Valley, South Africa*. New York: Springer.
- Malan, A. 1990. The archaeology of probate inventories. *Social Dynamics* 16 (1): 1–10.
- Malan, A. 1993. *Households of the Cape, 1750 to 1850: inventories and the archaeological record*. DPhil thesis, University of Cape Town.

- Malan, A. 1997. The material world of family and household in eighteenth-century Cape Town: the Van Sitterts 1748–1796. In L. Wadley (ed.), *Our gendered past: archaeological studies of gender in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 273–302.
- Malan, A. 1998. Beneath the surface – behind the doors. Historical archaeology of households in mid-eighteenth century Cape Town. *Social Dynamics* 24 (1): 88–118.
- Malan, A. 1998–99. Chattels or colonists? ‘Freeblack’ women and their households. *Kronos* 25: 50–71.
- Malan, A. 2007. Building lives at the Cape in the early VOC period. *Kronos* 33: 45–71.
- Martin, A.S. 1989. The role of pewter as a missing artifact: consumer attitudes towards tablewares in late 18th century Virginia. *Historical Archaeology* 23 (2): 1–27.
- Martin, R.M. 1836. *History of southern Africa: comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Seychelles, etc.* London: John Mortimer.
- Mitchell, L.J. 2002. Traces in the landscape: hunters, herders and farmers on the Cedarberg frontier, South Africa, 1725–95. *Journal of African History* 43 (3): 431–50.
- Mitchell, L.J. 2007. ‘This is the mark of the widow’: domesticity and frontier conquest in colonial South Africa. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28 (1&2): 47–76.
- Mitchell, L.J. 2008. *Belongings: property, family and identity in colonial South Africa (an exploration of frontiers, 1725–c. 1830)*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Moffett, A. 2010. Schimmelfontein ceramics: the first description and assessment of a late 19th century Karoo assemblage. BA Honours project, University of Cape Town.
- Mullins, P.R. 2011. The archaeology of consumption. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 133–44.
- Napier, E.E. 1849. *Excursions in southern Africa, including a history of the Cape Colony, an account of the native tribes, etc.* Volume I. London: William Shoberl.
- Neville, D.E., Sampson, B.E. & Sampson, C.G. 1994. The frontier wagon track system in the Seacow River valley, north-eastern Cape. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 49 (160): 65–72.
- Newton-King, S. 1987. Commerce and material culture on the eastern Cape frontier, 1784–1812. Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop ‘The Making of Class’, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Peires, J.B. 1989. The British and the Cape, 1814–1834. In R. Elphick & H. Giliomee (eds), *The shaping of South African society 1652–1840*. 2nd edition. Cape Town: UCT Press, pp. 472–520.
- Penn, N.G. 1986. Pastoralists and pastoralism in the Northern Cape frontier zone in the eighteenth century. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 5: 62–8.
- Penn, N.G. 1995. The Northern Cape frontier zone, 1700–c. 1815. In Smith, A.B., ed., *Einiqualand: Studies of the Orange River Frontier*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, pp. 21–109.
- Percival, R. 1804. *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: C. & R. Baldwin.
- Peres, T.M. 2017. Foodways archaeology: a decade of research from the southeastern United States. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 25: 421–60.
- Ross, R. 1983. The relative importance of exports and the internal market for the agriculture of the Cape Colony, 1770–1855. In G. Liesegang, H. Pasch & A. Jones (eds), *Figuring African trade: proceedings of the symposium on the quantification of the import and export and long distance trade of Africa in the 19th century (c. 1800–1913)*. Berlin: Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, pp. 248–60.
- Ross, R. 1999. *Status and respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750–1870: a tragedy of manners*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Russell, L. 2001. Introduction. In L. Russell (ed.), *Colonial frontiers: indigenous – European encounters in settler societies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1–15.
- Schrire, C. (ed.) 2014a. *Historical archaeology in South Africa: material culture of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Schrire, C. 2014b. Metals and associated artifacts from Oudepost I, Cape. In C. Schrire (ed.), *Historical archaeology in South Africa: material culture of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 213–20.
- Shell, R.C.-H. 2005. Immigration: the forgotten factor in Cape colonial frontier expansion, 1658 to 1817. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies* 6 (2): 1–38.
- Silliman, S. 2005. Culture contact or colonialism? Challenges in the archaeology of native north America. *American Antiquity* 70 (1): 55–74.
- Smuts, T. 2012. *An archaeological perspective of the nineteenth-century development of land, landscape and sheep farming in the Karoo*. MSc dissertation, University of Cape Town.

- Sparrrman, A. 1785. *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic Polar Circle and round the world; but chiefly into the country of the Hottentots and Caffres, from the Year 1772, to 1776*. Volume II. London: G.G.J. & J. Robinson.
- Steedman, A. 1835. *Wanderings and adventures in the interior of southern Africa*. Volume II. London: Henry Colburn.
- Tamarkin, M. 2009. *Volk and flock: ecology, identity and politics among Cape Afrikaners in the late nineteenth century*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- Tegg, T. 1839. *Tegg's handbook for emigrants*. London: Thomas Tegg.
- Thompson, G. 1827. *Travels and adventures in southern Africa*. Volume II. London: Henry Colburn.
- Thompson, L.M. 1983. The southern African frontier in comparative perspective. In G. Wolfskill & S. Palmer (eds), *Essays on frontiers in world history*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, pp. 101–34.
- Thompson, L.M. 2001. *The history of South Africa*. 3rd edition. London: Yale University Press.
- Twiss, K.C. 2019. *The archaeology of food: identity, politics, and ideology in the prehistoric and historic past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van der Merwe, P.J. 2006. *Die trekboer in die geskiedenis van die Kaapkolonie (1652–1842)*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.
- Van de Sandt de Villiers, B.J. 1852. *The Cape of Good Hope almanac and annual register for 1853*. Cape Town: Van de Sandt de Villiers & Tier.
- Voss, B.L. 2008. *The archaeology of ethnogenesis: race and sexuality in colonial San Francisco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Webster, J. 1999. Resisting traditions: ceramics, identity and consumer choice in the Outer Hebrides from 1800 to the present. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3 (1): 53–73.
- Worden, N., Van Heyningen, E. & Bickford-Smith, V. 1998. *Cape Town: the making of a city. An illustrated social history*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Yentsch, A. 1990. Minimum vessel lists as evidence of change in folk and courtly traditions of food use. *Historical Archaeology* 24: 24–53.
- Zachariou, N. 2017. *From missionary to merino: identity, economy and material culture in the Karoo, Northern Cape, South Africa, 1800–ca. 1870*. DPhil thesis, University of Cape Town.

