

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *Life at St Peter's* *1 January 1858 - 29 June 1858*

*Friday 1st January 1858. Circumcision.* Reynolds as usual roused me out very early and immediately after breakfast we began making stools or rather I ought to say he began making stools, for I only helped a little by sharpening the tools etc. His man was also very useful. I forgot to mention that he brought with him a loaf of bread for me, a large piece of capital beef, also some biscuits, a box of sardines and bottle of pickles. Every thing that he could well think of. It was very kind of him. Also a bottle of lemon syrup which Gordon kindly sent me. Before 3 o'clock Reynolds had finished two forms all but the planing and he then began to cut out the legs of a table. Yoliswa came down a great deal today and was a great bother to us. She tried to make Reynolds ask her for something so that she might be able to knock more out of him. Spent another pleasant evening with George [i.e. Reynolds]. We fired a great deal at a stork but it would not move for a very long time.

*Saturday 2nd.* At work again at the table before breakfast and when he had finished that, and put the roof on the porch, after dinner he began also to thatch it. Did four rows very nicely and would have done much more only was obliged to bolt home to be in time to winkle. After he was gone I was obliged also to stop and begin the accounts, they took me till quite late. I got them all however finished after a fashion and hope that they will do for Mr Waters.

*Sunday 3rd.* Services and school as usual. I left about ½ past 12 for St Johns. Saw Taylor as I passed. He has been in to town on the spree and coming home somehow or other got a tremendous blow on his face. Found Mr and Mrs Hutt at home, Turpin having gone to St Marks last night. Aldred had come over. I like Mrs Hutt very much but I think she might have ... never mind silence is best. They were both very kind etc and altogether I spent a very pleasant evening. We were all to leave very early the next morning; during the night my bed took it into its head to kick up so that I was obliged to put my head the other way.

*Monday 4th.* We were not roused up very early but soon made a start for St Marks. My old chessnut [sic] very fresh today. Had breakfast tho' they had all just finished. Then began the accounts. However we got them all off by about 3. Spent the rest lounging about and doing I am sorry to say nothing. Mrs Hutt got on pretty well with Mrs W[aters] but I could see that they hate each other.

*Tuesday 5th.* As my surplice was left behind, I got a horse from Kusa and started with Daliwe to fetch it. Found all well at home. Stayed there a short time and saw all the men making tremendous preparations to come over tomorrow. Loads of applications for soap. Rode back. Daliwe carrying the raisins and I the gun. We could not however find any game on the road, tho' we frightened a great many Kafirs. In the evening I was up till late trying to translate some Kafir prayers in the Baptismal service. I finished one before I went to sleep.

*Wednesday 6th. Epiphany.* During the children's service the Bolotwa people arrived from home and my men came into service. They had all dressed tremendously swell. Mr Waters gave most of the catechumens coats etc this morning. They all looked very fine with new white shirts etc. I after breakfast with the help of Thlathle finished both prayers but they were not in time for the service. Reynolds and the Hottentots got the chapel very nicely arranged for the occasion. There were 10 men 7 women and 3 boys baptized. They all behaved extremely well. Yoliswa and Dahralla were both present. Of the two I decidedly prefer the latter. Mr Hutt read morning service, I first lesson and Mr W[aters] the baptismal service and all the other parts. It was a very

long service and I got tremendously hot about the head the sun being very powerful. I think altogether about 400 to 500 [600 ?] were present. The children all stood round the new walls it was altogether very fine. Afterwards the catechumens and those baptized had a fine lunch of plum bread and coffee in the girls' school room. All went off very well again. Gordon would not come to dinner and seemed very much tired by his exertions. The post arrived in the evening and we were all comfy at news. No letters for me tho'. We had evening service and sacrament. Yoliswa and Dahralla both slept here. They both seemed much pleased. Klass also was much pleased by being put in with the catechumen class. They all returned home that night. The baptized behaved very well indeed. Poor Waters seemed to feel it very much.

*Thursday 7th.* Directly we could get off I started with Gordon home again. Leaving Her Royal Highness to come with her son. We were too much tired to have any school. Gordon was very much pleased with my harmonium. Yoliswa did not favour us with much visiting today.

*Friday 8th.* At home again all day. Nothing particular going on here.

*Saturday 9th.* Rode to Vezi's with Gordon. The chief was not at home himself. We had very few to school. I was sorry Madolo was not there as I wanted Gordon to see him. We rode home round the koppie, it was exceedingly hot and I think Gordon must have felt it. I know I did. We both went to sleep this evening on our return. I have got the water at last; Pele manages very nicely for me in all those sort of things.

*Sunday 10th.* Gordon was very determined that I should not go back with him. However after both services were over, we started, Qweba with us. We got over in safety. We saw several people in the road and I tried to frighten them as much as possible. Found Turpin still at St Marks. No news at all. Spent quiet evening as usual and as it was supposed I should keep Gordon awake I was packed up in the drawing room for the night. I do not much like this plan of sleeping. I do like something like a bedroom.

*Monday 11th.* Left immediately after breakfast; that was my intention at least but I could not get the boy to bring up Reynolds' mare, he having taken my horse into town. He left at daylight this morning with Turpin. I must say the more I see of the later [sic] the less I like him. Got back all safely and had school etc.

*Tuesday 12th.* Sent Kyatanja up to the winkle this morning to watch the arrival of the wagon that is bring[ing] me grub. He was up there all day but no arrival. Reading *The Daisy Chain*.<sup>1</sup> I could not leave home on account of expecting the wagon. So I had a great deal of time to myself. Wrote etc.

*Wednesday 13th.* Taylor's wagon has arrived but none for me I am sorry to say. We are quite run out. Reading, school as usual.

*Thursday 14th.* About 11 a man came down from the winkle to say that the wagon was arrived. We all started off up. I took up the 3 boys with me, Mamati having gone home and Dweba being at St Marks. [Peice?] was with the wagon. Williams very civil etc and Taylor very drunk. They brought the wagon a good deal nearer the last time. Close to Riba's garden. One man carried down the sugar, he must have been very strong indeed, a regular elephant. [Pele ?] and April were both a great help, in all about 30 men carried down the wagon load. At work till late

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1. Charlotte M Yonge, *The Daisy chain or aspirations: A family chronicle* (1856).

getting the corn etc stored away which I at last finished much to my delight. Yoliswa for a wonder did not come down.

*Friday 15th.* Her Royal Highness down very early but she would not stay; said she had only come for some sugar and away she went again. Reading and writing again today. Received a letter from Gordon by Pathweni in which he wishes me to come over again. Sent back Reynolds' mare. Writing at night.

*Saturday 16th.* Did a little garden work this morning. Last night about 4 a tremendous thunderstorm came on. The rain came down by the bucket and very soon the whole place was flooded. It beat in at the windows very strongly. This morning there is still a heavy rain going on. But nothing to affect the rivers I hope. Spoke to Klass this evening about baptism. He seemed to understand and be glad that I had spoken to him. He told me he had long seen that that was the only good path and he wanted me to teach him more fully that he might walk in it. Very buisy also today making out my quarterly report for the S.P.G. Society. Up till late. I have not been at all well this week I think the heat of the sun on Monday has hurt my head in some way. [We ?] have felt quite lazy and useless.

*Sunday 17th.* Had the first service rather late this morning. Yoliswa came down in great trouble as the birds were eating all her corn. She stayed however to the second service. I left immediately afterwards and rode very slowly to St Marks. Nevertheless arrived in capital time for dinner. My clock being stopped I did not know the time when I started. Sacrament in the evening. Everybody very kind except Mrs W[aters] who never is. No news from the Colony. Mr W[aters] intends going into town this week.

*Monday 18th.* Rode back with Dweba and John [Patana ?]. We rode rather slowly. Had school on my return. Klass took it for me as I had a great many letters to write for the post. Wrote home, Mrs Armstrong, Swayne, Greenstock, Smith, [Geyris ?] and a great many others to whom I have owed letters a long time, also to Pascoe. Very tired at night by the time I had finished them.

*Tuesday 19th.* Tai came to me after service to say that [Methlakavi ?] *ibi notombo*.<sup>2</sup> I could not understand for some time but at last she made me perceive. Mamati came after breakfast and asked me whether I had sent to let his mother know, as the Kafirs always thought a great deal about it. I wanted to keep quite quiet and tell no one but everybody seemed to know all about it. So I asked Pele (Klass having started to the Bolotwa early) and he said also I had better let the mother know. So I sent him. Telling her I could on no account have any dance as Mr Waters was always very angry about them. She soon came down herself and said the girl had better go home with her and she could not let any dance be, but the only reason she gave was that there were no cattle to kill. I let her take the child and as John [Patana ?] was returning wrote and told Mr Waters. Kyatanga and Basa went to fetch my potatoes from St Marks and arrived at night. Had school as usual etc. Pele hoed over the ground ready for the potatoes tomorrow.

*Wednesday 20th.* Very hot morning - wrote home etc [a pencilled addition] so I did not go to Vezi's but planted potatoes with Pele and the boys, we planted a fine large piece with them. Read till

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2. The words are difficult to decipher. The explanation of 'first menstruation' is suggested by the reference to a dance because in normal circumstances the ceremony of *intonjane* (female initiation) would have been performed.

school time and then had the boys all in. Klass came back at night from Bolotwa. Post not yet in. No dancing that I have heard of. Some men here from Warners to take the Galeka cattle and Krili's horses. I forgot to mention that Krili was down at biku [sic; Hohita]<sup>3</sup> last week and sent for Mr Waters to see him. They had a very long confab together on all kinds of affairs. Krili greatly complementing Mr Waters on being the staff of the tribe etc.

*Thursday 21st.* Sent Kosana for the rest of the potatoes. [Nyanga ?] lent me the blind mare something, like two planks nailed together and I rode to Faku's. Had a very decent number to school there. Found all the boys away on my return. I began school with them and the others came back in the middle. I kept these in afterwards whilst I was planing the forms and table. Matshongo came from Bolotwa with a letter from Mr Waters concerning accounts etc. We are not to spend a penny over school money. So I do not know what will become of our stations. Received a very kind letter from Greenstock. I hope he will come up next week. No other news. Very late again in bed. Not at all well at night.

*Friday 22nd.* Woke up very early in great pain. I began getting *up* but fell *down* [Mullins' emphasis]. I had in fact a tremendous attack of a mixture of dysentery and bilious. I remained in bed till 2 p.m. Vezi came and sat an hour and talked with me. He promised to send me a horse to go to St Marks tomorrow. He also wishes his son Bina to come here. So I have to ask Mr Waters about them. Got up at 2. Very weak. Klass had school for me. I read and slept out the day. Still very poorly at night. Cut some marrows, gave the two Klass's each one. Went to bed pretty early.

*Saturday 23rd.* Awoke early. Got up etc. Had service at ½ past 5. I started for St Marks at six. Got there about 20 minutes past 7. Gordon very ill indeed. Mr Hutt arrived after breakfast; we had our small meeting about nothing much, dinner etc and then I returned home again just in time for evening service. Reading at night. Felt very weak again from the effects of the ride on such [word illegible] horse. He made his escape whilst we were in church and April could not find him anywhere. I of course got in a tremendous stew. I hope he will be found al right tomorrow morning. Methlekavi back again I am glad to say. The garden is getting on very nicely. The dogs have been eating in my garden so Klass says.

*Sunday 24th.* Warner's servant came down to the early service. He had breakfast with me afterwards. Yoliswa came about ½ past 9. She brought me some mealies and was in a great hurry to get back and look after her garden. At the second service 3 of Warners men were present; I was glad to see so many strangers also there. Had school and then wrote till ½ past 3 when I had school again. Faku came down to second service. He wants to get money to buy himself a good coat as he does not like to come without one. I like him more and more. After school I took the children for a walk to Yoliswa's garden. She gave them some mealies and me some *imphi* [sic; *imfe*]. Very kind like she used to be and none of her distant way. Came home by Macina's garden, she also gave me 3 mealies and so did Gilunisi's mother. She seems a nice open kind of woman who works very hard for her children. Mati is a very good boy. Always comes to church and behaves well when there. Spoke to the two Klass on baptism after evening service, both very attentive. Writing at night. I hope soon to get all my work over and begin afresh for at present I have really no time for my extra work. Had a very nice marrow and some mealies for tea. Great attention at all three services today and everything very encouraging. Klass requested me last night to purchase him a pair of good strong trousers or the stuff to make them. Old Taylor will be able to do that I hope.

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3. Hohita was the Great Place of Sarhili, not far from St Mark's.



*Monday 25th. Conversion of St Paul.* At home all day. Had very good attendance at all school. [Thamukha ?] here today begging and did a little to my porch. Very hot indeed.

*Tuesday 26th.* Very clouded morning but it cleared up and I started to go to Vezi's riding my white horse. I had a few to school, but both Vezi's and Bina where [sic] away so that I could make *no* [Mullins' emphasis] arrangements about the latter coming here. Night school again for the men. Heat was tremendous. I could hardly keep awake in school.

*Wednesday 27th.* Working again at the porch, but I have not nearly enough wattles. Plenty of new mealies about now. Warner's men came down both morning and evening to the services. Yoliswa down today in plain clothes. She is much more like she used to be now.

*Thursday 28th.* Started as soon as I could to Faku's, had good attendance there of about 40. Faku went to find me some honey but there was none. Shot some dogs today that had been destroying my garden tremendously. Men's school at night. I taught them writing; many began very well indeed. Man arrived from Mr Hutt with some clothes for Klass. Wrote back to ask him to come over on Saturday. English mail but no letters for me.

*Friday 29th.* Reading all the morning, heat tremendous. Toward mid-day a very heavy storm came up. We could hear the hail, coming in the distance and soon it burst upon us in great fury. Of course it knocked about my garden very much, hardly a plant that had any leaves left. I was in a tremendous rage. It is a good thing I did not have any school for I know the poor boys would have caught it tremendously. I wish I had more command of my temper. The hailstones were tremendous. I put my hand outside the door to catch one and immediately I drew it in for they came down so large and hard that they made painful bruises. After chapel and just as I was going to begin my tea, Mr Waters arrived on his way to Grahamstown to meet the Bishop and Governor. Spent pleasant evening. Woodroffe has returned to St Marks for a time.

*Saturday 30th.* Up very early. We had service at six, and directly after breakfast Mr Waters left with [Rault?] for Grahamstown. Read. Expecting Mr Hutt but he did not make his appearance. Gathered some peas for supper and gave the men 20 pumpkins all round. Had a good supper for once and sat up till quite late reading and making up accounts. Yoliswa has sent me some mealies several times lately and other people have brought me some.

*Sunday 31st.* Very hot again today but as I remained in the hut all the morning I did not feel the heat. Started with Gilunisi for St Marks after our second service. I had good congregations, and all were very attentive. The heat riding over to St Marks was awful. The hot wind seemed to blow a furnace blast against us. I never in my life felt such heat. Gilunisi though it was his first time of riding got on very well indeed. His horse fell with him once but did not hurt him the slightest. Found Gordon in his room so I sat with him a long time and had a good cooling; he was much better but not well yet. Woodroffe just the same comfortable gentleman. We had services. Very pleasant evening altogether. Gordon playing ----- very much indeed. His melons are coming on beautifully and also all his garden. Slept in his room at night. Thus ends the 1st month of the year very quickly gone. I hope Mr Waters will return with good news for us all. I shall have very hard work to keep my school going for the small amount of money I get as everything comes so expensive to me.

*Monday 1st February 1858.* Took the men's service with Aldred. Gordon and Woodroffe the second. Miss Gray cut out a jacket and waistcoat for Klass. I could not start before luncheon. Got ready

but just as I was going to start Gilunisi came to tell me that he would like to go home too, so I had to despatch a boy for the horses which were some distance off. We got off at last. Gilinisi felt the riding very much that I could not go very fast. We got here about 6. Up till ½ past 11 reading. *Pickwick Abroad*.<sup>4</sup>

*Tuesday 2nd. Conversion of St Paul.* Oh! [1895 ?] slips! [This entry is in later ink, and underlined as is the phrase Conversion of St Paul. Ed.] Girl's birthday. Reading and working in the garden. After school the boys and Klass did some work to the new garden. [Xeni ?] brought me some bread and a sheep for Yoliswa. Read the papers this morning; accounts from India very awful. Hot this afternoon, the children gave me a great deal of trouble in school. Sat up till late. Sent Reynolds 2 marrows.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Service at six. Yoliswa was down after service in her new dress showing off and actually began to beg for a shawl. She said the one Mr Waters gave her was old and ugly. I had to make haste to Vezi's so I gave her some coffee and sugar and bolted. Vezi was at home, had a long conversation with him. Very few at school today. I asked about Bina, and after school he sent the boy to ask his mother and she sent word that he should come in a month's time. Vezi seemed anxious the children should learn and made them keep quiet during the school time. Found the [sic] Vandaba had bolted home during my absence. He and Gilunisi were fighting and so I set Gilunisi in one house and Vandaba in another till I came home, but the latter bolted. Both Klass and Mamati went but he was not at home. Watered the garden. Plants are just beginning to hold up their head again. Heat tremendous. Green peas for supper.

*Thursday 4th.* A man here first thing from St Marks about some horses. But I knew nothing about them. Directly after breakfast I went to Faku's, met Vandaba and sent him back here. Faku very kind as usual. Pretty good number. Had some milk. Heat unbearable. Made a tent with my horse cloth. Called to see Taylor. Had school on my return and actually made a discovery and put the clock right which has always struck at the half hour. Practised [Rinck?]. School again and then service and adult school. The children get on much better with their reading. Vezi here quite [dark ?] wanting tobacco. They are all very hard up now. Green peas again. Boys and girls all sleeping out tonight on account of the great heat.

*Friday 5th.* Directly after breakfast began reading. Garden till school time. Nothing important today. Heat awful.

*Saturday 6th.* Directly after breakfast cleared out for smearing. Turpin arrived about 8.30. We could not go outside except for about 5 minutes every now and then, so sat in the house and talked over the *Leviathan*.<sup>5</sup> Had my first sweet melon today. Went several times round the gardens. Yoliswa came down in the afternoon.

*Sunday 7th.* Very hot again. Had school at nine and service at half past 11. Pretty good congregation. Started for Bolotwa directly after service. Could hardly get on for the heat. My mouth was so parched that I could hardly speak after a short canter. We have never had it so hot yet. Found Mr and Mrs Hutt quite well. I cannot say I like going there. The conversation is

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4. C Reynolds, *Pickwick abroad* (1839).

5. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651). Mullins may have discerned in the frontier conditions after the cattle-killing features comparable to the 'state of nature' described by this seventeenth century philosopher.

anything but pleasant. Very poor Kafir service indeed. Slept in a partition room.

*Monday 8th.* Rode up with Mr Hutt to see the water course. He will be put to great expense to get the water out if he does it at all. He has to cut for a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile about 4 feet deep and another thing have [sic] begun the wrong end of his water course. Cut a large trench at home where his water may never reach. Rased my horses' feet. Fired at some springboks, and partridges but missed; they were too far off. I must go after the partridges again some day. Found that Mr Warner had arrived. Sent up Mamati with a note to say I should be very glad to see him if he would come down. He came but would not take anything. He told me about the Governor's orders not to let the Galeka's cross the boundary and asked me to write and tell Gordon etc and then rode on to Vezi's. He soon however returned to sleep. I made him as comfortable as possible and he actually went to service and said my children chanted very nicely. He had nine mounted and armed police with him and had in the morning captured a rain-maker as the Governor now had ordered him. He also wished to frighten Mr Vezi into his senses. I gave his men some corn and coffee.

*Tuesday 9th.* I slept outside last night. The weather was very fine indeed. I woke up in the night and thought my house was on fire because the *moon* [Mullins' emphasis] was shining. Warner went off directly he was up. I read all day with the exception of a little garden work. Had school twice. Sent Pele with the despatch; he went very quickly and soon I had an answer. Gordon wants me to go over on Sunday. But I cannot as I want to reserve all horseflesh.

*Wednesday 10th.* Started at 8 for Vezi's. Very poor school, about 20. Some seem anxious to learn. Very hot on my return although it had been quite clouded whilst going there. Had school again twice, also adult school at night. Very tired however I sat up reading till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12.

*Thursday 11th.* Gave Kita's party papers to go to St Marks with the cattle they have recovered. Off to Faku's directly I could. Old white horse goes well again. Faku at home very good school indeed. A few new ones. I do not get so many girls as I used to. Passed the cattle just starting for St Marks; a good number. Umvumthla rode after me but we soon left him behind. Taylor was ill they said, but I think drunk; saw Yoliswa there. Found the bucks in the garden on my return which made me in a rage, and the[y] threw me into a roaring passion: I found that my horses had been robbed of nearly all their fine tails by Messrs Klass and April. They thinking that they were improving their appearance. I was sorry after that I lost my temper so much. It shows oneself to be so weak especially before these heathens. School etc, and after reading and working in the garden I had  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour's fun in pelting the children. No night school. Thunderstorm but no rain tonight.

*Friday 12th.* Rather put out this morning. On going into the boys hut I again found the blankets all in a muddle. I spoke sharply to Mamati and called him into my room afterwards and gave him a good lecturing. I am sorry to say he was [once ?] very impudent and told me to make another captain of the boys if I chose. However afterwards he shed tears and seemed rather sorry but kept a bad temper all day. At night I was obliged to speak again as I found him taking again mealies from his garden without asking me and just after that he and Methlekavi came round to me crying most tremendously. I of course thought they were hurt and that Tai had thrashed them, but found out she had only spoken sharply to Methlakavi and then Mamati thought it a very good time to let off his bad temper. I told him not to be a fool etc. But just afterwards Dweba came to tell me that they were nowhere to be seen. I immediately sent Klass and Dweba up to tell Yoliswa all about it. What was my surprize and vexation ten minutes after on going to say grace to see Master Mamati all square there. I sent up Sikobo to tell Klass to come

back but I am almost afraid [of row ?].

*Saturday 13th.* Usual Saturday clearing up. Tremendously hot. Mr Waters arrived from town about 4 p.m. I persuaded him to stay over night to which he at last consented. Yoliswa sent for Mamati this morning. However he came back in the evening quite quiet and no row. Mr Waters has capital news for all the missions especially his own, beside funds for the new chapel also £500 for agriculture and £800 for his boarding school. Hutt and myself each get £100 for our schools. The Governor most kind to Mr Waters. Was [upset ?] with him at Trumpeters.<sup>6</sup> The Gov[ernor] wants two new stations formed over the Bashee or further in front. I hope the Bishop will agree. Mr Waters wishes me to go with Gordon to start them. I hope that I may get off, but if nobody goes, I will rather than let the chance pass. Kind messages from all Grahamstown and K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] friend. Mr Waters did not see [John] Parker, very wonderful.

*Sunday 14th.* Yoliswa came down very early. Mr W[aters] did not get up to first service so I took it alone. Directly after 2nd service we left for St Marks riding my 3 horses and Dema, the other two having been left behind. Rode fast. Found all well at St Marks, and such a meeting between Mr and Mrs - [Waters]. Woodroffe very fat and jolly. Spent a very pleasant evening hearing news etc. Gov[ernor] wants some of the boys to go home to Cape with him. They are to be asked tomorrow.

*Monday 15th.* Stayed till late today taking down the names of the people. Currie is going in this week with a strong patrol of police and burghers to rout of [sic] [Nylibici ?], Krili and company. Mr Waters saw C[urrie] in King W[illiam's] Town. All the captured chiefs have made their escape out of the tronk, I hope there will be no row. Agreed to go to Bashee with Gordon. Mr W[aters] writes to Bishop tomorrow about it. We wrote down the names of all the men on the station, about 100. Loads of women and children. Got home late.

*Tuesday 16th.* Sent Basa for my two horses I left behind yesterday. School etc as usual.

*Wednesday 17th. Ash Wednesday.* Had two services; Yoliswa did not come. Spoke to both Pele and Klass about baptism.

*Sunday 21st.* Vezi and some others gone on patrol. No news yet. Warner is also gone. Took the children for a walk towards [Nizela's ?] kraal. Mamati very disagreeable I was obliged to speak to him again very severely. He is an awful bother. Read at night.

*Monday 22nd.* At home schools all good.

*Tuesday 23rd.* At home. Made all ready to start early for St Marks. Nani came late this evening so I shall send over Pele early tomorrow morning with her.

*Wednesday 24th. St Matthias.* Left directly after breakfast and chapel. Riba overtook me just by Tina's old kraal and we overtook Pele close to the small row of mountains. He must have walked very fast. Found on my arrival the [sic] Hutt and Turpin had arrived the night before. I

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6. Trumpeters' Drift was on the Great Fish river not far from Grahamstown. Fluctuations in the financial grant from Britain made the governor's assistance to the missions spasmodic and problematic. In 1858 it was cut by half (Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, p.60). At this meeting in February Waters was promised £1000 for the schools with £500 for agriculture at St Mark's. The Governor had commented favourably on the work of the Anglican missions. (Goedhals, 'Mission Policy', p.75)

had hoped to return today. A good number baptized today. [Ridi ?] was named after me. He is very clever now. Very pleasant affair; 7 couples married. No news of the patrol yet. Some small mistakes with the people baptized. Some put the finger on the wrong hand. Mr Hutt performed nearly all the service as Mr Waters' head was very bad. Nothing new to be heard. We had a great meeting (catechist) in the chapel. I slept in Gordon's room and Turpin with Aldred. Waters in a very bad temper and has been ever since his return. Gordon was taken very ill at night; his head. He thought he was going raving mad. I slept with him. He got better before he went to sleep.

*Thursday 25th.* Aldred lent me his horse. Mr Waters rode on [in ?] front. Aldred's horse ran away with me till the Kei and after I got on the flat I kept him going. Riba left a long way behind. It has after all turned out a very smart horse! We rode very slowly till we got to the bottom of [word illegible] and then I rode on in front to get the kettle boiled etc. Mr W[aters] very bad all day and night. His post Shoba brought about ½ past 10. News that all have got the measles at home and Henry not passed his examination, being prevented by bad health. Heard more particulars of poor Pascoe. Also from the Bishop that the Wilsons<sup>7</sup> were coming here. Which much disgusted Mr Waters. Matshongo also came bringing me some meat from Mr Hutt which was very acceptable indeed.

*Friday 26th.* Yoliswa down of course very early, but Mr Waters would not see her. She did at last just as we were finishing breakfast come into the hut but soon left as Mr Waters said very little to her. Sent off Matshongo to tell Mr Hutt to come here tomorrow to talk about Mr John Robert.<sup>8</sup> Left Mr W[aters] himself nearly all day. Had the schools and as Dweba had not returned from Faku's I rode up and found him on his road home with his brother. They were both very kind indeed. Faku told me I must beat him. Mamati told me a tremendous lot of lies today. I told him to mind what he was up to as Mr Waters would know. He seemed rather afraid of this but I am afraid it will not be lasting. We had my largest watermelon today, very good indeed.

*Saturday 27th.* Mr Hutt arrived about 11. Wet morning so I could not go to Vezi's as I had intended. Gordon and Aldred rode over to Hutts last night about 10 and returned in the day break. It was beautifully moonlight. Hutt does not at all like the idea of the Wilsons coming up but he is going to get on as well as possible. We had a very jolly day and dinner. Poor Waters got worse and Mr Hutt read the visitation of the sick before he left that day. All the evening he was worse and at night slept in the large hut with Tozo to keep the fire alight. I sat up till late. Peculiar noises about 9 to 10 just like a distant thunder storm only there was not a cloud to be seen.

*Sunday 28th.* Awoke at 6. The first thing I heard and [sic] going out of the hut was Mr Waters' house was burnt down. I of course thought the hut but Klass explained that Pathweni had come early when quite dark to say that the iron house and shed was at [sic] burnt. I immediately went and told Mr Waters. He took it very quietly. I read first service and we then had a short breakfast and started with Pathweni. Met Gordon just by the last old kraal. The iron house and a great many goods are all burnt but nobody hurt. It commenced in Aldred's room. Poor fellow woke

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7. Revd John Robert Wilson, ordained deacon in 1859 and priest in 1861 in Grahamstown. He served at Alice (1861-1873) and at Fort Beaufort (1877-1892). Bishop Cotterill discerned a 'natural weakness of character' which disqualified him from serving in a white parish! (See USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 12.3.1858) This presumably accounts for Waters' reluctance to have him on the staff. He eventually resigned owing to ill-health. (USPG Archives Biographical Index)

8. Gidi, a recently baptised mission convert, evidently chose to be called after Mullins. Until very recently the church always insisted on English christian names!

up and found the whole room blazing. They managed to save a great many things. But the ever stupid Mrs W[aters] put out all the candles and of course nobody could see to move anything. She bolted with her children and saw everything over before she again showed her face. Mr Waters has lost a great many books and Aldred everything. We found that they had all taken refuge in the chapel. I rode on in front to tell them Mr Waters was coming. Very dull Sunday. We all slept in the Kafir hut that Woodroffe built, at night, loads of water melon and sponspeck abroad. Thus ends the month February with a heavy loss to St Marks of about £1000. Poor Aldred has lost nearly everything he had and found his money melted and could see his gold watch but could not save it. We are to commence a new house tomorrow. Had evening service. Gordon and Turpin very tired. I had a long talk with the Kafirs about the losses etc. [Civiti ?] was very useful as also James and some others.

*Monday 1st March 1858.* Directly after morning service we began to measure out the ground for a new house to be made of sods. The foundations were soon dug and we all had one turn at work. I laid some of the sods and Reynolds cut them down and did the brick work. Mr Waters asked me to stay and help here a bit, whilst Aldred took my station. Hard at work till sun down. Mr Hutt came over but returned again. He again read the visitation service. Waters in a very bad temper. Because we did so little during the day. Always the way in these times. Some of the patrol came whilst we were at tea. Mr Warner and his brother-in-law, who had had a scratch from an assegai in the chin. No news. Krili has not be[en] found. Another man arrived, Mr Halliburton. He was very ill with dysentery. Another jolly night in the hut.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Left directly after service with Aldred for this. We rode rather slowly. Had breakfast here and put all square for him and then left to return home to St Marks. Very hot ride indeed. Mr Waters left also early this morning for St Johns where he hopes to obtain quietness. But I do not much expect it, as his head has gone round or something of the sort. Working again at the house. Heavy thunderstorm put an end to our work. Slept again in the hut.

*Wednesday 3rd.* The rain took down ever so much of our banks today. I hope the house will stand all right. The wagon arrived at noon. We had some capital fun laughing etc. Turpin has fallen in love tremendously so. It is needless to say where, but he intends to ask Mr Waters when he returns about it. I hope all will go well with Turpin. I think it will be a very good match. He has much improved. Very heavy storm indeed. The rain ran into the hut and made it very damp. We would not go into tea tonight but kept our room to ourselves. I read a long time. Longfellow<sup>9</sup> found it very amusing.

*Thursday 4th.* Mr Waters arrived this morning whilst we were at work. He of course found great fault but I could not help the house being so backward. His wife bothers him very much. No letters for me. I was building the partition wall today. Mr first trial at brick laying. Rain after dinner prevented more work and I went to bathe with Mr Waters. He would make us sleep in the chapel today much against our wishes. We had some capital fun though altogether.

*Friday 5th.* Again at brick work. I finished both partitions and one pillar beside a window. Left off at sundown. I shall return home tomorrow if all is well. Waters rather better today and of course better temper. Paddy proposed today to Miss [Gray? name scratched out in text] but does not quite understand his fate. Poor fellow he is really very much smitten and hardly knows what he shall do. I should much like it to be brought about. I am rather afraid she does not much like

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9. Presumably the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), author *i.a.* of *Hiawatha* (1854).

him. Waters asked me if I was at all smitten and of course I said no etc. He seems to have thought that both Gordon and myself were very deep.

*Saturday 6th.* Got Miss [Gray? name scratched out in text] to cut my hair this morning. She told me a great deal, that I thought was very shabby. But of course it is no matter of mine. Just as I was leaving for this, I was only just out of the station when I met Aldred and Klass coming full tilt. Aldred was quite tired of his lonely life. He did not look at all well. I stayed a short time to let Klass's horse rest and then returned here on Dema, Klass leading the white horse Aldred had ridden, and which besides being lame had a very bad back. Found all quiet. The children all home for the day. Had the huts cleared out and swept and everything put ready for Sunday. Reading and making up the accounts. Very tired about my arms and legs.

*Sunday 7th.* After both services were over which were both well attended I started on a small horse of Tina's for Mr Hutt's. Found him at home and spent pleasant evening there. His house is very cosy and snug. His water down for the first time today. He gave me some very useful instruction in many ways.

*Monday 8th.* Both up late. Soon after breakfast I left and rode to Faku's where we had a good school. In home late. Sent Kyatanga to St Marks with Dema and some marrows. I sent my saddle into town this morning and borrowed [Jolls ?] which made my backbone very sore. Found Klass in school reading with the children and doing it very well too.

*Tuesday 9th.* Reading all day. Kyatanga back at night with some beads for clothes for Klass of which he is very proud.

*Wednesday 10th.* Schools as usual. Spoke to Klass in evening and had very good answers.

*Thursday 11th.* Some men here from St Marks for tools.

*Friday 12th.* Sent 3 men to Bolotwa with saddle bags, marrows etc. They returned at night but no saddle had returned and so Hutt had sent back the old one. Received also a bottle of grog as a present from some kind friend or other and the goods from Brown.

*Saturday 13th.* Had a good practise [sic] on the cornopean. Children all gone home. Reading; practised "Sing unto God". Very good practise at night of singing.

*Sunday 14th.* Yoliswa down just as I was going into first service; she had breakfast with me. Very kind and gracious and not at all troublesome. After breakfast had school and 2 services and then started for St Marks on the white horse. He went very well but rather lame still. Arrived some time before dinner. Aldred there soon after. He reports that the Wilsons have arrived in Bolotwa and also (most horrible) the Mr Wilson<sup>10</sup> who had been missing 15 days (the one at the Mouth<sup>11</sup> I mean) had been found cut to pieces. Murderers unknown. John Robert has

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10. Revd J Wilson left a school mastering post to accompany Bishop Gray in 1847 and served at Post Retief, Whittlesea and East London. He was murdered on 28 February 1858 near Fort Grey while travelling from East London to conduct a service at Fort Phato. (*King William's Town Gazette*, 13 March 1858 and *Church Chronicle*, Vol.5, No.6, June 1884)

11. The Mouth was a colloquial name for East London. Both the Xhosa, *imonti*, which is still used, and the now archaic English colloquial name are derived from the Dutch 'mond' i.e. (river) mouth, the Xhosa phonetically and the English by translation.

brought up this piece of news. Please GOD it is not true. How awful for everybody about if true. Mr Brailsford<sup>12</sup> has lost one of his children and gone mad so report says and also there has been an awful murder at Fort Brown when a man murder[ed] his own brother-in-law. Waters still very ill and bad tempered. We had evening English service in the girls' schoolroom with sacrament. Slept in the hut with Gordon and Turpin who wanted me to sleep in the tent [on] a mat, but Gordon persuaded me not.

*Monday 15th.* As soon as I could collect some papers I wanted I left. Aldred also returning to the Bolotwa to take care of Mrs Hutt so that Mr Hutt might bring over the Wilsons. Got here soon after 12. [Sam ?] Williams here, so I was kept hard at work talking for a long time. He is a very good fellow altogether. I gave him some cucumbers when he left about 4 o'clock. Gave some men of Stubbs a pass to return home. Wrote to Henry and Brown.

*Tuesday 16th.* Sent off Kyatanga early this morning with some cucumbers and tamatas [sic] for Mrs Hutt. Taylor came down just at 12 o'clock. We picked a great many dry mealies today. The boys having their shirts washed. Taylor staid a long time and left about ½ past 3 when I had a short school.

*Wednesday 17th.* Klass hard at work ploughing his garden, had some children to work in the garden and at mealies and also I marked out the men's new gardens. They seem very anxious to plough largely. Good school. After school I gave out the rations and mealies and walked down the garden found all the horses in and on coming back found Master Vandaba and Dweba each with mealies. They said Mamati sent them; I called him and gave him a tremendous rowing but all apparently with no effect. I only hope I may catch them in again and I will take the young vagabond to Yoliswa. I almost am afraid the boy will never be good for anything but a thief and liar. Spoke both to Klass and Tayi about it of course they say that they know nothing about the children going in and have always told them to keep away from my gardens.

*Thursday 18th.* Up rather late. Boys again gathering mealies. School at twelve and then wrote up my journal as well as possible. Heard from Aldred on Thursday that Mr Waters has been taken very ill and that Hutt had gone over. John Robert and his wife do not like St Marks but are going to build themselves a house. Mamati ran home.

*Friday 19th.* Sent off 4 men early to the Bolotwa for goods. Came on to rain heavy. Heard nothing of Master Mamati. Had school as usual. Letter from Aldred in the evening. Heavy rain. Reading and writing all day. Did also a little digging; men very busy digging their gardens. Methlakevi ran home today but her mother soon sent her back again. She has sent Mamati back several times but he would not come.

*Saturday 20th.* Wet morning. Let the children go home. Dweba with me. I like him very much. Mati brought me a present of some milk. Read *Paddy's Cabin* and wrote long letter to Mother. Children returned all right but no Mamati. We at practise [sic] today for a long time. Koba, Faku's father came at night from St Marks bringing bread and some clothes etc. Sorry to say the news about poor Mr Wilson is only too true. I am very sorry for it as it will disturb everybody especially missionaries who till now thought themselves safe. The accounts awfully horrible; it seems that the[y] cut up his body and hung it about the trees. [A marginal line emphasises the last four sentences - Ed.] Pato's Kafirs are suspected of this foul deed. This is the most

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12. A tutor at Shaw College, Grahamstown, Brailsford apparently worked at St Luke's as well. (*Church Chronicle*, Vol.4, No.7, August 1883)



horrible affair I have yet had to enter in my journal. I shall make some more bullets tomorrow so as to carry the gun ahead. It seems to be quite necessary.

*Sunday 21st.* All fine again this morning. Had morning service at 7 and then breakfast. Yoliswa down and blamed Mamati very much indeed. She sent him back this morning and at last he came. I did not speak a word to him during the whole day. Reading and writing. Galvani here at night looking for stolen horses of Mr Hutts. Read the *History of the Prayer Books* which I like very much. Good 2 congregations and pretty good again in the evening. Had Klass in and read the baptismal service to him. He asked how he could keep such great promises; and seemed reluctant, not from any doubt, but from fear.

*Monday 22nd.* After service this morning commenced to clear away the grass and rubbish in front of my huts. Pele and Tozo worked with me they did it very well. Very hot and tiring work, gave the men some watermelons. Sent of Kyatanga for meat this morning but he came back [un ?]successful. Very tired in the evening and went to bed early.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Rode up to Taylor's before breakfast and asked him to send for a sheep which he kindly did. After breakfast I helped Klass some time in his garden and then put up a rough table in the large hut, and which consisted of the top of the harmonium case, Kosana's hut door, and my little table. They all did very well for a rough table. Old Tayi began this morning to cook plum cakes for the feast. 5 lbs meal. 10 raisins and 6 sugar. She had a long and tiring job. Children picked the raisins. Up late at night putting buttons on Klass' waistcoat and made a table cloth of 10 yards calico doubled. Not in bed till 12. Old Tayi still hard at work cooking.

*Wednesday 24th.* Tayi brought in the cakes after breakfast still hot, some of them so she must be very tired. Gave all the people soap to wash with. Put the chapel and my hut in order and made a fruit pie. Put up a temporary flag staff for tomorrow and got all as square as possible. Just as I was going to [Lenti ?] arrived with the intelligence that Mr Waters and Mr and Mrs Wilson were just behind. I was of course very much vexed and wished them far away. I mean the latter as not knowing them I thought they would be in the way. They arrived and my first impressions were better than I expected. Wilson seems a very quiet man indeed and his wife pretty but rather a flirt I would say. I gave them some tea. [Rice ?] and cakes and then got Mr Waters to take them into the chapel whilst I made up beds etc. Got Klass to come and stir the plum pudding whilst I made beds and so we got on first rate. Mr Waters and myself slept in large hut. Mr Hutt he kindly sent me over a leg of mutton and cake and is going to bring me some more good things tomorrow. Sikobe took over my white horse for him to ride. Had some grand laughs with Mr Waters over St Marks affairs.

*Thursday 25th. Annunciation of B[lessed] V[irgin] Mary.* This will be ever a grand day in my calendar. Rose early and had morning prayers at sunrise. Had some coffee afterwards and sent some to Mr and Mrs W[ilson], Mr Waters did not get up to first service. The Hutts arrived about 7. Mr Hutt was very kind, his helping me prepare the breakfast. Our long table did splendidly. Hard at work preparing till 9 o'clock. Yoliswa was down with her train early and the people from all quarters soon began to arrive. Charles who is to be baptized came last night with Mr Waters. The St Marks people did not arrive till about ½ past 9. Mr Gordon, Miss Gray, Boesac and James with some boys having left Mr Turpin behind which I must say I thought was very unkind. He did not arrive till breakfast was nearly over, when he arrived with Mr Aldred and Dahralla from Bolotwa. Breakfast went off all square, and then we prepared for the service. However as Mr Waters' people had not arrived we had to wait some time; at last about ½ past 11 we sent the people into chapel and my little chapel would have held nearly twice as many.

All went on well; I took the harmonium and Mr Waters, Wilson and Aldred one side and Mr Hutt, Gordon and Turpin the other. The 8th Psalm went off very grandly. Nothing could have been finer. Mr Hutt read 1st part of service, I the lesson and presented the men. Mr Waters took all the last part, and baptized Thlathle John after Bishop Armstrong and Charles by his old name. It was a very fine service indeed and in [sic] [I] think very impressive to all. For you could have heard a pin drop so great was the silence. We chanted the "Gloria Pater" after the service and then dismissed the people. After we had had time to cool, (for the heat was tremendous) we had the Holy Communion with offertory of £2.5s.9d. Very great help to my station. I forgot to mention that the chalice was used for a font as Mr Waters had forgotten to bring over his little font with him. Mr Wilson read gospel and I epistle. The Christian natives were all present at this service. After service we had tiffin [light lunch] and also the Christians (about 50 in all), coffee and cake. Klass presiding and being very attentive to the ladies. When these had finished all my station people and the "church goers" had the same repast and all said they were satisfied. Perfect harmony prevailed thro'out; I am sorry to say that Faku was too late for the service, as his horses had been lost. I think about 50 Xtians and 100 church goers had coffee. Boesac who was very useful counted 140 people that were at chapel without [counting] of the children so I think I may safely say that the congregation was quite 200. We had dinner about 4. Turpin had to go home, teased by Gordon. I really think it very wrong of Gordon the way he treated him. Dinner went off well and then those of Mr Waters' people that had horses left and the rest remained for the night. Our evening service was very good and after tea we had some more singing. Miss - [sic] [Gray ?] is decided after Gordon.<sup>13</sup> It was mentioned to me by more than one. The three ladies occupied my hut and we gentlemen the larger one. We had a little fun before going to bed. But Mr Waters was not well so that we had to go to bed earlier than we intended. The Kafirs sang very nicely in their huts. It was a beautiful moonlight night and altogether a grand finished [sic] to the day. So ended one of the happiest days of my life. May John Thlathle always find it so.

*Friday 26th.* Up early again all slept pretty well. Miss Gray and Mrs Hutt up to service. After service I gave the men some green mealies and then they all left. Nomsolytye with them. Had breakfast Miss Gray making some very nice little cakes. After breakfast left with Mr and Mrs Wilson to see the Kei Krantz. Gordon, Miss Gray and Aldred went off full gallop before us and consequently not knowing the road lost themselves. So that, tho' we started long after them, we were there first. All were very much pleased with the sight. We returned home and after a few minutes rest, they left again for St Marks. Miss Gray and Gordon again going off full tilt and leaving us to follow. I left them with Aldred on the top of the hill and then we rode after Mr and Mrs Hutt to the winkle. I requested Mr Hutt to let Aldred stay with me till Sunday as he could not do any work supposing he returned. We left them at the winkle where their wagon was, ourselves returning home again. Rode Deloraine he is still rather lame but very fresh. Working till sundown putting all things to rights. Had a very pleasant evening talking over the preceding days. I like Aldred very much indeed.

*Saturday 27th.* Wet morning. So we were kept to the house. Had some very pleasant chats etc all day and plenty of laughing. Heard from Gordon by Tozo (who took the surplices yesterday) that Miss Gray had a spill the saddle turned round with her. Up till late but we both fell asleep; heavy rain at night.

*Sunday 28th.* Up about ½ past 7 service ½ past 8. Very late indeed. However we both overslept ourselves being very tired. Very nice service again, Aldred reading a lesson. Yoliswa down to

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13. Gordon actually married a Miss Castle in 1863.

breakfast. Very agreeable. Second service. [Bobijohn ?] here. Good congregation. Read the whole of the gospel for the day. They were very attentive. Just as we were about to start for St Johns, Mr Taylor arrived. Took some cucumbers and watermelons to Mrs Hutt. Dull and cold day there. Had evening service at night and chanted the psalms to [word illegible] chant. Had some good laughing at night.

*Monday 29th.* Fine morning, but very cold wind indeed. Started up to the dam with Mr Hutt. His watercourse is very well managed. Had a chat with [name illegible]. Got some things ready to make Miss Gray an April fool and left for this. Put my hut in order and had very nice evening service. Made up quarter account at night. Went to bed early. Rats woke me up.

*Tuesday 30th.* Writing letters all day; schools and services as usual.

*Wednesday 31st.* Digging before breakfast and after. We seem likely to have rain this month April. I hope I shall get some letters from England this mail. Here ends another quarter out in Africa. I have nothing at all to put in my monthly report I am sorry to say. Only the usual routine of work in hand.

*Thursday 1st April 1858.* Reading, school, etc during the morning. Dug the first of my potatoes [went to Zezi's - written above in black ink] in the evening. They appear to be a pretty good crop. Matshongo arrived at sundown with Philip. He brought me 3 letters and some papers, 2 from home and 1 from Woodroffe. Had evening school and told the people about Good Friday and that I wished it kept as Easter day. Received a note from Mr Waters with half year's money, all of which I am afraid I owe. Spent the evening in reading over the letters, all full of news, 1 from home, 2nd from Henry at Oxford.

*Friday 2nd. Good Friday.* Full morning services and again at 10.30. Yoliswa sent down to learn whether it was Sunday; I am sorry I did not let her know. Reading all day and writing to Mrs Armstrong 3 sheets. I hope I shall get some help from England for really I am very much behind this quarter.

*Saturday 3rd.* Potatoe [sic] digging all the morning. Reading and putting all square for Sunday afterwards. Sent Kyatanga to the winkle with some vegetables for Williams and to bring me down some meat. Up till late writing up accounts for the week and paying off the men. Made some hot cross cakes.

*Sunday 4th. Easter Day.* Very fine morning service. Yoliswa present at second service. I read the "Christ of a Passover" at both services. The chanted the "Gloria Pater" very nicely. I spoke to them at second service about Easter etc and told them to remember it as the great Sunday. After service gave them 2 large pot fulls of coffee to drink under the tree. About 12.30 I started with Qanda for St Marks. He got on very well to the [name illegible] but soon after began to lose halter. I managed to get him on however to the Kei. Found Mr Waters buissy giving away presents to the people about to be married. Very long service of nearly 2 hours several married and 18 baptized. Will this do? I really greatly fear now it is becoming an almost every day occurrence. Holy Communion at night. Mr Wilson read a sermon of the late Bishop's. He read it splendidly. You could not help attending to him. I like them both very much.

*Monday 5th.* Aldred and myself were up early to take the service so that everybody might have time to get all early to the Bolotwa. But they were so long in getting ready that it was 7.30 before we started. Had a pleasant ride to the Bolotwa with Miss Gray, as we had the two best horses.

Turpin very shy indeed. Had breakfast on our arrival and then Kafir Communion service; they all had to stand outside. Afterwards they had coffee and cake and [sat ?] about and we our luncheon. Yoliswa and Dahralla present also Sweli and Umxelo. Everything very tame. About 2 we had Holy Communion with afternoon service but very tame and then dinner. Gordon was missed and I went to find him and seeing him lying asleep under the hedge threw a piece of earth at him which unfortunately took the skin off his jaw. Got up some Kafir races which were very good. My people<sup>14</sup> however always beat the Galeka's. Qada ran very well indeed. Evening service it was nearly dark. They singing rather better. Tea. Turpin made himself in a huff and eat [sic; ate] like a horse. Supper ditto. Baby got ill and went to bed with Mrs Hutt so we had a regular squall. Till we turned in. All slept in the [out ?] chapel with the boys. Heavy thunderstorm came up and soaked through and therefore we had some very pretty scenes.

*Tuesday 6th.* Helped at early service. Everything quite cold and wet. Baby squalling and [Hutt ?] in a fuss. It also came on to rain. Wrote to Brown and sent £50 to pay my bill also sent letters home. Mr Waters started with me for St Peters and the rest to St Marks. We managed to escape the rain. Dull evening here. Mamati and [Basa ?] came home with us. Rain came on very heavy at night and the river began to fill. We both slept in the hut. Klass did not return nor Yoliswa.

*Wednesday 7th.* Wet and miserable day. Read *Bishop Armstrong*<sup>15</sup> all day and practised. Very cold at night. Had tea in the large hut. Had to rouse some thieves out of the garden. Sent Pele early for the post but he has not returned yet. Very pleasant chat with Mr Waters.

*Thursday 8th.* Fine morning. Began to gather in mealies with the children. Got in 1 muid of cobs. Pele returned about 1 and we heard that the Kei was down so Mr Waters determined on returning there. I sent over my white horse for Mr Hutt to ride to the synod as he has lost his. We started about 2 for the Kei. Met Williams' men who had been over with the cattle. I rode early this morning to the [Swart ?] Kei which I found very much up. Arrived at St Marks about 5. Johnny not worse. They say it is the measles. Very much disgusted to find all the row with Yoliswa published in the *Mission Chronicle*<sup>16</sup>. I was in a terrible rage and I am afraid said what I ought not. But really it was so very vexing to see such a trifling matter made so much of that I could not help what I said [Mullins has marginal crosses for emphasis here]. Slept in Gordon's hut. Mrs Reynolds who has been very ill and sent to Queenstown much better. George very kind. I have lent Gordon my other horse to go to King W[illiam's] Town to see his brother who is ordered to India. So now I have no horse.

*Friday 9th.* Gordon and Mr Waters started after breakfast. Sent Kyatanga to fetch Qanda. Walked across to see the Wilson's house and then left for this on Gordon's horse. Could hardly get along. Read papers all the evening. Still very much out of temper I am sorry to say. Qanda got back at night.

*Saturday 10th.* Up very late. Had hut cleaned out, cleaned gun, made bullets, got seeds from garden etc and other work. Read and made up my accounts at night. Very heavy thunderstorm about 9 o'clock.

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14. Mission station rivalries reflected tribal divisions. Mullins worked among the Thembu. St Mark's was among the Gcaleka.

15. T T Carter, *Bishop Armstrong, a memoir* (Oxford, 1857)

16. The editors have not been able to locate the passage.

*Sunday 11th.* Up early. Good services. Yoliswa to breakfast and 2 services. Great number of strangers. Writing and reading all day. Had school. Wrote to Mr Waters and made quarterly report.

*Monday 12th.* Reading all day. Schools.

*Tuesday 13th.* Left early for Faku's. Waited some time there but no children making their appearance, I rode on to the Bolotwa. Found Mrs Hutt and Napakade well. Mr Hutt left yesterday and Miss Gray not come over [sic]. Whilst there the Thompsons<sup>17</sup> arrived from K[ing] W[illiam's] Town. Such a family, 7 children the eldest only 11. They were all very clean. Mrs T[hompson] seems a well educated person. They are also expecting Mr[s ?] Reynolds out again. Left late and did not arrive till dark. Horse fell with me. Service by candlelight, which I enjoyed much.

*Wednesday 14th.* Reading, school etc. Jack, Mr Allen's old servant came today; he wants to live here. Dug some potatoes today.

*Thursday 15th.* Still potatoe digging. Sent Kyatanga to St Marks yesterday to fetch some sacks to put my crops into. School.

*Friday 16th.* Rode to Vezi's. Pretty good school. Very hot day. School again at home etc.

*Saturday 17th.* About 11 Taylor came down to see me and a few minutes after George arrived with 5 men from St Marks in search of Katela and his 3 children who had bolted. We sent April down to the kraal we thought they were out to spy and just before sundown he came back to report that they went there. It was too dark to go now so George determined to proceed thither early in the morning. Turpin is gone into town to prosecute Gweba who is in the tronk for stealing Wilson's sugar and flour, and everything seems to have gone wrong at St Marks since Mr Waters' departure. I am glad I am not there. Fine evening service and singing. Sandilin [sic] came to see me.

*Sunday 18th.* George off with his men, and April at 5 a.m. I had service at sunrise. Yoliswa down about 9. Had school and read. George returned about 11 with the children and Katela; he had been most successful in his pursuit. We then went to second service. Very well attended. Reynolds left for Saint Marks about 4.

*Monday 19th.* Began to gather in the mealies. Yoliswa was down to see Reynolds I fancy, but found her bird flown. I was much pleased with the men at work they kept on singing chants etc - instead of their old songs. They still continue to dig in their gardens daily. John has quite a large piece dug. Worked in the garden again after school. After 4 a man came from Aldred with a letter from Rowe. Bacela also arrived from St Marks bringing the sad news of Johnny Waters' death on Saturday night.<sup>18</sup> Aldred seems to think I should be of use at St Marks, so I borrowed a horse and rode over to them. Found them both quite well. Very surprized to see me. I agreed to ride over to St Marks next day and hear the news. Slept in the chapel.

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17. Mr James Thompson whose wife ran a 'select establishment for young ladies' in Berkley Street, King William's Town. (*King William's Town Gazette*, Vol.3, No.78, 6 February 1858)

18. Johnny Waters was the son of the missionaries.

*Tuesday 20th.* Started for St Marks after breakfast and got there about 11 and in time for English service. All seemed well there and as Miss Gray said she would return to Bolotwa, we all started together viz Miss G[ray], Turpin, George and self. I was quite surprised to see how little Mrs W[aters] seemed to feel Johnny's death. She seemed to take it more as a matter of course than anything else. My horse turned ill with the staggers<sup>19</sup> in the road and wanted to die only Reynolds kindly removed one of its ears and caused it to live and thus saved me a small sum of money. Reynolds and Turpin returned again by moonlight. Turpin had bought a very fine pony that gallops very fast, also the little rifle. He is certainly a big fool [two previous words erased] and I almost regret having had anything to do in trying to match him with Miss Gray. Spent a pleasant evening there.

*Wednesday 21st.* Started after breakfast for St Michael's hut. Had a good school there. I rode very slowly, so as not to hurt my nag. Walked home. Williams at the winkle. Found all well at home and all glad to have me back again. The man did not kick up a row about his horse losing its ear. Wagon went to town for me early this morning.

*Thursday 22nd.* Williams down here early and did not go away till about 2. Talking very sensibly. He has I fancy been well educated. Had school after he left. Children get on well with reading and writing much better than I ever expected.

*Friday 23rd.* Started for Vezi's early. Good school. Rode Gordon's nag. He went very well today. Sent Basa to the winkle to see if the wagon was coming as I expected it today. I returned from Vezi's just at 11 and was just in school when Gordon arrived on Doleraine. Both very well indeed. Of course I had plenty of news both to hear and to tell. So I told Klass to keep school which he did very well. Spent a pleasant evening. No wagon arrived. The Governor has to go to England I hear so there will be an end of the Bashee affair.<sup>20</sup>

*Saturday 24th.* Reading all the morning. About 11 [Leeu ?] came with some papers and the news of the wagons arrived, also a letter from RGS. I was very unwell and could hardly ride up to the winkle. Got all the goods down in safety. Williams changed me a note and kindly gave me a shoulder of mutton very acceptable indeed. Busy till dark storing away the goods. Had some quinces cooked for supper. I could not go to service and therefore sat outside. Attendance about 60. Very good I thought. Gordon has not seen his brother who has not yet arrived from Natal.

*Sunday 25th. St Mark's Day.* Morning service as usual. Yoliswa down early. Very agreeable as also her maid of honour. Had dinner at 12 and left for St Marks at 1, I riding Gordon's horse and he mine. Arrived about 3.30. Found all well. George and his brother Robert there. All very tired. Went to tea with Wilson. They were over in their new huts. All very nice and splash. I hear the

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19. The staggers, characterised by dizziness, was a disease of spinal cord and brain especially in horses and cattle.

20. Bulwer Lytton, the Colonial Secretary, recalled Grey because of his continued insubordination but he was re-instated within weeks by the Duke of Newcastle, Lytton's successor. (Peires, *Dead shall arise*, p.326) Grey intended the extension of British authority beyond the Kei but his plans did not come to fruition because of the unwillingness of British authorities to foot the bill. (Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, p.403) Mullins is presumably referring to the plan to establish a mission beyond the Bashee river. This did ultimately happen with the founding of All Saints Mission in 1859 by the Revd J Gordon.

synod has been almost a failure.<sup>21</sup> I long to hear from Mr Waters or somebody who has been present. Went to bed about 11. I very imprudent. Very cold night and little sleep.

*Monday 26th.* Reynolds left very early. Built a duck house for Mrs Reynolds. Thompson was working today for a wonder. I think he knows how to work if he likes. Had English service and some tea at 12 and then left for home with Gordon's horse and my own. Arrived just before sundown. But place in order. Very fine service again tonight. Night school.

*Tuesday 27th.* Up at sunrise which is about ½ hour before it shows itself here; dug 2 mounds of potatoes; fired at the cows that are finishing my garden. School and reading; windy at night. Night school.

*Wednesday 28th.* Very windy could not finish the potatoes. Read till 10 and then watered the potatoes. Practised. School at 12 and reading again till sundown. No night school on account of the wind. Bacela arrived from St Marks. Mr Waters not returned. Wrote up my journal.

*Thursday 29th.* Very wet and cold morning could not get myself warm. Read Mrs Stowe<sup>22</sup> till about 11. Then I had school and on coming out from school I went for a ramble with my gun and shot some doves. Surprised to see Mr Waters ride up with Sonti about 3 o'clock. Made him some tea etc. Got on very well. He brought some unaccountable and heavy news. The Bishop one evening read him part of a letter in which they both made out that my dear Mother's death by fever was mentioned.<sup>23</sup> Mr W[aters] told me what he could remember, and says he thinks the letter was written by a Mrs Edwards. Of course it put me in a tremendous fidget. I sent Kosana to Bolotwa immediately to see if he could not get any tidings there and I rode over to St Marks with Mr W[aters]. In the road we met a boy riding very fast and of course I thought he must be bringing me the bad news. Found them at tea when we arrived about 8 o'clock. Had a very pleasant ride by moonlight. Mr W[aters] gave me all the news. He seems altogether much pleased with the synod etc.

*Friday 30th.* Awful wind and rain during the night. It came into Gordon's hut very badly. In the morning the mountains were all covered with slight snow. Procured James as a messenger to town to ask Mr Green to search the papers for any notice of my Mother's death. About 11 Aldred, Miss Gray and Kosana arrived from Bolotwa; no letters for me there. So that I am in worse suspense than ever. It is curious I should have no letter from home this mail. Sent Kosana home, and rode to Bolotwa with Aldred to wait for James. Everybody most kind there. James not back at night but he had a very tired horse. — is --- with Miss --- I rather hope he marries her. It would be best.

*Saturday 1st May 1858. St Philip and St James.* Expecting James all day. My horse turned very lame this morning. Took a pleasant walk with Aldred after dinner, and met James. Very kind letter from Mr Green but no news whatever. So I am in as great a fix as ever. Being late I determined

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21. Mullins refers to a diocesan conference called by Bishop Cotterill in April 1858 to discuss the possibility of holding a synod. It was well attended by clergy and lay persons and was overwhelmingly in favour of holding a synod. The first synod did not take place until 1860.

22. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812-1896) was the author, *i.a.* of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1850 as a serial; 1852 as a book). It achieved enormous circulation.

23. This was a false alarm. Mullins' mother died in 1879 (W M Levick, 'Genealogical Table of Family of R J Mullins', 1947)

not to start till morning. Wrote to Mrs Cotterill in the evening to ask for any particulars she might be able to give me also to Gordon. Got up about 1.30 and started by moonlight home. Horse very lame at first start but went on better afterwards. Did not pass a soul. Got home about 4.20 and went to bed. Bitterly cold.

*Sunday 2nd.* My dearest Mother's birthday. Is she alive and enjoying it, or has she been long laid in the cold damp grave. Oh! Horrible uncertainty. Reports. What would I give for the truth. Had all services as usual. Yoliswa and a good number down. Had 3 services today for the first time. The last at 8.

*Monday 3rd.* Turned the horses into the old garden today for the 1st time also gathered in the pumpkins etc. Made a door for the store hut which took me till sundown with the putting up work. 3 services again pretty good attendance.

*Tuesday 4th.* Read till school time. Began the book again and took Vandaba and Methlekavi into the class. They both did well especially the latter. Sent Dweba the pony to ride home and come back tomorrow. Cattle breaking into the green mealies very much. George [Nyanwa ?] came at night. Had men's school before service. Long letter from Woodroffe. [Venttube ?] is missing; his horse and dog came home without him.

*Wednesday 5th.* Dug a little. Practised and read. Williams came down just as I was going into school. Very good number to the services today and to school from Nyaba's. John held school as I had to talk to Williams. He managed very well from what I could hear. Rode with Williams to the krantz and back. Wrote to Gordon this morning by George [Java ?].

*Thursday 6th.* Watching the two roads today to see if anybody was coming, but alas! I am as yet doomed to disappointment. Practised and wrote. Had very good number to school. Extracted a large thorn from Deloraine's leg. No wonder the poor beast was so lame. Capital night school and services at 2nd service, about 60 present. An increase to my school of almost 40. Hope all will go on square now. My only trouble is getting no further tidings to solve this mystery. Wrote up school books and journal.

*Friday 7th.* Very cold morning. Kusa's boy arrived with Gordon's horse and some papers but no letters for me. Had night school for the men and in the evening read the papers. Vandaba sick.

*Saturday 8th.* Went out shooting a little to keep myself warm; sent off Gordon's boy. Read during the rest of the day. Prepared to start for St Marks tomorrow. Very good number to school and also a good congregation. Evening service very grand. Put up a new lamp in the chapel.

*Sunday 9th.* Yoliswa present at early service and also a capital congregation. Ithingcaka also present and several followers. Rode Nelson to St Marks where I arrived about 2.30. Mr Waters most kind; got some tea for me. Aldred also here. I hope he will be sent back here again as he is a great help to our mission in many ways. Two Kafir services and then dinner and afterwards full evening service with a sermon from Mr Wilson afterwards "Holy Communion" when 7 Kafirs also partook. Offertory for Mr Wilson and chapel collection £6 which Gordon afterwards made up to £10.2. which was very good I thought for one mission. Had tea at the Wilsons, with Aldred and slept in Gordon's hut [3 words written in Greek: Turpin is a jackass].

*Monday 10th.* Service early. Started after breakfast with Waters and Aldred and Kusa for this. I led Aldred's horse for him and the kind animal broke my old reim [sic] for me. Had some dinner



when they arrived here, and left again at 1.30. Leaving some horses here. Very unwell during the evening and therefore only took 1 service. Very windy indeed.

*Tuesday 11th.* Very wet cold and windy. Had school in the boys' hut. Reading all day and longing for the post.

*Wednesday 12th.* Still bitterly cold. In doors all day. Expecting post. No news however came. Had school for my own children and then sent them to read with Klass.

*Thursday 13th. Holy Thursday.* Fine day. Had early morning service and also a second communion service; about 3; whilst in my hut reading Gordon arrived from St Marks bearing a letter from Mrs Cotterill which however makes the mystery greater and also gives me better hopes. Dug some potatoes for supper together with some fried Ceylon pumpkin. Pleasant evening for me.

*Friday 14th.* Had breakfast rather late and Gordon soon after took his departure. I rode with him to the stones and then returned. Cold day altogether. Read the papers and then sent them to Mr Hutt together with some beet to go on the Browns.

*Saturday 15th.* Congregations increasing again as it gets warmer. After breakfast turned the goods out of both huts and began to arrange the store. My hut is now much nicer and larger. Hard at work till sundown and after. Good numbers to evening service. I have now nothing in my own hut but my own private goods.

*Sunday 16th.* Full morning service also good second congregation and school. Left for St Johns. Found Mr and Mrs Hutt in their comfortable little house. Spent a pleasant evening. Told Mr Hutt that I saw Dahralla in his blanket, he would not believe me but I soon proved myself right.

*Monday 17th.* Wrote to Brown. Saw the men at work at the sod house and then left. Could only obtain 5 children so I rode on home after having school. Faku was away. Saw Williams at the winkle; he asked me into the concert on the 24th. But I was obliged to decline. Found all quiet at home. Sent John to have school as I was rather tired and went to the reading myself.

*Tuesday 18th.* Yoliswa *mirabile [dictu]* [wonderful to relate] was down to early service this morning also again at sundown. After breakfast I began to dig potatoes with John. We all worked at them and did not finish till late. Made a large kettle of coffee for all. Taylor was down to ask for some vegetables. Gave him some cabbages and potatoes. Very tired in the evening.

*Wednesday 19th.* Yoliswa again at service also a good congregation; practised some time. School at 12 very good number present and pretty well attentive. As I was reading about 4.30 Turpin and Mr Meaden arrived, he only on a flying visit round to the mission stations. After second service we walked to the krantz to see it by moonlight, but could hardly see it [owing ?] to the moon only being in quarter and rather low. It was however a very pleasant walk. Did not go to bed till about 1. He starts early in the morning.

*Thursday 20th.* Frank's birthday. May he live to spend many. Had breakfast. Royalty present. Service and then I started with Meaden for Faku's and Turpin went home. Rode to the mountain and then parted to go to my school. Had poor attendance, 20. All going hunting. No letters again. When ever shall I know for certain about the dreadful news. Good attendance at school on my return. Rather unwell in the afternoon. Desponding of getting on my mission as I should wish and felt very much inclined to give it up altogether.

*Friday 21st.* Directly after breakfast rode to Vezi's. He was at home; I had about 24 children to school. V[ezi] was very kind etc. Rode home by the side of the river. Very beautiful ride. There is a fine place there for a mission station. Nelson followed me up the hill from Salo's kraal. Very full school at home. Mr Waters arrived just after 2 chapel. He took the Litany at night service. Plenty of news. Heard from Gordon [another comment in Greek which is indecipherable. The last two lines are emphasised].

*Saturday 22nd.* Mr W[aters] took the morning service. Her Royal Highness down. Got a blanket out of Mr Waters also sundry presents. He left about 10 with Kosana and Kuse. Plenty of work all day. Repaired saddlery etc.

*Sunday 23rd. Whit Sunday.* Up early. Fine mist down could hardly see the end of my nose, which by the by is rather long. Great sickness at Yoliswa's kraal. Gave her some medicine. Very nice evening services. [Very to services - crossed out in black pen - Ed.] Left with Mamati for St Marks. Found poor little John Maxinyana dead from fever and several others unwell. Mr W[aters] very tired etc. Had sacrament etc. Spent the evening with the Wilsons very kind and told me loads of news [?].

*Monday 24th. Whit Monday.* About [?] we had funeral service over John Maxinyana. English service after and then went to play cricket. Mr Waters would make us come in to dinner, much against my will. I went back immediately after and kept Turpin bowling to sun down. Very stiff in the evening. Mr Waters plays very well; beat us one of each. Spent a very snug evening talking to Mr Waters and got some subscriptions to start a stone chapel. Very handsome on all sides. Went up to bed about 11. One of the pleasantest evenings I have spent since leaving Saint Marks.

*Tuesday 25th.* Sent Charles early with the post and promised him something if he was back soon from Queenstown. After English service went down to the cricket field, and played till sundown. A sergeant of the police passed and played some time with us. Reynolds and myself had a very good innings and good day's fun altogether. Mr Waters rather cross in the evening. The Wilsons were over to tea. Disturbed by report of a row at [Dwebu's ?] kraal and all went up there armed. Only eating honey. They have a very great quantity this year. A police man has been murdered at the Somo [sic; Tsomo]. Had a race this morning between our horses. I think mine would have beaten for a short distance if he had been let go. However Turpin's is the youngest and ought to beat.

*Wednesday 26th.* Sent home Mamati and rode to the Bolotwa to see if there were any letters, and much rejoiced to find a letter from my dearest Mother just arrived there. So all the report has been untrue. What a comfort. I hope she may live till I see her once more. Had dinner with Hutt and then rode on here, where I arrived at sundown. All square.

*Thursday 27th.* Very stiff and tired reading all day. School etc as usual. Sent [Senyoko] with some potatoes to Mr[s ?] Reynolds.

*Friday 28th.* Rode to Vezi's. John went to St Marks. Pretty good school. They nearly all knew their letters so that by leaving the board there they learn a great deal. School on my return.

*Saturday 29th.* Writing home all day and other letters to Mrs Green and Cotterill.

*Sunday 30th. Trinity Sunday.* At home all day. Pretty good attendance at the services. Reading all day. Yoliswa and some others to service. John communicated 1st time.

*Monday 31st.* Early went up and commenced the wagon road. Very hard day's work with the stones; got them all moved before sundown. Pele worked very well indeed. I would not have April as he grumbled at the pay. Had some dinner with Taylor. They did a very good day's work. In one place we could not move the stones so we buried them with others.

*Tuesday 1st June 1858.* Still road making. With the men all day to sundown got opposite Umvunthla's kraal. Could not go round his gardens so we shall have to go over the copie [sic]. Sent Kyatenga home for some coffee and cooked the kettle. Very tired at night.

*Wednesday 2nd.* Rode up after school and helped with John till sundown. Working on the hill today. We did our part very nicely. Had some mealies cooked for them.

*Thursday 3rd.* Went up about eleven o'clock. Hard at work before that in making up accounts etc. Returned to school and sent up John. Went back again after school and the girls followed with some mealies. Finished to the bottom of the hill today. Umvunthla passed and rather sneezed at our work.

*Friday 4th.* Started to go to Vezi's but as my trousers were torn I changed my mind and rode to where the Gwytyu and Kei join. Rode up to the road on my return and overtook Williams who had been down to see me. They were just finishing the road. Paid them off at night. Rogolo told me to keep sixpence of his money as he had borrowed one from me. I have not the least recollection of it. It shows there are some honest Kafirs. Of course I gave it to him. He is a fine man altogether. The road cost £1.19s.3d. 9d under the grant. I am glad it is finished.

*Saturday 5th.* Cleaned up etc. Read May Barton.<sup>24</sup> Gordon and [Fat ?] arrived from St Marks. ---- has been in a very bad humour ever since the cricket. I am sorry he goes on so very annoyingly as he does. Spent very pleasant evening. Gordon very tired from having to get up so early at St Marks.

*Sunday 6th.* 2 very nice morning services. Started to hold service at the Pewuleni but Pele returned to say that all the men were out hunting and also the women. So we thought as the head man was not there we need not go. Rode on to St Marks - was [groote ?] all the evening; *Gokuba undihlalanga xa bayayenga umtendeleko wenkosi, wangxola usuanzi bakulu. Diyapendula mina, potemba [a]ndiqondanga lonto* [Because I cannot rest when they have not taken communion he shouted loudly. I replied I could not understand that.] He was all right afterwards. Pretty pleasant evening.

*Monday 7th.* Paying accounts and looking after clothes etc till English service. Started directly after tiffin. Got home about 3. Wrote in the evening. Got up this morning to the childrens' service at 5.20 bitterly cold. I do not think they gain anything by it. Letters from Aldred yesterday, 2 on Sat[urday] 1 from home that had been to Queenstown, Dublin. If had come properly it would have saved me all the suspense. Bought some honey.

*Tuesday 8th.* Sent Siboke to Bolotwa with letters home to Mother and Kitty. Read and wrote today and school.

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24. E C Gaskell, *May Barton: a tale of Manchester life*, 2 vols. (1848)

*Wednesday 9th.* Early school. To Faku's only 4 boys the rest all gone to find gum. Home today school good number to school. Yoliswa down to tell me about Sicume and Tina. But I told her Mr Waters would be here to talk to her about it. He talks of sending Mr Wilson here to take the Pewuleni so that I shall not be alone in the wilderness. Wrote up school books.

*Thursday 10th.* Early school. Very heavy mist. Practised harmonium; cut 'Deloraine's' feet. Had day school. Read a little and then men's school so that I have very little time to myself. Wrote up journal after night service. Read part of B[isho]p Armstrong's life. He was certainly a most persevering man. His penitentiary work has done great good. No news from St Marks about Mr Smith. Suppose I shall hear tomorrow.

*Friday 11th. St Barnabas.* Early school. Rode to Vezi's. Pretty good attendance. Nearly all know their letters. Good number at home. April and Kosana getting out very good stone for the chapel. Men's school. Mr Waters not arrived. Read *Life of B[isho]p Armstrong* in evening.

*Saturday 12th.* Cleaning out as usual. Capital stone. Umnyalo arrived at night. The Pawuleni [sic] station was started yesterday to be called St Barnabas. Mr and Mrs Wilson and Turpin over there today. John told me yesterday, when I asked him, what was the matter with Sikobe (he had a boil); that it was the same that came on the *Amayipte* [Egyptians] when Moses threw the dust towards heaven. Glad he has got such a good memory. Night service very nice indeed.

*Sunday 13th.* Two good congregations. Yoliswa requested me to tell Mr Waters to let Warner know about the new mission. Letter from Turpin by Kweto, wanting a horse to come and see me. Sent him his horse, and told him to follow me to the Bolotwa. Rode 'Deloraine' there. Did not see anything of Turpin. Found Mr and Mrs H[utt] quite well. Turpin arrived soon after. Pleasant evening service. Chanted the psalms. 2 services for the natives. Mr H[utt] has now 4 every day. Quite enough for any man.

*Monday 14th.* Up sunrise. After breakfast sent for the horses. They were a long time getting them up. Rode up with Mr Hutt and T[urpin] to see Dahralla's water course. It is a splendid piece of work and he deserves great credit for his perseverance at it. Rode back and started for this. Spoke to Williams at the winkle and my horse started off when I came out to mount him, went up one mountain and down again and then half way up another before we could catch him. Turpin went on home after lunch. Read at night.

*Tuesday 15th.* Set two men on to plough and two at the quarry. Early school. Good number at midday school. Bongolo has been grumbling about my ploughing so near his kraal. I hope there are going to be no rows. Head ache at night from the noise in school. Read and wrote. Yoliswa sent to borrow my saddle to ride to the Bolotwa and I refused. Nice little conversation with John at night about Moses and Joshua.

*Wednesday 16th.* Breakfast before service. Early school. Rode Deloraine to Faku's. Poor school. On to St Barnabas. Turpin with larger school, about 45. He is very comfortably set up there. Rode on home. Found them just finishing school there. Read a little *Battle of Marathon*. Much interested.

*Thursday 17th.* A man from Turpin and Mr Waters. I shall have to go Sunday after all. Tried on the boys' new coats all pretty good fits. Good number to school. Did a little digging. May [sic; Man] arrived from St John's with two English letters 1 from Ma, and 1 from Mrs Armstrong. Quite

delighted to receive them so soon, as I considered a fortnight hence would be very early, the dates are as follows

Corsham & Chisslen May 4

London May 5

Cape Town June 10th

Queenstown 16th

The quickest I have ever received any yet. Read *Defeat of Athenians of Syracuse*.<sup>25</sup> They had received my letter ordering shoes etc. Not the March one. Mrs A[rmstrong]'s letter very kind.

*Friday 18th.* Rode Woodroffe's horse to Vezi's and called at Sabo's as I came back. He said I could come and teach and I promised to go the next day. Had school at home, a good number. Walked to the field to see the work men and as I returned back I saw Mr Smith and a servant coming down. Home. Spent a very pleasant evening with him. He seems much pleasant [sic] with the station. I had very bad grub for him but he seemed to enjoy it very well. He is on his way to the Bashi [sic; Bashee].

*Saturday 19th.* Sent Sikobe to the Kei early with a note to say Smith was here, and would go on next day. Cleared out etc. Had some capital music. He played the cornet and I the harmonium. Sikobe returned late.

*Sunday 20th.* After 2 services we left for St Marks. [Tanda ?] Smith's man with us. Turpin rode with us from Pewuleni. He was very quiet and so Smith and I had all the talk. Sacrament at night. Miss Gray very ill and also Wilson. Smith does not go to the Bashi, but home.

*Monday 21st.* Busy all the morning. Smith has changed his mind and will come to the Pewuleni. I hope he will stick to it for then I shall have a grand neighbour. Played cricket all the afternoon still sundown. Reynolds and Gordon and myself beat Townsend, [Rennie ?] and Turpin out and out. I took night school and after tea instead of going to bed I disappeared with Smith and we came back here, after a beautiful ride by moonlight. Had some music at 12.30 p.m. and coffee and then went to bed.

*Tuesday 22nd.* Smith went back about 12 to the Kei and I got all in readiness to receive Mrs Reynolds and Miss Gray, who were coming here for the good of their health. Rode up to the winkle about 3 but the wagon had not come. Had night school and boys' school. Just as I was going to tea the wagon came. James and Kuse had been ever since morning coming they evidently did not know the road.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Early service and school. Then to Sabo's. 30 children Vezi's and home again. Mamati went with me. Sabo gave me some meat and was very kind. Turpin here the [next word scored]. School a good number. 4 o'clock adult school. 5 service and 9 again. So today I had 5 schools and 3 services to attend to. Went to bed early. Very comfortable having the ladies here to cook for me.

*Thursday 24th. Feast of St John the Baptist.* Up at 4 and sent somebody for the horse. Heavy mist. Started at six with Dweba and Kosana. Pleasant ride. Got to St Marks about 9. 21 baptized. Thlathle, April, Basa, Sikoba and [Yapi ?] followed me. Mr W[aters] rather cold. Mrs W[aters] very [Mullins' emphasis] kind. Started directly after English service. Got home just as the last

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25. 'The Battle of Marathon' and 'The Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse' are chapters 1 and 2 of E Creasy's, *Fifteen decisive battles of the world*, first published 1851.

rays of the sun left the mountain. I beat all the other horses the 'Deloraine' was so tired. Yoliswa also went to St Marks.

*Friday 25th.* Schools etc. Shelled mealies with the children after dinner took a ride with Miss Gray round to the exit of the Gwytyu in to the Swart Kei. Home by sundown. White horse took Miss Gray very well. Early to bed.

*Saturday 26th.* Mrs Reynolds stirring quite early. She is in a tremendous hurry to get home. Miss Gray the other way. They left a little after eight. I think they have altogether enjoyed themselves. Rode to the winkle for some change. Read and wrote etc.

*Sunday 27th.* Spent at home. Read a great deal. Yoliswa at both services morning and evening.

*Monday 28th.* Sent a message to Faku to come tomorrow. Preparing all day till the evening, sent a note to Mr Hutt by Uyapi, and had an answer from Mrs H[utt] saying they could not come. Mr W[aters] arrived at night, also some St Marks men. He was rather *qumbile* [angry]. Miss Gray kindly sent some bread and cakes etc. Had a letter from Woodroffe in which he said he would try and be present tomorrow. Full of fun as usual. Meaden mentions in his letter that I used a frying pan to call together the people and hopes somebody would give me a bell.

*29th. Tuesday St Peters Day.* My patron Saint. Rose very late had service without Mr W[aters] and on coming out saw the Markites coming over the hill. Reynolds, Miss Gray, Gordon and Turpin. 2 Hottentots and about 30 Kafirs were the party. We had breakfast as soon as possible. All very comfortable. Reynolds kept us alive. Mr Hutt arrived about 10. We had English morning prayers all chanted at 11. Very nice service. After a short interval Kafir Com[munion] service, and sacrament to which all those baptized remained and even some of those only baptized last Thursday. They used a great deal of wine, and even tho' the chalice was full we had to replenish twice they ought to be spoken to about it. I could not help thinking of "What have ye not houses to eat and drink in".<sup>26</sup> Offertory £1.5s.4d. G[eorge] R[eynolds] sent 10/- he is a brick. After service gave out meal and coffee to about 200. 1 muid just sufficed. We then had tiffin as Mr Waters and Hutt were in a hurry to be off. We had to speak with Yoliswa about more ground and she said no. Kusa made a great fool of himself. Faku very kind. Umvunthla was also there. After they were gone then about 3.30 we played cricket till dark and I am sorry to say I broke a bat, by a false hit. Dinner by candle-light. Miss Gray had done everything very nicely indeed. Dull night. Evening Kafir service about 6.30 Gordon and myself and Miss Gray. Turpin and Reynolds did not come in. Talking etc in the large hut till 9 when we had some tea. As the moon rose clouded we persuaded Miss Gray to stay and return at 4 a.m. Reynolds amused us till ten thirty when Miss Gray retired and G. R[eynolds] kept us all awake. I got no sleep. They got off about 4 a.m. but I had had no sleep as all the blankets were occupied. After they were gone I got all ready to go [to] Queenstown as I had promised Mr Waters to be over early to the Bolotwa to ride in with him. It luckily however came on [to] rain hard of which I was very glad and so got a little rest. I had however first to clean up all things which was a tremendous piece of work for a sleepy person.

*Wednesday June 30th.* My poor birthday again. Very cold miserable day. I was sorry, but was compelled owing to the scarcity of grub here to pack all the St Marks people home in the wet. They went without a murmur that I heard. Sleeping and reading the rest of the day. I also lost the key of the harmonium this evening and a lot of money and it was so dark that I could not see to find it. Here however ends another long quarter in Kafirland. Perhaps I may be allowed to spend my next birthday in England which will be glorious. I hope it will be so, however which ever way people at home may decide I shall stick to. So here ends the quarter.

## CHAPTER NINE

### *The last months at St Peter's : a journey to Bashee 1 July 1858 - 1 March 1860*

*Thursday 1st July 1858.* Awoke very late and found the mountain and ground covered with snow quite deep and it still snowing hard. Quite a delightful sensation, at seeing such a truly English winter scene. There being no firewood I got Kyatanga to go with me and we went and cut a large old branch in the river. It was bitterly cold, but I enjoyed it very much indeed. Reading all day and finished a great deal of the *Negro pa.* that which Williams had lent me. My horse which Miss Gray had to ride came back yesterday evening late and of course the poor beast was very hungry as it could get nothing to eat from the snow. Handsome coals in at night.

*Friday 2nd.* Thawing and very cold with a little rain. Had school outside in the sun, as the chapel was very wet. The children stood the snow better than I expected. River rather full. Mountains still quite white at sundown. Made up accounts but found them all wrong.

*Saturday 3rd.* Sent to Mr Waters by Nokawa. Usual clearing up. Cleaned the store and found that somebody had been trying to break away the wattles and get in. Tried hard to find out who, but they would not split, tho' I think they all well knew.

*Sunday 4th.* Early service as usual. Yoliswa present. Had school and 2 service[s]. Rode over to St John's on Nelson. Very slippery. Found both Mr and Mrs H[utt] very poorly. Over worked and very dull I fancy. He has had another fire there. Evening services and a long chat was very comfortable.

*Monday 5th.* After breakfast I interpreted to Mr Dahralla for him and then left for this. Rode back Deloraine. Nelson led well. Taught at Faku's. He gave me some meat. Dweba there for two days. Saw Williams and Taylor at the winkle. Nelson followed from there. Saw Fite and Umvunthla as I passed. All square at home. Had school and did a little digging. Nytyanga left Mr Hutts this morning for Shiloh. Heard from Mr Waters. He wishes me to go to Pewuleni tomorrow. I cannot, as my nags are too tired. Miss Gray sent some honey and I also got *mirabile dictu* a few papers.

*Tuesday 6th.* Wrote to Mr Waters. Schools etc and night school. Sonti arrived from Kabousie. Wrote to Gordon. Man arrived with a cat from Mrs W[aters] a regular tiger. Howled all night. I was obliged at last to turn it out. Kosana and Kyatanga both digging for me. Made up school books and re-ruled them all.

*Wednesday 7th.* Had to send for Yoliswa to make a boundary line. She made it much smaller, as she said we had Bongolo's old [Mullins' emphasis] garden and must give him part of ours in exchange. She was kind enough etc but I think ought not to have given way to him. After school I gave out all the ground to the men. They all say it is too small. I am very glad to hear it, as there is now some chance of their really ploughing. I told Yoliswa I should write and tell *Amanzi*<sup>1</sup> about it.

*Thursday 8th.* Had breakfast before chapel. Early school. Made up quarterly report. Wrote to Mr Waters and sent the letter. School. Dug. Night school. Long conversation with the children about the world, showed them the different countries in the atlas. They were all very much

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1. The Revd Waters, a literal Xhosa translation of his name.

pleased. The cat it [sic; is] a great bother. Quite wild. Came into night chapel. John and Rudolph are working hard in their gardens.

*Friday 9th.* At Vezi's and Sabo's.

*Saturday 10th.* At home as usual. Plenty of work to do.

*Sunday 11th.* 4 services at home today. Yoliswa down. Had some pleasant talk with the boys in the afternoon. Wrote a lot of letters home etc.

*Monday 12th.* Wagon arrived this afternoon. Sent Sikoba to Bolotwa with mail. Kusa passed early but still no news from St Marks. I hear Turpin was at St Barnabas last night but rode onto the Bolotwa.

*Tuesday 13th.* At home. Reading etc. Pretty good school.

*Wednesday 14th.* Rode to Faku's. Very poor school. He had gone to Beaufort. Home. Found Kusa just returning. Mr Smith not arrived.

*Thursday 15th.* At home and school etc.

*Friday 16th.* Ditto.

*Saturday 17th.* Ditto. Wrote and told Mr Waters I would take his school at St Barnabas.

*Sunday 18th.* After second service started for St Barnabas with Mamati and Qanda. The latter had one tumble before we got there and 1 after, and so I sent him home. I had also to make haste as it was getting late. Found them all well there. Mr Smith arrived just after I did. He arrived at my station and found me gone. We had a very nice evening service. I slept in Gordon's hut and spent the evening with the Wilsons.

*Monday 19th.* Fine scene with an intoxicated policeman and George. Started after English service but had to return as I had forgotten the door key. Arrived just at sundown.

*Tuesday 20th.* Digging etc. Schools. Mrs Yoliswa came down today. But I did not give any time to her. Mr Smith did not arrive as he promised.

*Wednesday 21st.* Mr Smith arrived about 12. I dug a large piece this morning.

*Thursday 22nd.* Still at work digging. Mr S[mith] went to the Pewuleni for his school. Very good numbers at mine.

*Friday 23rd.* Rode Dema to Vezi and Sabo's. Pretty good schools. Back and had school over before Smith returned.

*Saturday 24th.* Helped S[mith] to make some doors. Repaired the harmonium etc. Had two letters from England yesterday. They have decided that I ought to go home next year. I also had a letter from Elgie. We decided upon not going to St Marks tomorrow.



*Sunday 25th. St James.* Altered our minds upon the subject of going to St Marks and determined to go. Mr Smith gave the people a lecture at second service and I interpreted. Good congregation. Rode to St Barnabas with Jack. Had service there. Only a few present. Mr Smith's wagon not arrived yet. Arrived at St Marks about the middle of the baptism service and so we sat outside and listened. It was very impressive, if the natives will only understand it properly. Somehow or other S[mith] got offended and bolted off before dinner. I fancy it was caused by the Lady Principaless. Spent very pleasant evening there. Mr Hutt also was present. I slept in Thompson's old hut.

*Monday 26th.* After English service I left with Mr Waters. Miss Gray cut my hair for me. We paid the men at the Pewuleni and I sent one to borrow a horse from Faku and meet me at the winkle. Met Mr Smith coming to meet us as we went on. Just after sundown I left for Bolotwa leading Deloraine. Met another horse at Taylor's and soon arrived at the Bolotwa. The horse galloped the whole way. Jolly evening with Mr Hutt.

*Tuesday 27th.* After an early service we left and rode to the Imvani poort. Had breakfast with Capt. Cowsmaker and then on to Queenstown. 3 very nice men the officers there. We had two after-riders to Queenstown. Sonti and Mata. Had dinner at Brown's. Went and called upon Green and found him out from home. Saw Mrs G[reen] and the baby. Mrs Brown's baby is a beauty. Really and truly. Spent a pleasant evening with the Brown's. They gave me a shake down.

*Wednesday 28th.* Buying and dispatching the wagon etc. After dinner called again on Mrs Green and had some music on the harmonium. The ladies would not let us ride at night and so we are to start early in the morning. Saw Warner; he is to go on to St Marks with Mr Hutt tomorrow. Music in the evening again. Mr Hutt played some very nice pieces.

*Thursday 29th.* Up early and off by sunrise. Brown gave Mr Green a £5 note towards his chapel. I hope my turn will come next. Rode very hard to Bolotwa but found Mr Warner was considerably before us. Had breakfast and then they and Warner and Mrs Hutt and Dahralla left for St Marks. There was a letter for Mr Hutt from Woodrooffe. So he has been up to St Marks. Rode home left my horse at Faku's and rode on on the chessnut. All well. Mr Smith gone to St Marks. Cleared out the house and had all made square. Woodrooffe left this morning.

*Friday 30th.* At home all day. Had school. Read *Letters from Rome* a very clever book. Smith is gone to Kabousie and will return Tuesday. Heard that his wagon has arrived and sent Tozini to take care of the goods. Made some bread etc.

*Saturday 31st.* Mr Hutt's wagon arrived with some goods and was also the wagon taken for Mr Smith's. Finished *Rome*. Heard from Mr Waters. He wishes me to go there tomorrow. I have sent to Yoliswa for a horse. I do not want to ride my own. No news. Thus ends another month. The people are all hard at work. I hope they will succeed.

*Sunday 1st August 1858.* Rode to St Marks, after service, had to read a sermon in the evening. Turpin to be married on the 18th. Took the service at Pewuleni, and found the wagon just arrived there.

*Monday 2nd.* Returned about midday. The wagon was off-loaded so I did not remain.

*Tuesday 3rd.* School etc as usual.

*Wednesday 4th.* Mr Waters arrived about 12. Wanted two horses there and then would not wait for them but went on. Yoliswa came down to see him. Mr Smith had sent for him. No news from the Bishop.

*Thursday 5th.* Started off early for the Bolotwa. Found Hutt at home but unwell. Stayed till 3 with him. Met Smith's wagon going away, and in it Kyatanga with a note to say Mr W[aters] had come back ill. Rode home full gallop. Left Jerry a long way behind. Found Mr W[aters] just going to start, and persuaded him to stop. Had supper in the large hut with him. Rather pleasant evening.

*Friday 6th.* Mr W[aters] left early. Wrote to Gordon to come and spend the evening. Made preparations therefore. Had the harmonium into my hut. Stayed up till 1 a.m. but no appearance of anybody so went to bed.

*Saturday 7th.* Awoke with very bad headache. Took it easy all day.

*Sunday 8th.* Rode to St Barnabas after my two services but found Turpin there before me. So I came back again with him. Had some dinner, and he then left for home. He is to be married next Saturday as the Bishop holds his visitation the following week. Mr Smith arrived on Friday last just before Mr Waters got there. He is accompanied by April and has seen the Bishop.

*Monday 9th.* Usual amount of work to do and be done.

*Tuesday 10th.* After school today a messenger came to call me to St Barnabas. Found there Messrs Water and Smith, the latter with a very bad carbuncle on his hand. Spent rather a pleasant evening there. Plenty of chaff. April very much grown. I do not go to the synod.

*Wednesday 11th.* Mr Smith's hand not being any better this morning it was proposed that I went to fetch the Doctor. So I rode [home ?] on one horse, up to the winkle on another, to the Imvani on another, a beautiful ride. Did not find anybody there and Doctor [Peters ?]<sup>2</sup> had just left, so I rode back to the Bolotwa, and had some dinner. Mrs W[aters] kindly made me a wedding favour for Saturday. On my return to St Barnabas I found Mr W[aters or Wilson ?] gone. Mr Smith better. Slept there again.

*Thursday 12th.* Expecting an answer by Mati who I sent to Queenstown from the Bolotwa. Waited till nearly sundown, and then borrowed a horse and rode home. Sat up till late tuning my fiddle for the wedding.

*Friday 13th.* Read and had school. Left about 1 for St Barnabas. Found Smith on the road. I had Mamati with me and blew the trumpet loudly all along the road. After dinner I got him to go with me tho' he was not much inclined that way. Had a very pleasant ride there and arrived about dark. Hutt's there before us. A very dull evening. Glad at bed time.

*Saturday 14th.* Gave our wedding presents last night. She seemed very much pleased with them. After Kafir service, we began to make preparations of all kinds, and then started for service thus, Gordon and Mrs Wilson, Turpin and Mrs Hutt, Wilson and Mrs Reynolds, self and Miss

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2. Dr J Peters MDHP, RN, who came to South Africa in 1857, was assistant surgeon at the new hospital at King William's Town. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1858*)

Gray as I had to act Papa. The three clergy took the service between them. Bride was very prettily attired. Breakfast etc all very nice. Memory will heal [scars ?] best.<sup>3</sup> After breakfast began to get ready to start, but horses etc were not so I had to drive the wagon for them with two fresh horses in. We managed very well for the first 4 miles. Left with Mr Smith and got home very late. Stayed with him till 9 and then on for this [station] about 10.30. Altogether much better than I expected.

*Sunday 15th.* Had services as usual; Mr Smith came to see me, and when he left at sundown Mr Waters arrived. XX but got on pretty well at last.

*Monday 16th.* The horses being ready Mr W[aters] left early. Had a letter from Smith, and in the evening he came himself and slept here. Made a stool today.

*Thursday 17th.* Smith left early for Kabousie, and then I began and finished 3 stools before night. *Mirabile dictu.*

*Wednesday 18th.* Rode to the Bolotwa for post, stayed  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour and came back again, marked and cut out 5 more stools.

*Thursday 19th.* Put together the 5 stools and did some other work. Women thatching the chapel. Putting all ready to see his Lordship.

*Friday 20th.* Hard at work again making stools. Went to bed about 9.30 very very tired; 11.15 was roused by Tyawa to say that the "Great *Umfundis*" was coming close behind, so I had to turn out of bed with everything in a mess and get all in order, but this was impossible as his Lordship arrived immediately with Messrs Waters, Lange, and Hutt. The latter went on home the others slept here.

*Saturday 21st.* Up very early and tried to get things a little to rights before his Lordship was up. Partly succeeded. Had service. Smith arrived. Had breakfast and then another service for all the Kafirs. The Bishop spoke to them on the parable of the sower. I interpreted. Gave Yoliswa some seed corn and left. I rode a little way with them. Clearing up till night.

*Sunday 22nd.* Wet. Pouring. Rode over to Mr Smith. Had a small row with Rudolph about grub. Found Smith at Sicume's with blanket. His hut wet thro' and thro'. Had dinner and then we left for St Marks. Arrived after confirmations. Had evening service and sacrament. I read first lesson, Gordon second and Bishop preached. Poor sermon.

*Monday 23rd.* Confirmation for John and Rudolph. Very fine service followed by Kafir communion. Bishop spoke at some length to the people and I had to interpret. Very hard work. Bishop spoke to me about going home etc. Had a short game of cricket. Long evening about school and census.

*Tuesday 24th. St Bartholomew.* Very wet, rode to Bolotwa with Bishop. Borrowed Inkosi edwa's

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3. Turpin's bride was, it seems, Miss Gray. Mullins mentioned earlier that Miss Gray was thought to be attracted to Gordon; but it is not clear who was the disappointed admirer. Suggestions of romantic attractions - involving Miss Gray and both Gordon and Mullins - are evident in the text, but they are inconclusive and both men denied such feelings when challenged by Waters. Family tradition has it that Mullins was indeed attracted to her. (See Chapter 8)

horse. Bishop rode mine. Went very fast indeed. Pleasant day at Hutt's. Bishop again addressed the natives thro' me. Great fun with Hutt about the census and number of natives. Letters from England in late at night, 1 from home and 1 from Bradthwaite. Archdeacon Hardie has resigned. Henry [brother to Robert John] got 1st. Hurrah! Slept in the out house with Mr Waters.

*Wednesday 25th.* Bishop left with Mr Hutt and Waters and I went home on Kusa's mare; gave out food and rode back again intending to go to Queenstown tomorrow. Very wet, mare fell with me once. Came to settle with Yoliswa about Pele's cattle. Pleasant evening at the Bolotwa. Learnt how to knit again. Raining hard. Slept before the kitchen fire.

*Thursday 26th.* Started early for Queenstown on Deloraine. Got about 15 miles on the road and came back rather unwell and very tired. Had some dinner and took my white horse back home here. He fell with me once. Got £12 from Wilson for order on Brown. Bad headache so I went to Bedfordshire.

*Friday 27th.* Clearing up but still rather muzzy. School etc as usual.

*Saturday 28th.* At home. Holiday. Heard from Gordon.

*Sunday 29th.* Services at home. Unwell.

*Monday 30th.* Schools. Unwell from dysentery.

*Tuesday 31st.* Worked in the garden. Schools. Gordon arrived in the evening. Spent pleasant evening.

NB. This month being neglected I had to write from memory. Sep 15th 1858.

*Wednesday 1st September 1858.* Schools and garden. Visited the krantz in the evening with Gordon; and had a nice clamber. On our return found that Smith had been here, and had left us some meat but would not stop himself. Sent a man after him who returned with the post and to say that he (Smith) would come tomorrow.

*Thursday 2nd.* Planted potatoes all the morning with Pele. School. As we were sitting talking and waiting for Smith's arrival we heard him come. Thlathle told him we were both out at the Zwart Kei. It was capital farce to listen to the cool way in which he misinformed Smith. Very pleasant evening with plenty of music and scandal.

*Friday 3rd.* We all agreed last evening to ascend St Michael's mount together today. Smith went home early and was to meet us at Faku's. We went there and waited some time but he did not arrive; at last Tozini arrived with a note to say he could not enjoy the day as it was so windy. He however sent us some grub. Had a pleasant walk, but saw no game whatever. Capital climb coming down (Irish). Walked home and led our horses. Found Kusa's boy there with my horse. No news from St Marks.

*Saturday 4th.* Just eleven years ago today since I first left home for school. Gordon made some bread and with reading etc we wasted away the day. I always like to rest on a Saturday.

*Sunday 5th.* Gordon left early before service. Had all my services as usual. Yoliswa down very

gracious. Tho' she had been put out of temper. Another evening service.

*Monday 6th.* Wrote home to [Smaile ?], [A.J. ?] and R.F.S. [Canon Swayne] also to Edw. Mullins [brother] in London. Henry and C[h]arles, Hetty [sister]. So I had plenty of writing work to get thro'. I also wrote to Mrs J.O. Smith. At home today with schools.

*Tuesday 7th.* Rode to Vezi's and Sabo's. Smith came to Sabo's after me about James and the money. He stayed to lunch and left in the afternoon. There is to be a mission meeting at his station on Thursday next when all have to be present. We made out a rough sketch of the district and divided off two parishes. Of which I got the lion's share. Also made a form for our Sunday work, so that we should not have so much to talk over at the meeting. These Smith took with him to coach up the Rector before the meeting.

*Wednesday 8th.* Sent some dishes to Smith for the party. Working in the gardens today.

*Thursday 9th.* Had morning service early and left for St Barnabas. Found the Rector and Mr Smith there. The latter hard at work; helped him to put up an extra table. The other party arrived about 11. We had to sit for Mr Hutt as he had no saddle. The day passed very nicely. Except a little tongue work which might have been left out. The Wilsons returned with me to St Peters. Had a pleasant evening with music. Mrs W[il]son played several pieces off at first sight. I made them up beds in the little hut and myself took the large one.

*Friday 10th.* Mrs W[il]son cut out a dress for Tayi. Posili's hut was burnt down and they began to break in two young horses with great success. Smith walked over in the evening with Turpin to see me about his new horse which has been claimed. I interpreted to Tozini for him; it seems to have been a mistake of Tozini's. We had some more grand music; he slept here. No news of Aldred.

*Saturday 11th.* Smith left after breakfast and returned on foot home. Reading the book *Never Too late to Mend* and deeply interested in it. Not much going on here.

*Sunday 12th.* Left after second service for Smith's as he sent a man to tell me that Faku was there and therefore I need not go to his kraal as agreed before. Had dinner with them and then at sundown, after his evening service we left for St John Bapt[ist]. Very nice ride as it was cool and our horses in good state. Arrived about 7 p.m. Had tea and then service. Very pleasant altogether. Communion 4 of us. After supper we left for home i.e. Smith as he was afraid to leave the place because of thieves. Rode pretty sharply and arrived at 12 p.m. another supper and then bed.

*Monday 13th.* After service and breakfast. I rode to Faku's to school and also to buy his horse if I could. This we managed when we returned to Smith's, whom we found preparing to start to St Marks about some oxen he wanted to borrow. Faku rode with him. I left the horse Beltong there to be doctored and came home. So now I have another horse added to my stud. I hope he will turn out to be good. Gave Mr Waters mare £4 and £5 cash for the animal.

*Tuesday 14th.* At home with school etc.

*Wednesday 15th.* In gardens etc.

*Thursday 16th.* Started directly after breakfast for Vezi's. Finding his brother Qambela going to Dengela I rode with them. Very bad road. Held school at Ithingcaka's. Very few children. Rode back to [Gintsali's ?] kraal and got permission to teach there and then back to the junction of the Dengela and Kei and took a rough sketch of the country and kraals. Rode to another kraal where when asking about children etc. the man then asked me what I gave for permission to teach. Gave him a very short answer and left. Flat up the hill at the back of Taylor's. Very bad steep road. Called [at] the winkle and heard some awful news of Yoliswa. Who had the day before been brutally [sic] in treating a woman. Rode to Smith, went in the back way down the rocks and surprized him under his tree. Sent a map of Dengela to Mr Waters and rode home by sundown. Found some papers there to amuse me. Yoliswa came down I was very cool to her indeed.

*Friday 17th.* Commenced sowing flower seeds. Hutt came about 9.30 had breakfast and then some music. Smith sent me some back and a messenger to say she [Yoliswa] would come. The Queen came down and Smith cut her beautifully. She was in a tremendous passion, and had to sit down to cool herself. I told her the reason, and she said, "she," (Ntonana) ought not to have taken away my husband." As tho' it was all the poor woman's fault. What a wretched state!! Hutt left about sundown and Smith stayed for some more music till 10.30 and then left. Being morose I did not so much mind his going.

*Saturday 18th.* Reading and writing did also a little garden work. Usual cleaning up. Still no "Napakade". I fancy he is a "Napakade" [never] with a vengeance.

*Sunday 19th.* Two early services very cool with Her Majesty. Walked with the 3 boys to Tsabo's and had a few people to service there. Walked back by the road up the mountain the boys amusing me with the tales of war. Had music till evening and some reading. Evening service. Smith arrived about 6.45 and then we had some tea and service. It was very nice indeed. I never liked the Kafir service so much. Offertory 5½s. Pleasant evening. Talking about home and colony.

*Monday 20th.* Smith left early before my morning service. Wrote to Gordon about the unfortunate coat and sent Kyatanga. Planted some garden seeds. Radishes and lettuce etc. Smith gone to St Marks with two unknown English gents. Gordon Esq. sent me some papers and news. Smith also sent me some mealie seed I had written for.

*Tuesday 21st. St Matthew's Day.* Up early and rode to Vezi's and Tsabo holding school at both places. School at home on my return. All very quiet. No news floating about.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Royalty sent to buy 1s/- sugar which I refused at once. Had morning school directly after morning service to accommodate the children. Planted potatoes with Rudolph till 11 when I had boarding school and at 1. I started to Smith's. Found him at dinner. Mail soon arrived with 1 English letter for me. Smith gave me a handsome riding whip. Saw Beltong, he was getting much better etc. I then rode home in time for service. John rode to Bolotwa this morning and has not yet returned.

*Thursday 23rd.* Finished planting the lower end of the garden. Had school and also night school. Sent the boy to buy some meat. John returned at sundown. Smith and Hutt are gone to meet

the wagon with Miss Ende<sup>4</sup> that has somewhere or other stuck fast the oxen having taken it into their heads to depart. Mr Waters was over at Smith's last night in the middle of the night. Had a strong note from Hutt about some scandal. No other news. Yoliswa here today and very civil but I still tried to be as cold as possible.

*Friday 24th.* Early school. Up at six a very sharp frost which has cut my potatoes and also the weeds and trees. It was quite a winters morning. I am glad I have so few things up. Rode past Qotole's to the Dengela, *a very bad road* [Mullins' emphasis]. I took a great stone out of Nelson's foot at the first descent. Had school at [Gubsali's ?] and at lthingcaka, very poor number. The latter wanted to know what day I should be there that he might call all the children together. School at home. One of Warner's men here, and read very well. Yoliswa gone to Warner's. No other news.

*Saturday 25th.* Read and played and then wrote up this my journal which I had not touched for some time. Faku called to see me. Gave him some coffee. I have heard no further news of Smith.

*Wednesday 29th June 1859. St Peter's Day.* This may be a propitious day to recommence my long neglected journal. That which I have written I have found on several occasions must useful to recall dates etc. Not like last St Peter's day. But plenty of work in hand. Making doors etc. Planted the first onion seed sent from home. Two lots. School etc as usual no post came this week either way.

*Thursday 30th.* 21 at last, tho' everybody declares I have been 21 a long time. I had long ago made up my mind to spend this day at home, but here I am at St Peter's, hard at carpentry work. Made and fixed a door in the boys' little hut. Had the papers sent from St Marks and some notes from all hands. No tidings of our money yet. Read papers in the evening.

*Friday 1st July 1859.* Sent Sikobe away early to try and procure some butter. I should be glad to get some sort of European grub as I have nearly exhausted all the Kafir plans of cooking and still cannot get on well. Had school and made a stand for the girls' hut for them to put their clothes etc on.

*Saturday 2nd.* Sent the girls to wash. Mamati helping me to make a door for the girls' small hut. They dug over the small wheat garden today; very tired by night. All work and no play.

*Sunday 3rd.* Early service very well attended about 40 adults and [50 ?] children. Very nice service indeed. Midday service the same. Her ladyship pleasant as usual. At 12 started on foot with John Thlathle to see whether Vezi would permit me to have a service at his kraal. Had pleasant conversation with John on the road. He asked several very sensible questions. Found Vezi from home, also Qambela. Old Baxa was there, but could not give permission. John very properly reproved Matwa for working on Sunday. I had school with 9 children. Spoke to Qambeli as we

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4. Recruited from Germany by Bishop Cotterill to teach at St Mark's, Miss von Ende won Waters' praise for 'the strength of her constitution as well as her willing zeal in her Master's service'. For family reasons she returned to Germany in 1867. (USPG Archives: Cotterill to SPG, 30.9.1857; Waters to SPG, 18.12.1863). She was also an agent of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. She is listed in the Society's Annual Report for January 1859 as being at St Luke's, Newlands. For information about the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East, see the article by M Donaldson, 'The Cultivation of the Heart and the Moulding of the Will ...' in W J Shields & D Wood (eds), *Studies in Church History*, vol.27 (Oxford, 1990).

were coming home about service but he again referred me to his brother. Coming back as we reached Namba's kraal I could see Gordon just disappearing over the hill. Spoke to [Nyaba's ?] people about coming to church and then gave Gordon pursuit, but the old Nelson was too full to run and so I did not catch him. Evening service well attended. Wrote part of a letter home and read some Pearson.<sup>5</sup>

*Monday 4th.* After service cleared the chapel for Rudolph to work there. He began at once and finished one side by night. I hope the old chapel will stand a little longer. I made a stand for the boys' hut. Fixed all the doors properly and sundry other small pieces of work. [Tyakana ?] and [Giama ?] came. Also Kusa, Daliwe and Sonti so I had loads of visitors. Giama carrying post. Mr Waters gone to town. Woodrooffe's goods arrived at Bolotwa. No butter to be had.

*Tuesday 5th.* Made a door for my hut. Very tired, my knee which was painful yesterday, very bad today. Old Windfogel and Jantze [Plaacs ?] here begging. The poor old man got very old lately. Read Brown on the Articles<sup>6</sup> till 11.30 and went to bed.

*Wednesday 6th.* Up tolerably early. Service over. Fixed my door, it took John and myself a long time. Good hunt. Let the boys go. Woodrooffe men and horses arrived. Gave Nokate the boys' trousers to repair, she works pretty well. Old Jerry came back at last. Very fat and well. Quite pleased he seems to be at his return. No post again it is too bad after waiting so long too. Finished the part of Brown we have to read, and went on with Genesis. Faku came.

*Thursday 7th.* Men did my garden this morning. John went to Bolotwa and Sikobe. Had thatch taken off the chapel and put the poles in. It seems to stand very well now. I hope it will do. Took on Benesi in the place of Dweba, who sent to tell me he was poor and wanted to plough this year. A very poor excuse when he had such a good garden and water course here. Sent [Botstani?] to the Kei.

*Friday 8th.* Read nearly all day. Had my new hut prepared for Woodrooffe. Delbelio<sup>7</sup> was here till late last night; he has seen a great deal of the world apparently. Letters from the Kei. All well there. Received a cheque for my money. Read the papers till late in the evening. Woodrooffe not come.

*Saturday 9th.* Cleaned the rubbish left by the old store with John and Pele. Very heavy work. Knee much better. Read and in the evening heard from Gordon. No wagon came. Too bad.

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5. Possibly John Pearson (1613-86), author of *Classical Exposition of the Creed* or Edward Pearson (1756-1811), a theologian who defend orthodox theological views against Dr Paley (S Lee (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography* London, 1895)

6. The Thirty Nine Articles set out the doctrinal foundation of the Anglican Church. They were formulated in 1563 by the Church of England in order to define the church's position in relation to the theological controversies of the sixteenth century. In the 1860s, in consequence of the religious dissension of the mid-Victorian decades, attention was given to the way in which the clergy should indicate their acceptance of the Articles. Following the unanimous recommendation of a Royal Commission, the Clerical Subscription Act was passed by parliament in 1865. This required clergy to affirm that the doctrine of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty Nine Articles was "agreeable to the Word of God"; they also undertook not to teach contradictory doctrine. (E H Browne, *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles: historical and doctrinal*, London, 1858; O Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London, 1970, pp.132-34)

7. A local trader who, with his associate Williams, worshipped at the station. Louis D Bellow, possibly the same man, was a property agent in Queenstown in 1863. (Advertisements in *Queenstown Free Press*)



Woodrooffe not come. [L---nosi ?] lost his horse yesterday and found it today after a long search. Caught Botsheni stealing potatoes out of my garden and nearly frightened him out of his senses. Madwe came to see me from the Kei; but went away before I could have a talk with him.

*Sunday 10th.* Cold cloudy morning. Very good attendance at service. Ninety in all. Second service 79. That little hut crammed. Read Exodus for examination. Gordon arrived about 2.30 stayed till 3.30 and left for home. A young Turpin arrived about 1 this morning. Wrote home and to Hanterville in the evening. I have to go Wednesday evening to the examination. [Two words illegible] in temper at night. The answers at catechism today remarkably good both morning and evening. It was about Abraham and Lot.

*Monday 11th.* Up rather late. Set men on to dig potatoes and began Pearson. Interruption no. 1. Dalbello to request me to write to Birch for him, which I did and sent £6 for the wheat. Had school at 12 for 1½ hours, came back to read. Faku came, lthingcaka, some other men, and last but not least the wagon; off loaded all the goods, and Woodrooffe's and put into my new hut. Letter from Gordon by post. Tabata degraded for impudence to Mr Waters. I am extremely sorry for the poor fellow, as he is I think really in earnest. lthingcaka tells me that part of all their money<sup>8</sup> has been stopped by Warner, and that he told them that we were the cause. I want much to know what it is about. 11 police passed. Bed 11.30.

*Tuesday 12th.* Up early. Loaded wagon after breakfast with 10 bags of potatoes. This is our 7th load this year. Read Ecclesiastical History. School for 2 hours and read again all the afternoon and evening. No post came, bed 11.30.

*Wednesday 13th.* Read nearly all the morning. Post arrived about 3. No letters. Austrians as yet defeated.<sup>9</sup> Had short school and started after evening service for St Marks. Pleasant ride by moonlight. Dined with Gordon and spent the evening with Waters.

*Thursday 14th.* Cold and cloudy morning. Examined in Kafir this morning. Exodus and Prayer Book in the afternoon. Had tea with Waters. Funny stories afloat about the Tiny Turpin. Rather tired at night. Slept soundly. Woodrooffe wrote to say he had arrived last night at 10.

*Friday 15th.* This morning took Pearson. We wrote rather long on the subject and did not finish till the afternoon. Turpin running about after me, to go and see his wonderful baby which I did not. Waters gave us one hour to write the Articles so we made it very short indeed. Talked till 10.30 with Waters and then bed.

*Saturday 16th.* Got up at 5.30 and started for home. Very very [Mullins' emphasis] cold ride. Sun rose at Pewuleni but I got home before the sun was far up. Found Woodrooffe still in bed. Bell cracked this evening whilst ringing for service owing to the great cold. All well and quiet. Talked all the news with Woodrooffe. He just as dry as ever.

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8. In order to undermine the authority of the chiefs Grey denied them their customary income from fines imposed in cases heard before them. Instead, chiefs and councillors were to receive salaries from the government. Salaries were generous but the position of the chief was further undermined when Grey insisted the magistrate, not the chief, should pay the councillors their salaries. (Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.63-64)

9. Austrian armies were defeated by the French and Piedmontese forces at the battles of Magenta and Solferino on 4 and 24 June 1859 in the course of the unification of Italy.

*Sunday 17th.* Not very crowded chapel about 70 at 1st service and 50 at second. Yoliswa says the report about the money is quite true. Gordon came about 1. Nice evening service. In the evening sat by the fire and talked over old times.

*Monday 18th.* Up at sunrise. Nice service well attended. Silo came at my request and we talked over the money case, which he corroborated. I am glad that I had him down as my letter to Warner which I wrote immediately will have a good foundation now to go upon. School at 12 very poor attendance. Cut up carpet in the evening for the children and wrote up my journal which was behind hand. Catechism very good since my return. Sent Basa and Nobathena for sheep.

*Tuesday 19th.* Several people here from St Marks. Sent for horses but as they were late I could not go to the Kei (Vezi's). Had the children to sew and the boys also to clear rubbish. Made pattern for the boys' coats with Woodrooffe. School but poor attendance. [More ?] people from St Marks at night.

*Wednesday 20th.* Started directly after breakfast for Vezi's; he was at home also Qambela. Had school with a few children the rest gone hunting. Rode on to Tsabo's and had school. Post not come. Had school till sundown. Jiyana sent for tobacco. Read Kafir. Wagon came from Kei for corn. No news of post. Wheelbarrow came. Horse for Veltant.

*Thursday 21st.* Up early. Loaded wagon with corn. 11 small sacks and 3 large. Tried horse, too old and "no go". Began to clear the yards. Boys worked well. Pateni and several of St Marks people here. Vezi called to see me. Very agreeable about the service, also Tsabo. Quite encouraging. Wrote to [Aspeling ?] John Thlathle from the Kei no papers sent and no news. Mrs Hutt got a boy last Saturday.

*Friday 22nd.* Set to work early with the wheelbarrow. Read the *Lives of Hooker*.<sup>10</sup> Very interesting indeed. Sent the horse back by Sikobe. Woodrooffe left for St Marks. Very nice school. Began subtraction. Some of them did it very well. Vezi has not returned my blanket and so I suppose I may count that a present. It is too bad tho' of him to do so. Wagon arrived again during evening service.

*Saturday 23rd.* Up early. After service went up to Dalbello. He had no sacks. After a great deal of delay and bother managed to load the wagon by putting a blanket bale and started it off. Clearing up all the huts etc. Spoke to Beli about the chapel and broke off the contract as he did not seem inclined to finish it. Disselboom of the wagon broken so they have not yet gone on. Men returned with butter and asked for food which I refused. Maceli arrived from St Marks sent by Woodrooffe. All well. The wagon still in the drift. Sent them food with orders to remain till Sunday. Made up accounts. Intend to visit Vezi and Tsabo tomorrow. Still hard at work with wheelbarrow, which is most useful.

*Sunday 24th.* Good attendance at early service. About 80 with children. Chapel quite full. Yoliswa to breakfast. Second service at 10.20 about 60 present. Very attentive. Read the release of Peter by the Angel. Sent for the horses immediately after service and started with John for

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10. Richard Hooker (1554-1600), English theologian apologist for the Elizabethan aim of comprehension. The allusion may be to Izaak Walton, *Life of Hooker* first published in 1678. It was subsequently reissued in Walton's *Collected Lives*. Walton enjoyed much popularity among Victorians because he represented a pre-industrial age. (J Bevan, *Izaak Walton, The Compleat Angler 1653-1676*, Oxford 1993. See Introduction)

Vezi's kraal. Peter and Fule came down too late for both services. At Vezi's found him at a feast with about 80 men, whom he compelled to come to service. They behaved very well altogether. Vezi rowed them once or twice when people were passing. I read the parable of the sower and explained it. Found a man there named "Mngi" [sic] who could read very respectably indeed. He read me a few pieces from the N[ew] Test[ament]. Vezi gave me some meat, and I gave him the blanket he had borrowed. Rode on to Tsabo's where we had about 30 in all to service. The others being from home. All very quiet. John was very useful to me indeed. He tells me that he was present at the first fight last war. I must learn more from him if possible. School on my return home. Spoke to Mamati about his going home on Sunday and had very nice evening service.

*Monday 25th St James.* Sent Rudolph to put the wagon right and [Nyapi ?] to Bushman school to fetch horses for Woodrooffe. After breakfast, during which I had the pleasure of Sweli's company, I started to go to the wagon but met Rudolph with the news that it was all mended. Read till 12. I hear that the boys had a grand fight yesterday by way of keeping Sunday and Master Dweba was a great hand in the fight. I am extremely sorry to hear this as I had some hope of him, I shall speak to Faku. School from 12 to 2.30. After school Mr [Bayley ?] arrived. He spent the evening here, with Dalbello. He was in the 91st, and could tell numerous stories of the war.<sup>11</sup> We had a few duets together with the cornet and [word illegible; harmonium in abbreviated form ?] but the latter was frost bitten and would not go properly. Up till 11.30. Post gone on to Bolotwa. Woodrooffe returns tomorrow. Gordon walked on foot to the Indwana.

*Tuesday 26th.* Up rather late. Sorted letters this morning and looked over a great many old ones that I had kept of Mr Waters', most amusing now. School from 12 to 2.20 good number today. Low spirits today. Everything gone wrong. The children at 6s and 7s. No order. Mamati in one of his bad humours. Perhaps I am to blame myself. I wish they would behave decently. Woodrooffe returned. No news. Wrote to Aldred by Sikobe. Boys very troublesome at night.

*Wednesday 27th.* English mail arrived this morning with Tozini. Letters from Harry, Mama and Elgie. Poor news. War raging. Reading papers all day till sundown.

*Thursday 28th.* Started about 11 a.m. with Woodrooffe to the Bolotwa. Went by the Pewuleni and tried to procure some horses; we were not successful however as they had been taken away by the police. Hutt is getting on very well rather too [Mullins' emphasis] fast I am afraid. Saw the new Hutt, Richard Edward Headley. Got back late at night very cold.

*Friday 29th.* At home with school as usual.

*Saturday 30th.* Letters from Waters. Grants from Government are stopped we are to dismiss children etc.

*Sunday 31st.* Early service at 8.30 good congregation. Yoliswa and Riba to breakfast. Service again at 11 a.m. Good number. He [sic; Had ?] school after both services for a short time. Warner seems in a fix about the money. Rode with John to Vezi's and Tsabo's. At the former place a doctor's dance going on, which I waited for. It continued about an hour, so the devil had his service first and then followed God's. They were very attentive; about 25. John is great help; about 45 at Tsabo, very quiet. Rode back by 3.30. Had service again at St Peters at 4.0 p.m.

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11. This may have been Capt F J Bayley of the 91st Regiment which was stationed at Blinkwater, 1854-55.

and then rode on to St Barnabas to take the service there for Gordon who had been prevented coming for want of horses. Rode on then to St Marks. Had tea with Mrs Reynolds and sat up till late 1 a.m. talking to Gordon.

*Monday 1st August 1859.* Talking to [Mdizi ?] till chapel time. After luncheon left for home. Arrived in good time to despatch the post. All well at home. Mamati gone home for a week, good riddance.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Usual work of school, reading, etc.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Post arrived towards 9 o'clock, no further news. James came from St Marks to make bricks.

*Thursday 4th.* Sonti passed this morning to King W[illiam's] Town to Mr Kitton.<sup>12</sup> No letters from St Marks. James making bricks, 600. Raining a little in the evening dark cold night.

*Friday 5th.* Very cold day no work going on. Towards night all the clouds disappeared. Wrote to Smith, Swayne, Armstrong, home and Harry.

*Saturday 6th.* Brick making this morning tho' still very cold. Rateta came for Jerry. Letters from Turpin. He has to go and help Syree<sup>13</sup> if Kitton agrees. Waters gone to Tylden with Julia. Write letters etc today. Impounding some calves and cattle. Had small payment. No other news. A great many boys have already left the school at Marks.

*Sunday 7th.* Up by 8 had service at 8.30. Woodrooffe not up. Chapel very full. Crammed, hardly room for the people, 90 present. Breakfast. Yoliswa rather grumpy. Service again at 11, about 41 present. Wrote to Williams to ask him to come to evening service. Rode with John to Vezi's and Tsabo's. 16 men, 1 woman and 2 boys at former place. 4 men, 2 women, 29 children at latter. Met [Goyama ?] on the road. Going to Xoxodala. Had some conversation with [him ?] about his getting married as also about the lesson I read today. Found Turpin here on my return. No further news at St Marks. Evening Kafir service at 5, evening English service at 6. Williams and Dalbello present. Woodrooffe read prayers and I the lessons. Yoliswa sent a message by Peli to say Methlakavi wished much to go home. So I shall permit it.

*Monday 8th.* Began chimney directly after breakfast and did not leave off till sundown. Let Methlakavi go home. Woodrooffe went to Bolotwa. Sweni came to see me. Gave him Reynolds' gun. The hunting party killed a fine buck today. Wrote home to Ma, Harry, Mrs Armstrong, Swayne, Smith.

*Tuesday 9th.* Up rather late. Heard tremendous noise in the night. Horses in Pele's and Yapi's garden. Started after breakfast for Pewuleni with Sonti who arrived from town just about the same time. Mr Waters met there. Rode on and met Warner and Smith, [Opebury ?], Woodrooffe, Koste etc at the koppie. We climbed sundry rocks and then Warner pointed us

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12. Revd Henry Kitton - see biographical notes.

13. Revd Peter Joseph Syres - see biographical notes.

only and as to the Chief the new boundary line. The [Tshatshu ?]<sup>14</sup> thus get a large addition to their ground. Also the Dungwana's. Mr Waters passed us by accident. We did not know him. Rode on to St Marks. Dinner with Gordon. Good news from Kitton. Money paid up to June. Left just before sundown. Woodrooffe stopped for the night. All well at home.

*Wednesday 10th.* Rather a row today between Yapi and Qele decided in favour of former all about fines. Yapi must [be] very impudent. [Monosi ?] very useful. Finished the brick work of the house today and chimney. Very tired and sleepy at night. No post come yet. Faku came to see me. He is to examine us.

*Thursday 11th.* Rather tired from work yesterday. Sent for Yoliswa today to ask about fines, boundary, and Mamati. Pulled down porch. Post arrived about 1 p.m., boy on foot. Received letters from Brooks. No news. Meaden and Henchman<sup>15</sup> arrived about 2. We entertained them as well as possible. Spent very pleasant evening indeed.

*Friday 12th.* Our two visitors roused us up, they having the start of us. Sent Basa to find horses. They walked to see the Kei in the morning. I finished the bricks with the boys who worked very well indeed. Had school. Good number. After school and dinner still no horses, so we saddled up our own and I accompanied them to St Marks about 7 when we arrived there. I got a wee horse for Tana on the road. Dinner with Gordon. All well there. Slept at Turpins. He had to start at 4 in the morning for Queenstown.

*Saturday 13th.* Up early. Service. Breakfast at Waters. XXX as possible. Wandered about trying to obtain horses in service time. Tiffin with Gordon. No horses. Finally managed to start with [Kiwite ?] to ride the little mare. Heard praises of C.M. and plenty of other news. Rode back. Rather nice shower this morning. Children all well and square at home. No service as I did not feel very well. Made up accounts at night.

*Sunday 14th.* Cold damp misty day. Very slight rain hardly do any good. Good number at all the services. Did not go to the Pewuleni. Read a little Leviticus in the evening. Williams and Co could not come to service.

*Monday 15th.* Commenced the porch and by night managed to get on the rafters. W[illiams ?] offering all kinds of help and doing nothing. Very tired. Waters Henchmen and Meaden came at sundown. W[aters] in a very queer humour nothing was right. I was rather vexed at first. But he soon came round. Spent pleasant evening altogether.

*Tuesday 16th.* Passed rather uncomfortable night. Had sacrament. Very nice service. Also last night. They all left soon after breakfast for Bolotwa. Waters and Woodrooffe also. Put up the front of the porch and had school. My wheat beginning to come up nicely. The wagons also came at last. Only Birch's, I am still very suspicious. Woodrooffe could gather no tidings.

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14. Yoliswa, widow of Mapassa, was regent for the amaTshashu. Mapassa's first-born son, Gungubele, subsequently sought to claim his inheritance and was drawn into the war of Ngcayecibi. The amaDungwana were under Ndarhala. See biographical notes.

15. Revd Thomas Henchman arrived in 1840 and volunteered to work among the lepers and convicts on Robben Island. However, he ultimately went to the eastern Cape and worked at Sidbury and Fort Beaufort for many years.

*Wednesday 17th.* John got leave for a few days absence. [Worked ?] on my porch and finished the sides. Repaired five stools and cut out the window frame. Had good attendance to school. Only two papers for Woodrooffe from St Marks at night. Small pox bad about K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own] and also has reached the St Matthew's station, so papers say. Very tired and lazy at night.

*Thursday 18th.* Finished window frame and put it in and put all the chapel ready to have sides daggered. Woodrooffe to return.

*Friday 19th.* Woodrooffe took school again. I read Pearson. Very interesting. Rudolph clearing the chapel and daggering it. Woodrooffe took school.

*Saturday 20th.* Put up some lattice work for the creepers. Jabavu and Tozo cleared the yard of all rubbish. I then nailed some red stuff in the east window, and tried to get the chapel as tidy as possible. No news yet. The chief not returned yet.

*Sunday 21st.* Morning service. Yoliswa not present. Not returned. Good attendance and very nice service indeed, also at the second one. Chapel seems very large after the late small one. Rode to Vezi's and Tsabo's with John. Only a few men at the former place, about 40 men women and children at the latter. Found Turpin at home on my return. Evening services in English and Kafir. W[illiams] and Dalbello present.

*Monday 22nd.* Read Leviticus. Woodrooffe took school.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Read Brown on Articles all day. Helped at school but Woodrooffe took the rest. W[oodrooffe ?] heard from Aldred. Up till late for the last two nights and sat up till late again tonight. Gilimisi [left ?].

*Wednesday 24th. St Bartholomew.* Up at 5.30 to start the girls for St Marks after service. Yoliswa returned Monday they have been talking over the land cases. We started as soon as possible. Shot a dove and *gangoli* [?] and at *kalukalu* [korhaan; type of bird] and then the gun was so foul I could not shoot again. Arrived in time for service. Hutt there. Mail arrived in evening with English letters and not very good news. The news of £500 being paid for the Tambookie schools was however good. Baptism very nice indeed except the women who looked very ghastly in the new dress. Sat up till late making new plans etc. Turpin has to go to the Kowie at once. Woodrooffe to St Marks and so I shall be left alone once more.

*Thursday 25th.* Began examination but as the weather was bad and none of us very well, we did badly in all of it. I took a long walk to shoot and saw nothing. Much better after it.

*Friday 26th.* Did some Brown after breakfast very badly tho'. I am very sorry as I am afraid Woodrooffe will think we do not intend to improve. His questions are very good. Left after dinner. Shot a partridge and fired at other game, but had not enough caps to go well. I like shooting very much indeed. Got home late. Both of us, especially Woodrooffe, very tired. I think a good storm of rain will do both men and crops good.

*Saturday 27th.* Up pretty early. Recovered the harmonium bellows and stool with carpet. Put chapel in order. Woodrooffe left. Children not returned from the Kei yet. It will be a nice change for them. We are to give St Barnabas 1/5 of the grant [emphasised by a marginal cross], if taken up this year. The Bishop to decide next year's when he returns.

*Sunday 28th.* First service at 7.30. 86 present. Very fine service. Yoliswa to breakfast. School good numbers. 2nd service 61 present. Rode off to Vezi's. 15 present. Tsabo, 30 present. Found Gordon here on my return. 31 at evening service and 4 of us at English evening service when Gordon took prayers. I lesson and a sermon of the B[isho]p very nice one indeed. Sat up till 12 p.m. [sic] talking to Gordon and playing psalms and hymns, also [word illegible] chant. Very pretty indeed.

*Monday 29th.* Directly after service started to make a new water course. Not very successful. Dam washed away at night. April rather lazy today about the water. Kyatenga, Basa and Mabethla are gone out. So very few men at home. Small pox is spreading. Wrote to Brown for some matter. John Thlathle says he would rather not go to St Barnabas. Girls returned with Zenzile, Ruswa and Bujapi also Fat, alias George Kobe who is come to help teach in school. The children looked very nice at supper, 15 of them.

*Tuesday 30th.* Cold wet morning, but very little rain. Had school at 12. Reading the rest of the day.

*Wednesday 31st.* School again as usual. Post arrived late just before service. No letters for myself. Plenty of papers however, and news. Sat up till 12 reading the papers.

*Thursday 1st September 1859.* Vaccinated 7 people. Turned out some new frocks for the girls, those that Mrs Lange gave me. We had to alter them in which Mr Waters' girls assisted very much. They had sewing school, during our daily school. Gubo's wives came at night for some corn for Woodrooffe.

*Friday 2nd.* After morning chapel commenced to make a blanket stand for the boys. St Marks girls left with Gubo's wives. I spoke to Zenzile about coming to live with my girls. She appears to be a very good girl. I like her much better than the other two. Worked hard till the evening. Several of the chiefs here to bother me. Began Dr Livingstone's<sup>16</sup> work. Much interested indeed.

*Saturday 3rd.* Had a grand clear out this morning. Made the girls get huts all in order and then with Fat and Qanda went up the mountain toward Xasana. Saw no game except a few rock rabbits. Fine view from top. Got a few fungi and curious plants but do not know how to dry them. Faku here and plenty of work till sundown.

*Sunday 4th.* 1st service at 8.30, 86 present. Second at 10.30 about 70 to 80 present. Rather vexed to see some of my own people, old Tayi and others sit down during the gospel of course all the others followed. Rode with John to Vezi's, 19 present. 1 man from Colleys.<sup>17</sup> Tsabo's about 40 present. Home again Gordon had called but did not stay long. Had the children into school and heard collects and Old Test[ament] History. Service ¼ to 6, about 30 present, and immediately after English service for ourselves. Williams read out very well indeed. They stopped to tea. Read a little and to bed.

*Monday 5th.* Usual amount of work to be done. Fat asked leave for home which I had to refuse.

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16. David Livingstone, *Cambridge Lectures and Missionary travels and researches in South Africa* published in 1858.

17. George Pomeroy Colley - see biographical notes. At the time Colley was special magistrate in the area beyond the Kei. He succeeded Gawler in the Idutywa Reserve created in 1858.

Woodrooffe arrived in the evening. Borrowed in all 4 horses to go to St Johns taking with us Monosi and Sikobe. Post passed. Zenzile arrived in the evening. Come for 5/- a month. Up till 12.30 putting goods ready for the journey.

*Tuesday 6th.* Got up at 5. And started at six. Offsaddled at Gonyama's the other side of [Tunxa ?] and straight on to St Johns. Found Aldred and Bell out. Got there at 4.30 after a sharp ride. Present at tea. Mr and Mrs Kitton, Miss Harding,<sup>18</sup> Burnside and Ndele [Lidell], Rev Aldred, Bell and Woodrooffe. Up till about 12 very very sleepy.

*Wednesday 7th.* Took the service for Aldred. Very poor affair indeed. They kept us waiting till 9.30 instead of 8 for the wedding. Bell hurried thro' the service in a disgraceful manner and put in a new rubrick [sic]: "Kiss your wife". Roamed about after the bridal party had left for the Hoek. Miss H[arding] has created a very pretty schoolroom. The children feasted there. Pleasant evening. Rev Glover there.<sup>19</sup> He goes to St Marks with us tomorrow.

*Thursday 8th.* Up early and waited for Kitton to come and take service, but at last we were requested to do so. Breakfast Mrs K[itton] and Miss H[arding] very kind indeed. Left about 9.20, offsaddled below the bush. Mr Glover took a sketch. Offsaddled again below Zagonzana [sic] and then rode on home. I got home just an hour before them. All well. Fat gone without leave. Got to bed about 11. All pretty well tired. Kuse's little horse carried me very well indeed.

*Friday 9th.* Mr Glover taking sketches of the station. His horse lame, from bad shoes. School as usual and music in abundance. I like Mr G[lover] very much; very much like Hardie.

*Saturday 10th.* Usual clearances. Woodrooffe and G[lover] went to sketch the krantz, and I put the place square. Took shoe off Mr Glover's horse. He was very lame. He lead [sic] his horse and I walked to St Marks behind him. Had a grand fall from Nelson, who put his foot in a hole and put me 5 [yds and a half?] over the place [?]. Saves the gun however. Arrived at St Marks late. Waters made me remain over night.

*Sunday 11th.* Started early for St Peters. In time for services. 76 at first service; damp and cold morning, tho' no rain. Second service, 62 present. A great number of children. Wrote up journal. Rode with John to Vezi, 20 present, Tsobo's 30. Much vexed to find many digging. Sent John to stop them before I commenced service. Home by 3, Gordon came and read till after evening service. No night service as Dalbello was away.

*Monday 12th.* Busy with accounts etc. School. Spoke to Fat about his absence. All well when I left with post for St Johns. Woodrooffe sent for some things by Meleni. Spent pleasant evening at Hutt's.

*Tuesday 13th.* Rose early. Chapel and [long ?] schools before breakfast. Messrs Waters and Glover arrived after breakfast. Rode on to Queenstown where we arrived rather late. Called on Brown and

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18. Miss Harding emigrated to South Africa under the auspices of the English Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and taught at Lovedale from 1845-1855. Archdeacon Hardie recruited her for work in the Anglican mission field and she taught for five years at St John's mission in the Izeli district. Woodrooffe thought her high-tempered and intractable. (*Church Chronicle*, September 1883; Goedhals, 'Missionary Politics', p.50)

19. See biographical notes.



paraded the town by moonlight. Saw large flocks of cranes today, counted 78.

*Wednesday 14th.* After service called on Green. Crabby. Saw Griffiths. Mr Glover left. Spent morning at Brown's settling accounts and buying goods paid him up to September. £62.10s. Dinner at Greens. Called at Valentines, Nordens and other places. Had tea and then determined upon staying the night. Very beautiful moon rise. Heard the band, rather poor and to bed.

*Thursday 15th.* Left directly after breakfast. Called at Imvani post rather a ludicrous scene. Luncheon at Hutt and home. Found all well. John having had school during my absence.

*Friday 16th.* Very busy again with accounts. Made them up square till June 30th. School as usual.

*Saturday 17th.* Usual Saturday work. Woodrooffe paid me a short visit. Gordon goes to town on Monday.

*Sunday 18th.* Early service well attended altho' dull morning; about 70 or 75. School good number. 2nd service 65 about. On [to] Vezi's and Tsabo's with John. 19 at Vezi's and about 45 at Tsabo's. Nice service. Heard of the man that had been bitten by a *songololo* [millepede] having been poisoned. Evening service both Kafir and English with us and Gordon present. Up till late playing tunes. Spoke second service upon the parable of the unjust judge and widow. Showing we ought to continue to pray and not faint, altho' rain does not come, and not go to the witch-doctor [Dilo ?]. Mr Waters wrote me [word] yesterday that he had heard some reports about him.

*Monday 19th.* Gordon left early. Good school fetched the children myself. Putting things in order. Wagon brought down the goods from town. Early dinner. 2nd school. Post arrived late. Several papers for St Marks.

*Tuesday 20th.* Schools and sewing, English school etc, reading Livingstone.

*Wednesday 21st.* Expecting post all day. Could hardly bring my attention to read over Livingstone, as I had a [sort ?] of feeling that I should get bad news especially after my dream. No post at night.

*Thursday 22nd.* 12 o'clock last night roused by [Nopote ?] with post. Bad news as I had thought. Poor Frank taken off almost suddenly to a better world. May I be found faithful enough to follow. In a dreary sort of state all day. Had schools etc as usual. Wrote to Mr Waters. Could not cry and consequently felt more than I should if I could have had a good cry. Read the beautiful burial service and found great comfort also in some old psalm tunes especially "Manchester".<sup>20</sup> Finished Livingstone book.

*Friday 23rd.* Schools as usual very well attended. Sewing for the girls. Cutting out [new ?] frocks all the morning with Zenzile. School etc. Nice and thoughtful letter from Waters. Gordon arrived. He was much cut up at receiving no letter from home and also sympathized greatly with me. I read him Mr Waters' beautiful letter about poor dear Frank. We sat up till 11.

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20. Manchester: the name of a hymn tune by Robert Wainwright (1748-1782) organist of the Old Collegiate Church (later the Cathedral) at Manchester and subsequently of St Peter's Church, Liverpool. (J T Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymnbook*, London, 1935)

*Saturday 24th.* Up late rather. Service as usual. Clearing cut places. Gordon left at 12. Busy with sundry such employments all day.

*Sunday 25th.* Services as usual. Not very good congregations. Tired and dull. Did not go to Vezi's as the horses arrived with sore backs. Gordon did not come. Wrote letters.

*Monday 26th.* Post did not come. School etc as usual.

*Tuesday 27th.* School. Post passed at 3. No horses to be found yesterday. Men brought the bell.

*Wednesday 28th.* Fixed bell this morning and put chapel etc in order; expecting Mr Waters who arrived about 1 p.m. Spent pleasant evening.

*Thursday 29th. St Michael and All Angels.* 5 years since I landed in South Africa. All gone and here I am. Early service very well attended. No work done today. Great many at service, 112 in all. Second service at 12. Rev Hutt and Gordon came also very pleasing service. Rain commenced just after Mr Waters left. Mr Hutt was detained here some time. It was quite refreshing to get a good shower of rain on such a day and when so badly wanted.

*Friday 30th.* Rained all night. And all this morning. Chapel very wet and cold so did not have school till late. Reading all day. Did some sewing.

*Saturday 1st October 1859.* Still rain and clearing up at intervals. Children washed clothes etc. Heavy thunderstorms came on about 2 p.m., very heavy rain. The whole country swimming. Rained all night.

*Sunday 2nd.* Still raining heavily. Yoliswa did not come down till second service because of rain. Sewing all day. Did not go to Vezi's. Had some prickings of conscience but was quite content to stay at home. Gordon to my surprise came. Had no rain all day only one shower. Borrowed horse from Dalbello. Rode with him to St Marks. Spent pleasant evening there.

*Monday 3rd.* Dull drizzly morning tho' not raining at St Marks. Settled accounts with Mr Waters. Rode to St Peter's. Good horses. Very cold ride the last half. Rained heavily all night.

*Tuesday 4th.* Raining this morning but began to clear towards night. Reading *Rob Roy*.<sup>21</sup> Very much interested thereby. Made up accounts and wrote to Mr Waters. Zenzile's head bad.

*Wednesday 5th.* School as usual. Boys began to sew the trousers I cut out yesterday. Mamati and [Dwebi ?] got on very well indeed. Post arrived in evening, no news. Dr John Bently. Read papers at night. Zenzile's hand swollen.

*Thursday 6th.* Planted beans in great numbers this morning. Boys and girls sewing. Sowed flower garden in the evening. Plenty of garden work going on today. Zenzile's hand very bad, poultice.

*Friday 7th.* Sowed beans, peas and all the smaller kinds of vegetables today. Very tired as well did not leave off till 3 and then had to go to school. Zenzile's hand worse so I wrote to Waters by Sikobe, left at 1.30 and back again at 3.55. Very quick indeed. Sat up till 12 expecting Waters

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21. Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* (1818).

and Woodrooffe who is to take St Barnabas so I hear.

*Saturday 8th.* Planted cucumbers, melons, etc with Vandaba and also [word illegible]. Lazy and tired so did not do much today. Woodrooffe came. Zenzile's hand much better at night, put on another poultice however to be sure and have it right. Woodrooffe takes St Barnabas and Turpin, Kowie. I wonder what other changes will be made during the next few weeks. I should like much to know whether I have to leave or not. It seems hard to feather nests for some strange cuckoo.

*Sunday 9th.* Morning service not very well attended, very cold. 2nd service better. Yoliswa as usual present. Woodrooffe took 1st part of communion service, I last. At Vezi's and Tsobo's very poor congregations. Walked as my new horse had a slight sore back. Met Gordon walking in as I did. He also had no horse. [T ?] came whilst he was with us. Evening service, no English as Williams was ill.

*Monday 10th.* Went on cutting out goods of all kinds. Zenzile helping very much. The children also all helping to sew. Fat and Zenzile's mother Monosi and others came in the evening pouring rain. All wet thro'. Great post going to night. Finished my English letters.

*Tuesday 11th.* 5.30 sent off post boy. Got up and made children go and have a good wash. Schools, sewing, etc and cutting out clothes. Woodrooffe went to St Marks.

*Wednesday 12th.* Schools. Up early cutting out all day. The post arrived at night; sat up till late reading the papers.

*Thursday 13th.* Woodrooffe went to St Marks. Cutting out clothes all day but could not get on very fast. Cut out pinafores. Zenzile did several very well indeed. Woodrooffe returned late in the evening without news.

*Friday 14th.* At ten after sowing some melon seeds etc commenced sewing the boys' trowsers [sic] with the help of the girls and never left off till 4. When I was too tired to go to school. Morning school badly attended this week. Read till late in the evening.

*Saturday 15th.* Began sowing seeds and continued till late. Girls washing clothes, boys at sewing work and Zenzile she helped me very much so I gave her a shilling at which she was much pleased. Woodrooffe busy making a bookcase.

*Sunday 16th.* Early service very few present being dull cold morning. Yoliswa and party there. 10.20 better attended. Read the *History of Jonah*. Rode Springbok to Vezi's. He was at home for a wonder. 35 present all attentive and quite quiet. Tsabo, 20 present, chiefly children. Nobody ploughing this side of the river that I could see. Gordon came on Dema in evening. Stopped till just before English service when he again left. Very heavy and long thunderstorm at night. English service, Williams and Dalbello both present. Wrote to Turpin, and wrote up journal also. Very windy cold night. I am afraid to trust my own self. I find I fail more and more daily and can hardly keep a resolution. Many happy returns of the day to Herbert.<sup>22</sup>

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22. Edwin Herbert Mullins, younger brother of Robert John, served for a time as a curate in the Midlands of England and contemplated emigrating to South Africa. (USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG, 23.6.1881)

*Monday 17th.* Work as usual. Planted some seeds, sewing, school and other schools. Post came late. Mr Waters wants quarterly report.

*Tuesday 18th.* Wet day. Sewing, school, as usual. Umvani came on as a boarder.

*Wednesday 19th.* No post at night. Sewing, school, trying to make my trousers but very unsuccessful. Zenzile not much better than myself. The boys manage to sew very decently. Planting beans and other seeds.

*Thursday 20th.* Sewing Sicume's trousers which he bought yesterday. Got on very well and finished all the most important parts thereof. Zenzile doing mine. Post came middle day with Charles. Waters wrote for me so I rode over in the evening. Found them all well. Turpin come back to stay. Waters in good heart. Gordon is to take Bashi mission.<sup>23</sup> I remain where I am. Rather good scene. Mr T[urpin] very [Mullins' emphasis] cocky indeed. I should like to have ducked him well. However we all understand him. Springbok took me over very well, but is very poor.

*Friday 21st.* Waiting till 2 o'clock for the horses. When they came, found them all fat etc but very sore backs so left them. Giamma promising to take very great care of them. Found the river with a good deal of water in it. Crossed however well enough, but when I met Zenzile, Nocawa and the boys at Thlaka I took them all back to Gwatyu as I did not like the risk of their crossing. They rode and I walked. Zenzile managed very well on horseback. Heavy thunder storm wetted me through.

*Saturday 22nd.* Intense and stifling heat, could hardly exist. Heavy thunderstorm relieved weather at night. Planted some beet, tied up lettuce and did other garden work. Very hot even at night. Giama came with Nopote and Nkosi yedwa. Fell asleep and woke at 12.20 p.m. [sic] when I cut my hair and went to bed.

*Sunday 23rd.* Heavy rain and thunder all night. Raining early. Good number to service and school. Second service at 10.20. Woodrooffe took commandments etc and I read the rest. Read a psalm. Old Tulashi and two sons present. Yoliswa as usual. Questioned children on the psalm. Boys answered very well. Girls sleepy. To Vezi and Tsabo. 20 and 43 the numbers; all attentive. Evening service at sundown and English after with Williams and Dalbello. Woodrooffe took St Barnabas, and Turpin the other out stations. Wrote to Gordon by Giama who leaves early tomorrow. Cool evening and cloudy. Everything growing well. Happy returns to old Harry.

*Monday 24th.* School etc. Dalbello came down from [Chegues?] Agreed to go halves in repairing wagon road, so I started with 8 men and set to work at once. We got on very well and managed to remove a great many bad stones. Woodrooffe returned. Did not go home till the evening. Post came and went on. Tried to get the boy to return tomorrow.

*Tuesday 25th.* Very cold dull kind of morning. School etc. Wandered about waiting to see whether the wagon would come. It came at last about 1; the children were sewing. I made them rout out their huts in the morning and put them to rights. Zenzile left with her father. The Hutts and Miss Ende came to grace St Peter's with their presence for a few days. Had school etc as usual. Hutt came in. Had some music in the evening. Mrs Hutt preferred my hut to Woodrooffe's; in a sweet temper.

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23. This was to become All Saints Mission.

*Wednesday 26th.* Wagon took away Woodrooffe's goods. Set children on to sew and then walked with the Hutts to the krantz. Rolled several large stones down. They took wonderful hops going down. Very hot indeed. Read and expected the post; school etc. Post at night and only a letter from Baker for me. Much disappointed. No letters also again for poor Gordon. I wish much to know how all are at home. Papers from Smith. Very dull stupid mail.

*Thursday 27th.* The Hutts left after breakfast. Rather glad to get rid of them again. Mrs Hutt I cannot like. Always got some ache or pain. Schools as usual. Zenzile returned in the evening with Nani, [Tzani ?] and Suiswe. Writing at night. Rather good my keeping St Marks people, I don't think.

*Friday 28th.* Sent papers to Woodrooffe and had sewing school till 1 o'clock; relined my old green blanket. It has lasted famously. School as usual. Fell asleep during tea and therefore did not have any night school.

*Saturday 29th.* Up at 5.0. Got place smeared etc before service and all ready. Started soon after breakfast for St Barnabas. Found Wood[roof]fe all square. Went out hunting. Plenty of birds but only managed to kill one partridge. Awfully hot. Home. Sat up till late with accounts and *Pickwick*.<sup>24</sup>

*Sunday 30th.* Early service at 7. 91 present. Sent John to the kraals early to tell the people. Second service. 61 present. Rode with Fat to Vezi and Isabo's. 20 and 35. Not very well behaved today. Very hot. Yoliswa and Riba tell me that Sweli is 19 or 20 and that all the Kafirs are so. I can hardly believe it. We had a long argument on the subject. Evening service. English do [ditto]. Williams and Dalbello present. Catechising and collects at 8 till 9 and thus ends Sunday's work.

*Monday 31st.* The Mondayish feel after work. Children sewing all day. Other work as usual. Tayi commenced putting my hut in order. Dull day.

*Tuesday 1st November 1859. All Saints.* Rode to St Barnabas as soon as I could leave after breakfast. As I heard from Turpin last night that the German tailor had arrived. Woodrooffe rode with me we went down the far side of the Hlaka, a very pretty ride. Saw some Kafirs ploughing with 4 oxen. They had got on very well. Had dinner with Turpin and rode home taking the Nelson. Heavy thunderstorm wetted me through and Springbok tried to run away with me. He is a capital horse.

*Wednesday 2nd.* Commenced removing books etc into my new hut. It is very nice now but very full of ants. Packing up books till late. Post arrived, all letters lost on the road. They were picked up by a Kafir. I fear perhaps my English letters have shared the same fate.

*Thursday 3rd.* Still moving goods of all kinds. Woodrooffe brought over Deloraine and stopped till 2 and took along Springbok; he is very kind indeed. Deloraine tremendously fat. Up till late working and reading.

*Friday 4th.* Letter from Turpin to say German was coming. Townsend's grey horse has been caught by [Manaba ?]. I claimed it for him. He returned whilst we were in school. Finished putting house to right this morning. [Nos--lytya ?] came to see me. She is much grown. Wagon brought

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24. Charles Dickens, *Pickwick Papers* (1836).

Hormann<sup>25</sup> in the evening. He is a nice old fellow. Ate [his ?] eggs or rather tried to, with a fork and put in marmalade. I think we shall get on all right however.

*Saturday 5th.* Clearing up as usual. Rowed the girls well. Planted pumpkins and other things. Heavy thunderstorm came on and rained till late in the night. Wagon went home and Fat in it to return again on Monday. Hormann went into his new lodgings and got them well done up.

*Sunday 6th.* Early service at 7 a.m. 96 present. Great number of children very nicely dressed in their new clothes. Second service 74. Yoliswa down as usual and then breakfast with Sweli. Ithingcaka is put into the tronk for going to Darling station without a pass. Yoliswa seemed rather excited about it. Rode Deloraine by myself to Vezi's and Tsabo's. 22 and 40. All quiet, Qambele and Banna responded well. Home. Dinner and baked Hormann's fowl and ["tarters"?; potatoes ?]. Evening service. Woodrooffe came. No English service Dalbello away and Williams ill. Made out list of goods wanted and bed.

*Monday 7th.* School as usual. 9.30. 3 boys tailoring for the first time. Hormann seems very kind to them indeed. Wrote letters all morning. Woodrooffe's [forage eaten ?]. Jabavu clearing rubbish. Peter getting wattles ready for the hut. Dalbello washed down the river yesterday. Sent letters by Nopote. No news of Mr Waters. River very full yesterday. Fat not come back.

*Tuesday 8th.* Sewing and other schools as usual. Dalbello came down in the evening and Fat arrived. Had a small case today about some eggs bought by the German. We had the best of it altogether. Writing at night.

*Wednesday 9th.* Schools as usual. [Monosi ?] brought over the post from St Barnabas. Read the papers and sent it back. I was rejoiced much by an English letter from dear Mama but it did not make me much easier as poor Hetty and Papa were both very ill. I hope better news will come next post. Woodrooffe and Gordon came in the evening. It also commenced raining. Gordon and Waters have had altogether a prosperous trip and have got a good sight [sic]. Late to bed.

*Thursday 10th.* Woodrooffe left very early. Wet all day so could not go to town. Read and talked over new mission plans etc. School etc as usual. Raining all day and very heavily at night.

*Friday 11th.* After school and breakfast as the morning seemed fine Gordon and myself started for Queenstown. Rode by St Barnabas to get Springbok and was delayed some time there. On to Hutt's all well there. Just same as ever. Loads of work going on without any apparent funds. Went on to Warner's on the top of the Bram Neck saw a most dreadful storm coming up, so we made for Mr W[arner's ?] as hard as we could gallop. Springbok got the better of me and fairly ran away. He is a splendid horse. Gordon got a little wet. Stopped about 1½ hours and on again. The water pouring down the roads and all the gulleys full. Queenstown river rising when we crossed. Put up at Coleman's. Spent evening at Green's. Pretty well for a wonder. Raining at night.

*Saturday 12th.* Up early. Called at Brown's. Breakfast at Green's and service. Wesleyan done up the other day and had to get the congregation to sing a hymn or two to help him on. Finished our work. Called on Mrs Chessman, Bently and others and left town. Gave Brown £50 on account

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25. Hormann was the German tailor appointed to teach the children his trade. It was mission policy to encourage industrial training - and the wearing of European clothes.

and he gave me £2 of stuff out of the shop. Had dinner at Brown's and started. Green gave me a few plants. Very kind indeed. Offsaddled at Imvani. Hard riding. Fell asleep and horses strayed some distance. Rode on to Bram Nek sent a letter to Hutt by a Kafir man. Got home at 10 minutes to eight. In less than 5 hours from Queenstown. All well and quiet. Both Kei's very full.

*Sunday 13th.* Up early. Got chapel put in order. Yoliswa has been summoned about that horse, damages placed at £6. I wrote to Warner and explained the matter. This is the way the Europeans chance the natives. Good attendance at all services. Early at 7, 97. Second (Yoliswa and party gone) [64 ?]. Vezi and Tsabo 23 and 32. Night 42. Gordon and Woodrooffe arrived in the evening. Gordon obliged to return on account of the river. No English service. Williams ill and Dalbello did not come down.

*Monday 14th.* Woodrooffe left early. Schools as usual. Post at night. River gone down very much. Began Judges.

*Tuesday 15th.* Gordon left for St Marks. Schools well attended. Boys begin to sew well and the old man is very kind to them. Yoliswa returned, acquitted by my letter; she came offering many thanks, but as I had got her into the trouble I told her none were due. Warner wrote a very kind and proper letter. Old Testament examinations at night.

*Wednesday 16th.* Up rather later than usual. School. Post came at breakfast time. No letters and papers without news. Made a carpenter's bench and commenced the table for Hormann. [Janton ?] came to see me. Talked of old times. He is much improved I think and seems much more humble. School. Zenzile vexed me by her carelessness. Catechising boys very attentive indeed. Writing for girls at night. Sat up writing journal.

*Thursday 17th.* Schools. Made table for tailor and finished it. He says it will do well. Girls and boys sewing. School in afternoon. Bible maps well answered. Mapisi ill. No news from Waters.

*Friday 18th.* Reading today. Schools all well attended. [Jonyame ?] and Ithingcaka to see me. Stayed some time. Woodrooffe kindly sent me some meat. XXX

*Saturday 19th.* Good catechising this morning except the girls, who I made read it all again. Cleaning up as usual. Looked after the gardens. Got all the huts in order. Blew up Jabavu. Rode over to Woodrooffe's. He had seen Waters. He has had bad eyes. No news. Saw [Jonyama ?] again. I rather like him and his brother. Rode back. Deloraine trotting furiously today. He certainly is a wonderful old horse. Up till late with accounts and other things. Very cold night indeed.

*Sunday 20th.* Last Sunday in the Church's year. Got up a six being Sunday. Good early congregation tho' not as many as usual, as Nyamba's people did not come. Present 84. Yoliswa and Ithingcaka and Sweli to breakfast. The latter I like much better. Ithingcaka going to Warner's for his money; I wonder Warner always calls them on Monday, because then they always are riding on Sunday.<sup>26</sup> Second service about 81 present. All very quiet and attentive, read lessons from Proverbs. Spoke to the children afterwards about baptism. As being the end of the year. I intend to speak to them separately tomorrow. I think they have now been quite long enough on trial and their offences are very trivial. Rode with Fat to Vezi's and Tsabo. Good attendances, 41

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26. The chiefs were doubtless on their way to fetch their government grants.

and 41. At the former place a woman told me she would not come to service unless I gave her tobacco so I gave some immediately to all the others and left her out. Tsabo very ill with cold and cough. They were all very quiet considering. Home to dinner. Faku dined with me. Nobody had [sic; heard] when he started; [and] got to his place. Heard collects. Played Sanctus [chant in Communion Service] to Faku, who appeared much pleased. Evening service about 35 present. Catechising good on the whole. They seem to like Judges. Immediately they came out English service present Dalbello, Williams, Hormann and self. All very attentive. Tired rather as night services took from 5.30 to 8.20 rather long. Wrote journal at night.

*Monday 21st.* Expecting Mr Waters all day. Reading. Children at school etc as usual; weeded flower bed. Kusa and several other Kafirs came from St Marks saying Mr Waters would soon be here. However he did not come. Giama with post. I wrote to King W[illiam's] Town to fetch a blacksmith. Nomatyenza ladies' complaint. X

*Tuesday 22nd.* Also closed without Mr Waters making his appearance. Usual lot of work. Expecting Giama till late.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Received a note early from Woodrooffe telling me that Gordon intended leaving the following day so I saddled up Deloraine and rode to St Barnabas, where after some time Woodrooffe joined me and we rode together to St Marks. Monday I spoke to Qanda about Baptism. He said *Diyatande* [I would like it]. Tuesday I spoke to Mamati he said first *Andazi* [I do not know] then told me to speak with Yoliswa and lastly Ndiyakholwa. Spoke to Woodrooffe about the children. Found Mr Waters better. Gordon well etc. Watching patiently for the English mail which of course did not come today. Mr W[ater's] wheat very much burnt. He will hardly get anything. Sat up till late talking with Mr Waters. Woodrooffe returned.

*Thursday 24th.* Post arrived after breakfast. Had letters from Pa, Ma [---- ?], [Hetty ?] and Smith, also several papers. They all want me to come home. Went on in [word illegible] school and played a few chants for the children. Rather a [farcical ?] affair. Sent for my horse and left about 12. Called to see Woodrooffe. Stayed about 1 hour and then on home. All square except that the girls had done very little sewing, so I called them in and made them work some time with me.

*Friday 25th.* Remained with the girls, showing them how to alter the dresses that they had sewn wrongly. Kept them in some time at it. Very wet and heavy rain last night. Chapel and all our huts swimming today. Raining all day heavily. River getting full at night. Sent Yapi with the girls' dresses to St Marks. Gordon not gone, stopped by the rain.

*Saturday 26th.* Heavy rain again all night. Gwytyu very full. After breakfast walked with the boys to the Kei however there was very little water in it. Made out a new list of the Wardens etc. So that I shall not forget. My horse Biltong arrived, sick they think. Dalbello told me I had better give it salt. Spoke to all the girls but [Tittin ?] today about baptism and spoke to Zenzile for a long time. Poor girl she is very stupid indeed. [Lupisi and Namathynaya ?] seemed much pleased with the thoughts of being baptized. Up till late writing etc.

*Sunday 27th. Advent Sunday.* Got up at six. Put chapel in order and had morning service. Great many children, 66 and 89 adults in all, 105. Second service, 66 about. Spoke to Yoliswa and Riba about the children being baptized. Riba said [it] was all right as long as they really meant it, but Yoliswa said it could not be as they would all be going home in a few months. I said we



had better let the matter rest till Mr Waters came. I made her understand fully all about the matter, and to have no mistake I called in John to make her fully understand, she seemed fully also to understand the importance of the move. After service spoke to the children of Advent Sunday. Rode with John to Vezi, 30 about present. All very attentive. Tsabo's 29 about. I rode back home by 2.45. Gave out rations and rode on old Deloraine to Faku's. Heard Dweba. Woodrooffe had been there. Behind Yoliswa's place plenty of people digging in their gardens. Gilimisi's mother one of them. I sent a message to Yoliswa. All about Faku's just the same. Directly Woodrooffe's back is turned they all set to work. Had some milk. He was exceedingly kind. Asked him and Dweba to come Wednesday. Rode on to St Barnabas. Woodrooffe well. Stopped about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour and home just by sundown. Service 39 present. English service Wilson, H. Dalbello and self 4 fine sermon which I was obliged to cut short. Children knew their collects very well indeed.

*Monday 28th.* Sewing schools as usual. Plenty of work doing and to be done. Rivers all very full. Post not here till late. Nopote slept here and left early the next morning. Raining.

*Tuesday 29th.* Clearing out the huts and getting all put square after the heavy rains we have had. Woodrooffe came from St Barnabas just after all was right; children all washing and Tayi with tremendous bundles of clothes. Mr Waters arrived whilst we were in school with several attendants. He met Woodrooffe on the road. Up till late planning and plotting as usual. We have decided that I had better not think of going home till the B[isho]p returns from England, so we had decided. Received several high compliments from Mr Waters. Why he gave them I know not.

*Wednesday 30th. St Andrews Day.* This being a great feast day and day of rejoicing for the colony I thought it good to keep it up also at St Peter's. We had morning service at [6 or 7; altered in original] about 120 odd present. Chapel quite crammed. Mr Waters of course took the prayers and I one lesson. It was a very fine service. Spoke to Yoliswa, Riba, Baza after breakfast about the children's baptism. After the usual Kafir talk we were told we should have to ask all the chiefs in council assembled and therefore nothing is actually done in the question. Faku and Dweba came as also lthingcaka. Had very grand middle day service. About 130 present; one stool gave way. Mr Waters spoke about St Andrew. Woodrooffe helping in the Communion service. Received Communion. Waters, Woodrooffe, self, John, Riba, Tende, Zenzile, Hormann and [Fite ?]. Very nice service indeed. Offertory 10s/6d. Dalbello came with change afterwards and asked me in a most simple way why I did not run Springbok at the Tylden races.<sup>27</sup> Of course we had a good laugh over it. Woodrooffe having heard from Mr Cotterill at night. Waters from the B[isho]p. He hopes to start Dec[ember] mail. Kept up the day as well as small means will allow. Gave 1 lb of corn to each individually on the station where at all were greatly rejoiced. Making calculations again in the evening about house building but came to the conclusion that it could not be done.

*Thursday 1st December 1859.* Mr Waters left immediately after the morning service and breakfast. Sent Tede to Kei with things. Girls sewing. Boys ditto. Yesterday [at ....?]. We rehired Tede for 7 months and Zenzile for 7 ditto see register for the agreements. Tede and Riba certainly behaved very nasty and dirty about the whole matter. Dele returned in the evening with girls' frocks. Spoke to Dase about [Nonithle ?].

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27. Tylden was a military post. Horse-racing was a prominent feature of the social life of the frontier settlers and soldiers and was always reported in the local press.

*Friday 2nd.* Jabavu at work in garden. Usual amount of work to be done. Cutting out frocks for the out girls etc.

*Saturday 3rd.* Children went home. I mended 4 stools in a [new ?] fashion I hope they will not break again. Klass came from St Marks. Tried Deloraine and Faku and brought up some [thorns ?], they went very well indeed. We had no trouble, I hope they will take the plough as well. Up till late after 12 making up accounts and then to Bedfordshire. Sent Woodrooffe some meat by a man.

*Sunday 4th.* Got up at 6. Service at seven. Had good congregation of 96. Had row with girls and hit Zenzile for which I was afterwards very sorry. Yoliswa and Riba to breakfast. Second service about 80 present. Read. [Chapter of] 11th Hebrews. Girls very troublesome today. Took Zenzile's and [Fitalive's ?] prayer books away from them. Rode to the Kei with John. Service at Vezi's. He and [his people all ?] had gone to see Kondile who is very ill, only two men present. 30 odd in all. Rain coming on, so rode hard to Tsabo's after rain had passed had 42 to service. Home. Dinner. Heard collects and spoke largely to the girls on the folly of their ways here. Evening service 34 present. English service, self, Dalbello, Williams. Hormann went yesterday to St Marks with Tede. Sorry to say had a great row with the boys in the evening. Caught Qada and Dele and Nzaki in the girls' hut and [two ?] in bed. Gave Qada and Dele a good thrashing each. The former was very impudent, but I soon taught him better. Wrote up journal and also a letter to Mrs Cotterill.

*Monday 5th.* Sundry pieces of work kept me from finishing my letters home. I had Deloraine and Faku in, they went very well and brought up a good load from the bush. Faku pulls best. Went on writing letters. Woodrooffe came and finished his letters here. Had some dinner etc. As we wished both to see Waters I got up the Chessnut and after service rode to St Barnabas where Woodrooffe joined me and we rode together to St Marks. Very fine moonlight ride. Found Waters just going to bed. Had a pleasant two hours chat and then to bed.

*Tuesday 6th.* Got up early and fed the horses. Mr W[aters] got plenty of bad [prayers ?] and very little good I am afraid. Service, breakfast etc. Inspectors [Bertram ?], Smith and [Opeburg ?] arrived with a lot of police on patrol. 3 inspectors, 3 police, and guides. Whilst there the Kafirs found the body of the man who was drowned and an express was sent to the Tsomo. Had consultation off [sic] the money grant and left my share in Mr Waters' hands. Rode home. Woodrooffe on my horse. His a beast. Very hot indeed. School when we got home. Up till late.

*Wednesday 7th.* Spanned in Nelson and Faku and had some good fun with him. He pulls at last very well indeed. Post; no letters, several papers and Wiltshire. School; all going on square. Had the "thank Father"<sup>28</sup> in the evening. Writing and school etc. Tayi's Mother came from [Ncita ?].

*Thursday 8th.* Sent Tede with Tayi's mother. Horses in again; all went well. Schools etc as usual. Girls much better today. At writing school gave them a very long lecture, which I hope will do them good.

*Friday 9th.* Horses in again. All square brought up good heavy load. Very hot indeed. Speelman and [Nepy ?] here to see me. Schools as usual. Girls sewing very well and much improved. Writing for boys at night. Vanadaba ran away and was brought back at 12.20.

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28. Presumably the prayer of General Thanksgiving. See *Book of Common Prayer*. 1662.

*Saturday 10th.* Up early. After chapel put stools in order; did two before Woodrooffe came and 3 after breakfast. Put up candlesticks in chapel they look very nice. Put in horses. Chessnut would not pull nor Nelson. Ran away and smashed harness. Redhouse lost and found at night in krantz. [Word illegible] with tobacco. Bed about twelve forty. Awfully hot all day.

*Sunday 11th.* Early service pretty well attended about 90. No hearty singing tho'. But the weather was very oppressive. Yoliswa and Riba to breakfast. Second service pretty well attended number about 80. Had short school after both services. Rode with John to Vezi's good congregation. Vezi and Qebela both there. Heavy thunderstorm came on and wetted us so I had to cut service short. Did not go to Tsaba's. Had collects and then gave the children a long lecture on eternity. All very attentive. Collects pretty well said. Evening service and English service. 0 present. So ended Sunday. Writing to Harry and journal at night.

*Monday 12th.* Usual round of work. Mamati rode to St Marks. Brought note back from Waters. Post passed, wrote to Harry and Hetty. Harness mended. Basa took away Lupisi.

*Tuesday 13th.* Nothing particular, people all busy reaping etc. Went out with the horses again but could not get the white one to go; tried every plan all to no purpose.

*Wednesday 14th.* Early rode over to Woodrooffe's. In time for breakfast and back just in time for school. Very hot indeed. Woodrooffe will come if possible to talk over the matter with Yoliswa. Nopote came late in the evening. However I sent him on to Woodrooffe that night. Had a letter from Meaden. Smith and [word deleted in text] left for King W[illiam's] Town; gave [Hormann £12 credit ?].

*Thursday 15th.* Expecting Woodrooffe all day, who however did not make his appearance. Tremendously hot.

*Friday 16th.* *O Sapientia* [O Wisdom]. As we used to say at Lauds during Lent. How much I should enjoy some of those old services again. During last school which I had pretty long a letter from Waters arrived by [Rattewani ?] asking me to go over and see him as his bad eyes would not permit of his coming here. Heard also from Gordon who has got up safely. Smashed wagon etc being all the matter. Rode over on Deloraine. He went splendidly. Called to see Woodrooffe who was not so well as usual. Got to St Marks just as Waters was thinking of going to bed. Had a pleasant evening talking over different affairs.

*Saturday 17th.* Up early. Service and then left about 9 o'clock. Met Woodrooffe half way and he rode on to St Marks. Put all square for Sunday. My wheat beginning to turn very fast indeed. Saturday spent as usual.

*Sunday 18th.* Up early. 1st service only about 74 present. 2nd about same number. Yoliswa and Riba both to breakfast. But never told me any news whatever. Rode to Vezi's and Tsabo's about 23 and 40 all attentive. John had long talk about going to England etc. I do not fancy I shall go whether or no. Home. Heard the children's collects. Some said them very nicely indeed. Spoke to them all about *Inkosi ikufupi* [God is near]. Very attentive. Evening service just our own people present. They sang very nicely this evening. I had some practising. Dalbello went to Queenstown this morning so that I had no English service. Fell asleep at night.

*Monday 19th.* Boys started to hunt but wind came on. Everybody very busy reaping. Reading and

writing letters. Shot a *Kloyiza* [unidentified]. Which [sadly] bothered us. Girls finished frocks today. Woodrooffe and post came in the evening. Woodrooffe stayed some time and then left for home. He and I go to Hutts tomorrow if fine. Wrote to Brown only. Began Xmas holidays today.

*Tuesday 20th.* Poor Deloraine was brought down to me swollen all over from a snakebite it is supposed. I had him thrown and gave him 3 teaspoonsful of ammonia and sent for Springbok to ride. Found Woodrooffe at home and off we went for St Johns. He on my horse and I on his. I certainly prefer my own. Mrs Turpin went to town yesterday with her child to see Doctor. Mr and Mrs Hutt particularly kind to us both; nothing could have been pleasanter. Stayed there looking over the farm and improvements and called on Dahralla till nearly sundown. Got home dark but nevertheless had service. Horses came very fast. I like Springbok very much but he is very worn and ill I am afraid.

*Wednesday 21st. St Thomas Day.* Began to get up at 5.20 but whilst doing so Nopote arrived [at] 5.50 with the post and English letter. I was quite astonished and that he has been so early. After service I gave up [all ?] things wanted and hid myself to read all the news quietly. I enjoyed it much. But they were I am sorry to say bad news. I must go home, if I possibly can get away without real damage to the Mission. They all seem very low spirited as though something else were about to happen. At 10.20 went out to reap with 5 men and remained till 2. Awfully hot. We did a great deal and then had coffee, going again at three till sundown and thus finished all that was ripe. Heat tremendous long after sundown. Read letters again and fell to sleep and awoke with the tea all quite cold by me.

*Thursday 22nd.* Spent as usual. Getting in the wheat etc. (NB This part of the journal written from memory Jan. 15th).

*Friday 23rd.* Preparing raisins etc for the Xmas pudding. Zenzile and Fikliwe helping me very much.

*Saturday 24th.* Got up very early and commenced work. Made two enormous puddings for the children, and had Nokati to cook them. Killed 2 bucks and a sheep. Hard at work. Woodrooffe came over midday. I tried to do a little reaping but could not succeed as my head was very bad. So I sat and talked till nearly sundown when we started for the mountain and cut a lot of evergreens wherewith to decorate the chapel. We did not finish till 8 p.m. and managed to do it very well considering the hurry it was done in. Had evening service at 9 p.m. the chapel being illuminated to the best of our powers. It was one of my grandest services. The people all sang the Xmas Hymn splendidly and also responded in grand style. I spoke a few words about the following day and asked them all to keep it as holy as possible. We killed 3 more bucks at night. I had several other pieces of work and did not get to bed till after one a.m.

*Sunday 25th. Xmas Day.* Out of bed at 4 and made my pudding and gave it to Nokati. Hardest day's work I ever had. I then finished the chapel tying up bundles of wheat for a finish to remind them of the wheat harvest. Also placed a beautiful dish of Balsam's on the altar. Everything looked beautifully fresh and green. We had 1st service about 7. Usual sized congregation. The number of school children was very great. I gave them 50 lbs of wheat to cook so they were all very well supplied. Yoliswa and several others to breakfast. Second service a good number present and then whilst we were in the middle they came in heaps. I counted 142 go out and several parties were [there ?] outside. It was a very fine service. All extremely attentive. One regrets on these occasions not being able to give "the word of exhortation". Then after service I was unwilling

to feed the whole multitude for it was so apparent that "they laboured for the meat which perisheth". So I gave 10 or 12 lbs of sugar and a lot of coffee I had ground and sent it to Yoliswa for the church-going people. I then mounted the chestnut and rode to Vezi's where I had only a poor congregation as they had nearly all gone to my place. Ithingcaka was at second service so I treated him to ¼ of a buck and some meal. Deloraine I found on the road to be very sick and shaky so I did not go to Tsabo's. Got home and found the multitude greatly increased. They numbered I should say in all about 250 of course there was a great chatter. They all however seemed very happy and quiet. I was sorry I could not stand greater treat at 3.30. We prepared the dinner for the children. We had a good number present. The 14 boarders. The late wardens Dweba, Gilimisi, Missisi and Mathlakevi also [Dongo ?] and [Fatemtutu ?]. They all appeared very happy and content. They had a large buck and pot of potatoes, large kettle of coffee and also as much pudding as they liked. All passed off well and happily in fact much beyond my expectations. [Hlahle ?] and Jabavu served, also myself, and Woodrooffe who arrived during the fun. After their dinner we had English service which several of them attended as also Dalbello and Williams. After which we had our dinner with the two *winklers* [storekeepers] and all passed off well and at eight o'clock Kafir evening service which was again very fine. Several men from the Pewuleni were present, and were much delighted with the decorations and lighting up. Yoliswa, I sent ¼ a buck to and every house on the station got ¼ of a buck so that we had a grand feast altogether. Not in bed much before 12 regularly tired with the day, which was one of my happiest.

*Monday 26th. St Stephen's Day.* Soon after daylight up and had service. Had no horse to ride and so borrowed one from Gwetana. Had to call Dalbello to see the horses which were both very bad. We managed to give medicine to both. Rode with six boys and John to St John Bapt[ist]. Had good fun going. Gave the girls all a lift on our horses. Hutt was very kind. Gave them a grand spread all in capital style but very badly managed. Mr and Mrs Birch to dinner. Woodrooffe went home and I remained. Birch took me round the farm etc. All seemed quite well. Mrs B[irch] was also most gracious. The children did not enjoy themselves at first but afterwards seemed to get on capitally. Hutt showed a magic lantern at night, which greatly astonished the young people. His eyes were still very bad. I took his evening service for him. Waters not able to come for weakness. His wagon passed to Grahamstown. Post went in. Slept well at night.

*Tuesday 27th. St John Evangelist.* Up early waited and waited till I was quite tired and yet nobody got up and no service took place so at last I roused the children and had service. Hutt's eyes very bad indeed. Had also to wait breakfast for a long time. After breakfast I started as soon as possible for the Cacadu with Fat. The other boy's horse bolted during the night. Got over all right. Found Mr Waters quite well only tired and very mischievous indeed having found out from Mrs Turpin that Hutt had made his pudding in a foot bath. The dirty beast. I having rather a strong stomach stood the news well enough but how Woodrooffe will when I tell him I know not. Stayed there some time and then left with Turpin for St Peter's. Arrived just at dark having called on Woodrooffe on our way over. Children not arrived from [St John's] and Vandaba here. Killed the baboon for it has bolted through my chapel window and smashed it all to pieces and also smashed the glass of the glass [sic; mirror]. Very tired and soon turned into Bedfordshire. Next morning just before 6 aroused by the arrival of the children in the wagon. I must say I was in a great rage. I could have hung Hutt.

*Wednesday 28th. Innocents Day.* I sent all the children to bed immediately. Because they had had to sleep out all night and I did not at all like the idea of having them all ill again. Woodrooffe

came and Turpin left. Reaping today. Woodrooffe left just before sundown. Post came as we were going into chapel. Reading papers in evening.

*Thursday 29th.* Reaping and stacking hard at work all day.

*Friday 30th.* Ditto as to reaping etc. Very hot and tiring work. The children I gave some sewing to do, to keep them a little employed but no school. Had to go to the winkle about some letters that came from the agents. Promised Dalbello to write to Warner and try and make it right for him.

*Saturday 31st.* Last day of the year finished to stack. It is very high and will I am afraid tumble over. Wheat very fine and heavy. Made a pudding to take to Gordon. Did a good piece of reaping also today. Tremendously hot. Up till after twelve again. I am very tired and think the projected visit to the Bashie will do me good. Borrowed a nice horse from Dalbella [sic] to ride. Yoliswa will not let Mamati go with me. Nogoli came for Zenzile and the others. Thus ends the year 1859. I also watched in the year.

*Sunday 1st January 1860. Feast of Circumcision.* Early and second services very well attended. Did not go to the Kei today as I was very tired and felt I should have quite enough to do to ride to St Marks in the evening. Got Biltong to ride myself and gave the other horse to George Koba to go with me. Rode on to Woodrooffe's and stayed for his evening service which was very well attended and then we all rode on for St Marks. Pleasant evening there with Mr Waters. Mrs H[utt] asleep [E. ?]. Both there.

*Monday 2nd.* Up early, got everything ready to start immediately after morning service. Woodrooffe accompanied us part way to Qamata. Had breakfast some distance thro' the Poort. Matwani accompanied us. Rode on to the Tsomo over the forest clad mountains where we arrived about 2. The Tsomo is a very fine river. Offsaddled for dinner on the banks where we found a nice shady tree. Mr W[aters] would have some of Gordon's pudding so I was obliged to give in and help him. We saddled up, and I found Biltong quite lame in one foreleg, rode on for about 2½ miles when Mr Waters was taken so ill that he had to get off his horse and lie down in the veld. After a time Matwani and self saddled our horses and went to the Tsomo for firewood. We returned with two large bundles just after dark. Mosquitoes troubled us very much, but we managed to enjoy ourselves and sleep well till the morning.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Mr Waters found himself very much better and so after breakfast we again started, crossed the Qumanco river and then the Mgwali and arrived at All Saints about 11. Found Gordon quite happy and in capital health. Very hard at work building a larger wattle and daub chapel. Very fine open country surrounded by mountain ranges with fine bushes. Rested ourselves nicely that day.

*Wednesday 4th.* Very hot indeed. Began a sketch of one of the mountains the [Kulmdoda ?] Reading and talking passed away the day. The rest I much enjoyed. Nothing to do from morning till night. Gordon exceedingly kind and hospitable.

*Thursday 5th.* Spent as yesterday. Dalisile came and [Matyabeni ?].

*Friday 6th. Feast of the Epiphany.* Holy Communion at second service. Took a ride in the afternoon to the top of the [Ubutembu ?] mountain and had a grand view. Mr Waters trying to argue

against my going to England.

*Saturday 7th.* Reading in the morning. Saddle up and rode to see Fubu intending to go on to the Umgwali Mission.<sup>29</sup> Fubu is a very old man, but still does the great work of his nation. Hardly any of them can remember his ascending the throne and he is a great great grandfather. All the men were going to a dance. Quite wild [part] of Kafirland here.

*Saturday 8th.* Good attendance at early morning service. Reading. Got a horse to ride to Fubu's and Matyobeni's with Gordon but found it on trial to be dead lame. Read to Mr Waters and then went to a shady bush to read. Whilst there the clouds began to gather and soon after I reached the station a most terrible thunderstorm came on. Such as I have hardly ever seen. The thunder and lightning were terrific and the rain poured down in torrents rushing through the hut we were in like a young river. Outside it was nearly as black as night and we lighted a candle tho' only about 3 o'clock. Gordon who was at Fubu's got very wet and a good ducking in one of the narrow streams. The whole flats were swimming with water. Still raining at night a little.

*Monday 9th.* Heavy steady rain all day. River rising. Huts very wet and cold. Reading *Horseshoe Robinson* all day.

*Tuesday 10th.* Still raining. Reading all day. Very wet and cold and awkward sleeping at night. [Mayila ?] and Jonas continually there.

*Wednesday 11th.* As the clouds broke up a little this morning we saddled up for the Mgwali. Reached Fubu's and found it very full and rising still, so we returned once more to bother Gordon. Read all day at the interesting book.

*Thursday 12th.* About 9 we started with Nkosiedwa for the Gwali drift under the Toba mountain. Found it too full to cross without a wetting so preferred staying at a kraal till the morning. Read and took a sketch of this pretty drift. Kafirs very civil and lent us a half finished hut to sleep in. Where we slept sound till the morning.

*Friday 13th.* Crossed the river directly after breakfast and service, we got across easy. Had some trouble to find the drift at the Qumancu [sic] as it was worn away. This also we crossed in safety and after a long hot ride offsaddled at the [Doqora ?]. Saw the first hartebeest today. Reached Tsomo River about 2 which was very full. The police sergeant took us across in a boat and our horses had to swim. The Kafirs also were brought across, which much delighted them. Mr Nugent, the sergeant, gave us a capital and most refreshing dinner and we then rode on to the Camana [sic] river where we arrived at dark. Stopped about 1 hour and then continued our journey over the mountain which was as dark and dreary as possible and reached St Marks about 11.30. Very tired having performed a journey of about 60 miles. All pretty well. But no news for me of the Gwytyu.

*Saturday 14th.* Started as soon as possible for home. Found Woodrooffe there kindly superintending the sowing of the gardens. The stack fell with the rain. All quite well. Very tired so did little or

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29. Emgwali, a station of the United Presbyterian Church was founded by Revd Tiyo Soga who worked there 1857-1868. Fubu, a veteran warrior leader, was chief of the AmaQwati people. He held aloof from the authority, Joyi, the regent for the Thembu paramount. (Stanford, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p.52) For Soga, see biographical notes.

nothing. Woodrooffe just left about sundown. Sorry I had no horse to offer him. His brother has been to see him. Paying off a great deal of money today. In bed about 11.30. Very tired indeed. The children all well. Very fine evening service. Quite refreshing. I find however that now I have rested, the [word illegible] hurts my chest. Sent Basa to the wagon to Kayser for Mrs Waters.

*Sunday 15th.* Roused early by Jabavu but was too tired to get up. Basa soon after arrived with a letter from Kayser which I sent on to Mr Waters by [Rotshavi ?]. Morning service and also second very well attended. Did not keep numbers but quite large attendance of adults. Yoliswa told me thro' John of the circumcision about to take place and I sent my five requests which she says she will keep and try and make her people do the same. She requested to be allowed to bring Umbola but I could not say anything excepting advising her not to have it. Williams came to see me and I told him what I had said and he *seemed* [Mullins' emphasis] pleased. Did not go to the Kei it being very hot and I very tired and bad chest. Wrote up my journal for a long time. Had English service.

*Monday 16th.* Sowing forage all the morning and school in the afternoon. Post passed. No news.

*Tuesday 17th.* Sowing forage sowing all the morning. Upwards of 80 people at work.

*Wednesday 18th.* Finished all the sowing, both forage, beans and mealies. Woodrooffe came as also the post. No particular news or letters. Mr Green came and spent the evening.

*Thursday 19th.* Very pleasant time with Green. Quite like old times to talk to him. Very tired last night. Feel better this morning. Began to thrash some wheat, but sun went down before we could finish it. I gave Qambela a blanket for his horse.

*Friday 20th.* Finished tramping today and got about 3 muids and 2 buckets. Reynolds came to see me. He is just the same as ever. Poor man I am sorry for him. He slept here. We had a very heavy thunderstorm and plenty of rain, which will do the gardens good.

*Saturday 21st.* Reynolds left soon after breakfast and then I had usual Saturday's work to do. The women were doing the tramp floor.<sup>30</sup> Had a little rain and some thunder. Very tired and not very well.

*Sunday 22nd.* Early service only a few present. Second better. Yoliswa and others to breakfast. Went to Vezi's. Very few there all having gone to a dance. Tsabo's only 2 women at home, all the rest in the gardens. Evening service poor congregations. English service, a most terrific storm of lightning and thunder came up. I could hardly make myself heard. Peal after peal without intermission and very heavy rain. Williams and Dalbello stopped and had some tea and talked over the old times in Italy.

*Monday 23rd.* Ground too wet to tramp so had to content myself with doing nothing but read. I ought to have begun my examination work before this. Postman slept here last night. Mrs Waters had got home all safe etc.

*Tuesday 24th.* Got 4 women to do some thrashing work for me. But as it looked rainy they only

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30. The tramp floor was the hard floor used to thresh the wheat which was first tramped by cattle being driven over it, then winnowed to separate the grain from the chaff.



managed one muid before night. Mr Waters came during evening service. Not a very pleasant evening with him as he was in one of his peculiar humours.

*Wednesday 25th. Conversion of St Paul.* Early service well attended. Sent for Woodrooffe. Loads of work. Post came just about 10 o'clock and no English letters for any of us. A few English papers. The Bishop has got back again so I hope I may be able to get up country soon. I mean to old England. Had Communion. Present: Waters, Woodrooffe, Mullins, Hormann [sic; Hornimann ?]. Fat, Zenzile, Peli, John, [Natanyo ?]. Quite a nice party. They both left about 3. Read papers etc.

*Thursday 26th.* Thrashing, 3 muids. Hard work and very tired.

*Friday 27th.* 2 muids  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Very tired and went to sleep without supper, awoke in the middle of the night and found it all cold. Up early again.

*Saturday 28th.* Thrashing. 200 sheafs and got 3 m[uids] 7 b[ags]. Very good indeed. Very tired at night and soon fell to sleep.

*Sunday 29th.* Not very good attendance at the services. Went to Vezi's and Tsabo's as usual. Dalbello kindly lent me a horse, tho' a very bad one. Came home and wrote journal and also quarterly report. Evening services and schools etc with English service took up the rest of the day. Very tired indeed at night.

*Monday 30th.* Thrashing out wheat again. Got a good lot done. Very hard work. Woodrooffe came over. He is getting I fancy much stronger. The post did not come till late. Tede took school for me so that I took a rest. One really wants it after so much to do on Sunday instead of making it a day of rest. Post came very late. All well at St Marks.

*Tuesday 31st.* Again thrashing wheat. Plenty of work and no play. Looking anxiously for English letters by the mail. Finished 3 bags again today. The horses begin to work very quickly. School as usual. I hear great preparations are being made for the circumcision.

*Wednesday 1st February 1860. Purification B[lessed] V[irgin] M[ary].* Girls' birthday. Very many happy returns may they be spared to see. Mail came whilst in school and 3 English letters for me and several for everybody. 2 for poor Gordon which will I hope set his heart at rest. Mine from Harry, Mama and Elgie. They wish me to come home immediately and go to Zambezi with Arch[deacon] Mackenzie, just exactly what I have long wished for myself, so please God I hope I may go. Harry seems to have great hopes of my being accepted. I hope I shall go. As I wished the Bishop and Mr Waters to know as soon as possible, in order that they might supply my place I rode over to St Marks with Woodrooffe who I called for on my road there, found them all well. Turpin of course as usual. Mr Hutt was there. The Waters children all looking very much better for the change and Mrs W[aters] just as stupid as ever. Waters still very opposed to my going, but now I have determinately made up my mind and I hope I shall abide by it. We came home in the evening getting to Woodrooffe's considerably after dark and there I had a splendid supper and did not consequently get home before 10 p.m. Very dark ride, as it was cloudy. All well at home.

*Thursday 3rd.* Again thrashing wheat. Extremely hot and close and no wind to winnow with. So we packed it up for the night. Schools etc as usual.

- Friday 3rd.* Thrashing again. No wind, got a little of it half cleared and then had to have it carried in.
- Saturday 4th.* Today when the wind rose we managed to get in some more wheat and finish off what was on the floor by about 6.30 p.m. So in all I have now 28 sacks and 1 of *Amakoba* [*amakhoba*: chaff]. I suppose I shall have in all about 30. Tremendous thunderstorm at night. Sat up till 12 making accounts etc.
- Sunday 5th.* Got up early. First service about 70 or 80 present. 2nd about 56. Very poorly attended. Great talking going on today at the great place about the circumcision. Heard that Lukula Fiklivi's mother was very ill and went to see her. I fancy she is gone so far in consumption that nothing will stop it. I had no idea she was so ill. Asked Yoliswa to send her down to the station where I could doctor her. Rode to Vezi's about 24 to service and [six ?] at Tsabo. Heat intense and made my head very bad. The Kafirs could hardly bear it. At evening service the sweat poured off me in oceans. Evening service good number and also at English. Very fine sermon the second. I read last year at St Marks when taking Mr Waters' duty for him. Tired at night but managed to write several letters.
- Monday 6th.* Up early. Service rather late, as I went all round the gardens first. Did not thrash, as the men prophesied rain in which however they were wrong it being a splendid day for the work. Wrote to the Bishop and Meaden, Brown, Green, Ma, and Henry. School. Tede returned from St Marks. Vezi got thrown from his horse today. Peli ill from toothache. Circumcision going on today; they have moved the place up to the mountain of which all seem very glad. Sewing schools all going on very well. Had to be very sharp with the children about catechising they were getting very careless indeed. Wrote in evening and read a little.
- Tuesday 7th.* Post came last night at 20 to 12. Got up at 4 this morning and sent him away with letters. Very fine day for work cool almost cold, [but ?] a drizzling rain. Had to shoot my poor old cat, the great dog at Dalbello broke her back yesterday. Dalbello came down and expressed great sorrow at the occurrence. Made up accounts, books all square. Wrote up journal. Woodrooffe came over in the afternoon, during school.
- Wednesday 8th.* Had morning school as usual. Post came in the middle of service. No letters. Circular from the Diocesan [word illegible] etc. Thrashed out the last of the wheat, the Bengal from the lower garden 1 muid 5 buckets.
- Thursday 9th.* Went up to see Lukula<sup>31</sup> she was much worse. I hardly think that she can recover. I hope she may poor woman. Home and wrote out all the Communion service in Kafir from a copy Gordon lent my last Ash Wednesday and curiously enough in the afternoon school a letter arrived from Gordon asking me for the same identical book. I sent the harness etc home this morning and asked Mr Waters to come over. He wrote in the evening to say he had baptisms etc and hoped I would go over there. Sat up till late last night writing a long letter to J. Gordon and afterwards went and [played ?] to Jabavu for a long time.
- Friday 10th.* Up rather later than usual, but yet managed to go into service at six. Started afterwards

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31. Lukula, one of Riba's wives, died of consumption. Mullins tended her in her illness and strenuously opposed her removal from the hut to die outside in the cold and rain. Peires dates the custom of removing the dying from a hut to the late eighteenth century and ascribes it to the fear of smallpox infection (Peires, *Dead will arise*, p.31). Mullins clashed with Yoliswa and Riba over this matter. (USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG, 3.5.1859)

for Woodrooffe where I had breakfast and then we both rode on to St Marks. Arrived just before the baptisms; upwards of 40 baptized, also Tede's father and mother. I was not aware of its being such a great day. Had dinner with Waters. Wrote rather a long letter. [Last sentence deleted in original mss] and left for home getting here about dark. Service and schools as usual. Up till late reading capital lecture on India by Bebi [sic] Tac [sic] at Warminister.

*Saturday 11th.* Up early. Service. Clearing up. Read a little examination work for the first time. People bothering very much today. Had rather a nasty letter from Waters advising me again to give up Zambezi. I wrote back a strong decided letter which I hope will do well. Went up to see Lukula who is I think dying. Gave her some cod liver oil which arrived today. Gave Fiklivi leave to sleep there to night. Made up accounts and wrote up journal etc.

*Sunday 12th.* Got up before sunrise and rode Deloraine up to Yoliswa's to see Lukula. Found her much the same. She said that she had slept pretty well. Told Fiklivi to come and ask for the oil. She came after some time. Yoliswa down to breakfast etc as usual. I gave her the clothes that had been sent to her. She was much pleased. The rest of this day's work is too well impressed on my memory ever to be forgotten and therefore I shall not trouble to enter it into my journal. I only hope I may never see such a day's work again. I never felt so before and hope I never shall so again.

*Monday 13th.* Work as usual.

*Tuesday 14th.* Rode to Yoliswa's and spoke about the children; she consented after some time to let them come to me till [word illegible] left for home. Rode on[to] Woodrooffe's and back again to school.

*Wednesday 15th.* English letters came for me. From the girls. Henry's and Papa's are gone to Algoa Bay. Woodrooffe had left to go to Gordon's and sent [Vetyika?] to stop with me. Reading papers all day, also sewed up the bags for the mill.<sup>32</sup> Stoffell came late to fetch them and we loaded up 25 bags. 4250 lbs.

*Thursday 16th.* Waited till late to have breakfast. Had a nice letter from the Bishop yesterday in which he gives me leave to go home and also passage money. Hutt came about 12. Very kind. Came on wet and sent Galvanin to tell Mrs Hutt that we were going on to St Marks at Mr Waters' request. Exceedingly heavy rain at night. The huts all swimming and the river never so high before. I almost fancied it would wash away the place. Late into bed.

*Friday 17th.* Stoffell got on but slowly yesterday. Rather doubt his getting to Shiloh at all. Rode over to Mr Waters. Kei not up at all for a wonder. Horses went well. We were both going to stop there, only Hutt was sent for by his darling wife. I hope I may never be plagued with such a one.

*Saturday 18th.* Whilst talking over matter Woodrooffe arrived having given up his journey from the bad weather. Fine mist all round the country. Waited some time for Woodrooffe and made out my accounts and then rode home. I could not get him to come on with me.

*Sunday 19th.* Sunday services as usual pretty well attended. Yoliswa and Riba to breakfast. Rode with Tede to Vezi's and Tsabo's. Very poor attendance all at Madolo's place. This circumcision

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32. There was a mill at Shiloh mission station. (J du Plessis, *Christian missions*, p.244)

seems to have turned all the people's heads. Woodrooffe came over in the evening just as I was beginning a small lecture to the girls. No English service as Dalbello was ill and his partner tired. Mrs Hormann a daughter of old Hormann arrived by the wagon on Wednesday.

*Monday 20th.* Woodrooffe left towards midday. Writing accounts etc for the Bishop, also a full account about poor Lukula as Mr Waters requested. Tede took school as I was busy writing and plenty I had to do. Sent off several letters by post. One to thank Mrs Cotterill for the kind present of clothes.

*Tuesday 21st. Shrove Tuesday.* No pancakes this year. Hope I may get some next. Schools as usual.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Morning service as usual and also had sewing classes as usual as I thought it was the best way to keep the children out of mischief. Woodrooffe came about 12. Had Communion service at 11. Vezi and Yoliswa here. We had several to breakfast which was not quite right I suppose on Ash Wednesday. As Mrs Hormann's child got very bad Woodrooffe advised my going to fetch Waters altho' I had sent for him in the morning. So I got up my horse and went over. Got there just before sundown and found Waters up at Tika's kraal so I walked up there. He could not come with me that night and forced me to sleep there, a traveller Mr Wayatt was also there. Left next morning about eight.

*Thursday 23rd.* Left with Mr Waters and rode slowly to St Peters. Mr Waters did not think the child so ill and gave it medicine. I persuaded him to stop there that night. Had nice confab in the evening about different things.

*Friday 24th. St Matthias.* We were all to meet today according to appointment and have Holy Communion. I rode with Waters to Woodrooffe's where we had breakfast and then rode on to St Marks. Got there rather late. Gordon had arrived in the night. He looks fat and well. Had afternoon service and Communion and then I left for home. Got here dark with Woodrooffe. Gordon comes tomorrow.

*Saturday 25th.* Usual work. Boesack came, and also Gordon in the evening. He had to jump off his horse, because it ran away. Spent pleasant evening till after 12 o'clock. Found wagon back here last night and sent it away this morning. Meal etc turned out very well.

*Sunday 26th.* Nice morning service also second service. Rode to Vezi's, poor attendance. Tsabo there and told me not to go to his place as nobody was [there] at all. *Hlaba 'nkosi* [spear the chief; literal translation] whilst there, but what about, I do not know. Had a small row with Gordon in the afternoon about telling tales etc. I was very angry at his scandal. Evening service as usual. English service all present was very nice.

*Monday 26th.* Woodrooffe left soon after breakfast. Gordon about 12. After he left I commenced putting books together and did a good lot. Post came late and slept here.

*Tuesday 27th.* Nopote left very early. Up and service and school etc as usual. Packed some books and made my cases ready. Quite like going home from school. Heavy rain.

*Wednesday 28th.* Had up old Deloraine and rode to Woodrooffe's to breakfast and then we rode on with post to St Marks. Short note from Green all my letters. I hope my English ones are not lost.

Waters got very little news from the Bishop. Heavy rain at St Marks which turned us back on our way to Bolotwa. But I managed to cross the river later in the evening and got home just at dark. Old horse goes as well as ever. Saw the dance at Maiotis as I passed. Great Tom foolery as ever was witnessed. Quite disgusted. *And yet am I any better?* [Mullins' emphasis]. Had to speak sharply to Tede.

*Thursday 1st March 1860.* Packing up with Mamati and Zenzile all day. Quite tired of the work of sorting etc. I wish it was all over. Bought assegai's etc to take home. Sent Sikobe to Hutts for the wagon and then had to write again and say it was not to come as I had not all ready. Nobody from St Marks so I suppose the river is full. Woodrooffe sent for his keys so I suppose then he crossed after I did. Very heavy rain and thunder at night. Much *afraid from an evil conscience* [Mullins' emphasis]. When shall I be better.

## CHAPTER TEN

### *At St John's, Bolotwa. The new bride comes home*

*1 August 1862 - 6 November 1864*

*Friday 1st August 1862.* Only 47 miles from the Cape.

*Saturday 2nd.* Sighted Agulhas light 2.0 a.m.

*Sunday 3rd.* Midgies birthday. Breeze fell off, drifting with the current.

*Monday 4th.* 12.0 o'clock found we had drifted 40 miles astern. Very light wind. Only made up yesterday's work.

*Tuesday 5th.* Sighted Cape Recife light 9.30. Light varying wind. Abreast the light at 12.0 beating about in the Bay, until dark, then with light wind, beat up to the anchorage, dropped anchor 12.10 at night. *Dayn*<sup>1</sup> has beaten us.

*Wednesday 6th.* (made to write this: My dearest darling Jennie's birthday) God bless her. Gave her the packet from her mother. Landed about 12.0 o'clock. Found English letters waiting for us. Kindly received by Mr Pickering.<sup>2</sup> Poor Drayton much cut up by news of Bishop Mackenzie's death. Found some comfortable lodgings. Went to church in the evening, then took a stroll with Drayton to the beach. Bought some delicious oranges. Heard that Archdeacon Merriman was expected. Miss Short called.

*Thursday 7th.* Went on board with Drayton to pack up. Picture seized at Custom's House amidst intense excitement. Looking after landing, agent etc till dark. Took a walk over the hill in the evening.

*Friday 8th.* Archdeacon Merriman came to see us early this morning. A right hearty good welcome. Went to Gifts and then to pier with Jennie and Sarah. Saw the Archdeacon again; had nice chat. After dinner took a walk with Drayton and Jin [sic; Jen] up the river, met two Kafir girls who had known me at Umhala's. Saw the Archdeacon again and decided on going to Grahamstown in passenger cart. Took Jennie down to Mrs Christian's.<sup>3</sup> Drayton stayed behind to see after luggage.

*Saturday 9th.* Our German friend, Mr Dryfus kindly made us some coffee, and started at 4.20 a.m.; had breakfast at Sundays River, being windy and dusty till we got to Slater's. Dorset's hire man driving, with whom Jennie had a great chat. Reached Grahamstown before 5.0 o'clock and received a hearty welcome from the Merrimans. Went up to choir practising, felt quite at home there. All very, very kind.

*Sunday 10th.* Bishop preached, and came to see us after service. Seemed glad to have me back again.

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1. Presumably the *Dane* a steamship with sails of 526 tons commissioned in 1854 which inaugurated the regular mail service to Cape Town in 1857, a voyage of 44 days. It was wrecked off Cape Recife in 1865 (C J Harris & B D Ingpen *Mailships of the Union Castle Line*, Vlaeberg, 1994)
  2. Revd Edward Pickering, who accompanied Cotterill in 1857, was rector of St Mary's, Port Elizabeth, 1858-1874. (A T Wirgman & C E Mayo, *History of St Mary's*, London, 1925)
  3. Mrs H B Christian, daughter of Mullins' friend, J O Smith of Port Elizabeth, was the wife of the member of parliament for Port Elizabeth elected in 1864. (J Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, Wynberg, 1947)

*Monday 11th.* Went to call on the Bishop and St Leger and Mr Thompson<sup>4</sup> who was out. Jennie went to Bee<sup>5</sup> in the evening.

*Tuesday 12th.* Dined at the Bishop's.

*Wednesday 13th.* Went to Fern Cleugh [Kloof] with Mr Minto and Mary Krohn.<sup>6</sup> Mr Drayton arrived.

*Thursday 14th.* Teafight at the Merriman's.

*Friday 15th.* Went to the Hutt's in the evening.

*Saturday 16th.* Practise for St Bartholomew's day. Psalms went beautifully.

*Sunday 17th.* Went to St Bartholomews twice, received English letters. Our fathers' birthdays.

*Monday 18th to 22nd.* Visiting etc. Mr Waters arrived on Friday afternoon. Nice shower of rain.

*Saturday 23rd.* School feast at Fort England;<sup>7</sup> enjoyed day very much; practising in evening; very hard work to get them to do the anthem right.

*Sunday 24th. St Bartholomew's day.* Singing went very well indeed, with the exception of mistakes of the tenor in the anthem, in the morning. Bishop preached a good sermon, afternoon service singing better if possible: *Jerusalem the Golden* a decided success. Went to Cathedral in the evening. Broke down in the psalms. Very washy sermon from the Dean.<sup>8</sup>

*Monday 25th.* Looking after a wagon. Dined with the Turpins, and called at Oatlands. Got a Kafir wagon.

*Tuesday 20th.* Making calls and preparations to start.

*Wednesday 27th.* Packed our wagon etc and Mrs M[erriman] as usual very very kind, and supplied us with all necessities for the road. Mr Mavillier called to see us. Started at 2 o'clock, 2 Merrimans and Minto, walked out with us. Outspanned for the night at Botha's Hill, old Drayton with us. No firewood and very cold. 5 Kafir boys with us.<sup>9</sup>

*Thursday 28th.* On at daybreak, and outspanned beyond the toll bar for breakfast. Lovely day, very hot, not a drop of water. Walked down Pluto's Vale. Drayton left us at the bottom to return.

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4. Revd F Y St Leger - see biographical notes. For Mr Thompson, presumably the Revd George Thompson - see Introduction.

5. A bee (derived from the insect and its social habits) is a social gathering for a specific purpose.

6. T E Minto, a director of the Eastern Province Bank; Mr Krohn, a storeman. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1855*)

7. The Kafir Institution, with 11 pupils under Revd Woodrooffe, was then located at Fort England. See Introduction, fn.125.

8. The well-known English version of the hymn composed by John Mason Neale (1808-1866). The original was written by Bernard of Clairvaux the 12th century author of *De Contemptu Mundi*. Revd John Mee, M.A. (Cantab), was Dean of Grahamstown, 1861-1863.

9. Presumably pupils of the Kafir Institution returning to their homes for the holidays.

Gave 3 cheers for "the Immortal [Five]". Outspanned for a short time, half way through Fish River bush. Reached Fish River at sundown. Crossed and stopped for the night in the big thorns. Had a jolly wash and spent a very pleasant evening.

*Friday 29th.* Up at daybreak, did not outspan until we got to Breakfast Vlay. Very short of water. On again for 4 hours, outspanned for an hour and then looked out a good place for the night, about three miles ahead. Found a nice sheltered spot and plenty of firewood. Intensely cold and a little rain.

*Saturday 30th.* Amatola mountains covered with snow, started early and crossed the Keiskamma. Had breakfast, came on wet, and lost oxen; which delayed us some time. Went on till we got to Green River. Dark. Torrents of rain; man wanted to stop the night on the open flat, and of course all day Sunday, but an extra bribe of ten shillings got him at last to move on. Sent on three boys to tell Mr Kitton of our approach. Walked on to town knee deep in mud, most awful journey. Reached town at 11.30 found Kitton expecting us. He unkindly gave us a bed.

*Sunday 31st.* Went to church morning and evening. Saw Lieutenant Governor<sup>10</sup> and Little.<sup>11</sup>

*Monday 1st September 1862.* Went out wagon hunting in the morning. Called on Lieutenant Governor and Bell. [Later ?] Taylors called to see us.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Wagon hunting. Kittons went to Keiskammahoek. Went to the Oaks<sup>12</sup> in the evening. Mr Bell called.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Wagon hunting again. Went for a walk with Little in the afternoon. To the Taylors to tea in the evening. Jen called on Mrs Bell with Emmie Oak.

*Thursday 4th.* Wagon hunting. Went for a walk to the mill with Jen and Emmie Oak. To the Oaks to tea. Mr Waters' wagon arrived. Went to church.

*Friday 5th.* Kittons returned. I hired a wagon of a Grahamstown Fingo, loaded it. Waters' oxen lost. Went to tea at the Heads.<sup>13</sup> Splendid concert.

*Saturday 6th.* Oxen of little wagon lost. Loaded up Waters' wagon and managed to start about twelve. Little walked the first 4 miles with us. Outspanned on a branch of the Yellowwood and on to the bottom of Frankfort hill for the night. Snug outspan. Very pretty place.

*Sunday 7th.* Stayed here all day, had service twice. Came on misty at night, and thick drizzling rain. Had the oxen brought close up.

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10. Robert Henry Wynard CB (1802-1864). Lieutenant Governor 1859-1863 reputedly an honest, efficient and conscientious administrator, was visiting the eastern Cape to organise a reduction in the armed forces stationed there. (DSAB, Vol.III, p.856)

11. Revd E D Little, M.A. (Cantab), a teacher at St Andrew's and subsequently headmaster at King William's Town for a spell, was acting Diocesan secretary in 1863. (USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 15.9.1863)

12. The Oaks family were old friends of Jennie from Blandford. Their daughter, Minnie, later married Revd H R Woodroffe.

13. Henry Head was a timber merchant, a general dealer and secretary of a mortgage and investment company at King William's Town.



*Monday 8th.* 3.30 a.m. Sent Jet [Set ?] for the oxen to go up the hill before sunrise; came back and said he could not find them. Found them myself just where they were put overnight. Got up the hill in three quarters of an hour without any mishap. Outspanned for breakfast on the Kabousie [sic; Kabusi]. On again midday to the Dohne. Called to see Mr and Mrs Kroft<sup>14</sup> [sic; Kropf] - on when the moon rose for about ten miles.

*Tuesday 9th.* On very early, and outspanned for breakfast, a little beyond Mr Birt's<sup>15</sup> place. Just as we were going to breakfast Mr Birt appeared. He was very sorry we had not called to see him as we passed by, so about an hour after, we walked back, he shewed us his chapel, garden etc and walked a part of the way to the wagon with us. On again, and outspanned by the Thomas River for the night.

*Wednesday 10th.* Started very early, passed the toll bar outspanned on the Flat and again at Daliwe River. The Gwytyu boys left us and walked home over the mountains. Got to the Windfogel berg [sic; Windvogel] that night. Wretchedly cold, and no firewood so we were obliged to have our tea in the wagon. Splendidly moonlight night.

*Thursday 11th.* Started early and outspanned by a small river [Neqia ?] for breakfast. The Bolotwa boys went on home, we went on to Tylden, where we outspanned for the night.

*Friday 12th.* Started very early without breakfast, walked from Bram Nek and got home to St John's at 11.30. Kindly welcomed by Mr Woodrooffe and Miss Ende. Spent the day unpacking etc.

*Saturday 13th.* Unpacking etc all day, living with Woodrooffe, put up our bedstead and slept in our own room tonight.

*Sunday 14th.* Sunday services as usual.

*Monday 15th.* Making sundry improvements in the house, our wagon driver left thanking us much for our kindness - unpacking.

*Tuesday 16th.* Much the same as yesterday.

*Wednesday 17th.* Rode over to St Marks with Liefeldt; examination; saw Patten, Maggs, Newton, Wyld, and Brown.<sup>16</sup> Got back about seven.

*Thursday 18th.* Rode to Queenstown, got there at twelve, very dusty and windy. Called on Green, bought a lot of goods. Back again by 8.30 very dark night.

*Friday 19th.* Began white washing. Took me till dark. Wagon arrived from Queenstown.

*Saturday 20th.* Unpacked wagon and got rooms pretty tidy. Mr Brown came over. Hung up pictures etc. Woodrooffe went to Queenstown.

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14. Revd and Mrs Kropf were stationed at the Berlin Mission.

15. Richard Birt (1910-1892) was the London Missionary Society missionary at Peulton, a station which he reoccupied in 1853, after the destruction of the original mission buildings in 1848. Apart from visits to Cape Town and Britain, Peulton was his life-long home. (London Missionary Society, *Register of Missions*, London, 1923)

16. Revd Patten, Maggs, Newton and Wyld - see biographical notes. Brown was an English visitor who had been staying at St Matthew's Mission, Keiskammahoek. (Levick, 'Mullins', p.15)

*Sunday 21st.* Had to take all the services etc.

*Monday 22nd.* Woodrooffe returned with our English letters. Painting doors and window all this week.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Expecting St Markites but in vain. Mr Woodrooffe went to St Marks.

*Wednesday 24th.* Charlie's birthday. Waters arrived with St Markites in a wagon. Thirteen to dinner. Walked back part of the way with them.

*Friday, Thursday and Saturday,* same sort of work going on. Made a bookcase on Saturday and rode over to Gwytyu. On my return at night found that Drayton had arrived, had a jolly welcome from Jennie and Drayton.

*Sunday 28th.* Kafir communion.

*Monday 29th.* *St Michael and All Angels.* [Lot ?] baptized. Very nice service.

*Tuesday 30th.* Drayton left for St Marks.

*Wednesday 1st October.* Expecting the Bishop all day. Heard that he would not be here until Friday evening.

*Thursday 2nd.* Making preparations to receive his Lordship, as Mrs Cotterill was coming with him.

*Friday 3rd.* Bishop arrived midday with Mrs Cotterill. Miss Ende is to go to St Marks.

*Saturday 4th.* Mrs Cotterill drove Jennie to St Marks. The Bishop, Woodrooffe and self rode over. Darala signed a paper putting Ruth and Susan under the Bishop's care as to marriage. Reached St Marks about one o'clock, had dinner with the Waters, tea with the Pattens, and rode home by moonlight. Jennie's first ride. One hour, and fifty eight minutes very good work.

*Sunday 5th.* English Communion.

*Monday 6th.* School etc.

*Tuesday 7th.* Mr Woodrooffe went to St Marks, began putting a ceiling in our bedroom. They sent for me to St Marks but could not go.

*Wednesday 8th.* Finished ceiling. Put down carpet.

*Thursday 9th.* Brown arrived with Liefeldt. Waited dinner for the Bishop until 3.30. Then heard he would not leave the Gwytyu until after dinner. They arrived here about 4.30. Slept here that night.

*Friday 10th.* Went as far as Bram Neck with the Bishop, came back and found Gordon and Patten here. Whitewashed bedroom, they helping me. Maggs and Wyld returned from Queenstown.

*Saturday 11th.* Getting rooms in order, to receive Gordon and his wife.

*Sunday 13th.* Passed as usual.

*Monday 13th.* Sent wagon off at 3.0 a.m. with children and Sarah, followed at eight on horseback to St Marks. Gordon married. Awfully dull. Spent a pleasant evening at Pattens, they kindly gave us their bed.

*Tuesday 14th.* Left with Aldred for St Johns. Very windy day, enjoyed a chat with Aldred.

*Wednesday 15th.* School etc. Aldred and Woodrooffe left in the afternoon. New couple awfully numb.

*Thursday 16th.* Gordon and his wife went to the Gwytyu.

*Friday 17th.* They returned midday; done up very spooney. Numerous enquiries after her head.

*Saturday 18th.* Left (that is, Gordon and his wife) at three in the afternoon. Boyes came in the morning. Liefeldt came from Queenstown and brought our English letters. He had a terrible fall on the road out. I had to doctor him up. Poor dear Charlie is going to be married.

*Sunday 19th.* Read our letters over in the garden. Services at [sic] usual.

*Monday 20th.* Sent a man to St Marks with Mr Drayton's letters. Mr Waters came from Queenstown in the evening. Very doleful and talked about a Kafir War.

*Tuesday 21st.* Stayed talking with Mr Waters as I was going to the Gwytyu with him. Could not get a horse and therefore did not go. Sent the 6 big girls to Mr Warner's.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Mended the chapel door which took me sometime.

*Thursday 23rd.* Made a bookshelf, and unpacked my books. Schools as usual.

*Friday 24th.* Much the same as usual.

*Saturday 25th.* Woodrooffe returned before morning chapel. Watered garden in the evening.

*Sunday 26th.* School, services etc.

*Monday 27th.* Heard from Waters that he wished one to go to the Gwytyu to a camp meeting, decided upon not going. Planted beans.

*Tuesday 28th.* Schools etc; digging in the garden. Woodrooffe walked to St Peters on foot, and returned at 7.30 with Drayton. Spent a jolly evening together. Post came 12.15. Sat chatting till 12.40 with Drayton.

*Wednesday 29th.* Found Drayton gone when I got up. Schools as usual.

*Thursday 30th and Friday 31st.* School as usual. Nothing of importance. Up to this date written from memory on Oct. 26th and Nov. 2nd.

*Saturday 1st November.* Whilst we were busily covering some settees Mr and Mrs Patten arrived from St Marks. They stayed to dinner and left about 5 o'clock. We watered the garden in the

evening.

*Sunday 2nd.* Mrs Roe's<sup>17</sup> birthday. School, services as usual. Mr Liefeldt very seedy. Had a pipe in the evening with Woodrooffe and a chat over affairs in general.

*Monday 3rd.* Schools etc. Writing English letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 4th.* A fast day, and special service for rain. A nice shower came on whilst we were in service it continued to rain till 7.0 p.m. very gently. Jennie read *Sinai and Palestine* to me. A very long day. Quite tired out by the evening.

*Wednesday 5th.* Altered my watch at sunrise, which of course put us out all day. I was 40 minutes wrong by the sun. Schools etc. Sat up late writing Abraham's pedigree.

*Thursday 6th.* Chapel at *bona fide* 6.30 for the first time. Settled dispute about the water course. Heard yesterday, ordination is not to be until January. Schools were well attended. Reading Genesis in the evening.

[Next page has been excised from the manuscript - Eds]

[*Wednesday 12th.*] Watered all the trees etc. All the girls late for school, very much displeased with them. Newton arrived in the evening a rough card, but the best of that party to my mind.

*Thursday 13th.* Waters' wagon started for King William's Town early this morning, ours for Queenstown. Planted some pumpkins and began a dam. Very tiring day.

*Friday 14th.* Planted some more seeds and schools as usual. Wagon from Queenstown.

*Saturday 15th.* Work in the garden all day, with Jennie. Planted a good many seeds. Mr Waters arrived on his way to Queenstown. Paid every one as usual.

*Sunday 16th.* Services as usual. Kafir communion dear Jennie remained. Very nice shower today. I was in great hopes that it had set in wet. Very much disappointed to see it all blow over. Jane and Susan to tea in the evening. Began *Two Guardians*.<sup>18</sup>

*Monday 17th.* Finished *Two Guardians*. Schools etc. Planting seeds. Post arrived. Wrote letters.

*Tuesday 18th.* School. Planting mealies. Began [St Paul's letter to the] *Galatians*. Smart thunder shower. English mail arrived, good news from home. Letters from Mother, Bessie, Herbert.

*Wednesday 19th.* They had heard that the *Cosmos* had arrived but our letters were lost. Waters came just after school. Half holiday. Cheque from the Bishop. Read a chapter of *Galatians* in the evening.

*Thursday 20th.* School, as usual. Watered the garden.

*Friday 21st.* Very hot glaring sun, and burning wind. A Mr Beale came. Obligated to give up sewing

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17. Mary Anne Roe was Jennie's mother.

18. Charlotte M Yonge, *The two guardians or home in this world* (1852).

school owing to the wind. Woodrooffe went to Warners and returned in the evening. Liefeldt went on the mountain.

*Saturday 22nd.* Got up at 4.30 to see after the watering. Work in the garden all day. Up till 7.45. Planted a lot of pumpkins. Managed to water a good piece. Finished *Galatians*.

*Sunday 23rd.* Service at 7.30. [Gave Geve ?] and Benjamin a licking. School and services as usual. Jennie poorly - with a pain in her side. Mr Woodrooffe and Liefeldt came in the evening.

*Monday 24th.* Been married 7 months today. Schools etc. Wrote to Archdeacon Merriman, Mr Little and Minto.

*Tuesday 25th.* Got water in the evening. Received a kind present from Miss Bond<sup>19</sup> of clothes for the Kafirs. Heard in the evening from Green and Greenstock, and the Merrimans. Sat up reading papers until late.

*Wednesday 26th.* Wrote to Gordon and sent Mrs Gordon's cloak. Very cloudy but no rain. Case on about Cooper's cattle.

*Thursday 27th.* Up early. Jennie *seems* [Mullins' emphasis] much better. Ruth absent from school in the afternoon, gave a pretty fair account of herself. Jacu cleaning out the watercourse. Took an hour's ride with Jennie to the Qwebeqwebe. St Marks' wagon from King William's Town with a muid of meal for us. Woodrooffe went to St Marks. Waters left today for Gordons.

*Friday 28th.* Schools etc. Nothing particular going on.

*Saturday 29th.* Rode over to the Gwytyu with Jennie; she had a tripling horse, which is anything but comfortable for a lady. Rode on to see the Krantz. Great many of the Kafirs came to see us and Gungubele and his mother, can't say I like any of the party over there. Coming back changed horses with Jennie. Got home about sundown, tried to see Rudolph but he was out.

*Sunday 30th.* *Advent Sunday and St Andrew's Day.* Services as usual.

*Monday 1st December.* We divided the school today. Liefeldt taking the borders [sic] in the long room and I the rest in the chapel. Harmonium arrived in the evening, in the wagon from St Marks.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Schools etc and reading. Roused up tonight by Ruth.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Got some water for my garden today. Thunderstorm and heavy shower at night. Stayed up with the water until 12.45.

*Thursday 4th.* Being a whole holiday, Jennie read a good deal to me. The day Ruth, Joseph, etc were baptised.

*Friday 5th.* Schools etc. Reading.

*Saturday 6th.* Tshibo and Qwelane came to ask Woodrooffe some questions. I was present. See

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19. Miss Hannah Bond - see biographical notes. The clothes had probably come from the Female Education Society.

Station Minutes. Bought the water from 12.0 until eight for a shilling. Watered good piece of the mealies. Jennie read to me, very hot day. Ruth came and roused us out again.

*Sunday 7th.* Chapel rather late. Read *Christian Year* in the garden.

*Monday 8th.* Post did not arrive. Schools etc. Wrote English letters.

*Tuesday 9th.* Mail did not arrive until the evening. Left for town the same night.

*Wednesday 10th.* Heard from Merrimans.

*Thursday 11th.* Schools etc.

*Friday 12th.* - ditto

*Saturday 13th.* Sent off some letters for English mail, via Tylden. Mr Drayton arrived to spend a few days with us. Nice heavy thunderstorm.

*Sunday 14th.* Services as usual. The river rose several feet in the night, watercourse quite full, and running over. Took walk to the dam with Drayton.

*Monday 15th.* Holidays began today. Post early. Wrote two or three letters. Jennie feeling very weak and sick all day.

*Tuesday 16th.* Jennie was quite sick and ill directly she woke, quite billious. She got weaker and weaker all day and could not eat anything. Gave her one dose of [Plamens ?] pills. Eat a little toast at night.

*Wednesday 17th.* She seemed very much better. We did not get any letters by the post. Newton and Liefeldt p.m. to St Marks for the examination. Jennie very weak and ill towards evening. I positively forbade her doing anything. Got her to lie down. The pain in her side very bad.

*Thursday 18th.* As she did not get any better Mr Woodrooffe and Drayton had a consultation and advised me to write and tell Archer her case. I did so and sent Mycki off with the letter. The wagon which left Mullery's is broken down we hear. The man did not return. She suffered very much all day but seemed rather better in the evening.

*Friday 19th.* Reading. Jennie much the same. The pain not so bad today, and she seems brighter. Mycki returned just before sundown quite a kind letter from Archer advising me to bring her in and sending a plaster, Belladonna we think to be applied to her side. I put it on at bedtime. Brown walked in in the evening. He has decided on going home and came to spend Xmas [sic] here. Sent Jacu away early to Queenstown for the letters to surprise dear Jennie. Brown tells me the mail is in.

*Saturday 20th.* Jen seemed much better this morning. Very hot day. Usual clean up. Not able to do much reading. Glad to have had old Drayton here so long. I was very sorry Jennie would be so unwell the whole time. Jacu arrived in the evening with 5 English letters for us. None for Drayton. However I was able to tell him about the Bishop. [No other ?] letters for us. Reading, up till 12 pm [sic] but we had not nearly finished them. All pretty good news. Tired and Jennie quite worn out. I hope, please God she will soon be better.

*Sunday 21st. St Thomas' Day.* Reading letters all the morning. Up to very late indeed. Rather seedy. But I fancy it is more laziness and weather than anything else. Did not finish our letters till 1. Very [word illegible] ones indeed. Jennie began to write this but as she had the pain come on again I got her to let me finish it.

*Monday 22nd.* Just after breakfast, Messrs Green and Bertram arrived. Mr Green stayed until the afternoon, then went over to St Marks. Waters kindly sent over his wagon to take Jennie to Queenstown. Not knowing that our own had returned. Kind letter from Patten asking her to go and stay there.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Green back to breakfast. Left about eleven. Jennie very poorly. Brown came back in the evening. Had a jolly letter from old Key and Mrs Armstrong.

*Wednesday 24th.* Sent the post on early. Making puddings all the morning. Two for the children and one for ourselves. Cut some peach boughs in the evening to decorate the chapel which we did after service. Gave the children out their new clothes. Had some singing in the evening.

*Thursday 25th. Christmas Day.* Early Communion. Whitboy baptized at midday service by the name of Paulusi. Brown, Annie, Saul and self witnesses. Very impressive service. Came on dull and cold in the evening. Did not have any English service. Liefeldt rode off for St Marks. Gave the people all a feast today. After evening services had dinner. Woodrooffe and Brown came. Very cosy evening indeed. Sang *God save the Queen* as a finale.

*Friday 26th. St Stephens.* Started for Queenstown in the wagon at 8.30. Very fast. Found myself racing after the wagon. Got there about 3.15. Without outspanning. Jennie lay sick all the way. Found Mr Green out and went to see Archer. He was very kind and prescribed for her. Back and waited until Mr and Mrs Green returned. They most kindly put us up. Crawled down and saw Brown and Newton. Spent pleasant evening.

*Saturday 27th. St Johns.* Bathed with Green at 5.45. Splendid bathe. Breakfast and service at 9. I went down to Brown's, Bell's and Newtons. Got the saddles etc and left about 12 p.m. Intensely hot. Heavy storm came on when we had passed Birches. Jennie continuously very sick. Did not outspan, crossed the Imvani at 5.30 and got over the Neck just before dark and arrived here at 8. So very tired and sleepy indeed. Found all well. Tea and soon off to bed. Yesterday I had two letters from the two Littles. Wrote exceedingly kind [sic].

*Sunday 28th. Holly Innocents.* Morning service at 8. Jennie very sick and weak. Not able to eat anything. School and second service as usual. Nice rain till 10. Nothing heard from Drayton.

*Monday 29th.* Jennie still poorly. Rode to St Marks, waded the river. Got back about seven, very heavy thunderstorm, wet through. Snowdrop went very well.

*Tuesday 30th.* Heavy thunderings all day. No news.

*Wednesday 31st.* End of the year.

*Thursday 1st January 1863.* David brought us notes wishing us a "happy new year" after the Dutch custom. Nothing particular happened.

*Friday 2nd.* Read all day. Drayton and Liefeldt arrived in the evening.

*Saturday 3rd.* Read Brown. Jolly chats with Drayton.

*Sunday 4th.* Woodrooffe went to Queenstown. Services wretchedly attended. Drayton read the English service.

*Monday 5th.* Drayton left with Nqoqi. I walked with him to the bottom of Bram Neck, he is going to Shiloh, Fort Beaufort and Grahamstown. Very sorry to part with the old boy. Read all day. Had a very curious epistle from Patten in the evening. Wrote English letters, very short ones as I had no time. Woodrooffe returned in the evening done up. School began Liefeldt taking all.

*Tuesday 6th. Epiphany.* I took morning service. Had a short note from the Bishop in the evening, and Woodrooffe received my papers.

*Wednesday 7th.* Read all day.

*Thursday 8th.* Reading all day.

*Friday 9th.* Reading as usual. Waters wrote to Woodrooffe, saying he thought the girls had better go to St Marks, but this we cannot manage. I wrote a private letter to Waters about it. Slight shower in the afternoon. Two very heavy peels of thunder quite close.

*Saturday 10th.* Read all the morning. Mr Maggs arrived in the afternoon. Liefeldt came from Queenstown in the evening with an awful bill from Brown. Settled our accounts up to the end of the year.

*Sunday 11th.* Woodrooffe did not go to town as he felt done up. Schools, service as usual.

*Monday 12th.* Began examination papers. A very difficult one on the Prayer book. Heard from Mr Waters. Was very seedy and done up in the evening, obliged to go to bed directly after tea.

*Tuesday 13th.* Rather better this morning so sat to work gain on a paper on the Articles.

*Wednesday 14th.* Did a paper on Pearson, sat up until late finishing it. Very heavy thunderstorm in the afternoon. Post arrived, but no letters for us.

*Thursday 15th.* Woodrooffe set me a paper on the Old Testament. Made arrangements for Sarah and some of the girls to go to St Marks.

*Friday 16th.* Did a paper on the New Testament. Sent Sarah and girls to St Marks. Mr St Leger came from Queenstown.

*Saturday 17th.* Busy packing and moving stores, and boxes into Sarah's room. Mr St Leger left.

*Sunday 18th.* Services as usual, dined with Mr Woodrooffe.

*Monday 19th.* Up very early. The wagon left at 5.30 for King William's Town. Had breakfast with Woodrooffe, and then started on horseback. Liefeldt rode a short way with us. Met Mr Maggs and Mr Waters at Tylden. Led Jennie's horse across the Kei as we would not wait for the



wagon. Offsaddled at the Naqu and had dinner. Got to Daliwe that night.

*Tuesday 20th.* Started very early and breakfasted at the Thomas River. Called on Mr Birt as we passed. Slept at the Kabousie. Very windy night.

*Wednesday 21st.* Got to Frankfort for breakfast. Rode on with Woodrooffe to King William's Town. Got there about 2.30. Found Mr Little had not arrived from Grahamstown. The wagon got in at 4.30. Little came home just at the same time. He was most kind and hospitable. Mr Woodrooffe came in in the evening.

*Thursday 22nd.* Went to church at 7.30 to hear the Bishop's charge which he did not deliver the night before as he intended, as all were not present. Conference began at 10.30.<sup>20</sup> Heard from the Merrimans. Mrs Staunton<sup>21</sup> called on Jennie. Revising missionary rules at the Conference. Dined at Archdeacon Kitton's in a marquee. They drank our healths. Conference again in the evening until quite late - chatting to Little until late.

*Friday 23rd.* Early Litany. Conference as yesterday. Called on Mrs Woodrooffe, Mrs Staunton, and Mrs Grey. Jennie spent the evening at Heads. Nice chat again in the evening with Little. Dined at Kitton.

*Saturday 24th.* Conference closed. Went to see the Bishop at 5.0 and he spoke to me about three quarters of an hour. Did not dine at the Stauntons as Jennie was unwell and I wished for a quiet evening. Little went to the Staunton's. Woodrooffe came to tea.

*Sunday 25th.* Intensely hot. Was ordained Deacon. Bishop preached. Was very sorry to see so few communicants. All the clergy in surplices except Turpin. Evening service at 6.30. Mr Cotterill preached a very long sermon. Woodrooffe came up in the evening, had a nice chat.

*Monday 26th.* Had a meeting at 9.30 in the church to pass a few resolutions, confirmation followed. Went to Heads to pay bills etc. Called to see Mr Oak. Went to hear the band at 5.0. Mrs Staunton an awfully jolly party. Jennie spent the evening at the Oaks. I fetched her home. Sat up till very late with Little, talking over the mysteries of missionary marriages. Little got out his dead cat [sic] this afternoon.

*Tuesday 27th.* Called to say goodbye to Mrs Kitton. The Bishop not yet returned. Saw rest of the party and wished them goodbye. Wagon left at 11.30. I followed at 2.30 and overtook them at Frankfurt just as the wagon had outspanned. Spent a pleasurable evening. Little's kindness beyond all description. Enjoyed the trip very much.

*Wednesday 28th.* Went to Kabousie to breakfast. Reached Birt's about 2.0. Thomas River about 8.30. Kept awake by wagons passing.

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20. The fifth annual conference of Church of England Missionaries in British Kaffraria met at King William's Town on 22 January, 1863. It set up a board of management for mission affairs. Wide ranging discussion included issues of finance (always problematic) staffing and rules for mission stations as well as the constantly recurring issues of tribal customs, viz lobola, circumcision, intonjani, polygamy, beer drinks, dances and the use of red ochre. Attention was given, too, to the need to provide education for mission workers and the translation of the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and hymns. (*Colonial Church Chronicle*, May 1863, pp.189, 198)

21. Captain Staunton was resident magistrate of East London. (*King William's Town Gazette*, 18.7.1857)

*Thursday 29th.* Off at daybreak to Thorn River for breakfast. Very hot. Stayed there until after midday and then on to the Swart Kei. Bently was very kind and sent us milk and butter.

*Friday 30th.* Started at 6.45. Rode on in two hours. Found all quite well. Country looking fine. Sarah not returned. Put the house a little in order. Wagon arrived at 11.30. Very glad to get home after our most pleasant trip. All has gone quite smoothly with us. Rather tired the rest of the day. Got our English letters in numbers.

*Saturday 31st.* Hard at work all day getting the house in order. Heard from Waters. Wagon arrived in the evening.

*Sunday 1st February.* Service and school as usual. Singing and Mr Woodrooffe came in the evening.

*Monday 2nd.* School began regularly. I took the afternoon school. Wrote to Mrs Merriman and Little.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Schools as usual. Mr Waters and Harry came in the afternoon, as the Kei was full.

*Wednesday 4th.* Was very seedy all day. Mr Waters and Harry left in the afternoon. Postman arrived with English papers.

*Thursday 5th.* Rather better today, but did not go to school. Mr Liefeldt left for his home.

*Friday 6th.* Almost well today. Had to take afternoon school. Mr Woodrooffe took the morning one.

*Saturday 7th.* Had a thorough cleaning of the Longroom. Marked all the plates and cups of the children. Gave Sarah a scolding.

*Sunday 8th.* Holy communion in the afternoon (English). Singing in the evening. Took the entire charge of the boarding school.

*Monday 9th.* Had all the schools as Liefeldt was away. Wrote English letters.

*Tuesday 10th.* Post came in the evening. Heard from Harry and Archdeacon Merriman. Sat up late reading the *Newcomes*.<sup>22</sup>

*Wednesday 11th.* Schools, as usual - gave the children a singing lesson in the afternoon.

*Thursday 12th.* Schools, and very busy all day. Sat up until after twelve reading.

*Friday 13th.* Woodrooffe went to Queenstown. Finished the *Newcomes* in the evening, but sat up to read *Guardians*. Had a game of chess in the evening.

*Saturday 14th.* Sat in the verandah all the morning while our rooms were being done. Jennie rather seedy in the evening.

*Sunday 15th.* Had to take all the services as Woodrooffe was away. Singing in the evening.

*Monday 16th.* Schools as usual. All the big girls away in the afternoon, so kept them in until sundown.

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22. W M Thackeray, *The Newcomes*, originally published in 32 monthly parts, 1853-1855.

Woodrooffe came home in the evening.

*Tuesday 17th. Shrove Tuesday.* Had schools as usual. Mended all the windows in Sarah's, girls', and Longroom. Woodrooffe came to tea.

*Wednesday 18th. Ash Wednesday.* Had an extra service at twelve. English mail arrived. Got a jolly packet of letters. Heard from Little. No school in the afternoon. Brown sent us some grapes.

*Thursday 19th.* Schools as usual. Felt rather seedy in the evening, so went to bed early. Read *Hooker*.

*Friday 20th.* All right this morning. Had chapel rather early and schools as usual. Game of chess in the evening.

*Saturday 21st.* Jen not bright enough to ride to St Marks, so I rode by myself on Snowdrop. Patten and his wife pretty well. Usual amount of scandal talked, left at 5.0. Paid off the people and accounts and so to bed.

*Sunday 22nd.* Services as usual. Kafir communion in the morning. Singing in the evening. Wrote to Drayton.

*Monday 23rd.* Schools as usual. Nothing important today. Woodrooffe rode to St Marks. No news.

*Tuesday 24th.* Schools etc.

*Wednesday 25th.* Post arrived at dinner time. Heard the awful news about Liefeldt's family.<sup>23</sup> English papers and one letter. Game of chess in the evening.

*Thursday 26th.* Schools. Mr and Mrs Bouwer<sup>24</sup> passed from Shiloh on their way to their new station. Good, homely people.

*Friday 27th.* Schools. Heavy thunderstorm.

*Saturday 28th.* Spent as usual. Went [for] a walk in the afternoon.

*Sunday 1st March 1863.* Services as usual. English communion, in the afternoon. Singing in the evening, rather better than usual.

*Monday 2nd.* Wagon got back from King William's Town before school, not quite a week away. Post from St Marks.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Post came from Queenstown, heard from the Merrimans and Bishop. Brown sent us some grapes.

*Wednesday 4th.* School etc. Woodrooffe rode to Warner's, he left about 11.30.

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23. Liefeldt's three sisters drowned in the Buffalo river when the wagon in which they were travelling to visit their brother overturned. Their bodies were reported found downstream, clinging together. (Levick, 'Mullins', p.15)

24. Mr and Mrs Bouwer were Moravian missionaries stationed at Shiloh when Bishop Cotterill passed there in 1857. (USPG Archives, Cotterill, 1857, p.25)

*Thursday 5th.* Had Sarah's rooms and the passages whitewashed. Mr Woodrooffe came back in the afternoon.

*Friday 6th.* Schools as usual. Poor Liefeldt arrived about midday. Seems very tired and seedy.

*Saturday 7th.* Mr and Mrs Patten arrived from St Marks just as we were giving them up. Came on to rain in the afternoon. They left about 4.30 when it cleared up. Woodrooffe went to St Marks to take services as Mr Waters is away. I rode a little way with him. Got home by 6.0. Liefeldt came to tea in the evening.

*Sunday 8th.* Schools and services as usual. Very good attendance. Went a splendid walk on the mountain after English service. Had a jolly coze and chat in our usual seats. Gathered some figs in the garden and eat there. Singing in the evening much better than usual. Mr Woodrooffe came home at 5.30.

*Monday 9th.* Moggies' birthday. Very busy writing English letters. Liefeldt arrived from Gwytyu in the evening, where he had been doing Maggs' work.

*Tuesday 10th.* Finished English letters and sent the post off. Liefeldt took school today, so I dug all my potatoes. Found a nice quantity. Got very hot. Had school in the afternoon.

*Wednesday 11th.* Read and wrote in the morning. Cut off the tops of a good many mealies. Singing school in the afternoon.

*Thursday 12th.* Busy with Woodrooffe in the morning. Had school in the afternoon and was cutting off mealies in the garden when we saw Mr and Mrs Patten arrive. We went in directly and found that Mrs Patten had come to stay with us, while her husband went to Queenstown. Music and singing in the evening. We slept in the sitting room.

*Friday 13th.* Patten and Liefeldt left for Queenstown soon after 1.0 o'clock. Wrote out sermons in the German villa in the afternoon as Woodrooffe was very seedy, and thought I must go to Queenstown for him. Jen and Mrs Patten played backgammon in the evening. I sat up late writing sermon. Made a bed of the settees and four chairs, which made us more comfortable than the night before.

*Saturday 14th.* Woodrooffe still very seedy so we decided on my going to Queenstown. Left at 10.15 on Snowdrop. Met Patten and Liefeldt about half an hour's ride from Queenstown. They rode on to St Johns, where they had dinner, and Mr and Mrs Patten left for St Marks about 5.05 p.m. Got to Queenstown about 12.30. Went to the St Leger's. Found Mr St Leger just starting. Had dinner. Did shopping etc. Mr St Leger came back in the evening as the river was full. Sat up very late talking.

*Sunday 15th.* Mr St Leger left before 6.0 a.m. Had service at 11.0 and again at 7.0 in the evening. Very good attendance. Took Kafir service for Newton in the afternoon.

*Monday 16th.* Finished shopping. Mrs St Leger gathered me some splendid flowers. Left about 12.0. Rode home in two hours and forty minutes. Very good work. Snowdrop came along capitally - gathered quinces in the evening.

*Tuesday 17th.* Put a new lock on the kitchen door, and bolt on the Longroom. School in the

afternoon. Post arrived. No letters for us.

*Wednesday 18th.* Sent post to St Marks. Singing school in the afternoon. Woodrooffe and Liefeldt came in in the evening, and we had some music.

*Thursday 19th.* Read in the morning. School in the afternoon. Very cozy evening. Read *Hooker*.

*Friday 20th.* Reading and school as usual. Got our English letters in the evening, not so many as usual.

*Saturday 21st.* Worked in the garden. Very windy. Finished quince jam after a great deal of messing on Jennie's part. Cut off mealie tops in the evening.

*Sunday 22nd.* Schools, services as usual. All the big girls late for English service so Woodrooffe kept them in till sundown. Kafir communion in the morning. Went to see a Kafir woman with Liefeldt and walked over the koppies. Found a large lizard, scorpion, wasp and small snake, which Liefeldt put in a bottle and brought home in his pocket. Woman came to have her hand dressed. Singing in the evening. Woodrooffe turned the children out as they would not sing.

*Monday 23rd.* Went to look at the woman's hand directly after breakfast. Wrote letters to the Grahamstown boys. Jennie wrote to Mrs Merriman and Harry. Dressed woman's hand again.

*Tuesday 24th.* Schools as usual. Post arrived as we were cozily reading in the evening with all the English papers. Great number for us. Woodrooffe came in in the evening and we sat up late telling yarns. Had Longroom whitewashed.

*Wednesday 25th.* *Lady Day.* Read *Hooker* in the morning. Manzali very troublesome at afternoon school. Went to see the woman's hand in the evening. Had chapel whitewashed, which greatly improves it. Saul's wagon arrived in the evening with small parcel for us. Read Brown on the *Articles*.

*Thursday 26th.* Read until 11.0 a.m. and then began the chapel windows, most tiresome work. Finished one, which looks very well. Walked to see the woman. Read Brown in the evening.

*Friday 27th.* Long and cozy reading of Brown in the morning. Put another window in the chapel. School in the afternoon. Sent to Queenstown by Saul's wagon. Liefeldt rode to Queenstown. Reading Brown in the evening.

*Saturday 28th.* Hard at work all day putting windows in the chapel. Finished about 6.0 p.m. Looks very nice indeed. Went to see the woman's hand, which seems better. Woodrooffe came to tea in the evening, and Liefeldt arrived just as we had finished.

*Sunday 29th.* Chapel very late. School as usual. Came on to rain in the afternoon, so did not have our usual Sunday walk. Felt rather seedy in the evening.

*Monday 30th.* Had midday service. All the big girls late for morning chapel. Baptized a child who was dying in Saul's hut. Wrote to Mr Lightfoot,<sup>25</sup> Drayton, Hancock<sup>26</sup> and Brown. Post arrived in the

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25. Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot (1831-1904). Inspired to mission work by Robert Gray he trained at St Augustine's, Canterbury and was ordained deacon before coming to Cape Town where he was ordained priest in St George's Cathedral. He worked mainly among the coloured people of Cape Town and for

evening, but no letters for us.

*Tuesday 31st.* Read Brown in the morning. Service at 11.15. Burial of the child directly afterwards. Mr Waters and Harry arrived on their way to Queenstown. Jennie kept me waiting for dinner an immense time. Rode part of the way with Waters. Gathered in pumpkins. Post boy arrived on my mare, which Newton bought for £2.10s. He is very large and will I think suit me very well. Heard from the Merrimans and Newton. Long chat with Woodrooffe in the evening.

*Wednesday 1st April 1863.* Tried to make Jennie an April fool, and partially succeeded. Cozy reading in the morning. Midday service, and schools as usual. Reading again in the evening. Went to see the woman.

*Thursday 2nd.* Read Brown all the morning. Mr Waters and Harry arrived directly after midday service. Left for St Marks about 3.0 p.m. Chat with Woodrooffe in the evening.

*Friday 3rd.* Good Friday service and school as on Sunday. English service in the afternoon. Went to see woman's hand. Quiet evening.

*Saturday 4th.* St Mark's wagon left about 9.0 a.m. Very busy putting the chapel nice all the morning. Shortened two forms after dinner. Chat with Woodrooffe in the evening.

*Sunday 5th. Easter day.* Very happy day indeed. Early English communion. Woodrooffe and Liefeldt dined with us. Sarah had a bad toothache so sent her to lie down. Very nice walk after English service. Singing as usual in the evening.

*Monday 6th.* Read hard all day. Woodrooffe, and 3 big girls went to Queenstown, and Liefeldt to St Marks. No schools. Post came in the evening and our wagon home from the Gwytyu. Wrote a few English letters.

*Tuesday 7th.* Gave the children pumpkins for dinner. Read hard all day in German villa. Woodrooffe came from Queenstown about 7.0 a.m. and Mr Liefeldt came from St Marks.

*Wednesday 8th.* Left directly after breakfast for St Marks. Felt rather seedy, and did not get on very quickly with my papers. Gordon talked the whole time. English service late in the evening, pipe at the Pattens and chat with the Wylds until 11.15.

*Thursday 9th.* Examination again, Gordon would talk so had not time to do mine on the *Articles*. Got home about 6.45 p.m. Rather tired as Koodoo is not very comfortable. Cozy evening.

*Friday 10th.* Had a bad headache, so did not do my papers. Settled accounts with Woodrooffe. Wrote English letters.

*Saturday 11th.* Sent Mqoqi to the Imvani with our letters. Did paper on the *Articles*. Nice walk in the garden in the afternoon. Chat with Woodrooffe in the evening.

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many charitable causes. He edited the magazine *Church News* and served on the committee of the South African Library. He became Archdeacon of Cape Town in 1885.

26. Probably the Rev Thomas I Hancock, stationed at Papendorp 1865-1867. (Pascoe, *SPG*, London, 1901)

*Sunday 12th.* Very late morning chapel. School as usual. Very nice walk in the afternoon with Jennie, Jerry and Bessie. Singing and chat as usual in the evening.

*Monday 13th.* Rather late chapel. Told the people to put their huts in order and promised a pair of trousers as a prize for the best hut. Heard from Gordon, who goes home tomorrow, so will not come here. Chat with Woodrooffe in the evening.

*Thursday 14th.* Women gathered in the mealies from my garden and carried several pumpkins in the evening. Post arrived after we were in bed, but no letters for us.

*Wednesday 15th.* Stored away pumpkins. Patten came over to see Woodrooffe. Rode part of the way home with him after school. Had the girls in to read in the evening.

*Thursday 16th.* Read all the morning. Schools as usual. Reading in the evening.

*Friday 17th.* Very hot windy day. Read *Bishop Ken*.<sup>27</sup> Woodrooffe left for Queenstown about 3.0 p.m.

*Saturday 18th.* Read *Guardians* in Woodrooffe's room, sent Condeshe for a ride on Snowdrop. Cozy walk in the evening. Liefeldt came to tea.

*Sunday 19th.* Services as usual. Liefeldt read a sermon in Kafir. Very windy at English service. Miss Birches<sup>28</sup> sat a long time with us. Children sang very nicely in the evening.

*Monday 20th.* Woodrooffe came from Queenstown just before afternoon school so I gave the children a holiday and we had a cozy reading of our English letters. Good news on the whole. Wrote to Mrs Merriman in the evening.

*Tuesday 21st.* Schools as usual. Read *Two Years Ago* by Kingsley.<sup>29</sup> Post arrived in the evening with several papers for us. Read [*St Paul's letter to the*] *Romans* with Woodrooffe.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Finished *Two Years Ago*. Read with Ruth and Anna in the evening, and afterwards read *Romans* with Woodrooffe.

*Thursday 23rd.* Reading for examinations in the morning. School as usual, and a walk in the afternoon. Had Mary and Susan and the 3 big boys to read in the evening. Read *Romans* again with Woodrooffe.

*Friday 24th April 1863.* Our Wedding Day. Tiresome law case going on all the morning. Schools as usual. Woodrooffe came in, in the evening. Liefeldt went to St Marks.

*Saturday 25th.* Sat in Liefeldt's rooms all the morning. Liefeldt came home from St Marks. Did accounts in the evening. Took a view of the station from the mountain.

*Sunday 26th.* Kafir communion after morning service. Other services and schools as usual. Singing in the evening and chat with Woodrooffe till late.

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27. Presumably a life of Bishop Ken (1637-1711), prominent prelate and hymnologist. He wrote, *i.a.* *Awake my soul and with the sun and Glory to thee, my God, this night*. (Everymans Encyclopedia)

28. Miss J Birch and her sister taught at St Mark's. (Diocesan Schedule for 1864)

29. Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago*, 3 vols. (1857).

*Monday 27th.* Read *Romans*, in the morning. Gave the children a half holiday for Woodrooffe's birthday and finished carrying pumpkins. Rather seedy in the evening.

*Tuesday 28th.* Did not go to morning chapel. Read *Romans* again. School as usual. Cozy evening.

*Wednesday 29th.* Riding all the morning, with Woodrooffe. Took Jerry for the first time. Had Snowdrop bled, very much afraid I shall lose her with the horse sickness. Girls came to read in the evening. Mr Waters came from St Marks. Long chat in Woodrooffe's rooms.

*Thursday 30th.* Mr Waters left about 9.45, and Woodrooffe went part of the way with him. Long chat with Jennie about Grahamstown. School as usual. Talked to Woodrooffe about Grahamstown, and decided to ride to St Marks the next day.

*Friday 1st May 1863.* Rode over to St Marks with Woodrooffe directly after breakfast. Found Miss Ende very willing to come over here while we are away. Got home soon after sundown, had tea, and was chatting with Jennie when Archdeacon Merriman arrived. Had a very pleasant evening chatting etc.

*Saturday 2nd.* Rode with Archdeacon Merriman part of the way to St Marks, got home to dinner, felt rather seedy in the afternoon; accounts etc in the evening.

*Sunday 3rd.* Early English communion. Woodrooffe left after dinner for St Peters, where he is to meet the Archdeacon and ride in with him to the [Keiskamma] Hoek. Singing in the evening.

*Monday 4th.* Out on the station all the morning. Doctored Snowdrop. School in the afternoon, and wrote letters in the evening to Mrs Merriman and Hancock.

*Tuesday 5th.* Sent off the post boy. Schools as usual. John Hlahle came from St Peters. Women's class in the evening. Post arrived, but no letters.

*Wednesday 6th.* Sent post to St Marks. Singing school in the afternoon. Children very sulky. Anna and Martha in to read in the evening.

*Thursday 7th.* Wrote English letters all the morning. Children to read in the evening, and afterwards gave Jennie a tremendous licking at chess. Ruth seedy and her mother wanted her to sleep with her in Boynty's hut, but I did not like it, and sent for Nosafu to sleep here instead.

*Friday 8th.* Rather early chapel. Very cold morning. School as usual. Quiet evening as most of the men were away, Liefeldt rode to Queenstown.

*Saturday 9th.* Gave the girls a good scolding after chapel. Sat in Woodrooffe's room all the morning, and there heard the bad news about Saul. Sent for John to tell his poor wife. Liefeldt came home from Queenstown, and sat with us until late in the evening.

*Sunday 10th.* Very cold day. Services as usual. I spoke to the people after midday service, and Liefeldt spoke in the evening. Singing pretty good in the evening.

*Monday 11th.* Dug potatoes and gathered Cape gooseberries and tamatas [sic; tomatoes] in the morning. Wrote to St Leger, in answer to a letter of his to Woodrooffe and Newton. Post arrived



about 11.30 just as we had gone to bed. Poulticed Boji's child's eye, and Nomgogwana's hand.

*Tuesday 12th.* Scolded Nosafu, Nolasi, and Noseleni for trying to go to Queenstown without a pass. Attended to my patients, and read a little in the morning. Women in the evening, and cozy reading of Shakespeare (*King John*) until late.

*Wednesday 13th.* Chapel and schools as usual. Girls in the evening, and finished *King John* - Post arrived about midday with letters from Woodrooffe, St Leger, Newton, and a bill from Brown.

*Thursday 14th. Ascension Day.* Girls all had new dresses. No schools and services as on Sunday. Very cozy walk in the afternoon. Jennie crowing at my not going to Queenstown, when at tea time there came a letter from Mr Waters, saying he had influenza very badly, and asking me to go for him. Jin [sic; Jen] very cross all the evening. I won three games of chess.

*Friday 15th.* Wrote sermons all the morning, school in the afternoon and sent pumpkins to St Mark's. Sermons again all the evening.

*Saturday 16th.* Started soon after breakfast for Queenstown on Gamba, had a long ride and a great deal of samboking to get on. Found St Leger had lost his horses, so he did not go to the Kei. Made me take his Sunday duty though all the same.

*Sunday 17th.* Had morning and evening services, and in the evening went to Griffiths, where I met Dr Archer, and had a long chat.

*Monday 18th.* Got up very early morning to start for home, but could not get any coffee, so did not leave until 8.40. Got home as the bell was ringing for sewing school. Sent Jennie off, and had breakfast, when she came home I surprised her with English letters, which I had got on Saturday and kept unopen[ed]. Gave the children a holiday, and had a cozy reading. Very cozy evening.

*Tuesday 19th.* As all the children were ill with the influenza, gave a whole holiday, very busy doctoring all day. Chess in the evening, after the women left. Anniversary of our leaving England.

*Wednesday 20th.* Still doctoring all day. Post arrived with English papers, and a very kind letter for Jennie from Mrs Merriman. Cozy evening after Witboy left, reading papers.

*Thursday 21st.* Just as we finished breakfast, Woodrooffe arrived, he came in and had breakfast, and afterwards we had a long chat about everything. Felt the influenza coming on. Mr Woodrooffe came in, in the evening to drink his brother's health.

*Friday 22nd.* Felt very seedy in the morning, but went to chapel, was obliged to come out, and fell down outside in a faint. Very seedy all day, but felt a little better in the evening.

*Saturday 23rd.* Still very seedy, sat with Woodrooffe all the morning and again in the evening to settle accounts. Played chess with Jennie, and went to bed very late.

*Sunday 24th. Whit Sunday.* Collected £1.12.3d at the offertory and after midday service for Eastern offerings. Wet day, so did not go for a walk. Singing in the evening, and gave the children all a glass of wine afterwards to drink the Queen's health. Still seedy.

*Monday 25th.* Gave a holiday for Whit Monday. Finished a sketch of the station, and cut out both my horses' feet. Very seedy indeed all day. Heard from Patten by the post. Woodrooffe had tea with us, and after tea carried me off to look at some papers. Wrote to Brown.

*Tuesday 26th.* Another whole holiday, about eleven we all went on the hill where we had some very good horseracing, climbing the greasy pole and getting money out of a large tub of water. The men ran races in sacks, which Witboy won splendidly. We got home after 4.0 o'clock, had dinner, and then to chapel. Did not have the women as I was very tired. Played several games of chess, and beat Jennie thoroughly. Woodrooffe came in and we had a long chat.

*Wednesday 27th.* Sent on the post which arrived the night before with a letter for me from the Bishop. School on the afternoon. Big girls in the evening, and a game of chess afterwards, in which as usual, I was the conqueror.

*Thursday 28th.* Schools regularly again. Began making a *cartle* [sic; *kate*: thonged bed frame] for the wagon. Sharpened my planes, and some other tools. Boarders in, in the evening.

*Friday 29th.* Been working at the *cartle* all the morning. School in the afternoon, and walk and chapel as usual. Men in the evening.

*Saturday 30th.* Wrote to Brown and Newton, as Witboy was going to Queenstown. Then went on with the *cartle* which I finished before dinner. Did accounts, and usual Saturday work.

*Sunday 31st.* Schools, and services as usual. Liefeldt arrived in the night from St Marks. Read *Tom Brown [sic] School Days*.<sup>30</sup> Children came in to sing in the evening, and I gave them a scolding for not singing out. David's daughter's child very ill indeed so we baptized it. The poor child died in the night.

*Monday 1st June 1863.* Chapel in good time. Found Newton here, who had arrived about 3.30 a.m. Darala [sic] came to breakfast. School in the afternoon. Woodrooffe came in, in the evening, and we had a discussion about the girls going to Grahamstown. Wrote to St Leger. Buried poor Dorothy's child just before sunset.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Directly after breakfast sent for Stoffell, and began mending the roof of our house. Put in a new rafter at the gable and made a first rate thing of it altogether. Stoffell finished the thatching in the afternoon. Women in the evening and post.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Stoffell finished the roof. Galvani swept the ceiling and I nailed up the corner, which was a very disagreeable business. School as usual. Man arrived from Queenstown in the evening, with news of the death of St Leger's child. Big girls in, in the evening.

*Thursday 4th.* Woodrooffe started for Queenstown soon after breakfast. Read in the morning. Children in the evening. Lucas son of Lunda came to report that 9 sheep had been found in the Bolotwa. Saul reports one ox black and white, and branded.

*Friday 5th.* Woodrooffe came back from Queenstown. Did not have the men in the evening as Witboy was away.

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30. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857)

*Saturday 6th.* Sat with Woodrooffe in the morning. Tried to read in the afternoon but was interrupted every minute. Newton came on his way back to Queenstown but went on as soon as he got a fresh horse. Quiet evening.

*Sunday 7th.* Service as usual. English communion in the morning. Went for our Sunday walk in the afternoon. Wrote English letters. Had singing in the evening, and a cozy read afterwards.

*Monday 8th.* Finished English letters for the post, which arrived from St Marks in the evening. Had a letter from Patten in which he hints at sly foxes about here. Wrote to St Leger.

*Tuesday 9th.* Sent off the post, and read [Wordsworth ?]<sup>31</sup> all the morning. School as usual, and walk before chapel. Women in the evening, and the post. Letters from St Leger, and bill from Brown. Sat up reading papers. Wrote to Patten and Miss Ende.

*Wednesday 10th.* Sent post to St Marks. Read a little. School in the afternoon and big girls in the evening. Won a game of chess afterwards.

*Thursday 11th.* Expecting the Maggs' all the evening, but they did not arrive until we had half done dinner. John and his wife came with them. Played chess with Maggs in the evening which was great fun. Gave them our bedroom.

*Friday 12th.* Swung the *cartle* in the wagon. Maggs and his wife left soon after breakfast. Very busy all day measuring out land for the people, very hard work, as there is not enough for all. Obligated to go to Woodrooffe in the evening to help him with examination papers. Cozy game of chess and coze afterwards.

*Saturday 13th.* Still busy packing. Miss Ende arrived from St Marks in the evening. Woodrooffe left midday for Queenstown. Tried to persuade Miss Ende to live in our rooms while we were away, but in vain.

*Sunday 14th.* Services as usual. Singing in the evening. Walk after English service with Jen and Miss Ende. Finished packing after Miss Ende went to bed.

*Monday 15th.* Got up long before dawn to get things ready to start. Had breakfast in Woodrooffe's room. The two second oxen would not pull together, and made a dreadful fuss at starting. Jen walked to the top of the hill. I rode as far as Naqu where we outspanned. The *cartle* was very easy indeed and we got on very nicely. Outspanned for the night at the bottom of Windfogelberg hill. Chopped some firewood and got a very snug place for the night.

*Tuesday 16th.* On before sunrise and outspanned at Daliwe. Had breakfast and got on as far as the drift before Mr Birt's place. Did not cross as it was very dark. Found one hut an ex-kraal. Came on to rain, and a tremendous wind. Boys and Galvani slept in the hut and I managed as well as I could under the kraal. Very cold night.

*Wednesday 17th.* Trekged to the Kabousie to breakfast. Went to wash and Jennie lost her ring, and was in great distress about it. I sent for Galvani and searched and dived for it, and at last found it on the bank. Got to Frankfort for the night. Made a cozy place with bushes, and had a splendid fire.

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31. Presumably William Wordsworth (1770-1850), romantic poet.

*Thursday 18th.* Outspanned about two miles from King W[illia]ms Town, sent Galvani and the boys for water and washed in a dry vlay [sic; vlei: wetland]. Got to town about one o'clock, saw Little, the Oaks and Mrs Kitton and went on at once. Rode to see old Mr Liefeldt who seemed very pleased to see me. Joined the wagon again in Green River bush at sundown. Cozy fire.

*Friday 19th.* Got to the Keiskamma to breakfast. Bought some milk and pumpkins from the Kafirs. Inspanned, and had a very long trek but could not quite get to Breakfast Vlei. Tied the oxen up at night, as the poisonous tulip<sup>32</sup> was growing around us in great quantities.

*Saturday 20th.* Started very early, and outspanned at the top of the Fish River bush, where we had some coffee. On again to the Fish River, very dusty trek indeed. Men lost all their Kafir corn, and we were obliged to give them bread. Lost the key of my carpet bag, which gave me a great deal of trouble. Inspanned, and made a splendid trek through Pluto's Vale, as far as the toll bar on Botha's hill. Bought some meal and tobacco, and found a cozy place for the night.

*Sunday 21st.* Heard that Mr Thompson was coming for service at the police camp, so had service by ourselves. Very long day, read *Highland Widow*<sup>33</sup> for want of something better. Got some meat from the toll bar, and cooked it for tea. Mr Thompson passed about half past four with a very tired horse.

*Monday 22nd.* Treked [sic] on very early for Grahamstown. I rode on, and got to the Archdeacon's soon after nine. Wagon soon followed, the Merrimans were most kind. Had breakfast, washed, and then had a cozy reading of English letters, over a splendid fire. Mr and Mrs G. Cotterill<sup>34</sup> called. Went to Bishopsbourne [Bee ?] in the evening.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Mr Waters arrived soon after breakfast. Mrs Hutt called. Singing classes. Went to G. Cotterill in the evening and heard Syrée sing most splendidly.

*Wednesday 24th.* Visitation, and ordination at 11 o'clock. Bishop gave an excellent charge. G. Cotterill came to dinner. Choir practising in the afternoon. Clerical conference in the evening.

*Thursday 25th.* Litany at half past nine, and Synod<sup>35</sup> directly afterwards. Adjourned about two. Singing in the afternoon, and Synod again in the evening. Booth,<sup>36</sup> and Greenstock both very disagreeable.

*Friday 26th.* Synod until one o'clock. Copied some music, and had choir practising at 4 o'clock. Synod again in the evening. Booth very tiresome as usual.

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32. *Moreoa polystachya*: a type of wild iris, poisonous to cattle not reared in the district.

33. Walter Scott, *Highland Widow* in *Chronicles of Canongate* (1827).

34. G E Cotterill, BA, a son of the Bishop, was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. In January 1863 he succeeded Revd F Y St Leger as headmaster of St Andrew's. He was ordained deacon in June 1863.

35. The Second Synod of the Diocese of Grahamstown met on 25 June 1863. The Bishop's charge was chiefly concerned with the principles of synodical government but other issues discussed: the need for a paid secretary for all diocesan boards; education; patronage and the appointment of clergy; the parochial system and the designation of parish boundaries and the control of ecclesiastical property.

36. Edward Booth, a lay representative at the synod, honorary secretary of the Diocese, treasurer of the Diocesan Finance Board and churchwarden of the Cathedral. (USPG Archives, Booth to SPG, 1861 correspondence)

*Saturday 27th.* Synod in the morning. Chancellor Barrow came to breakfast. Clerical conference in the evening. Mr Johnstone<sup>37</sup> read his paper, but I was not present, as I had to attend choir practising.

*Sunday 28th.* Went to St Bartholomews both morning and afternoon, and to St Andrews in the evening. After service went to G. Cotterill and had some singing which I very much enjoyed. Woodrooffe preached a very good missionary sermon at St Bartholomews in the afternoon.

*Monday 29th. St Peters Day.* We were all very disappointed to find it pouring with rain when we got up, so the laying the foundation stone of the Kafir church [i.e. St Philip's Church] was postponed. Choral service in St Barts at 11 o'clock, I was unfortunately late as Miss Oak sent me off to fetch Miss Pote<sup>38</sup> in the pouring rain. I got soaked, and came home alone, as Miss Pote could not make up her mind to turn out. Synod in the evening.

*Tuesday 30th.* My birthday. Went to the Synod in the morning, and at two o'clock, we all went to the Kafir Mission to lay the foundation stone of St Philip. Very nice service. Afterwards we all went into the school room, and had a very nice lunch. Went to the Synod in the evening.

*Wednesday 1st July 1863.* Very interesting day at the Synod as the St Bartholomew parish question was brought forward.<sup>39</sup> Adjourned about two o'clock, and met again at five in the evening. The Archdeacon gained his case by an enormous majority. Mr St Leger made some capital speeches. Very late before we broke up.

*Thursday 2nd.* Synod in the morning, and again in the evening. Mrs Graham at tea with the Merrimans, and they had some very good singing and music in the evening. We did not leave the Synod until nearly twelve.

*Friday 3rd.* Had a delightful musical morning at the G. Cotterills. Present Mr and Mrs Graham,<sup>40</sup> Miss Oak, Syree, Brown, Little, and others. Bishop excused our attendance at the Clerical Conference in the morning. Synod in the evening. Fetched Jennie from Mrs Khron's [sic; Krohn] where she had been to tea, on our way home.

*Saturday 4th.* Synod both morning and evening. Very very tired before it was over. Mr Steabler left in the morning by the post cart. The Archdeacon so worn out, that he fell asleep on the sofa

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37. Revd R A Johnson was rector of the parish at Alice.

38. Presumably a relative of Charles Pote who, in 1862, was a member of the Cape Legislative Council for the eastern districts.

39. Three issues converged in this dispute: who should be rector, who should appoint the rector and how extensive should be the geographical sway of the Dean of the Cathedral. St Bartholomew's church served a relatively densely populated but not very prestigious locality. Archdeacon Merriman had built the church, endowed it with an income of £100 a year and served as its rector. In 1860 a geographical division of fields of labour was made between the cathedral and St Bartholomew's but, when Revd John Mee was appointed dean of the cathedral in 1861, he claimed authority over all Grahamstown. Merriman successfully resisted this, but his further claim that, as the man who endowed the parish, he should have the right to 'present' to it (i.e. select and appoint the rector) was not acceptable to the Synod. The debate and decision were important in determining the policy of the future Church of the Province of South Africa in regard to the English patronage system. (USPG Archives, Merriman and Cotterill to SPG, 13.2 and 6.7.1860; and statement of Bishop Cotterill printed as an addendum to the Synod proceedings, 1863)

40. R Graham was then magistrate and civil commissioner at Grahamstown. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac* 1864)

before supper.

*Sunday 5th.* Sang the *Te Deum* at church in the morning. I had to take the solo as Syree was away. Choral service in the afternoon St Leger and Little came to tea in the evening.

*Monday 6th.* Synod in the morning. Made calls with Mrs Merriman, and Jennie after dinner. Wound up the Synod in the evening and sang the *Te Deum* about half past ten. Mr St Leger very crusty to everyone.

*Tuesday 7th.* Paid bills for Mrs Merriman. Woodrooffe left about half past ten. Several callers in the afternoon. Night school in the evening.

*Wednesday 8th.* Called at Bishopsbourne. Went to the hospital after dinner with the Archdeacon. Several callers again when we got home. A Mr Church came to tea in the evening.

*Thursday 9th.* Waiting about all the morning to see Mrs Merriman off. She left soon after twelve. Went out with the Archdeacon after dinner, and stayed at the Archery<sup>41</sup> on the way home.

*Friday 10th.* Walked with the Archdeacon about six miles on his way to the Kowie; lamed myself coming home. Very cozy evening. Krohns got home about half past eleven.

*Saturday 11th.* Went to town, and got my hair cut, and after dinner went out calling with Jen to West Hill. Miss Ogilvie, and Ashburnham<sup>42</sup> came to tea and we all went together to the choir practising.

*Sunday 12th.* Very wet day, and very few people at church. Archdeacon Kitton preached in the morning and Urquhart<sup>43</sup> read prayers in the afternoon, and I preached. Urquhart came to tea. Very cozy evening indeed.

*Monday 13th.* Went to the Ogilvies to dinner at two o'clock, and to the club in the evening. Heard *Othello* read very nicely.

*Tuesday 14th.* Copied music for the church. Went to the night school in the evening, Miss Davis [sic] and Miss Bissett<sup>44</sup> came to tea as they were too early for the singing school. Cozy chat and coze after school.

*Wednesday 15th.* Walked into town, and saw Fred Carlyle.<sup>45</sup> Had dinner with the Krohns and went to the hospital afterwards. To the Krohns again to tea and spend the evening.

*Thursday 16th.* Wrote English letters the whole morning, and got very tired. Krohn's came to tea. Heard from Woodrooffe that all was going on well at home.

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41. The 'Archery' was presumably Mullins' name for Archdeacon Merriman's house.

42. W Ashburnham was clerk in the magistrate's office. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1864*)

43. Revd A J Urquhart was rector of St Peter's Church, Cradock from 1858-1861 and later worked in Grahamstown. (USPG biographical index)

44. E Davies MRCS (d.1873) married Elisa Richard in 1848 the year when he was licensed to practise at the Cape. In 1862 he was in Grahamstown. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1851*) Bissett was a local farmer and Grahamstown property owner.

45. Fred Carlyle served on the Immigration Board in Grahamstown.

*Friday 17th.* Wrote a sermon all the morning went a long walk in the afternoon with Minto and Captain Cobb.<sup>46</sup> Very cozy evening.

*Saturday 18th.* Out all the morning, and went to the hospital at twelve. Little came to tea and went with me to the choir practising. He and Dudley came home to have a pipe afterwards.

*Sunday 19th.* School at ten. Service at eleven, I preached. Urquhart helped me with the communion service. Sang *Deus Miseratus* in the afternoon. Mrs Ogilvie played capitally. Read a "Vindication of Bishop Colenso" in *Good Words*<sup>47</sup> which was capital.

*Monday 20th.* At home all the morning. Had a walk in the afternoon. Went to Dudley's in the evening and had a singing match.

*Tuesday 21st.* Began *Vanity Fair*.<sup>48</sup> Archdeacon and Mrs Kitton called in the afternoon. Had tea at the Krohns, and went to the singing class in the evening.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Nice, cozy morning. Walked to town to see if Tom Merriman had arrived. He came by the passenger cart in the afternoon. Had a walk with Little and Dudley. Krohns and Minnie Oak came to tea in the evening.

*Thursday 23rd.* Went out with Tom Merriman<sup>49</sup> directly after breakfast. Found a horse for him, borrowed Byron, and rode part of the way with him. Dean called in the afternoon. Very cozy evening. Heard from home and that the Pattens have a son.

*Friday 24th.* Wrote a sermon all the morning. Went to the singing class in the afternoon. Read *Vanity Fair*, and got very much interested. Very cozy evening, reading etc.

*Saturday 25th.* Service at 10.0 o'clock. Mrs Leonard and Jennie, the whole congregation. Called on Mrs Leonard. Read in the garden. Turpin called, wrote to Woodrooffe and Patten. Walked to Fern Cleugh [Kloof] in the afternoon, with the Krohns, Ogilvies, Minto Little, Church and Captain Cobb. Went to the Krohns in the evening.

*Sunday 26th.* Had Sunday school, and church as usual. Very cozy evening, music, and *Vanity Fair*.

*Monday 27th.* Went into the town in the morning. Mr Syree came from the Kowie in the afternoon but I had gone over to see Mrs Waters, so missed him. Went to the Bee at Mrs Hudsons<sup>50</sup> in the evening, who gave a supper to the Bees. Very wet night indeed.

*Tuesday 28th.* Our dear little daughter<sup>51</sup> was born at 10.45 a.m. Wrote several letters. Had dinner with the Krohns. Acted nurse this night as we could not get one. English letters arrived.

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46. Captain C P Cobbe, Officer Commanding 13th Regiment, Port Elizabeth. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac* 1864)

47. By 1862 Bishop Colenso had already published controversial works of biblical criticism and interpretation. *Good Words* was a religious magazine.

48. W M Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (1848).

49. Tom Merriman (b.1846) was the second son of Archdeacon Merriman.

50. W Hudson was acting secretary to the Lieutenant Governor in 1862.

51. Jane Marion Mullins, the first of fourteen children born to Robert and Jennie between 1863-1890, later married the Revd Hamden Jones and lived in Cape Town. (Levick, 'Mullins', p.99)

*Wednesday 29th.* Went to the hospital in the afternoon, Mrs Krohn was very kind in coming over to Jennie and Baby. The Merrimans, with the exception of the Archdeacon, all came home in the evening. Was head nurse again tonight. Baby cried a great deal, so Mrs Merriman came, and made her some arrowroot.

*Thursday 30th.* Walked to see Turpin, and to Fort England. Came home, and sat with Jennie a long time. Was nurse again at night.

*Friday 31st.* Archdeacon Merriman came home in the morning. Went for a walk in the afternoon. The nurse came in the evening. Went to the Bissetts to tea and spend the evening. Slept at the Krohns.

*Saturday 1st August 1863.* Walked to Amos's Cleugh with the Merrimans, and Ashburnham. Very pleasant walk. Choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 2nd.* Went to St Bartholomews twice. Preached in the afternoon. Sat with Jennie in the evening and read her the English letters, very cozy indeed.

*Monday 3rd.* Redgie's birthday.<sup>52</sup> Took Urquhart's school for him all the morning. Sat with Jennie in the evening and went to the Bee about nine o'clock.

*Tuesday 4th.* Went into the town, and to the Tonic Sol, tea in the evening.

*Wednesday 5th.* Took Urquhart's school again. Boys very rude to him. Bishop called, and talked a long time, seemed to wish me to go to St Lukes and Wyld to St Johns. Played cards and sang in the evening.

*Thursday 6th.* Jennie's birthday, so she got up, and sat in the drawing room for the first time. Went for a picnic to Amos's Cleugh which I much enjoyed. Mrs Heavyside came to tea. Had a pleasant evening.

*Friday 7th.* Went to the Bishop's in the morning. It was decided we were to go to St Luke's so I have to start at once for St Johns to pack up. Played foot ball in the afternoon, and went to George Cotterill's in the evening.

*Saturday 8th.* Stayed at home all day, and wrote English letters, went to the choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 9th.* Preached at St Andrews in the morning, went again in the afternoon to catechise the boys. Cozy evening at home.

*Monday 10th.* Busy packing and started about 11.15 for Kafirland. Tom Merriman rode with me to Botha's Hill. Got to the Fish River at 2.45, and to Breakfast Vlei at 6.0 p.m. Spent a pleasant evening with Little of the 10th [Regiment].

*Tuesday 11th.* Had coffee and started at 7.30. Did not get breakfast until 3.0 p.m. as the inn near Fort White was sold up. Got to Keiskamma Hoek at 6.0 p.m. and found the Greenstocks well.

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52. Reginald Herbert Roe (b.1850), the youngest brother of Jennie.



*Wednesday 12th.* Got up at seven but could not get a horse so did not leave the Hoek till 11 o'clock and had had to take Kondishe's black mare. Offsaddled at 2.0 p.m. and when I tried to go on found the horse was done up, so I had to drive it all the way to the Winfogelburg [sic], which I reached at 7.15 p.m. after a very long and tiring walk.

*Thursday 13th.* Up by 7.30, and walked to Anta's kraal, driving my nag in front. Got there at 10.30, and walked on to Miss Bond's. Bobozaqo brought me a horse and I started for the Gwytyu. Found Maggs out, had some tea, and rode home, where I found them all going into chapel, at 5.45.

*Friday 14th.* Had long chats with Woodrooffe, and in the afternoon rode to St Marks.

*Saturday 15th.* Rode home, and got there at 11.30. Sent letters to Queenstown by Woodrooffe.

*Sunday 16th.* Had the four services as usual. Read *Essays and Reviews*.<sup>53</sup> Singing in the evening.

*Monday 17th.* Our two Fathers' birthdays. Woodrooffe came from Queenstown at 4 p.m. Heard from St Leger. Played chess with Woodrooffe in the evening.

*Tuesday 18th.* Sent off the postman. Had nothing to do all day.

*Wednesday 19th.* Went to the Patten's Christening Feast. The baby is a beauty.

*Thursday 20th.* Nothing particular all day, expecting letters from the Bishop in the evening.

*Friday 21st.* Letters arrived about 9.0 p.m. and it is decided we are to stay here at St Johns.

*Saturday 22nd.* Sent Galvani to look for a horse. Wrote to Jennie, and sent Mata with the letter.

*Sunday 23rd.* Services as usual. Singing in the evening.

*Monday 24th.* Left home soon after seven, with Kondeshe for the Hoek. Had a capital horse, and got there by moonlight.

*Tuesday 25th.* Old Koodoo could not be found until nearly twelve o'clock so I had very hard riding to Breakfast Vlei, which I reached about 7.45 p.m.

*Wednesday 26th.* Rode to Fish River to breakfast and got to Grahamstown about four o'clock. Found Jennie just coming out of the Mills. Met the Archdeacon and Tom at Turpins. Had a good wash, and some tea.

*Thursday 27th.* Walked to Bishopsbourne. Read aloud in the evening from *Macmillan*.<sup>54</sup> Went to see Mrs Krohn.

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53. *Essays and Reviews* (1860). Initiated by Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, this was a crucial and highly controversial publication in the debate over biblical interpretation. It led to judicial proceedings both in an ecclesiastical court and in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. (O Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Pt.2, London, 1970, pp.75-97)

54. *Macmillans Magazine* was launched in 1859. It was cheaper than Blackwoods and achieved more distinction for its serious articles than its fiction. (*Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, Vol.I, Toronto, 1965)

*Friday 28th.* Went shopping with Jennie all the morning. Walked to the Randals in the afternoon, and glee singing at G. Cotterills in the evening.

*Saturday 29th.* Shopped, and went to see the cricket match in the afternoon. Choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 30th.* Preached at St Andrews in the morning, and in the afternoon; dear baby was baptized at St Bartholomews, by the Archdeacon. Very pleasant quiet evening.

*Monday 31st.* Wrote English letters, and dined at Bishopsbourne. Called at Oatlands and went to G. Cotterills in the evening. Tuesday.

*Tuesday 1st September 1863.* Dined at the Huntleys,<sup>55</sup> and spent the evening there. Played whist, cribbage etc.

*Wednesday 2nd.* Our wagon arrived early in the morning, sent it to get a new disselboom. Merrimans went to the Shakespeare reading.

*Thursday 3rd.* Got the wagon loaded, and started about half past four. We were about 5 miles from town, when the hind axle broke and the wheel came off, so we had to walk back to town. Mr Broom<sup>56</sup> rode back to get a cart which met us just before Memorial Chapel.<sup>57</sup> The Merrimans were of course most surprised to see us, but took us in most kindly.

*Friday 4th.* Got up very early, borrowed Minto's horse Byron, and rode out to the wagon. Sent to town for a hind still. Worked at the wagon all the morning and got back very dusty and *tarry* [Mullins' emphasis], found Bishop Twells<sup>58</sup> had come to dinner. Had a wash. Went to the glee singing in the evening. Mr Waters rode up when I was at the wagon, so we rode into Grahamstown together.

*Saturday 5th.* Went to Bishopsbourne and wrote a sermon, choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 6th.* Bishop Twells preached at St Bartholomews in the afternoon. Very cozy evening.

*Monday 7th.* Very wet day. Wagon mended late in the afternoon.

*Tuesday 8th.* Pouring with rain all day. Tea fight at the Merrimans in the evening, and some capital quartet and glee singing.

*Wednesday 9th.* Julia and Charlotte Merriman<sup>59</sup> and Tom started for the Bay. We started about three o'clock and got to Botha's Hill, soon after dark. Very cold night, and baby cried a great deal.

*Thursday 10th.* Treked [sic] to Fish River Bush to breakfast. One of the oxen was suddenly taken ill,

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55. C H Huntley was a lawyer and clerk of the peace.

56. Broom was catechist and clerk of the peace.

57. Probably Commemoration Church (Methodist). Its foundation stone was laid in 1845 to celebrate the silver jubilee of the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. It was opened officially in November 1850. (G Butler *et al* (eds), *The 1820 Settlers: an illustrated commentary*, Cape Town, 1975, pp.320, 330)

60. Bishop Edward Twells - see biographical notes.

59. Daughters of Archdeacon Merriman, Julia was born in 1842 and Charlotte in 1844.

so we left it behind. Slept on the edge of the Bush.

*Friday 11th.* Got to Breakfast Vlei to breakfast. 3 more oxen very tired and sick, so I drove them before us. Obligated to outspan at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, as the oxen could not go on.

*Saturday 12th.* Long day's work with eight oxen and driving three before us. Got to Mr Liefeldt's after dark. Had tea, and soon went to bed.

*Sunday 13th.* A long service in the morning. Spoke to the Kafirs at evening chapel. Had a nice rest and got refreshed.

*Monday 14th.* Hired four fresh oxen, and went on to King William's Town. Saw the Oaks, and had dinner with the Cotterills. Got to Frankfort. Rainy night.

*Tuesday 15th.* Very wet morning. Could not go on until ten o'clock. Frightful work getting up the hill. The eight front oxen rushed over the side of the hill and the wagon was almost upset. Got to Qaqazela to sleep. Bitterly cold.

*Wednesday 16th.* Very cold morning, we were almost frozen. I called at Mr Birt's as we passed. Got to the Thomas River to breakfast and slept at [Thorn ?] River.

*Thursday 17th.* Started early and got to the Naqu to breakfast. I slept at the Umcelu. Thunder storm at night.

*Friday 18th.* Started at day break, and got home soon after eight. Found Woodrooffe had had the house whitewashed and made very comfortable. Unpacked, and tried to get tidy.

*Saturday 19th.* Settling things all day. Did accounts with Woodrooffe. Miss Ende left for St Peters and Mr Broom rode over to St Marks.

*Sunday 20th.* Had school and services as usual. Singing in Woodrooffe's room in the evening.

*Monday 21st.* Set Jacu to work in the garden. Settled things with Woodrooffe. Post arrived from St Marks.

*Tuesday 22nd.* Woodrooffe left for Grahamstown about half past ten, and I spent the rest of the morning getting his room tidy. Planted potatoes in the afternoon.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Cut trees in the garden. School as usual in the afternoon. Cozy evening over the fire.

*Thursday 24th.* Planted 24 rows of potatoes in the morning. Miss Liefeldt rode to St Marks with her brother. Charlie's birthday. Cut trees after school. Very cozy evening.

*Friday 25th.* Took Liefeldt's school in the morning. Finished planting my potatoes, and cutting the trees. Another very cozy evening.

*Saturday 26th.* Went over the station gardens. Dug a piece of ground in my own and planted apple cuttings. The Liefeldts came back about seven o'clock.

Sunday 27th. School and services as usual. Baby went to midday and English service and was very good. Singing in the long room in the evening.

Monday 28th. Had a letter from Patten asking me to send the wagon for his wife, and to write and ask Thorn to come and see her. Wrote letters all the evening.

Tuesday 29th. Michaelmas day, so we had a holiday. Had a meeting of all the station men and gave them a good talking to. Mrs Patten did not arrive as it was very windy.

Wednesday 30th. Worked in the garden. Patten arrived on horseback at 12.30, and Mrs Patten and baby in the wagon about 1.0. Patten left again in the evening.

Thursday 1st October 1863. Had a bell rung at daybreak to wake the people, and went into chapel punctually at six. Morning school from 8.30 to 10.30. Sewing school from 11.30 to 1.0 p.m. Afternoon school from 2.30 until 4.0.

Friday 2nd. Worked in the garden as usual. Patten arrived in the evening. Heard that Mrs Waters had a daughter, and Mrs Gordon a son.

Saturday 3rd. Dug 81 square yards in the garden in two hours. Made my back ache dreadfully. Liefeldts came back from St Peters where they had ridden the day before. Had evening service.

Sunday 4th. Morning service at 7.0. School and other services as usual. Baby went to English service, and was very good although wide awake.

Monday 5th. Pouring rain all day. Wrote English letters and nursed baby.

Tuesday 6th. Sent off the post boy. Still very wet. Patten left after dinner. Cozy evening reading.

Wednesday 7th. Went directly after breakfast with Matshongo and Galvani to make a sod wall around the wheat, as the cattle get it, and do a great deal of damage. Dr Thorne came as we were at dinner. I rode with him to Bram Nek.

Thursday 8th. Dug a large piece in the garden and planted some seeds. Read *Water Babies* by Kingsley<sup>60</sup> in the evening. Stoffell busy ploughing.

Friday 9th. Dug in the morning until 11 o'clock when Mr Waters arrived. He left in the afternoon, and Patten came after tea.

Saturday 10th. Dug and planted all day with Patten. Did accounts in the evening. Liefeldts went to St Marks.

Sunday 11th. Church and school as usual. Wrote English letters. No singing in the evening.

Monday 12th. Patten left very early. I took evening school, as Liefeldt was not back. Worked in the garden. Mr Waters came about sunset.

Tuesday 13th. Holy Communion at morning chapel. Mr Waters left soon after. Planted pumpkins and

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60. Charles Kingsley, *The Water Babies* (1863).

mealies and had them harrowed in.

*Wednesday 14th.* Morning service at 6.0 a.m. as usual. Two Moravian missionaries came during afternoon school. Baby went to morning chapel. I had all the borders [sic] in the evening. Heard from H.R. W[aters].

*Thursday 15th.* Dug and planted in the garden. Read *Hooker*. Cozy evening.

*Friday 16th.* Dug and read all the morning. School etc. Patten arrived in the afternoon. Thunderstorm during evening service. Long talk with Patten in the evening.

*Saturday 17th.* Dug and planted with Patten until dinner time. Beautiful rain several times today.

*Sunday 18th.* St Luke's Day. Services and schools as usual. Witboy went with Liefeldt to his outstation.

*Monday 19th.* Schools as usual. Post came from St Marks. Sent a man to Queenstown who brought our English letters. Read them cozily after our visitors had gone to bed.

*Tuesday 20th.* Post did not arrive. Worked in the garden.

*Wednesday 21st.* Worked in garden. Post came in the evening whilst I was with the children in the Long room.

*Thursday 22nd.* Mrs Patten left us in the wagon about eleven o'clock. Gave Jennie a holiday. Rather heavy thunderstorm. Very cozy evening. Miss Liefeldt went with Mrs Patten.

*Friday 23rd.* Henry's birthday. Mr Waters came on his way to Queenstown. Wagon came back from St Marks. Mr Liefeldt went to St Marks.

*Saturday 24th.* Felt very poorly all day. Read and did usual Saturday's work. Delightful evening.

*Sunday 25th.* Services as usual. Very good attendance. Sent Witboy and Nelami to take the outstations, as Liefeldt was not come back. English service at 4 o'clock. Baby as usual went to church and was very good.

*Monday 26th.* Mr Liefeldt came back from St Marks before morning school. Post in the evening. Wrote to the Bishop about my ordination, and to Woodrooffe.

*Tuesday 27th.* Did a little work in the garden, but still felt very seedy. Waters arrived in the evening whilst I was at Hottentot service.

*Wednesday 28th.* St Simon and St Jude's day, so we had a holiday; worked in the garden all morning planting mealies and pumpkins in alternate rows. A German arrived, who was going to be shoemaker at St Marks.

*Thursday 29th.* Had all our boots mended. Planted more pumpkins. Felt very seedy, but had the boarders in the evening.

*Friday 30th.* Service and school as usual. Very very cozy evening reading *Water Babies* but still felt

very seedy.

*Saturday 31st.* Sent Galvani to St Marks with the shoemaker. A man brought some salt direct to me that he had picked up coming from Queenstown. No sign of the other things though. Peacock said he had sent them. Did accounts in the evening and got on capitally.

*Sunday 1st November 1863.* Took the four services and school as usual. Liefeldt and Witboy took the outstations. Singing with the boarders in the long room in the evening. Liefeldt came to tea.

*Monday 2nd.* Read all the morning and gave medicines. Afternoon school as usual. Post arrived. Wrote letters and had the Kafir women in the evening.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Sent off the post and read in the morning. Jacu planted vegetable marrows and pumpkins in the garden. Hottentots in the evening.

*Wednesday 4th.* Miss Liefeldt and her brother came back by a morning school [sic]. Post arrived with letters from Bishop and Woodrooffe. The former wishes me to go in for priest's orders at Christmas, and has given me an immense lot of reading to do. Went to German Villa, and began at once. Boarders in the evening and read with Liefeldt afterwards.

*Thursday 5th.* Mrs Smit came directly after chapel to tell me poor little Anna had died in the night. Went up to see them; was obliged to bury her in the afternoon. Found almost all my best pumpkin seed picked out of the ground and eaten. Very vexing as I had taken a great deal of trouble with them and I have no more good seed. Read with Liefeldt in the evening.

*Friday 6th.* Liefeldt went to Queenstown in the afternoon. Read all the morning. School as usual. Broom came from St Marks whilst we were at evening chapel. Kafir women in the evening. Watered the garden and hoed peas.

*Saturday 7th.* Got up by candlelight, as I wanted to start for Gwytyu and St Marks, but found Galvani has not come with the horse, so stayed for chapel, and breakfast and started about half past seven. Found Mr and Mrs Maggs at home, they wanted me to preach the opening sermon on the 25th for their new chapel. Went on to St Marks, saw Waters, Patten and Miss Ende. Rode home in one hour and seven minutes. Found Miss Birches here. Miss Liefeldt brought them to sleep at night. Liefeldt came from Queenstown, and brought me a very kind letter from Mrs Armstrong, with a beautiful chalice veil enclosed for me, and a very pretty green cross for Jennie.

*Sunday 8th.* Services as usual. Miss Birches came to tea. Played with baby for a long time in the afternoon, and took care of her while Jennie made her food. Singing in the Longroom in the evening. Mr Broom passed by while we were at service. Singing in the long room.

*Monday 9th.* Tremendous thunderstorm in the afternoon. Brought the river down with a tremendous rush. Miss Liefeldt, her brother, and the Miss Birches went up the mountain. They got wet through as it was raining all the time. Wrote English letters. Took Jennie to see the river. Wrote to Woodrooffe and several others.

*Tuesday 10th.* Raining hard all day. River still full. Postboy went on to Queenstown.

*Wednesday 11th.* Planted out some cabbages. Liefeldt and Miss Birches tried to go to St Marks, but found the river full, so were obliged to come back again. Snowdrop had a little brown foal. Miss

Birches came to tea.

*Thursday 12th.* Read in German Villa. Baby not very well. Boet arrived from Queenstown in the evening. On Wednesday evening three quarts of the children's Kafir corn was taken from the kitchen. Sent for Witboy. I told him to call the man from St Marks. Found it in his bag. Sent him off the station at once.

*Friday 13th.* Post boy lost his horse and could not go on. Baby still not very well. Slept very soundly in the morning, and could not wake her before Jennie went to school, so I fed her after she was gone. Kafir women in the evening. Miss Liefeldt had tea with her brother.

*Saturday 14th.* Drizzling rainy day. Went down to plant cabbages. Bitterly cold. Accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 15th.* School and services as usual. Miss Birches and Liefeldt came to tea. Great row between Liefeldt and his sister; she wanted to drag me into it. After a long talk I determined to speak to him the next morning.

*Monday 16th.* Miss Birches left to our great joy and comfort. Had a talk with Miss Liefeldt in the German Villa, when she again begged me to write to her father. Called Liefeldt after school, and had a very long talk with him. Wrote to his father in the afternoon. Had a communicant class in the evening as I expect St Leger the next day.

*Tuesday 17th.* Sent off the post. Tried to read but was too much bothered to get on much. Expected St Leger, but he did not arrive.

*Wednesday 18th.* Miss Liefeldt, and her brother made friends again, and determined not to go home, which we are very sorry for. Post arrived with English mail, but not our letters. Boarders in the evening. Very windy day.

*Thursday 19th.* Frightfully hot wind all day. After dinner Mr and Mrs St Leger, and three children drove up to the door. Jolly chats with Mr St Leger. A long talk with Liefeldt in the evening, when he told me most extraordinary things his sister had told him I had said. Amongst others that I was very angry because he had ridden Tom Taylor's horse. I can't think why she invented such things, but suppose she wanted to make friends with her brother.

*Friday 20th.* Early communion in English, after Kafir service. St Legers left soon after breakfast as they saw the signs of a great wind coming. I rode with them to the top of Bram Nek. When I came home Miss Liefeldt came to me, and wanted to have a long talk with me, but I told her I would rather not hear anything more about the subject. St Leger made to me promise to go to Queenstown for Sunday. In the afternoon thought that my letter to old Mr Liefeldt would not have left Queenstown so determined to go off early the next morning and see if I could get it back again; very tired in the evening.

*Saturday 21st.* Left about half past nine for Queenstown. Saw St Leger and went with him to the post office where I got my letter. Saw Charles Brown, and spent the evening at Thorns. Slept at St Legers.

*Sunday 22nd.* Looked at my watch, and found it nearly twelve o'clock. The hands must have caught in the night. Had morning service and soon after started on my way home. Got there about 3.40 so had English service, walked in the garden, had Kafir service, and then dinner. Was very

tired, so let the children sing by themselves in the evening. Took my letter to Liefeldt and burnt it before him.

*Monday 23rd.* Read in German Villa. Post came from St Marks. Mr Warner passed through, on his way to Joey's country. Wrote to Woodrooffe.

*Tuesday 24th.* Came on wet about midday. Sent off post boy. Did not have the Hottentots as it was too wet.

*Wednesday 25th.* Found that Liefeldt had started at sunrise to fetch his sister from St Marks. They came back about 1.0, and wanted to go on at once on their way home, but I would not let them as there was every sign of tremendous rain. Thunderstorm in the afternoon, and continued rain all night. Had the boarders in the Longroom. Post arrived but no English letters for us.

*Thursday 26th.* Very wet day. Read Wilberforce on *Baptism*<sup>61</sup> with Jennie in the morning. Very tired at night.

*Friday 27th.* Still very wet. Had the Kafir women in our house in the evening as the chapel was too cold. Read a great deal. Cozy sitting over the fire after the women left.

*Saturday 28th.* Baby four months old today. Dull day but no rain. Liefeldt and his sister went to St Peters. Very cozy day. Did accounts in the evening. Found my forage that had been reaped all rotting from the rain, so called the station women, and had it turned over. Gave them some corn for doing it. Kafirs very hungry now.

*Sunday 29th.* Services as usual. Stoffell brought us our English letters before breakfast so we had a delightful read, they lasted us until English service. Great thunderstorm in the afternoon which brought the river down. Walked with Jennie to see it. Very tired in the evening.

*Monday 30th.* St Andrew's Day, so a holiday. Got up soon after five etc. Chapel punctually at six. Liefeldt and his sister left soon after for home. I can't say we were very sorry. Jennie read to me all the morning. Rainy afternoon. Wrote letter in the evening, and were very cozy.

*Tuesday 1st December 1863.* Took Liefeldt's school. Post boy met with an accident, was kicked by his horse. Very heavy thunderstorm all the afternoon and rain at night.

*Wednesday 2nd.* Up very early, and packed Jennie, baby, and several of the boarders into the wagon to go [to] the Gwytyu. I had to start on Snowdrop soon afterwards, but the foal would not follow, so I had to leave it at home. Had to turn back for something I had forgotten, and whilst riding home Snowdrop turned quite lame. She seemed better when I got home so I rode off again and got to the Gwytyu in an hour and twenty minutes. The wagon was just three hours going. I rode up just as they got to the door. Had some coffee and then Kafir service. Singing rather a failure. Chapel very nice but small. I had to preach both the Kafir and English services as Mr Waters was not there. Several farmers present. Got home in time for service, and the wagon arrived soon after. Baby very good indeed all day.

*Thursday 3rd.* Let Jennie go to school after a great deal of coaxing. Read a little. Newton arrived

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61. Robert Isaac Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism* (1849). A prominent supporter of the tractarian or high church party, he was the second son of William Wilberforce, the evangelical and advocate of the abolition of slavery. Like Newman Robert Wilberforce converted to Roman Catholicism.



whilst I was at afternoon school. Mr Turvey and Mr Govan [sic; Govan]<sup>62</sup> came from Queenstown just after noon so we had quite a full house. Long talk about England with Mr Govan who I liked very much.

*Friday 4th.* Very busy seeing after the forage all the morning. Sent about 1700 hundred [sic; bales ?] into Queenstown. Newton left after dinner. No rain all day, which was quite a treat.

*Saturday 5th.* Hoed the cabbage. Mr Warner arrived soon after eight. He stayed about an hour and a half, and had scarcely left, when Mr Turvey and Mr Govan came from St Marks. They went on to Queenstown after about 2 hour's rest. Wagon came back. The forage went at four shillings a hundred. Did accounts in the evening and [Mangeli?] arrived from St Marks.

*Sunday 6th.* Services and school as usual. John and Qaqa went with Witboy to the outstations. Gave the men a rowing in my sermon in midday service. Singing in the evening.

*Monday 7th.* Sent 3 women to hoe the mealies, and Stoffell and Matshongo to plough the old forage ground. Wrote English letters all the morning. School in the afternoon. Post came with letters for us from Waters, Patten, and Miss Ende. Finished off English letters and had a cozy evening. Thunderstorm in the afternoon.

*Tuesday 8th.* Sent several women to weed, saw to the ploughing, and set Galvani to earth the potatoes, then had a long morning's reading. School in the afternoon. Post boy came back in the evening with letters from Woodrooffe and the Merrimans. Hottentots in the evening.

*Wednesday 9th.* Looked after my women hoeing, wrote letters and read. A man broke his leg at a kraal near, so I went after school to bind it up. Got back about six o'clock, as I stayed chatting to the people. Children in the long room in the evening.

*Thursday 10th.* Liefeldt came back during morning school. (Looked after the women). Gave Liefeldt some breakfast and read. School in the afternoon, and afterwards went to my patient. Wanted to ride Snowdrop but the boys frightened her, and could not catch her. Thunderstorm as usual. Ruth, Anna and Martha in the evening.

*Friday 11th.* Read all the morning. Mr Maclean and Mrs and Miss Harvey arrived whilst I was in school, so I let the children out, as it was almost time. Mr Broom came soon after. Liefeldt rode to St Marks. Did not have the women.

*Saturday 12th.* Worked in the garden. Intensely hot day, but at one o'clock heavy thunderstorms began, and lasted until after sundown, so I did not have chapel. Liefeldt rode back from St Marks in spite of the rain and had tea with us. Broom rode to Queenstown very early in the morning. Did accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 13th.* Very hot day. Tremendous thunder storm about half past two, and continual rain all the afternoon. Baby had a very long cry, we could not find out what was the matter, she seems all right again this afternoon. Went to see the man with a broken leg. Nice cozy evening.

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62. Turvey was the recipient of a land grant in the area of Queenstown. William Govan (1804-1875), was a Scottish educationist and the first principal of Lovedale. He believed in full academic training for the intellectual elite among his pupils, with industrial training - eg farrier-work, printing and bookbinding - for others. He spent twenty-nine years in South Africa, from 1841 to 1870.

*Monday 14th.* Began examining the children in the afternoon. Read all the morning. Post came with letters from Patten and Maggs. Great rows at St Marks. Wrote letters in the evening. Rain all day.

*Tuesday 15th.* Read in the morning. Broom came from Queenstown. Gave him some breakfast. Very wet still but he would go on to St Marks after dinner. Went on with the examinations in the afternoon and evening.

*Wednesday 16th.* Examination of the children in the German Villa all the morning. Post arrived. Wrote to Maggs, and sent the post boy on. Sent the wagon to Gwytyu with forage. Vaccinated baby after dinner, she cried very much at the time but was very good afterwards. Finished examining the children, and added up the marks in the evening.

*Thursday 17th.* Made out a list of the marks, and hung it up on the long room, read, and worked a little in the garden. Very cozy evening reading.

*Friday 18th.* Read all the morning. John began to reap his wheat. Expected the English letters in the evening but was disappointed, so Jennie read to me.

*Saturday 19th.* Read all day. Jennie heard Blandford clock strike one, i.e.  $\frac{1}{4}$  past eight. Very hot day. Did accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 20th.* Services as usual. Felt tired and seedy in the evening. Read a little.

*Monday 21st.* Baby's arm began to swell a little. Mr Waters and Broom came at 10.30. Had Holy Communion at 12 o'clock, St Thomas' Day. Heavy storm in the afternoon and wet evening. Liefeldt went to St Marks. Wrote to Woodrooffe as usual.

*Tuesday 22nd.* Had a ride with Jennie for about 2 hours in the morning, went up a coppie to Vadana's country and round by Xaseni's home. Very seedy in the afternoon and wretched headache. Jennie read to me in the evening.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Got up very early, but did not wake Jennie who slept until after chapel, and was very much ashamed of herself. Very seedy indeed all day. Went down to the winkel, and gave Blakely a rowing. Tried to read but could not manage it. Liefeldt tied his horse to the verandah pole, which was rotten, and pulled away, and the part of the verandah by Woodrooffe's old room came down. Got Stoffell, and some other men at once, and cut some quartering and put it up as well as we could. Felt so very seedy that I did not go to chapel. Baby's arm very much swollen and inflamed, which makes her very poorly. Had two sheep killed. Got our English letters.

*Thursday 24th.* Read all day. Vaccinated three children from baby, and took 21 points of virus, sent some to Patten by Liefeldt and the rest to Dr Thorne. Decorated the chapel after service. Gave the children new clothes in the evening.

*Friday 25th. Christmas Day.* Services the same as Sunday. After breakfast, told the people to bring their pots, and gave a muid of corn to be cooked, 15 large pots were crammed full. Had midday service, set Matshongo to watch the pots after service; all the station people and several others came down and had their dinner, saw a quantity of corn carried home after they had finished. Gave a pound of coffee and three pounds of sugar to be cooked. Had all the Kafir and Hottentot adult Christians (except Galvani and his wife) to dinner in the Longroom. Gave them

half a sheep, potatoes and coffee, and a very large pudding. They seemed to enjoy themselves very much. English service in the afternoon. Walked with Jennie afterwards. Kafir service, then gave away all the meat, and had our own dinner. The boarders dined before the Christians in the Longroom. Very cozy evening. Baby lay on rug all day long.

*Saturday 26th.* Very tired today. Read almost all day. Usual Saturday work, and accounts in the evening. Very hot indeed.

*Sunday 27th.* Services and school as usual. Very tired in the evening. Baby not very well.

*Monday 28th.* Finished *Theodora Phranrya* which I began on Sunday. Post came from St Marks. Baby very poorly so I wrote to Thorne about her. Wrote to Woodrooffe.

*Tuesday 29th.* Sent Jennie to tie up lettuces and had a good morning's reading. Patten rode over to see us. Arranged to have a picnic on Thursday, half way between here and St Marks in the big thorns by the Bolotwa River. Patten left about 5 o'clock. Post came in the evening, with examination papers, gave them to Jennie to copy, and sent them on to Gordon. Two or three English letters. Baby very poorly indeed.

*Wednesday 30th.* Sent on the post. Read in the German Villa. Baby much better, almost herself again. Read in the evening.

*Thursday 31st.* Started for our picnic about 8.30. Jennie, baby, [Grita ?] and two little girls in the wagon. I rode on Snowdrop. Found a very nice place in the thorns. Rode to meet the St Markites. Mrs Patten, and baby, Mrs Maggs, Miss Bond and Miss Ende were in the wagon. Messrs Waters, Patten, Maggs rode on horseback. Had our dinner about half past one, and had just finished when a tremendous thunderstorm came up, so we had to pack up as fast as we could, and sit in the wagon till it was over. Started for home soon after, when we got to the Bolotwa River found it very full, and quite impassible [sic]. It came down very suddenly, as some wagons just in front of us got across. Outspanned for about an hour and a half, and then determined to try and cross on the Gwytyu road. Got through quite safely, the water was almost up to the sides of the wagon. Had service, and did accounts in the evening.

*Friday 1st January 1864.* Did accounts until 11.30 when Mr Waters arrived. Had Holy Communion after midday service. Mr Waters left about 5 o'clock. Did accounts again in the evening.

*Saturday 2nd.* Accounts all the morning in German Villa. Newton came about 12 o'clock, and left again soon after dinner, tried to settle quarter's accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 3rd.* Services as usual. William and Witboy took the outstation and came to tea in the evening. Nice cozy evening.

*Monday 4th.* Read in German Villa. Post arrived, wrote a few letters, and finished accounts.

*Tuesday 5th.* Read all day. Post arrived in the evening. Heard from Woodrooffe that the ordination is to be on the 24th and I have to be in King William's Town the 21st.

*Wednesday 6th. Epiphany.* Went to St Marks to a special mission service. Dined at Patten's. Rode home in 59¼ minutes on Snowdrop. Very quick work. Nice cozy evening. Jennie read Bishop

Colenso's trial.<sup>63</sup>

*Thursday 7th.* Did my *Prayerbook* examination paper. A party of police passed through with cattle for the pound. Some of the men stopped the horses because they were driven through their garden. A great fuss altogether. I went out, spoke to the men, and told them they had no right to stop the police. Thunderstorm as usual.

*Friday 8th.* Read all the morning. A Mr Ulyate, a farmer came just before dinner on his way to St Marks to see about some stolen cattle. A tremendous thunderstorm passed all round us in the afternoon, but strange today we got very little of it. Sent our English letters. Read *Colenso* in the evening.

*Saturday 9th.* Did my *Old Testament* paper in German Villa all the morning. Baby brought me some figs. Thunderstorm after dinner, so took my paper, and finished in our own house. Cozy evening.

*Sunday 10th.* Xovuza came from St Marks with letters from Mr Waters. Darala came to breakfast, had interesting talk with him about Christianity. Felt seedy and had a very bad cold all day. Very nice cozy evening. Ndarala sent Nocoba to St Marks but he came back and said the Kei was over its bank.

*Monday 11th.* Liefeldt came back during morning school. Gave him some breakfast. Did my *Gospel and Acts* paper. Post arrived, a letter from Mrs Patten saying she would stay with Jennie whilst I am away.

*Tuesday 12th.* Sent on the post boy. Read in German Villa. Liefeldt took afternoon school for me. Cozy evening. Letter from the Merrimans and Woodrooffe.

*Wednesday 13th.* Did my *Epistles* paper. Mr St Leger and Newton came just as we were finishing dinner. They left again about 5.0 o'clock p.m. Paper again in the evening.

*Thursday 14th.* Finished *Epistles* paper, and read the rest of the day. Thunderstorm as usual. We have had them almost every day this week.

*Friday 15th.* Bessie's birthday. Was reading in German Villa when St Leger and Newton arrived, as our house was being cindered [sic; *xindaed*, smeared]. I was obliged to take them to my room until it was finished. They would not stay to dinner but left about 12.0 a.m. [sic; noon] Expected Mr Waters but he did not arrive. Nice evening.

*Saturday 16th.* Began my *Article* paper, but had not done much when Mr Waters arrived. He stayed until 12.0 o'clock and then rode to Queenstown. Waited dinner until 4.45 p.m. for Mr and Mrs Gordon but as they did not come began without them. Saw the wagon coming over the hill just as we finished dinner. Sat up late talking to Gordon.

*Sunday 17th.* Gordon rode to St Marks to take morning service. Service at home as usual. Expected

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63. Colenso was accused and convicted *in absentia* of contravening the articles and formularies of the church at a trial held in Cape Town, November-December 1863, presided over by Bishop Robert Gray. Colenso was subsequently deposed and ex-communicated. The Privy Council ruled, on appeal, that the sentences imposed by Gray were not legally valid. Decades of controversy ensued. (J J Guy, *The Heretic*, chapter 10)

Gordon back for dinner, but about half past two saw Snowdrop which he had ridden coming over the hill by herself. He came while we were in English service. Sat up again with Gordon in the evening.

*Monday 18th.* The Gordons left about 10.0 a.m. Sent my surplice with them. Directly they were gone, set to work at my *Article* paper. Finished before dinner. Measured a *havisack* [Mullins' emphasis] for Jennie to make for me. Mr Waters came from Queenstown in the afternoon, had Holy Communion after evening service. Walked in the front of the house in the evening, and talked about Jennie going to King William's Town. Mr Waters proposed her going now.

*Tuesday 19th.* Busy all day writing a sermon. Mr Waters left directly after breakfast for St Marks. Cozy evening. English mail came, and we sat up very late reading our letters.

*Wednesday 20th.* Up very early and started at 6.10 a.m. for King William's Town on one of [Xoseni ?] horses. Matshongo rode after me. I only spoke to him after tea on Tuesday, and he had got a horse and was ready to start. I off saddled for an hour at the Naqu, and again at Windfogelberg. Going down Thomas' Mountain, I got off to lead the horse, when he got loose, and kicked up at me, fortunately he only hit my chin, and broke my watch glass. I caught him after some trouble and rode on again to the Hoek. Got there about sundown and found Woodrooffe. Matshonga did not arrive, I saw nothing at all of him.

*Thursday 21st.* Rode with Woodrooffe into King William's Town. Went to the Oaks as I was going to stay with them. The Gordons arrived late in the evening.

*Friday 22nd.* Did an examination paper, at Mr Joe Cotterills<sup>64</sup>. Bishop and Mrs Cotterill arrived. Dined at the Cotterills. Wrote sermon in the evening. Called on the Governor<sup>65</sup> and Mrs Martin.

*Saturday 23rd.* Wrote sermon in the morning. Went to the Bishop at twelve o'clock. Very heavy thunderstorm all the afternoon.

*Sunday 24th.* Intensely hot day. Morning service at 11.0 o'clock. Bishop preached an excellent sermon. Ordination afterwards when I and Gordon were ordained priests. Waters presented us. We took the oaths in the vestry, and not in the church as last year. Evening service at 9.30. Gordon read prayers, and I preached. Had tea at the Cotterills.

*Monday 25th.* Conference<sup>66</sup> began. Dined at the Cotterills. Had long chats with Woodrooffe. Conference again in the evening.

*Tuesday 26th.* Conference again. Changes talked about. I voted against Maggs leaving the Gwytyu, and would not give in about it. Dined at the Bells.

*Wednesday 27th.* Conference until midday. It was decided that Maggs should go to St John's Kabousie. Patten to St Peters, Liefeldt to St Marks, and Broom to St John Baptist. Was invited to dine at the Taylors, but did not go. Started on my way home directly after dinner. Got to the

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64. Revd Joseph Cotterill. Canon of Norwich and rector of Cockthorpe, Norfolk, before coming to South Africa, he was mission secretary and private secretary to his brother, the Bishop, for a time. He subsequently worked at Port Elizabeth and then joined the staff at St Andrew's, Grahamstown 1861-1870.

65. Sir Philip Wodehouse - see biographical notes.

66. The conference was the sixth of the diocesan missionary conferences.

Hoek, in exactly four hours. Mrs Greenstock very nice and kind. Poor Mrs Sedgeley very down hearted.

*Thursday 28th.* Started very early, soon after sunrise. Got to the Windfogelberg by eleven and to Tylden by 5 o'clock. Swart Kei full so Bentley fetched me across in the boat. Baptized a child, and rode on. Saw a tremendous thunderstorm coming up, so galloped as fast as I could, to the bottom of the Bram Nek, where I was obliged to go into some huts for shelter. Very heavy storm indeed, and very long. Stayed about two hours, and then rode on home. Road almost like a river. Got off my horse the other side of the Longroom and peeped in at the window to see what Jen and Mrs Patten were doing. Heard no talking so opened the door, and found Jen had gone to prayers. They were very surprised and of course delighted to see me. Had tea, and got dry. Saw well after my horse, who is a splendid creature.

*Friday 29th.* Dismal wet day. Rather tired. People came down to see me. Chaffed Matshonga for not catching me the day I left. Liefeldt went to St Marks.

*Saturday 30th.* Looking out for St Leger who was at St Marks, with his wife and children; heard the river was very full. Paid the people and did the usual Saturday's work.

*Sunday 31st.* Got my horse up to go to Queenstown, but I had no one to take the Sunday services, and it was a very wet day so I had services, school etc at home, and after English service which was at two o'clock, started for Queenstown. Got there in two hours and a half. Roads very bad indeed. Had service at 7 o'clock. Stayed at the Griffiths. Baby very seedy when I left home.

*Monday 1st February 1864.* Did all my business. Went to see Brown. Was coming home but met Thorne who said he had some thing very particular to tell me about the babies. Found it was only an excuse to keep me to dinner. Got home about 7 o'clock. Crammed Mrs Patten and Jen frightfully. Had a nice cozy evening. Began a letter to Woodrooffe's.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Wrote to Kift and Woodrooffe. Went to school as Liefeldt had not come back. Sent Zatyine to try and cross the Kei, and get to St Marks. He came back just after dinner and Liefeldt with him. The river is still very full. Sent Mangali home.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Made out a list for the SPG Society. Patten and Brown came while we were at dinner. Gathered a few peaches from the garden. Dismal wet afternoon. Had a cozy talk with the girls and Darella who (the girls) wanted to go home. Had reading in the long room in the evening. Post arrived but no letters for us.

*Thursday 4th.* Mrs Patten left in the wagon for St Marks. Gathered her some peaches and cucumbers. St Leger came just as we were going to dinner, he went back again to St Marks in the evening. Nice cozy evening. Maggs sent John [Klahla ?] on horseback for communion service but I would not send it.

*Friday 5th.* Dismal day, and heavy thunderstorm in the afternoon. Heard the Kei was very full, but St Leger arrived after evening service. He said it was rising, he was wet through, so I got him some dry clothes. Sat up late chatting with him. Had long talks with the Kafirs. Today I went all over the station.

*Saturday 6th.* St Leger left for Queenstown soon after breakfast. Rode with Jennie to Occupation

Post<sup>67</sup> to call on the Harveys. Found Mrs Harvey at home. Liked her much better than I expected. Had a very nice ride home again. Gave the children a lot of peaches, and had a long walk in the garden with Jennie and baby. Nice cozy evening.

*Sunday 7th.* English communion after morning service. School as usual. Liefeldt went to St Peters as Maggs has already left. He got back and had tea with us. Sat up until late talking.

*Monday 8th.* Wrote English letters all day, and until late in the evening. Post came from St Marks.

*Tuesday 9th.* Sent on the post boy. Wet evening. Talked to Zwartboy about confirmation. Post came in this evening, with letters from Woodroffe and Little. The latter is engaged to Charlotte Merriman.

*Wednesday 10th.* Gathered peaches and sent to Mrs Patten and Miss Bond; asked the latter to come and stay with us as she was not well. Hottentots in the evening. Ash Wednesday so had services the same as on Sunday. Communion service in the middle of the day. Very long day indeed.

*Thursday 11th.* Got a letter from Patten asking me to send the wagon for Mrs St Leger at once, could not as it was in Queenstown, but wrote to say it would go as soon as it returned. Gathered peaches for drying all the morning. The Harveys came about eleven and stayed until one o'clock, so Jennie could not have sewing school. Sent [Umzacu ?] to Occupation Post with vegetables and fruit.

*Friday 12th.* Went with Witboy to the outstation, had a long talk with a man who says he is called by the Queenstown River [Komanj]. Found Broom when I got home. Mr Patten got to St Marks yesterday and packed him over here at once. I sent the wagon to St Marks for Mrs St Leger, who came just before sundown. Newton came in the afternoon and rode on to St Marks with Liefeldt.

*Saturday 13th.* Just as the St Legers were leaving, the Gordon wagon came. They stayed to dinner. Very heavy thunderstorm, when it was over the Gordons went on to St Marks. Mr Newton and Liefeldt came in the afternoon. Mr Broom rode to Queenstown early in the morning. Did accounts in the evening. Chimney of forage hut fell in.

*Sunday 14th.* Services as usual. Liefeldt went to outstations. Mr and Mrs Blakely came into the garden to eat peaches. Had all the children into the garden and gave them a quantity of peaches.

*Monday 15th.* Rode to St Marks. Saw the Gordons who went on their way about 12 o'clock. Got home about 5 o'clock. Wrote letters all the evening. Liefeldt went to St Marks.

*Tuesday 16th.* Heavy thunderstorms all day long. Began before dawn. Wet dismal day. Baby said "Papa" for the first time.

*Wednesday 17th.* Rain all day. Post came but no English letters. Made a tour round the garden. Heard that the Tsomo was full, and the poor Gordons this side.

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67. Occupation Post was a police post six miles from St Mark's mission. (USPG Archives, J R Wilson to SPG, 13.7.1858)

*Thursday 18th.* Very wet day. Made our usual tour. Began *My Novel*.<sup>68</sup>

*Friday 19th.* Rain the whole day. Went to the winkle. River very full in the afternoon. Read in the evening.

*Saturday 20th.* Rain all day. Very heavy indeed. The gable of Woodrooffe's house gave way and fell down, so Mr Broom had to get his things out as quickly as possible. [?] the wagon sails, and tied them on to a ladder. Went over the river which was very full.

*Sunday 21st.* Kafir communion after midday service. Passage fell down and David's chimney. All the houses in a very shaky state. Very wet day. Very much afraid of the wind coming up and taking off our roof. Boyutya came back from Queenstown but no English letters.

*Monday 22nd.* Rained, stopped about 3 o'clock, so I rode to see the White Kei, it was very full indeed. Broom rode to meet me. I took Waters' letters with me, but the river was too broad to throw them across.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Dismal morning but no rain. Sent a man to Queenstown with the post.

*Wednesday 24th.* Rode over to the Gwytyu with Broom. Holy communion about 12 o'clock. Pattens very well. Got home just at sundown.

*Thursday 25th.* Post came but no English letters. Heard from Woodrooffe. Very heavy rains in Grahamstown.

*Friday 26th.* Sent Witboy to town with a horse for the bricklayer, Johnson, who was coming out to see our house. Nice fine day.

*Saturday 27th.* Grita rather troublesome. Witboy and mason arrived, and our English letters. Good news. Had a nice read, and showed the mason the repairs wanted.

*Sunday 28th.* Services as usual. Johnson rode to town early. Nice quiet day.

*Monday 29th.* Johnnie's birthday. Mason came in the evening.

*Tuesday 1st March 1864.* Wrote letters and sent off the post. Usual day's work.

*Wednesday 2nd.* Sent Jennie and baby to Queenstown. Gathered a quantity of mealies, melons, cucumbers and cabbages, and sent with them. Post came about 10 o'clock.

*Thursday 3rd.* Started at 5 o'clock for Queenstown. Got there before breakfast. Meant to come back the same day, but it was a wet afternoon. Had a cozy evening at the St Legers.

*Friday 4th.* Left for house before sunrise. Had a very cold ride, and got here about 8 o'clock. Very busy looking after the mason. Sent Umsila to town with Jennie and box. Gordon rode from St Marks in the evening on his way to town and stayed the night here.

*Saturday 5th.* Gordon went on to town. Umsila came home, with a letter from Jennie.

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68. E B Lytton, *My Novel: Pisistratus Caxton or varieties in English life*, 4 vols (1859).



*Sunday 6th.* About 9 o'clock I got a letter from Jennie saying Harry Roe had arrived in Queenstown the day before. So I sent for a horse, and after English service which I had at two o'clock I rode to town. The horse was a wretch, would do nothing but stand still and kick, I walked all the way to town from Birch's old farm. Got there just before nine. Found Harry at tea at the St Legers. Very glad to see him. Had a nice long chat.

*Monday 7th.* Baby very seedy, and had a bad cough, so I asked Thorne to see her, he sent her a powder and some ipi—nana [sic; ipecacuanha] mixture. Wrote English letters and had tea at the Griffiths where we saw Sir W. Currie.

*Tuesday 8th.* Heard from Woodrooffe and Bishop, and Little. Sent off a packet of English letters. Tried to go home, got my horse and mounted but found it impossible to get on. Felt very seedy, and had very troublesome boils.

*Wednesday 9th.* Wanted to go home but could not. Went out with Harry. Southey's<sup>69</sup> came to tea in the evening.

*Thursday 10th.* Much the same as yesterday. Mr Waters came in the evening.

*Friday 11th.* Rode out with Waters, Harry and St Leger to meet the Governor.<sup>70</sup> He got into town about midday. He had an address read to him under the arch, which was erected in his honour. He held a reception in the afternoon to which I went with St Leger and Waters. Harry put a flag on the church in the morning. Took Jennie to see the torch light procession in the evening. Anna and [Qumbashe ?] went with us, and were very frightened.

*Saturday 12th.* Soon after breakfast, saddled up and came home. St Leger and Waters tried very much to persuade me to stop. Found Broome at St Marks. Sent Stoffell off to town with the wagon.

*Sunday 13th.* Services and school as usual.

*Monday 14th.* Harry, Mr St Leger, and Waters rode in about three o'clock. Had dinner ready as I expected them. Jennie and baby came home in the wagon between six and seven. Baby would not go to sleep at night, she was so delighted to get home.

*Tuesday 15th.* Sent off the post boy. Walked about the place with St Leger and Harry. Played chess in the evening.

*Wednesday 16th.* Whole holiday. Played cricket with the boys. Made some bats in the morning. Chess again in the evening. Post arrived.

*Thursday 17th.* Rode to the Gwytyu with Harry. St Leger went with us to the foot of Brams Nek and

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69. Robert Southey - see biographical notes.

70. When the Governor paid a state visit to Queenstown there were great celebrations. He reviewed a procession of 3000 men, 2800 of them mounted. Many chiefs and their followings were present. The *Queenstown Free Press* reported on 15 March 1864: "As soon as the repast was finished the natives began to ride past His Excellency in files of three deep, and continued to do so for an hour and a half to two hours. There were upwards of 2800 mounted men and 300 on foot making 3000 in all. Reported to be present were the Tshatshu under Gungubele, the Dngwana under Ndarhala, the Hala under Nonesi, the Gcana under Gcaleo and the Paramount Chief, Goya".

then went on to town. Got home just after sunset.

*Friday 18th.* Went about with Harry. Put up the rafters etc of the roof, very hard tiring work. Played cricket and chess with Harry in the evening.

*Saturday 19th.* Finished the roof, and Stoffell thatched it. Harry, Broome [sic] and self, started for St Marks, but Pious John was lame, so Broome lent me his horse. Sent Matshongo to town for our letters. Got home about sundown. Played chess in the evening.

*Sunday 20th. Palm Sunday.* Kafir communion after midday service. Others services as usual. Matshongo came back from town, but no English letters. Yarns in the evening.

*Monday 21st.* Began to nail the lathes for the back room roof. Very tiring work, almost had a bad fall from one of the lathes breaking. Intellect came from St Marks. Cricket and chess as usual.

*Tuesday 22nd.* Finished the roof. Had our kitchen whitewashed. Post went to town. Chess in the evening. Got a bad cold and felt seedy.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Dismal day, so Harry did not leave, as he intended. Post arrived but no English letters. Chess as usual.

*Thursday 24th.* Went with Harry to the mealie garden, and cut down mealies. Dull, but hot day. Chess, cricket etc.

*Friday 25th. Good Friday.* Services as on Sunday. Lovely day. Cozy evening.

*Saturday 26th.* Sent a man to town for letters Thursday, and he came back this afternoon with no English letters and three which Harry had written to Capetown and which Newton returned. Sent Boesack off to town at once with them. Chess in the evening.

*Sunday 27th. Easter Day.* Very dull foggy morning. Heavy thunderstorm at dinner time. English and Kafir communion after morning service. Very happy day. Harry told us yarns in the evening of his wreck and life up the Gambia. Boesack came home, but never waited for letters.

*Monday 28th.* Baby eight months old. Very wet dismal morning, but Harry wanted to start, and was afraid to put it off, on account of the rivers. About twelve o'clock we started. Broome and Matshongo were going with him to King W[illia]m's Town and I meant to go as far as Tylden, but when we got to Xelo I felt so seedy, I was obliged to go home. Got there about three o'clock, thoroughly done up. Had dinner, and rested. Cozy evening. No post from St Marks. Very sorry to lose old Harry, we enjoyed his visit so much.

*Tuesday 29th.* Paulusi and came from St Peters with post. Waters at Gwytyu. Very wet day and river full. Sent the post on to town. Felt very seedy and my cold very bad. Newton came from town.

*Wednesday 30th.* Waters and Patten rode from St Peters. Gathered almost all our quinces. Newton went home with Patten in the evening and Waters stayed with us. Put my watch right it was almost an hour out by the sun. Post came, but still no English letters. The Queenstown bag is supposed to be mis-sent.

*Thursday 31st.* Mr Waters left soon after breakfast for Occupation Post. Grita, and Belapi walked to

St Peters. Newton came just before dinner. Did accounts in the evening. Felt very poorly.

*Friday 1st April 1864.* Sent the wagon to the Gwytyu and quite forgot to send the quinces. Heard from Mr Waters to say he had found the Kei impassable, and so had gone to St Peters. He left his watch here, and Patten sent a boy to fetch it. Wagon came just before sundown, loaded with things for Miss Bond. Wanted my mealies brought up, so Stoffell took off the trek tow and put it on John's wagon to fetch them. Got up a good quantity before dark.

*Saturday 2nd.* Looked after the women at work. Sent men to the Gwytyu with a box of quinces. Stoffell got the wagon ready to start for Grahamstown. Carried an immense number of mealies in the afternoon, and had chapel after tea. Could not pay the people as I had no change. Heard from Newton to say he had sent our letters by a Hottentot but I could hear nothing about them. Felt very poorly; can't get rid of my cold.

*Sunday 3rd.* Services as usual. Mr and Mrs Blakely came after English service; we gave them some figs. Mr Waters very kindly came in the afternoon as he heard I was ill. Had all the children in to sing in the evening.

*Monday 4th.* Very busy morning. Started our wagon for Grahamstown, with Benjamin Solomon, [Givi ?], Ruth, Martha, Mary, Stoffel and his wife, Jeremiah, and [Chesi ?]. Sent John's wagon to St Pauls with Miss Bond's things. Mr Waters left us. Mr and Mrs Harvey came about midday. Felt thoroughly tired and done up.

*Tuesday 5th.* Very seedy when I woke, could hardly get up. Windy day. Waited dinner until half past four for the Harveys who came just as we had finished. Read *Westward Ho*<sup>71</sup> in the evening.

*Wednesday 6th.* Post came, but not English letters. Read *Westward Ho*.

*Thursday 7th.* Mr Harvey came in the spider [a light 2-wheeled 1-horse vehicle] about 12 o'clock to take us to Occupation Post. He drove Jennie and baby, and I rode on horseback. I drove home in the evening, we came very slowly as the brown horse would not go. Mr Broome came back before breakfast. Mr Liefeldt here.

*Friday 8th.* Worked at the stable. Millions of locusts all day long. Fortunately they could not do much damage. I went down to the green mealie garden, with the boys, and women and drove them off. Caught one to send to England.

*Saturday 9th.* Still more locusts. Liefeldt took off Pious John's shoes. Worked at the stable. Windy day. Heard from Mr Waters that he leaves for [Fort ?] Bowker on Monday.

*Sunday 10th.* Services as usual. Read *Margaret Percival* in the evening.

*Monday 11th.* Wrote English letters, and to Charlie in the morning. Intellect did not arrive. Harveys came.

*Tuesday 12th.* Intellect came and we sent him on to Queenstown. Gave him a good scolding for not going to St Peters. He came back in the evening with a nice bundle of letters for us. Heard that

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71. Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho* (1855).

Granger and Co<sup>72</sup> had stopped payment. Old Harry has bought us a cart. Mr Patten came, and we settled that Jennie and baby should go to the Gwytyu on Thursday.

*Wednesday 13th.* Sent post on. Tried to get John's wagon for Jennie but the wheels are not safe. Worked at the stable. Sent 12 muids of mealies to Mr Harvey. Joseph and Matshongo came in the night.

*Thursday 14th.* Joseph came to breakfast and I had a long talk with him. Expected the wagon from Gwytyu but it did not come, so sent Gosi to ask Patten to send it.

*Friday 15th.* Wagon came about 1.30 and took Jennie and baby to the Gwytyu. Very busy indeed writing sermons for Queenstown. Sat up until after half past twelve at night with them. Broome went to St Peters.

*Saturday 16th.* Started for Queenstown at 12.30. Had [Hannis' ?] horse. Stayed at C. Brown's. Found St Leger's house had been broken into.

*Sunday 17th.* Morning service at 11.00 and evening at 7.0 o'clock, had Kafir service in the afternoon. Went to [F ?]r Brown's in the evening.

*Monday 18th.* Rode to Mr Warner's. Formidable number of locusts all along the road. Saw Mr Hunter who is a very disagreeable man. Had a long talk with Emma Sandilli.<sup>73</sup>

*Tuesday 19th.* Rode home, got there about 3.30. Found all well.

*Wednesday 20th.* Post came just at dinner time, with all our English letters for two months, so I put them in my pocket and went over to the Gwytyu. I found Jen and baby quite well. Met Lusa at the Qwebeqwebi. Nice evening reading English letters. Rather bad news from home. Got a letter from Charlie.

*Thursday 21st.* Hired [Petroir's ?] wagon to take Jennie home. We started about half past twelve. I kept with the wagon until it got over the bad road, and then galloped [Mullins' emphasis] on home and got dinner ready for Jennie. Very cozy evening.

*Friday 22nd.* Turned out the *Nquantolo* [possibly *ikantato*: office] for Joseph. Mr Jacobs of the police came, and stayed to dinner with us. Moved the things from the store. Heard from Mr Waters to say he could not go to Queenstown for me, so spent the evening in looking for and writing a sermon.

*Saturday 23rd.* Changed storerooms. Felt very poorly. Finished writing my sermon. Broome came in in the evening.

*Sunday 24th.* Our wedding day. Got up by candlelight got ready and started for Queenstown at 6.30. Got there before ten. Went to Browns. Had service. Dined and had tea with the Coryndens who I liked very much. Had Kafir and evening service, and slept at Browns.

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72. Harry Roe, Jennie's brother, had invested in this firm which was to have undertaken a salvaging operation.

73. Emma Sandili - see biographical notes.

*Monday 25th.* Started after breakfast to ride home could hardly get on at all. Felt as if I must fall off my horse. When I got home found that the wagon had arrived from Grahamstown with a capital load of goods and a box from England for us. Spent the afternoon in unpacking it and looking at the different things. Peter Mamati came by the wagon. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 26th.* Felt very poorly. Skin dreadfully troubled with boils which are very painful. Peter went on to Gwytyu. Sent Mamati to St Marks. Darala having a great dance. Had a row with Tshibo for going about in his blanket. Nice quiet evening.

*Wednesday 27th.* My boil very painful. I could hardly walk about. Post came from Queenstown letters from St Leger, Newton and a bill from Birkenouth which is very moderate. St Leger wants me to go to Queenstown next Sunday. Began a night school after tea. Very windy day.

*Thursday 28th.* Baby nine months old today. Had my pumpkins carried. Had a long talk with Umcelu. Very seedy all day. Found the men had gone.

*Friday 29th.* To a dance at Daralla, in fact nearly all the station was there. [Koji ?] denied. Had a talk with John after tea, who said his wife had been, but he tried to stop her, and with Umjacu who owned he was there. I gave him a long talking to.

*Friday 29th.* Tried to keep out of doors to see if any of the men went to Daralla's. Talked to Tshibo who denied being there. Felt rather better, but still very seedy. Mr Waters arrived in the ox wagon just after ten o'clock. Stayed up until nearly twelve giving him tea, and chatting.

*Saturday 30th.* Mr Waters went on to Queenstown soon after breakfast. Whilst our house was being smeared, Mr and Mrs Patten arrived, we were very surprised to see the latter, as she never leaves the baby. Mr and Mrs Harvey came just before dinner and stayed a very long time directly they left we had dinner, and the Pattens went home soon afterwards. Did accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 1st May 1864.* English communion after Kafir morning service. Other services and schools as usual. Broome had tea with us. Joseph has been staying with us since he came from Grahamstown. He went to Witboy outstation.

*Monday 2nd.* My mother's birthday. Went out to see the people. Jennie wanted me to have a cabbage for a treat but I would have a conker [chestnut]. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Soon after breakfast Mr Waters and Mr Newton came. The Harvey's arrived at midday, and stayed some little time. After dinner Mr Waters went to St Marks and Mr Newton back to Queenstown. Post boy came in the afternoon - we sent him on to Queenstown at once. Night school after tea.

*Wednesday 4th.* Took the afternoon school. Post came. Letters from Minnie Oak and a photograph of Woodrooffe which is very bad. Night school after tea. Jennie has her women and girls at home - on account of the boarders and baby.

*Thursday 5th. Ascension Day.* Had Kafir communion at sunrise. Midday services. Very nice cozy evening.

*Friday 6th.* Began my English letters, but did not do much. Baby very poorly at night, with a very bad cough.

*Saturday 7th.* Rode to St Marks with Broome and John. Had a pleasant ride. Rode Pious John for the first time; his tongue is much better. Patten and Peter were at St Marks, I brought the letters home with me. Got home just before dark. Did accounts after tea. Broome did not come home. Met Tiyo Soga and [son ?].<sup>74</sup>

*Sunday 8th.* Services as usual. Joseph took the out stations. Broome came home after English service. Had Peter, Joseph, Matthew and Mr Broome to tea in the evening. Read *Glimpse of the World*<sup>75</sup> by Miss Sewell. Very cozy evening.

*Monday 9th.* Very busy writing English letters. Post did not arrive. Wrote all the evening, Witboy came home, from [George ?] River.

*Tuesday 10th.* Post came, I finished my letters and sent them on. Went to the school mealie garden, made agreement with Witboy and Jeremiah to reap and thrash it for me. Felt very tired after dinner. Night school in the evening.

*Wednesday 11th.* Looked up children, for school. Read *Blackwood*.<sup>76</sup> Had afternoon school. Post came with several letters for me from Bishop, Archdeacon. Night school after tea. Read *Salem Chapel*.<sup>77</sup>

*Thursday 12th.* Spent much as usual. Went round the station in the afternoon but found all the people in their gardens. Communicants in the evening, Hottentots.

*Friday 13th.* Stoffel worked at the verandah. Had the Kafir girls in the chapel in the afternoon. Letters from Mr Waters. Night school in the evening.

*Saturday 14th.* Just after breakfast a man came from Mr Waters with the harness so I had the horses up, and began to break them in. They went very well together and gave very little trouble. Sent a man to Tylden with Mr Waters' letters and wrote to the Archdeacon signing the protest he sent me about the Bishop of Natal.<sup>78</sup> Gave Grita a scolding in the afternoon. Read *Salem Chapel* in evening.

*Sunday 15th. Whit Sunday.* Kafir and English communion after midday service, and collection for Society for Propagation of the Gospel. No English service, as it was late when we came out of the midday one. Broome came to tea. Jennie read a sermon by the Bishop of Oxford afterwards.

*Monday 16th.* A Kafir brought a horse to sell so I tried him, I think he will do well for the cart. Wrote to the Bishop etc. Was reading Kafir after tea with Broome and Jennie when Ruth came and told me some very bad news about Anna. I went out at once with Broome to Witboy's hut and talked to him. He knew nothing about it. I was quite upset about it. Came home and finished my

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74. Tiyo Soga - see biographical notes.

75. A Sewell, *Glimpse of the world* (1862).

76. *Blackwoods Magazine*, 1817-1980, a monthly magazine which appeared initially as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, assuming its short title in 1905. Unlike many contemporary and rival publications, it published serialised novels and stories. (M Drabble (ed), *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 1989)

77. Published anonymously, *Salem Chapel* or *Chronicles of Carlingford* (1863).

78. Clerical support for Bishop Grey is indicated.

letters.

*Tuesday 17th.* Talked with Ruth, John and Witboy all the morning. Felt very wretched. Sent Matshongo to St Peters to ask Mr Waters to come over here. Did not go to the night schools in the evening, but had Anna and Mary taken down to talk to. Witboy and Zwartboy were present. They left about nine. Sent Umsila to Queenstown with post. The post boy came soon after he left with Thomas, but the horses were too tired to go on.

*Wednesday 18th.* Matshongo came before chapel and said Mr Waters would come over that day. Made up my mind to ride to St Marks, and save him the trouble as I had settled the business. Set off about ten o'clock and met Mr Waters about half way. He wanted to go to the Pewuleni so I rode with him and we did our business there. Got home soon after three o'clock and found [Lila ?] had just come back from Queenstown with our letters. Head from old Harry, a nice long letter. Had night school in the evening and Kafir reading afterwards.

*Thursday 19th.* Witboy drove the horse about in harness. I took afternoon school. Hottentots in the evening and Kafir reading afterwards. 2 years since we left England.

*Friday 20th.* Did accounts and looked about the garden. Baby was so amusing. I taught her to point to Uncle Charlie and the other pictures; she was so good in learning. Night school as usual.

*Saturday 21st.* Very hard at work all day carpentering. Made some shelves for the Longroom and boys' house and I mended stools in church. Paid people etc. Did accounts in the evening.

*Sunday 22nd.* Services as usual. Broome came to dinner and tea. Nice quiet evening. Joseph had tea with us.

*Monday 23rd.* Looked up children for school. Heard from Mr Waters and Patten. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 24th.* Started for Queenstown very early with Witboy and post boy. Rode Pious John who stumbles dreadfully. Got to town soon after eleven o'clock. Great number of burghers for review. Did my work and meant to go home but it was so wet, St Leger persuaded me to stay. Slept at his house.

*Wednesday 25th.* Finished my work and got our English letters and went home. Did not get there until 3.45. Pious John came along dreadfully. Had dinner, school in the evening, and cozy reading of English letters afterwards. A nice long one from my dear old father.

*Thursday 26th.* Looked up children. Wrote passes, gave medicines etc. Grita ill with a sore throat. Hottentots in the evening. Mr Jacobs and the police came just as we were going to dinner, he said Kreli at the head of his men is in the Transkei territory, but I doubt if it is true. He seemed very cool about it and stayed chatting and smoking almost two hours.<sup>79</sup>

*Friday 27th.* Liefeldt came in the night. Put the horses in the cart for the first time. They went capitally. I drove all about the place with Liefeldt, and then took Jennie and baby for a little

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79. It was rumoured that Sarhili was to cross the Bashee into his old territory. Reports such as that in the *Queenstown Free Press*, 15.3.1864, created a wave of panic. In fact Sarhili, who had been expelled to the east of the Bashee after the cattle-killing, was allowed to return to a small portion of the land he had occupied west of the Bashee.

drive. Night school as usual.

*Saturday 28th.* Janie ten months old. Had the horses up and was just going to start for Occupation Post, when a Mr White of the Umzimvubu came, he stayed about an hour and then went on to Queenstown. We started then and picked up Mr Broome on the way; the horses went capitally. We got to the Post in an hour. I sent Witboy and Umsila to mend the drift early in the morning, which improved it very much. Found Mrs Harvey very much frightened about the war as Mr Harvey was away. We were very sorry she had not come to stay with us. We stayed about an hour and then had a very pleasant drive home; Jennie drove part of the way. The wagon came back from Queenstown in the evening with lots of goods for us. Read *Aurora Floyd* until late.

*Sunday 29th.* Services as usual. English communion after midday service. Broome came to tea in the evening. Read *Lectures on Tractarianism* afterwards.

*Monday 30th.* Unpacked all the Queenstown goods and put the back room tidy. Very busy all day long. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 31st.* Did accounts all the morning. About 70 police went by, and outspanned just over the drift. Had night school in the evening.

*Wednesday 1st June 1864.* Looked up children for school and went round the station. Mr Griffiths from Queenstown came just before dinner and dined with us. He is going for a month's shooting up the country. Had a pipe and chat after dinner. Heard there is no truth whatever in the report after Kreli, though there have been most ridiculous exaggerations about it. In Capetown it was reported that Kreli had crossed the Kei, defeated all the police etc. The people in King William'stown were dreadfully frightened. Night school after tea. Felt very seedy all day.

*Thursday 2nd.* Very seedy still, have several very troublesome boils. Wrote to Charlie, and began a letter to Aunt M.A.J.<sup>80</sup> Did not have the Hottentots as I felt too ill.

*Friday 3rd.* Stoffel went to the Gwytyu. Heard from Mr Waters asking me to let Stoffel go to Grahamstown for him to take our oxen but Mr Bentley's wagon. Had a talk with Stoffel when he came home, and then wrote to Mr Waters. Felt very poorly and was obliged to lie down in the afternoon. Old Koji bothered for a pass.

*Saturday 4th.* Directly after breakfast I started with Jennie and baby in the cart for the Gwytyu. We had to cross the St Marks drift, as the mud holes are so bad the other way. The road was frightful. When we got to the bottom of the muddy hill at the Gwytyu we outspanned and left the cart in charge of a Kafir boy, until Soso arrived. We then walked on to the Gwytyu; I carried baby almost all the way. We met Mrs Patten after Yoliswa's kraal. About an hour afterwards I thought I heard a wagon, I went out, and found our cart. Soso had inspanned the horses, and driven down. I was very vexed but could not scold the boy, it was such a plucky thing to do. We could not stay very long. Directly after dinner we started for home. I drove Mrs Patten, Jennie and the two babies through mealie gardens until we got to the bottom of the bad hill. Then Mrs Patten went home and Jennie walked on. We got down the mud hill safely, though I thought it was almost impossible. We then drove home at a swinging pace and got there in a little more than an hour. I paid the people and had service. Did accounts in the evening.



*Sunday 5th.* Services and school as usual. Dear baby has a very sore mouth. Broome came to tea.

*Monday 6th.* Looked up children, and wrote English letters. Wrote to every one at home and to Aunt M.A.J., Woodrooffe, and Smith. Dear baby seemed poorly in the evening.

*Tuesday 7th.* Sent off the post, looked up the children and set the men to make a fence round the garden. Stoffell drew bushes. Night school after tea. Post came in the evening. Heard from Drayton, Newton asked me to send the post at once to St Marks, so I sent Matshongo over.

*Wednesday 8th.* Looked up children, set men to work, and went to school. Harveys came in the afternoon; it was late when they left so I did not have school. Night school in the evening.

*Thursday 9th.* Looked after men and went to school. Looked up girls for sewing school. Wagons came from St Marks on their way to Grahamstown. Dear baby very poorly, awake all the evening.

*Friday 10th.* Went to school. Baby very ill. Had a very hard nasty cough and very hard breathing. We were very much afraid she had croup. Gave her a hot bath. School after tea.

*Saturday 11th.* As baby seemed better I drove with Joseph to St Marks. Did not take Jennie, as we did not like to leave baby. Wrote to Dr Thorne. Had dinner with Miss Ende. Got home before sundown. Paid people. Nice cozy evening. Baby rather better, but still very ill.

*Sunday 12th.* Kafir communion after midday service. As we were at dinner Dr Thorne came. I was very glad to see him. He thinks baby very poorly indeed and says very likely she may have had croup. He lanced Jennie's shoulder and looked after her. He went home again about 5 o'clock. Broome and Joseph came to tea.

*Monday 13th.* Baby seemed rather better when she woke, but after she was dressed, she was very sick, and was very ill all day. Jennie did not have sewing school, she seemed so ill. Sent Matshongo to Queenstown for medicine, he came home in the evening. Post from St Marks.

*Tuesday 14th.* Frightfully windy day. Sent Jeremiah with the post, as Intellect was ill. Mr Waters came midday on his way to Grahamstown then rode on to Tylden after dinner. Baby seemed better in the afternoon, but was very restless again at night. School after tea.

*Wednesday 15th.* Wrote to the Harveys to tell them not to come as baby was so poorly. I did not feel well and Jennie had a great cold. Had night school in the evening but would not let her have her class. Sent Matshongo with Mr Waters' letters to Tylden in the middle of Tuesday night. Frightful wind all day.

*Thursday 16th.* Baby much better. [Makunisi ?] came from the Gwytyu with a letter from Mr Waters, he was knocked up when he got to Windvogelberg and turned back. Harveys came about midday, but only stayed a short time. Very cold day, still windy. Took both morning and afternoon school. Heard from Newton saying he had bought a mare and foal for me. Cozy evening, reading *Dombey and Son*<sup>81</sup> after baby went to sleep.

*Friday 17th.* Had morning school. Sent for all the men to tell them I had heard from Mr Warner saying

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81. Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (1848).

the Tambookies would not be moved.<sup>82</sup> Harveys passed on their way to Queenstown. A long case on in the evening. Witboy brought our English letters from Queenstown in the afternoon, and we heard the wonderful news that Maggie is going to be married.

*Saturday 18th.* Had a long talk with Joseph and Zinzeli in the morning. Broome went to St Marks. Heard from Mr Waters that Mr Maggs is to be ordained the end of this month. Jennie altered carpet. Baby much better but would not go to sleep at night so sat up to tea with us. Did accounts, and read *Dombey and Son*.

*Sunday 19th.* Services and school as usual. Bitterly cold day. Thick ice in the watercourse. Kafir children wretched. Broome came to dinner and tea. Jennie read 2nd lecture on Tractarianism afterwards.

*Monday 20th.* Went to school, had Joseph and wrote letters to Bishop, G. Cotterill etc. Post boy did not come. Read *Dombey and Son* in the evening.

*Tuesday 21st.* School as usual, as the post did not come, I sent Matshongo to town with our letters. St Marks boy turned up just at sundown and said his horse was done up. I sent for Umsila to take the letters, but he rowed the boy, and made him go. Night school in the evening, and *Dombey and Son* afterwards.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Nice frosty day. School as usual. Great deal of sickness about now, people coming for medicine all day long. Almost all the children on the station sick. Night school after tea. Went a short drive with Broome.

*Thursday 23rd.* Matshongo arrived in the middle of the night. Kind letter from the Bishop telling me to drink beer. Matshongo said he met the St Marks post boy going in to Queenstown at sundown on Wednesday. Did not go to school, as I was very busy giving medicine, seeing my patients etc. Sent Umsila to the Gwytyu with post. Cozy evening reading.

*Friday 24th.* St John Baptist's Day so a whole holiday. Was going to take Jennie for a drive when Lena Smit came to say Andries Kleinboy, Kitye's son was dead at St Marks, and Kitye wanted the children to go to the funeral, so I drove Mrs Smit and the 3 children until we were in sight of St Marks. Broome went to St Marks, and Thomas came from there in the evening.

*Saturday 25th.* Saw my patients. Peter came from St Peters and brought me a letter from Patten saying their dear little baby was dead. I sent for my horse to go over at once, but thought perhaps I should be intruding so did not go. Wrote to Patten to beg him to send for me, if I could be of the slightest use. The baby died from croup, very suddenly. Did accounts in the evening. Broome did not come back. Soso came from Queenstown and brought my new mare and foal.

*Sunday 26th.* School as usual. Our dear baby seems very well and so merry. Can't help thinking of the poor Pattens. Griffiths came just after evening chapel and slept here. Broome came to tea.

*Monday 27th.* Griffith stayed until eleven o'clock and directly he left, I had the horses up and drove Jennie to the Gwytyu. We outspanned at the bottom of the muddy hill, and left John to look after the cart while we walked on to the mission station. Found the poor Pattens pretty well. Mrs

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82. Only some of the Thembu (among them Darala) agreed to move across the Indwe into Transkeian territory to be known as Emigrant Thembuland (E Wagenaar, 'A Forgotten frontier zone', *AYB*, 1982, p.190)

Patten bears her loss wonderfully. Stayed there about two hours, and then walked back to our cart. Miss Ende walked part of the way with us. Got home before dark. Horses went at a tremendous pace. I could hardly hold Pious John in. Newton came in the evening.

*Tuesday 28th.* Baby eleven months old. Felt rather seedy. Gave a week's holiday. Broome not very well. Very windy day. Read *Macbeth* in the evening.

*Wednesday 29th.* Very windy still. Post came in the afternoon. Sent Intellect on at once to the Gwytyu. Newton went to St Marks. Nice cozy evening.

*Thursday 30th.* My birthday. Had a cake. Put up a ceiling in the new bedroom. Very hard work. Jennie helped me part of the time. Newton came back in the afternoon and read us *The Raven*<sup>83</sup> in the evening. Sat up till late chatting. So ended my 26th birthday.

*Friday 1st July 1864.* Broome came to board with us. Drove Jennie and baby and Nombashi to Occupation Post. Found the Harveys just going to Tylden. We drove back together. I could hardly hold Snowdrop in to keep pace with them. They dined with us and drove on afterwards. Whilst we were at chapel James Merriman and E. Pickering rode up and told us Mrs Waters would be here that night. So we got ready as well as we could, and about 8 o'clock, Mr and Mrs Waters, Georgina, Julia, Harry and the baby arrived. They had tea and soon went to bed. I sat up talking to Mr Waters.

*Saturday 2nd.* A very large party (eleven of us) to breakfast. Mr Waters and the boys rode to St Marks afterwards, and Mrs Waters and party soon left in the wagon. Newton went to Queenstown so we were left quite quiet again. Felt very seedy indeed. I have another immense carbuncle and cannot sit or stand still. Did accounts after tea.

*Sunday 3rd.* Got Broome to take morning chapel. Felt very seedy. Went to school as usual and to midday service, but was quite knocked up afterwards. Broome had English service for me. Jennie read the 3rd lecture on Tractarianism in the evening.

*Monday 4th.* Broome took morning chapel. I was in great pain all day and felt very seedy. When Stoffell came from St Marks, I got him to lance my carbuncle for me, he did it very well, but it was frightful pain. Post came from St Marks but had not been to the Gwytyu so I sent Umsila over. Wrote a few letters, and Jennie read in the evening.

*Thursday 5th.* Still very seedy. Could not sit down all day. Sent off the post. Tried to do accounts. Lay down on the bed in the back room while night school was going on, and had reading afterwards. Went to evening chapel.

*Wednesday 6th.* Still very seedy. I have boils on my back, and wrist, as well as my carbuncle. Liefeldt came just after dinner. Gave him some dinner and chatted all the afternoon. Night school in the evening. Post came just before chapel.

*Thursday 7th.* Patten rather better today. Took chapel and afternoon school. Seedy again in the evening so did not have the Hottentots, the evening reading.

*Friday 8th.* Wrote letters. Broome rode to Queenstown in the evening. Did not have night school as

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83. Edgar Allan Poe, *The Raven*, probably published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

we were seedy. We began to read Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*.<sup>84</sup> Very cozy evening.

*Saturday 9th.* Usual Saturday turn out. I sat in the verandah the first part of the morning and lay down afterwards. A man brought us the post from Queenstown. Broome came back in the evening with our bills and so we settled up accounts.

*Sunday 10th.* Glorious day. No wind which is a great treat after the last windy fortnight. School as usual. Holy communion after midday service. Baptized three Hottentot children (the Smits) in English service. Johnnie Smit is my godson. Read *Nineveh* etc in the evening. Joseph and Peter to tea.

*Monday 11th.* Felt rather better. Went to see Joe's children. Post arrived, but had again missed the Gwytyu, so I sent Matshongo over. Very busy writing English letters.

*Tuesday 12th.* Felt better so went to morning school. The Pattens came while I was away. They went home in the afternoon but promised to come again on Thursday. Night school after tea. Sent post to town.

*Wednesday 13th.* Went to school and set the men to work at the stable. Saw after Joe's children. Night school. Post came from town.

*Thursday 14th.* Windy day. Had Peter and Joseph as usual. The Patten's came just after midday. Walked about with Pattens in the afternoon. They brought over a bundle of *Punches*<sup>85</sup> with them which we much enjoyed looking at in the evening.

*Friday 15th.* Had the horses up, and took the Pattens for a drive in the cart. We went to a large Hottentot kraal. I promised the people to try and have an outstation there. Liefeldt came in the afternoon, and we put Eclipse, Patten's horse in the cart with Pious John. He went very well. Night school in the evening.

*Saturday 16th.* Drove the Pattens and Jennie to the Pewuleni. We put in Eclipse but he would not pull at all and made poor John do all the work. I beat him well but it was of no use. We got home to dinner. Had a game of chess with Patten in the evening.

*Sunday 17th.* Did usual Sunday work. Patten went to the Gwytyu and the Pewuleni and got home in the evening. Poor Mrs Patten rather sad, as it was her baby's birthday - her eye is rather sore again.

*Monday 18th.* Got the horses up and put John and Eclipse in. They would not start. John found out that he had all the work to do so would not go. So after beating them, and trying to get on, I unharnessed Eclipse and put Snowdrop in his place. We got on very well after this. The Kei drift was frightful; the horses could not pull through, so we got the men to help. Mr Waters was away; we dined with Mrs Waters, and went to see Miss Ende, and then started on our way home. Mrs Kitton and Jennie walked down the steep hill before the drift and then I drove them across. We got over all right and had a very pleasant drive home. We began to wean baby and she slept with the Pattens. She had one long cry, but was very good altogether. Old [Humpa

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84. W H Prescott, *The History of the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1838).

85. *Punch* or the *London Charivari* was founded in 1841. An illustrated periodical, its humorous satire, caricatures and cartoons earned it an empire-wide circulation. It has only recently ceased publication.

?] came to tell me Joe's children were dying and wanted me to baptize them. I had Joseph talk to him and said I did not want to baptize them, as I knew if I did they would say that was the reason they died. They promised they would do nothing of the kind. One child died before we left the hut. Patten, Stoffell and Joseph were with me. Wrote letters.

*Tuesday 10th.* Sent post on to town. Went out with Patten. Buried the little child in the afternoon; directly afterwards [Joe ?] came to tell me the other was dead. Night school after tea.

*Wednesday 20th.* Was going to the Hottentot but did not feel well. Post came, while Jennie was in school, with the English letters. I opened Jennie's from her mother at once as we were dreading bad news. Saw that dear Johnnie was dead. I was obliged to go and tell Jennie to send the children away as the letters were come. We had been so afraid of bad news from Charlie, but never thought of dear old Jack.<sup>86</sup> Did not have night school in the evening.

*Thursday 21st.* Went to afternoon school. Windy day. Mrs Patten's eyes very bad. Sent Matshongo to Queenstown for some things for Jennie. Played chess in the evening with both Mr and Mrs Patten.

*Friday 22nd.* Rode to the Hottentots. Took down the names of all the people, and began a school. A red Kafir came in the afternoon with Eclipse and said some thieves had run away with him and he had given chase, and that the horse fell, and the thief bolted. I gave the man 2s. Whilst we were at tea Galvani came and said the tale was entirely untrue and that Jacu and Malaza had told Bosiwu (the red Kafir) to bring the horse to me and ask for money. So after tea instead of night school, I called John and Mata and Galvani and set them to find out all about it.

*Saturday 23rd.* The Pattens went home about twelve o'clock. I had the horse case on all the morning. Jacu's and Malaza's only excuse was they were so drunk they did not know what they were doing. Harry Waters came. Baby had a slight cold, but went to sleep quite nicely; woke up about 8.30 with a horrible attack of croup. We put her in a very hot bath at once and afterwards gave her a dessertspoonful of sweet oil. We wrapped her up well and Jennie brought her out before the fire. She went to sleep again and slept pretty well, but was restless and feverish. I got the horses up to send off for Thorne at once but as she got better waited. I sat up until 3.30 keeping up fire and hot water in case of another attack.

*Sunday 24th.* Holy communion English after midday service. Baby very husky. I gave her a dose of castor oil in the morning, and as she got no better gave her tartar emetic (dose 2 grains in four ounces of water, give a tablespoon every quarter of an hour) she was very sick after the third dose, but we gave her another. She threw up a quantity of nasty flemy [sic] looking stuff. We gave her another hot bath. At night she slept pretty well, but got very thirsty and feverish towards morning.

*Monday 25th.* Sent Umsotsho to the Gwytyu with some sheep of mine. I rode over afterwards as baby seemed a little better. I did not like to put it off. Had Holy communion. Mr Patten very frightened about baby. Got home before sundown. Baby has a bad cold but seems rather better. Gave her a hot bath again, and a dessertspoonful of sweet oil. She was very restless all night, and her cough went bad, so I gave her some ipecacuana and honey. Wrote to Mrs Merriman and Thorne and Jennie wrote to Charlie.

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86. William John Roe (Johnnie or Jack), younger brother to Jennie, drowned in the Witham near Bastow, Lincolnshire. He was seventeen years old.

*Tuesday 26th.* Baby seems better but her cough is very bad. She slept a very short time, but played about when she woke. I walked with Peter to the Hottentots. Postboy came, sent him on at once. Had Peter and Joseph. No night school. Baby very poorly indeed.

*Wednesday 27th.* Went to the Hottentots. Chest went with him to carry slates etc. Got home, and had Peter and Joseph. Worked at the stable in the afternoon. Post came. School in the evening.

*Thursday 28th.* Baby one year old today. So I did not go to the Hottentots. Worked at stable, and had no afternoon school. Great row at the kraals over the hill. Old Mata and Umsila came to tell me they had been to a large beer drinking there and that a quarrel had arisen between two kraals as to which was the greatest. One man (Mapingana) was killed in the quarrel. Poor old Mata was dreadfully frightened. Sent at once to tell Zenzile (Darala was away) that he must find the murderer. He was at the place and sent to tell me, the people were so riotous he could not manage them. So I sent Zwartboy down to Occupation Post. Mr Harvey and 5 policemen came about tea time. I rode with them to Darala[s] kraal, to interpret for them. They took charge of the prisoners Zenzile had succeeded in taking and went back to Occupation.

*Friday 29th.* Went to the Hottentots directly after breakfast. Expected Warner but he did not arrive. Took afternoon school. A number of policemen came while we were at tea, and said they were to stay until Mr Harvey came. Night school as usual. Stayed up late expecting Harvey, who came just after I was in bed. Got up, made him up a bed etc.

*Saturday 30th.* Got up at daybreak to call Harvey. Then I went to have service. I found the church was so crowded with red Kafirs, police, etc, I was obliged to give it up. Darala was there and two of Warner's police. Had a meeting. Harvey had taken 6 prisoners. Mrs Harvey came about 12 o'clock. Thorne just at dinner time. After dinner he and Harvey went to examine the poor mare. Harvey went home afterwards. Thorne stayed the night here. Very windy.

*Sunday 31st.* Broome who was at St Marks yesterday says the Miss Birches have been lost. They went to a picnic with the Waters on Friday and have not been seen since. Not true. Thorne left for town about 11.30; very windy still. Baptized 6 Hottentot children at English service. Baby very poorly. Bad cough. Went to singing with the children in the evening.

*Monday 1st August 1864.* Went to the Hottentots. Had Joseph and Peter. Wrote letters. Mr Waters and the three boys came in the afternoon in the wagon on their way to Grahamstown. Slept here and went on very early the next morning. Grita went to the Gwytyu for a holiday.

*Tuesday 2nd.* Mr Waters' leader came, and said two of the oxen were lost. I sent two men after them. Went to Hottentots, and afterwards to another kraal, got home about 1 o'clock. Sent Umsila to town with post, as postboy's horse was sick. Night school as usual.

*Wednesday 3rd.* Reggie's birthday. Went to Hottentots. Measured out a house for John Myaba in the afternoon. Night school. Umsila came back with post. Very kind letter from Mrs Merriman. Wagon went to town.

*Thursday 4th.* Went to Hottentots. Took afternoon school. Wagon came back but the oats which I chiefly wanted were left behind. Played chess with Jennie.

*Friday 5th.* Went to Hottentots. Patten came whilst Jennie was in sewing school. Had a long talk with Patten. They went home in the afternoon. Broome went to Queenstown, so I took afternoon

school. Very large night school. Very cozy game of chess afterwards.

*Saturday 6th.* Jennie's birthday. We went for a drive just before twelve but soon after we started it got so windy we turned back. Very windy afternoon. Game of chess with Jennie in the evening after we had done accounts. Great wash afterwards. After twelve when we went to bed.

*Sunday 7th.* Services and school as usual. Very cold day. Baptized 7 Hottentot children from my outstation one, Annie George is our godchild. Quiet evening.

*Monday 8th.* Wrote English letters. Did not go to outstation. Writing in the evening until 9 o'clock when Liefeldt came from St Marks so I put away my letters and sat talking with him until after twelve o'clock.

*Tuesday 9th.* Liefeldt left before sunrise. Finished my letters. Stoffell thatching the house today. Matshongo who was at work inside got in a great fright as to where he should get out. Night school in the evening.

*Wednesday 10th.* Post came. Wrote to Patten about catechist examination which is to be done here. Stoffell began to paint the wagons, and did the house. Night school

*Thursday 11th.* Went to outstation. Stoffell finished thatching. Felt rather seedy in the evening. Played chess with Jennie.

*Friday 12th.* Liefeldt came soon after breakfast and Mr and Mrs Patten arrived soon afterwards. Patten, Liefeldt and Broome did their papers in Broome's room. Liefeldt went home in the evening. Was very seedy.

*Saturday 13th.* Very windy day. Patten and Broome went on with their papers. Whilst we were at dinner a letter came from Liefeldt to say his horse has knocked him on the lip the night before, and cut it badly. I could not go as I was very poorly, so Patten said he would, and that Mrs Patten should stay with us. Broome went to the Gwytyu.

*Sunday 14th.* Services and schools as usual. Felt very poorly indeed. Patten came just before sundown from St Marks. Cozy evening.

*Monday 15th.* Felt very poorly indeed. The swelling would not go down, so I determined to drive to Queenstown. A German winkler came for medicine for his child just as we were starting. We got off about twelve o'clock. The horses went capitally. We got to town about 3.30. I went to see Thorne. He says the swelling is a bad abscess and is a most serious thing. Got homesick. Stayed at St Legers.

*Tuesday 16th.* Felt very seedy indeed. The swelling burst in the morning. I went to Thorne and he lanced it and said perhaps I might go home the next day. Spent the evening at the St Legers, and played chess. Poor Patten stayed up until past three o'clock trying to find a bed, and then went to Newton's and slept on the top of some forage.

*Wednesday 17th.* Our fathers birthdays. Thorne had been called out of town so I determined to get home and started about one o'clock. The horses were very fresh, and came splendidly. We stayed an hour at the Imvani and then drove home in less than another hour. Found Jen and Mrs Patten and baby well and delighted to see us. Jacobs came just after we got home but did not stay long. Felt very tired and seedy after our drive but was very glad to get home.

*Thursday 18th.* Very seedy all day. Patten wanted to go home, but was very poorly, so could not. Very windy day. Grita was poorly, so we told her to stay at home. Umsutyana came to tell me Mr Warner said the 8 men of this station who were present when Mapingana was killed, were to pay a fine of an ox each. I sent a message to tell him to come the next day if he wanted to talk to me. Played chess with Mrs Patten in the evening.

*Friday 19th.* Mr and Mrs Patten left soon after breakfast. I feel very seedy and don't see how I am to get the change, Thorne says I must have. I was obliged to lie down all the morning. Two of Mr Warner's men arrived. Umsutyana came in the afternoon and had a long talk. I sent for Mata and Umsila to talk to them. When they left I felt very tired and laid down again. Too seedy for night school, so I read *Satanstoc*<sup>87</sup> by Cooper

*Saturday 20th.* Had a great turn out of everything in the two front rooms, so I went down with Stoffell and helped to paint the wagon. Mr Jacobs came in the afternoon but did not stay long. Read in the evening our English letters which came by Intellect. Heard from John Africa.

*Sunday 21st.* School and services as usual. Joseph preached very nicely for me at midday service. Baby very poorly with very bad cough and frightful breathing. Very much afraid she was going to have bronchitis. She was very restless all the evening.

*Monday 22nd.* Old Shibo came down to me directly after breakfast with a letter he had had from John Africa saying Martha had written to him and refused to marry him. He was very angry about it and wanted to take Martha home at once, and marry her to a red Kafir. Of course I would not allow this. I sent for Martha out of school and talked to her. She said John got drunk, and she would not have him. Old Shibo is in a great state about it; he came to me after dinner with his wife, and wanted Martha home. Talked to Martha in the afternoon and wrote to Mr Bertram about John's character. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 23rd.* Very poorly and tired. Very windy day. I was lying down in the afternoon when Mr Waters and Turpin rode up. They came from the Winterberg. Mr Waters was going on but stayed when he found how late it was. We sat chatting all the evening.

*Wednesday 24th. St Bartholomew's Day.* I drove Waters and Turpin in the cart to the big flat when they left on horseback. Got home and found Mr Waters' wagon has come, with several things for us and a box from England, which we unpacked at once. 3 dozen brown [word illegible] came too from Grahamstown. The Harveys came but did not stay long. Broome went to St Marks. Very nice cozy evening; we have given up night school as the evenings are getting short. Post came, and I sent it on to the Gwytyu.

*Thursday 25th.* Went to see Malaza's child and gave it some medicine. Baby poorly again she cannot get rid of her cough. Broome came from St Marks. I took afternoon school as usual on Thursdays.

*Friday 26th.* Malaza came to tell me his child died in the night. Set all the station men to clear out the watercourse, so I went up with them all the morning. Felt very tired when I got home. Heard from Patten, Mr Waters has at last signed his letters of orders, and he sent them to me to sign.

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87. James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) *Satanstoc* (1845).



Jennie read Oswald Cray<sup>88</sup> to me in the evening.

*Saturday 27th.* Went to see the men at work. Wrote to the Bishop, and sent Patten's letters on to Tylden. Jennie walked with me in the afternoon to the dam, and to see how the men were getting on. John Africa's father came in the evening with a letter from me for Mr Bertram, which is not very satisfactory. I had a long talk with the father.

*Sunday 28th.* Services and schools as usual. English communion after midday service. Felt very tired after afternoon service. Jennie read Oswald Cray to me in the evening, and we finished the numbers of *Good Words*, but the tale does not end which is a bother. Pious John is sick.

*Monday 29th.* As John was sick, I could not go to the Pewuleni in a cart, so I had Snowdrop up to ride on. I went first to see the men at work at the dam, and then started. Had service after waiting some time for Mr Waters who did not come. Got home about 3.15 and had dinner. Wrote letters in the evening.

*Tuesday 30th.* Had a meeting of the station men, and went afterwards to see the men at work. Was very tired in the afternoon, and laid down. A letter came from Mr Waters asking me, if possible to meet him and Turpin at the Gwytyu the next day. Wrote and said I would go if I was well enough.

*Wednesday 31st.* Went to see the men at work. The post came, with letters from the Bishop and Mrs Merriman saying we were to go to Grahamstown at once for some months. They were in a great state at the account Patten and Broome wrote of me. I rode to the Gwytyu, saw Waters and Turpin and told them about the letters. Mr Waters advises me to start next Monday if possible. Got home soon after sundown, and felt very tired. Had a long talk about plans etc.

*Thursday 1st September 1864.* Waters and Patten came whilst Jennie was in sewing school. They both want us to start at once. Patten will come and take my place while I am away. Waters promised to lend me some oxen etc.

*Friday 2nd.* Jennie very busy all day packing. I saw about the wagon. Stoffell busy making a new tent. Sent Umsila to town with letters.

*Saturday 3rd.* Packing. Pattens came about 2.30. Had talk with him about arrangements and Jennie showed Mrs Patten about stores.

*Sunday 4th.* Kafir communion after midday service. Baby had a very bad cough at night, it seemed liked [sic] whooping cough. We decided to stay at home but Patten thought change would do her good.

*Monday 5th.* Got up very early indeed. Fastened the boxes, and was ready to start, but the oxen had not come, so we did not get away before twelve o'clock. Lots of the people came with us a little way. We got to the Naqu that night and had splendid weather.

*Tuesday 6th.* Started early, outspanned at the Windfogelberg, but could not go to the river to wash, there were so many soldiers there. Treked on again until dark, and outspanned on the flats, by a very large vlei - very windy night.

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88. Mrs Henry Wood 'Oswald Cray', published in twelve monthly instalments in *Good Words* (N Macleod DD (ed), 1864)

*Wednesday 7th.* Treked very early. Dreadful road all day long. Crossed the Shiloh River and on to Kamas. Very pretty place. Had a delightful wash. Baby very amusing all dinner time. Stuck in the mud soon after we treked again, and had dreadful trouble to get out again. We were obliged to fasten the oxen to the back of the wagon and make them pull us out again. We travelled until very late, down dreadful hills where we had to riem [brake with leather thongs] both the back wheels, and outspanned in a very pretty place under a large wood.

*Thursday 8th.* Travelled all the evening along a ridge of mountains, came down Colonel [word illegible] road. We had a splendid view. Beautiful valleys both sides of us. Outspanned close by Chumie [sic; Tyumi] Post.<sup>89</sup> Went through Alice about sundown, and outspanned again soon after.

*Friday 9th.* Very heavy mist all the morning. Chest went to look for the oxen and got lost and we went on without him. Outspanned at Kat River. I went back to look for Chest soon after we started so walked all the morning trek. We passed Liew Fontaine [sic; Leeuw fontein], and crossed the Koonap bridge and outspanned. Baboons made a frightful noise at night.

*Saturday 10th.* Treked early. Crossed Fish River bridge and treked on up the Queen's Road to Botha's hill. Had a wash there and got into Grahamstown soon after sundown. I walked on to tell Mrs Krohn we were coming. Mrs Merriman came to see us, went to see the Archdeacon and to practising.

*Sunday 11th.* Went to St Bartholomews and read the Litany in the morning and preached in the afternoon. Had tea at the Merrimans.

*Monday 12th.* Went to see the Bishop and talked to him. Jennie went to the Bee in the evening and I went to fetch her, so the Merrimans made us stay to supper.

*Tuesday 13th.* Went to St George's but there was no service. Met the Bishop after breakfast. Went to a party at the Merrimans, but it was wet and very few people were there.

*Wednesday 14th.* Went into town, saw Bishop and others. Went to Bishopsbourne to a Shakespeare reading. Heard *Macbeth*. The Archdeacon was Macbeth and the Bishop, Duncan. They read very well.

*Thursday 15th.* Went to early service as usual. Went to Bishopsbourne. I am to be Secretary so I shall have plenty to do. Spent a quiet evening at the Krohns. Wrote and sent our English letters.

*Friday 16th.* Went to town. To the glee singing in the evening. Mrs Krohn, and Jennie went to the Coleman's in the evening.

*Saturday 17th.* Settled we to go to Bishopsbourne to stay while the Bishop is away. Went to hear the band play in the Botanical Gardens in the afternoon. Went to practising in the evening.

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89. After the War of the Axe in 1847 the old ceded territory between the Fish and the Keiskamma was incorporated into the Cape Colony as the district of Victoria East. Here the Revd Henry Calderwood was appointed civil commissioner and magistrate and instructed to establish his office at Alice, a town on the right bank of the Tyumi river, named after Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, the second daughter of Queen Victoria. It became an important educational centre. The Lovedale Institute was nearby, and later Fort Hare University was established there.

*Sunday 18th.* Preached at St Andrew's in the morning and at St Bartholomew's in the afternoon. Wrote to Patten. Quiet evening.

*Monday 19th.* Went to Bishopsbourne to dine with Jennie. The Bishop went with us over the houses and we decided to live in the one by the College. Mrs G. Cotterill drove Jennie home in the afternoon. I went to the cricket ground. Jennie went to Bee in the evening. English mail arrived.

*Tuesday 20th.* Went to Bishopsbourne to help the Bishop. Got home to dinner. Went to see Mrs Ashburnham, and Mrs Huntley. Went to tea at Miss Biggars<sup>90</sup> and behaved very badly. Went to sleep in the evening. Baby crying when we got home.

*Wednesday 21st.* Spent the morning at Bishopsbourne writing. Krohns went to Ms Kings and Mills ball. Quiet evening at their rooms alone.

*Thursday 22nd.* Went to Bishopsbourne to see the Bishop off. He has a capital team of horses. Got home to dinner. Juvenile party at Campbell's room. Krohn's boys did not get home till 12.40. I sat up for them as Mrs Krohn was very tired.

*Friday 23rd.* Took baby to have her likeness taken but could not get a good one, she would not stay still. Went back to the Krohns and said goodbye, and then walked up to Bishopsbourne. Got here to dinner. Very quiet afternoon. I went for a ride with Mary Krohn. Went to lecture by Archdeacon Merriman in the evening. Greek Tragedies.

*Saturday 24th.* Dear Charlie's birthday. Quiet morning, wrote letters. Wrote sermon all the evening.

*Sunday 25th.* Preached at St Bartholomews in morning and at St Andrews in the evening. Dined at the Archdeacon's. Had tea with the G. Cotterills and some singing afterwards.

*Monday 26th.* Went down to town. Mrs Krohn, Mrs Merriman and Mrs Mills called in the afternoon. Jennie went to Bee, and I went to fetch her.

*Tuesday 27th.* Went down to Market Square to pay a bill for the Bishop. Took Jennie for a walk in the afternoon. Quiet evening.

*Wednesday 28th.* Mrs Blaine, Minnie Oak, Helen Krohn called. Took Jennie to call on the Governor and Lady Douglas<sup>91</sup> in the afternoon but they were out. Called on Maynards etc.

*Thursday 29th. Michaelmas Day.* No service at St Andrews, so we went to St Bartholomew and the Merrimans made us stay to dinner. Afterwards the Archdeacon made me go with him to Fern Cleugh. We got home about 6.0 o'clock. We went to Mr Turpin from the Merrimans and heard his school children sing etc.

*Friday 30th.* Began to write a sermon for Sunday. Went to see about our house etc.

*Saturday.* Sent Bishop's letters.

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90. Miss Biggars was a governess, living in Beaufort Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1855*)

91. Sir Percy Douglas was commander of the frontier forces in 1864 (E A Walker, *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol.8, Cambridge, 1963, p.426)

*Saturday 1st October.* Wrote sermon and letters to Harry, Patten and others. Went to the choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 2nd.* Read prayers at St Andrews in the morning. Preached at St Barts in the afternoon, and at St Andrews in the evening. Went to tea at G. C[otterill]'s afterwards.

*Monday 3rd.* Went down town, and afterwards for a scratch picnic with Mrs Curry. G. C[otterill] and the Bissetts to Dassy [sic; Dassie] Krantz. Had capital fun. Nice quiet evening.

*Tuesday 4th.* Went down to look after Heath all the morning. Wrote a letter to Key, to meet him at the Bay. Bee in the evening at the George Cotterill's.

*Wednesday 5th.* Jennie walked down to Market Square to ask Mrs Krohn to go with her to choose a paper. She took Jennie home again. I was busy at the house all the morning. Went to the Bissetts in the evening. Baby not very well so Jennie stayed at home with her. The races have been going on the last two days and made the town very gay.

*Thursday 6th.* Did not feel very well. I went to Market Square today. The men are getting on slowly with the house. Very nice quiet evening. Thunderstorm 1 o'clock.

*Friday 7th.* Went down town. Started Bishop's letters. Went to glee singing in the evening. Very heavy thunderstorm in the afternoon.

*Saturday 8th.* Had a delightful letter from Charlie, a very long one. I went down town, saw Mr Turpin and borrowed a saddle from him. Went to choir practising in the evening.

*Sunday 9th.* Preached at St Andrews morning and evening. Went to practising in the afternoon. Nice cozy time after evening service. Wet day.

*Monday 10th.* Rather wet morning. Went down town to see about the saddle which had not come. It came whilst I was away. I started from Grahamstown at 11.45. As I was jogging down the Ecce pass, pipe in mouth I came upon the General etc. Stopped at Fort Brown at 3.0. On again at 4.0. Crossed Koonap bridge (25 miles from Grahamstown) about 5.45. Got to the hotel just before 7. A Hollander wife and child came soon after. Stayed there the night.

*Tuesday 11th.* Got up at 5.30. Paid bill, had a cup of coffee, and started on again. Very thick mist, so got on very slowly. Lost my way in the fog, and had to jog across country. Got to Beaufort at 9.45. Mr Henchman and his wife were most kind. Gave me breakfast. My horse got away and I had to travel after him. Started again at 2 p.m. Intensely hot. Crossed the Kat River at a deep but good drift but in the deepest part the horse blundered and fell head, ears and shoulders under twice. Of course I was soaked through up to the knees. I got to the Blinkwater a very pretty village at 3.30. I have never seen such glorious scenery as I have passed through today. Off saddled at 4.30. Went on again at 5.0 and got to Balfour at 7.0. The horse gets on very well but stumbles occasionally.

*Wednesday 12th.* Got up at 6.50. Lovely morning. Much enjoyed the view. Got on very well and slept at Shiloh. The missionaries very kind and hospitable.

*Thursday 13th.* Started early and got on well. Got home about sundown. Found the Pattens well. Felt tired and seedy.

*Friday 14th.* Very busy packing up our goods all day. Wrote to Jennie in the evening.

*Saturday 15th.* Packing up all day. Had no idea I had so many things. Got very tired.

*Sunday 16th.* Had services as usual. Quiet evening.

*Monday 17th.* Packing all day, sold off several of our things. Wrote to Jennie.

*Tuesday 18th.* Finished packing. Mr Waters came. Started about 2 o'clock for Queenstown. Took Moses with me. The horses went beautifully. Heavy thunderstorm all the way. Slept at St Leger's.

*Wednesday 19th.* Slept at the Lacyfields, Ox Kraal. The horses went beautifully.

*Thursday 20th.* Went down the Katberg. Frightful work. At one place there was a huge ladder fixed in the one side and a huge rock on the other. I was obliged to drive down, but the jerk of the cart going down the rock threw me out, my foot caught in the reins and I was dragged a few yards but fortunately I was not much hurt. Got to Green's Hotel and stayed the night there.

*Friday 21st.* Had a good journey but frightfully wet all day. Got to the bottom of the Koonap hill and slept at the hotel there.

*Saturday 22nd.* Fine day. Got on well and got to Grahamstown about 2.0 p.m. Found the Cotterills at dinner. Found Waters outside. Had dinner and in the afternoon we moved down to our own house. Key had tea with us.

*Sunday 23rd.* Henry's birthday. Went to St B[artholomew]'s in the morning, and read prayers at St A[ndrew]'s in the evening. Mitchell, Key and Dodd came to tea afterwards.

*Monday 24th.* Went to see after the horse. Went down town with Jennie and [Key ?] and bought druggut [coarse woven rug or table cloth], cups, saucers, etc. Got home just in time for dinner. Went to Turpin's in the evening.

*Tuesday 25th.* Went to see horses. Went out with Key and Dodd. Quiet evening.

*Wednesday 26th.* Out all the morning. Kafirs came to tea in the evening.

*Thursday 27th.* Went to Bishopsbourne to do accounts with the Bishop etc. Arranged mission papers. Quiet evening.

*Friday 28th.* Baby fifteen months old. St S[imon]'s and St Jude's day so we went to Church. Bishop preached. Glee singing in the evening. Began sermon.

*Saturday 29th.* Very busy all morning arranging school room. Went to [word illegible] ground in the afternoon. Wrote sermons the whole evening.

*Sunday 30th.* Preached at St A[ndrew]'s in the morning and at St B[artholomew]'s in the afternoon, and had prayers at St A's in the evening. Jennie went with me to St B's and we had a long chat at the Merriman's afterwards, and some tea at the Krohns.

*Monday 31st.* Went down town. Key and Dodd came to stay with us. Sung quartets in the evening, first at our house, and then at the Cotterills to enliven the Bee.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### *Letters of Robert and Jennie Mullins September 1862 to November 1865*

Edongqaba  
September 7th 1862

My dear mother,

You will much wonder where the abovenamed place is. We are on our way to the Bolotwa and I am writing this on Sunday whilst we rest to post it at the next village. Yesterday we left King William's Town about 11 o'clock and got thus far at night. We have had very fine weather and today is splendid. We have had morning service and a long talk with the 5 boys who are with us from the Grahamstown school going home for the holidays. We are resting under some shady trees in the river. I am trying as well as I can to write you a letter to assure you of our welfare. This is I know the last chance we shall have for this mail. We will however write again when we get *home*, [Mullins' emphasis] if we do so before the post leaves. We slept with the wagon last night. Jennie and Sarah take possession of the inside and I generally sleep underneath or by the side according to circumstances. We hope to be home by the 13th but it is a long way yet and our oxen are very poor and sick, so that we cannot tell how long we may be. Jennie is very very well and happy as the day is long, ever talking however about home, friends and especially Charlie. We were glad to get the last English letters and I hope we shall soon have some more. I wrote a long letter to Harry, but of course we do not expect an answer from such an out of the way place for some time. We are in a most romantic wild spot and glad of the shade of some nice trees during the heat of the day. I am now lying down and writing under a tree in the dry bed of the abovenamed river. We are obliged to carry water with us in a sort of tub, because there is so very little in the road owing to the great want of rain. I am so very grieved and sorry to hear that our first batch of letters were lost, or delayed so as not to get to the *Dane*; I hope however that they will turn up readable with this and the ones we posted in King William's Town. I had not time to write there. We are most anxious to hear about Charlie and the Indian etc.<sup>1</sup> I fear this letter will be worse in the writing even than usual, but it is by no means an easy position to write in, because I have to rest my body on my elbows and write at the same time. Sarah<sup>2</sup> is very kind and attentive and I am very glad she is able to go with us. We have taken her for a year. I suppose she will want to be back in civilization life by that time. I am very sorry that it could not be managed for us to remain in Grahamstown, but the man who has the College was obliged to be removed from the station we are going to, because he was heavily in debt, otherwise the Bishop told me himself that he would gladly have given the place to us. The Archdeacon very much wished us to be there. I could not think however, of trying to turn Hutt out again as he has a very small wife and four much smaller children, and of course the place is of greater object to him than it is to me. I think of moving on a little way tonight by moonlight as it will be easier for the oxen and for ourselves. We are right at the bottom of a range of hills, and the road goes over them in a

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1. Charles Roe (1841-1927), brother of Jennie. Educated at Merton College, Oxford, he had evidently succeeded in the competitive examination for entry into the Indian Civil Service. The competitive examination was introduced in 1853 (see F Robinson (ed), *Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pakistani, etc*, Cambridge, 1989). In the course of a successful career he became chief judge of the chief court of the Punjab and Vice Chancellor of the University of the Punjab. Knighted in 1897, he retired in 1898 and received an honorary degree in 1899. (*Who was Who 1916-1940*, London, 1929)
  2. See Introduction.

zigzag, which is heavy work. I fancy we shall want both teams to the wagon. Still I want to push on to the Bolotwa before the rain comes on, which it is very likely to do, as this is the beginning of the rainy season. I suppose when this reaches you dear old Maggie will be the only one with you. We often think of last year and the many changes that have taken place since we were all last at Swanage.<sup>3</sup> Jennie has of course told you of the unbounded kindness of the Merrimans. When we left last week they provided us with everything we could possibly want for the journey and we are still living partly upon their bounty. We hope soon to have the Archdeacon up to pay us a visit and I want to get on to have the place a little in order before he arrives. Mr Woodrooffe has the station at present and will remain there most likely till he goes to England when the translations are finished. So I shall be under him for a time as he is in Rector's orders. The Bishop and Mr Waters wished me to be ordained this month, but I begged off as a 100 miles travel in an ox wagon and all the rows with drivers is not what I should call fit preparation for such a step. The Bishop immediately replied and said he was glad that I had mentioned it. He hopes however to ordain me about Xmas. I am going to begin and read directly we get home. It will be also a help to be having Woodrooffe there. He is a second class Oxford man and of course will be able to help me in my reading. My arm has gone to sleep owing to the posture in which I am writing. The Merrimans were very very sorry to lose us for Grahamstown and I for my part was sorry also to leave, but of course in such a work as ours one cannot choose for ourselves. Duty must be the main spring of my actions. I hope however now we really are going up country that we shall remain there for some time to come. The Bishop was kind in every way. He has given us full salary and paid my expenses from the Bay. My salary to commence from the day we arrive at Bolotwa. I do not at all think that Jennie will find the Bolotwa lonely. There is a great deal of traffic through the station and we shall often have people stopping the night I dare say oftener than we could wish. Everything is very dear out here just now owing to long continual drought.<sup>4</sup> In fact nearly at famine prices, but we shall get on well enough with a little management no doubt. Sarah will be of great use. She knows well how to cook and I shall hope soon to write and tell you we are at last settled down in our new home. We have been wandering about from house to house for some months past and I think it is quite time we were settled somewhere. Jennie takes to the Colony wonderfully and I daresay at the end of 6 years will like it as much as I do.

We had a very nice church service at St Bartholomews; the Archdeacon's church on the 24th. The Bishop preached a capital sermon in the morning and the Archdeacon a still better one in the evening; the singing went very well. I had to act as precentor. Minnie Oak played very nicely indeed. I like the Oaks very much, we spent two evenings with Mr Oak in King William's Town. He has a very good appointment I should say. His boys are gone to school there and I hope they will get on well. The Archdeacon takes great interest in him and his family so they ought to do well. I hope he will not be tempted to speculate, nothing like a steady trot to get over the ground. Jennie is busy at my side learning the Lord's prayer in Kafir. She is learning quite fast. She has taken a great fancy to the boys from the school and they chat away together famously. I shall hope to write a longer letter under less difficult circumstances by the next mail. Please give my kindest love when you write to my numerous brothers and sisters. Do you know any kind person who would send me the *Guardian*? It is such a treat to get a decent church paper out here, instead of the Colonial bosch [sic; bosh: nonsense; from Turkish] we are bothered with. I have only been able to write a short letter home but perhaps you would kindly send this on, that they may have the benefit of hearing where I last was.

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3. Swanage is situated on the English channel some 20 miles from Blandford. It was the Mullins' holiday resort.

4. The early 1860s were years of deep depression in southern Africa to which drought and the collapse of the market for wool contributed.

I had very few letters in fact only heard from my brother, last mail, so I hardly know anything of the rest of the family. I must now say goodbye. Kindest love to the guvenor and all the family especially yourself.

Believe me,

Ever your affectionate son

Robert J Mullins

September 7th 1862

Alfred<sup>5</sup> wrote a splendid letter last mail. I hope he will often be tempted to repeat them. It was all news and that is just what one likes. Regular chit chat.

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5. Alfred Fripp, artist, was husband of Jennie's sister, Tous. He was a member of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours and younger brother of George Arthur Fripp, also an artist. He exhibited regularly at his 'Poacher's Hate'. He painted mainly English, Irish and Welsh landscapes and rustic scenes but was also a sympathetic portrayer of children. In 1848 he exhibited the painting 'Sad Memories' at the Royal Academy. (*Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, Antique Collectors' Club, England, 1921)



Kaffirland

September 7th 1862

My dearest Tous,

When I wrote to Mamma yesterday I said I should not be able to write to you but I find we shall be able to post letters at the Dohne as we pass through. Before I write them I must thank you all very much for your jolly letters by the last mail. Alfred's in particular was splendidly long and newsy. You can hardly fancy how jolly it is to get letters from home, until you are some 8 or 10 thousand miles away. We had a very pleasant voyage, and I enjoyed it very much after the first 29 days. I like Africa very much, it is not at all like what I expected. You very seldom see a tree of any size, and the rivers are very small and far between, most of them are dried up now, they have had hardly any rain here for the last 6 years. Give my love to Alfred and tell him I have been talking with Robert and we neither of us think either you or he would like Africa at all. In the first place, I very much doubt if you could stand the voyage and if you got here you would find the life and ways of the place so very different to England. The people are very kind and hospitable but very rough, storekeepers and farmers are the chief moneymakers, and they are very seldom gentlemen. Besides, every thing is so very dear out here now, about four times the prices they are in England, a pound of brown bread is 6d, and butter and eggs are fearful prices. I do not see what Alfred could do, of course he would not like to keep a store, and although he thinks he might be a wagon driver, I am afraid that would not answer, as there are plenty of black men in the trade now, and it would take a long time to get rich in it. I really think you would both be much happier in Clarence Cottage, than out here. Sometimes we get most lovely views here, immense mountains covered with bush, and so splendidly rocky, but at other times you see nothing but an immense flat, with a little dried up grass and covered with huge mole hills. We have crossed one (a flat) about 12 miles long and I believe we have to go over one about double the length before we get to the Bolotwa. We left Grahamstown on the 27th August. We so much enjoyed our stay there, the Merrimans are awfully kind, I like them all so much, we stayed with them nearly 3 weeks and I was quite sorry to leave. Grahamstown is the most English place in the colony. We hired an ox wagon as far as King William's Town (if Alfred had been here perhaps he would have begun business with bringing us, which would have been very pleasant) it seems such a strange way of travelling, we had fourteen oxen and came along very well. We enjoyed it very much as long as the fine weather lasted, it was great fun sitting round the fire of an evening, but Friday night (we left Grahamstown on Wednesday) it came on to rain, and continued almost all the next day. About 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon we outspanned about 7 miles from King William's Town, the driver said we should soon go on again, as he meant to get to King William's Town that night, well, the boy had caught the oxen, and they were partly yoked when the rain began again, so the driver sat down over the fire and drank sugar and water and told Robert it was "too cold to go on tonight". There we were in the middle of a flat with nothing to cover and shelter us and the rain coming through the tent of the wagon. Robert had a talk with the man and at last by the promise of an extra ten shillings persuaded him to come on. We did not start until  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7, the roads (never good) were dreadful. Robert got up to his knees in mud several times. We had to come down a very bad hill and Robert said he often thought we would go over, sometimes the back wheels of the wagon slipped right round, and we were across the road, instead of coming down as we wished. At last about  $\frac{1}{4}$  to twelve we got to King William's Town, we found Archdeacon Kitton sitting up expecting us. We stayed with them a week and started yesterday for the Bolotwa. As today is Sunday, we have not been moving on. I have been writing this in a lovely wood, Robert has been lying down half asleep, and he thinks I am a "very long time". He sends his kind love, I forgot to tell you he walked the whole way from Grahamstown. We are now in Kafirland (still in Her Majesty's Dominion) the country is much prettier, many more trees and more water. I am getting on pretty well with Kaffir. I hope I shall be able to talk it in another 6

months. I am so glad you find Swanage air doing you good, I hope you are quite strong again now. I shall send this to Blandford where you will be. I am going to put in a few lines to Annie as she asked me. Now I must say goodbye with kindest love.

Ever believe me

Your very affectionate sister

Jennie Mullins

I hope I shall soon get another budget of letters from you all.

October 5th 1862  
St John the Baptist Mission  
Queenstown  
South Africa

My dearest Papa

I am going to write a letter to you instead of writing two sheets to Mamma. I hope you have heard by this time of our safe arrival in Africa, I like it very much, but I do not think it would suit you at all, it is so very different from dear old England. I forgot to tell Mamma, that owing to the latest news from the Zambezi Mr Drayton has come into Kafirland, he is now at St Marks.<sup>6</sup> I was so glad to see him again he is such a nice fellow, and seems quite an old friend now. There is to be a Conference, that is a meeting of all the missionaries at King William's Town in December. I think Robert will be ordained there on the 21st, he is going to ride down, and he says he shall take me with him, it is 80 miles from here and I think we should be 3 days going down. I should enjoy it very much. The Bishop and Mrs Cotterill came here last Friday and stayed one night. We made them as comfortable as we could, but our bedroom has no ceiling and we had not time to put one up, so there was nothing but the thatch [roof] and that rather a shaky one between them and the sky. They are coming back here again on Thursday, on their way to Queenstown, they are very nice kind people. I want Mamma so much to mend my pens for me. I cannot get a good one, so you must excuse my bad writing. I am so sorry to hear of the death of the goat, there are such numbers out here, you see them going about in flocks. Our chief's name is Dahala; he is a very nice old man, he often comes down to see us, and to beg for some tobacco, he tells Robert he is a wolf because he will not give him all he asks for. I hope I shall soon be able to talk Kafir; I go to school every day, and teach the children in Kafir, it seems so strange to see a lot of little things in sheepskins standing before you, I think they are all very much afraid of me. We are quite King and Queen here, you have much more of your own way than in a parish in England, all the people on the station are obliged to do as they are told, and come to chapel, and send their children to school, if they are not all there, we send a boy out to the different huts and he hunts them up. Please give my love to Aunt Sarah, and say I will write to her next mail for her birthday. Mr Woodrooffe is coming in presently and we are all going to drink old Harry's health, I hope he will be able to come and see us soon, I shall be so delighted to see a home face again. We have a nice large garden here, and several fruit trees, some of the peach trees are in very nice blossom, so I hope we shall have some fruit this Christmas. The dust out here is dreadful, it nearly suffocates you, if you open your door the room is covered, it is almost impossible to keep anything clean on a dusty day. I will try and write a few lines to Maggie but I am almost afraid I shall not be able to find time. I will try and get a sketch of this place to send to you. We are at the foot of an immense mountain, and there are other large mountains all round us. I hope I shall hear from you again by the next mail, I so much enjoy letters from home, it is nearly 6 months nearer the time of our return. Goodbye dearest Papa, ever with fondest love

Believe me

Your very loving daughter

Jennie Mullins

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6. Drayton's departure for the Universities' Mission in Central Africa was delayed because of the death of Bishop Mackenzie and many of his party and the withdrawal of the remnant.

October 5th 1862  
 St John the Baptist Mission  
 Nr Queenstown  
 South Africa

I have not been able to ask the Bishop about Jack but will and tell Jack next mail. Yours affectionately Robert.

My dearest old mother

We are obliged to write our English letters very early this mail as we only have one post a week, and the next will be just too late. I've got here just in time for me to write a few lines to Charlie and Maggie to tell you of our safe arrival. We had a very pleasant journey from King William's Town, the oxen came very well considering the pace they usually go out here, we left on Saturday 6th September and got here early the following Friday. I don't much like travelling in an ox wagon, I think you would enjoy it very much, as it is like a gypsy's life only not so comfortable. It is wonderful how soon you get accustomed to things out here. It seemed almost natural to me to sit on the ground round a fire and drink coffee. I was so glad to get here, we have a very good sized sitting room, it looks much more comfortable than when we arrived. Robert has whitewashed the walls, put up some pictures, painted the doors, and made a book case so you see we have been very busy. We have two pictures here (one of the Princess Royal and the other of Prince Arthur) that Prince Alfred gave to the Mission when he was here, they look so nice on our walls.<sup>7</sup> All our things came out very well, the glass of one of my little pictures was the only thing broken and Mr Liefeldt a catechist here has mended it very nicely for me. The Bishop and his wife came here on Friday, he generally goes to all the missions once a year, they staid [sic] one night with us and went on to St Marks yesterday. We went with them and I rode back with Robert in the evening. It was a beautiful moonlight night and we enjoyed the ride so much. The spoor of a lion or tiger has been seen near here lately, and Robert laughed so at me for fancying I saw the animal itself, when we came up to it, we found nothing but a thick bush. There is to be a wedding at St Marks on the 13th, Miss Castle is to marry Mr Gordon, a missionary 70 miles farther up country. He is a great friend of Robert's, his father was a colonel, and he was killed in the first Kafir war - we are to ride over early Monday morning, stay there one night and come back the next day. I think Mr and Mrs Gordon are coming here for a week or so before they go home. Mr Gordon is coming down next Wednesday to St Marks. I suppose he will come here on Thursday or Friday. We have not heard from Harry, I wrote to him from Grahamstown six weeks ago. I almost think he must be at Ichaboe.<sup>8</sup> We shall be very glad to see him if he is able to come this month, I can't think how he will accomplish the journey as he must either ride or come in an ox wagon. I am afraid he will find it very tedious work. I am so glad you like Mr Elliot, I remember

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7. Prince Alfred Ernest Albert (1844-1900), Duke of Edinburgh and (by inheritance from his uncle) Duke of Saxe Coburg, was the second son of Queen Victoria. He trained in the navy. His visit in 1860 was a major event for the inhabitants of South Africa. The Princess Royal (Victoria Adelaide Mary Louise) (1840-1901) was the eldest child of Queen Victoria and the mother of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Prince Arthur (William Patrick Albert) (1850-1942) was the third son of Queen Victoria. He trained as a soldier and became a Field Marshal in 1902. As Duke of Connaught and Strathearn he opened the parliament of the Union of South Africa in 1910. (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, Parts 1 and 2; Oxford, 1953 and 1961)
  8. A small guano-producing island off the coast of Namibia; annexed to the Cape in 1867. (E Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 1967)

seeing him at the Hartes, I think he is very like Mr Traill. We should very much like to have Johnnie<sup>9</sup> out here, Robert is going to write to you about it of course. I am a prejudiced person so have no right so say anything about it. He would find it very different from England, but we would make him as comfortable as we could. I was so very pleased to hear of Charlie's success in the Indian, I have written to him by this mail. The bell is just going to ring for afternoon service so I must say goodbye, with kindest love to all

Ever believe me

Your most loving daughter

Jennie Mullins

Sarah Marren is still with us, we find her a great comfort. Many happy returns dearest mother for the 2nd, I am afraid this will be rather too late, but last mail would have been too soon.

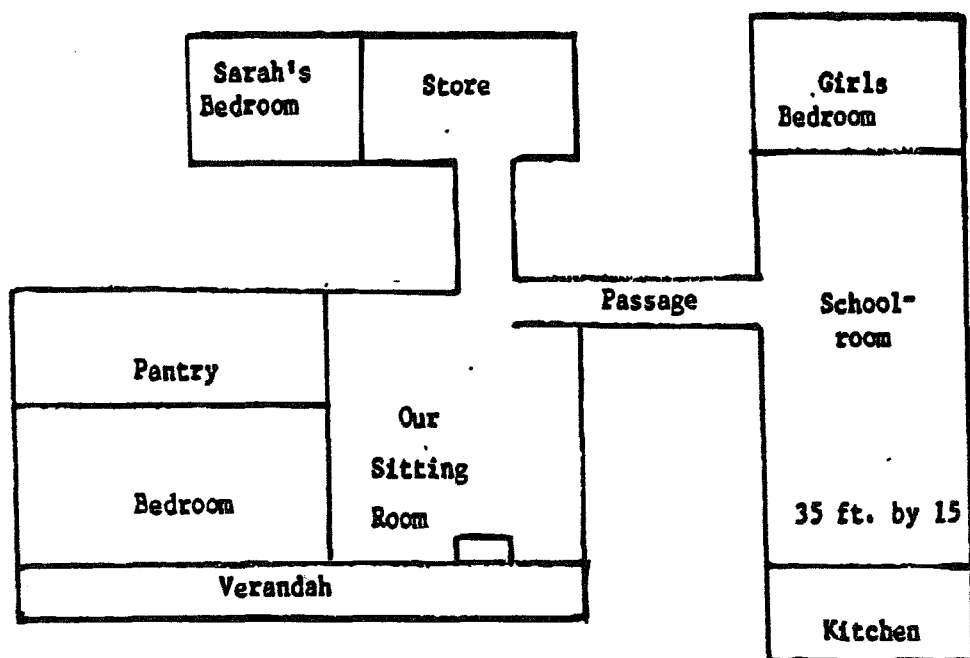
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9. Johnnie was younger brother to Jennie.

St John Baptist  
Queenstown  
December 2nd 1862

My own dearest Mother

I am beginning my letter to you very early this month as I hope to have time to write a good long one. I was so glad to get your last letters, the arrival of the English mail is by far the greatest event of the month to me. I hope this day fortnight we shall hear again. I don't think I have given you an account of our life here. On week days we get up at 5.30, chapel at 6.0, breakfast directly after then a walk in the garden or a chat with Mr Woodroffe until 9.0 when Robert goes to school which lasts 2 hours. At twelve Robert has another school for boys, and I have a sewing school until 1.30. Then lunch and reading until 3.0, when Robert has another school for the boarders at which they learn to read and write in English, some of the children are getting on very nicely. Then at 4.0 Robert reads for his ordination for nearly 2 hours then we go for a walk or round the garden until a quarter to seven when the bell rings for chapel. After chapel we have dinner and then comes the best part of the 24 hours, a cozy evening. Mr Woodroffe often comes in and we have such nice chats about dear old England. Our days are very much alike except Saturday and Sunday, there is a whole holiday Saturday and we often go for a ride. On Sunday we get up an hour later, we have three Kafir services and one English one in the afternoon. It is quite a treat to hear one's own language in church. Our harmonium came yesterday from St Marks, we so enjoy hearing it. Robert plays every spare minute. We sat up late last night playing one thing after another. I am so glad we can have some music again. I did not know how much I liked it until there was no chance of hearing it, poor Robert must have missed it dreadfully. We have a government allowance for keeping 18 Kafir children in food and clothes. Mr Hutt our predecessor had the schoolroom and bedroom built for them joined to our house by a passage, I will try to draw you a ground plan of our house, and its belongings -



It is very strangely built and has been added to at different times, our sitting room was at one

time 3 separate rooms. I can't think how they could breathe in such a tiny place, but Mr and Mrs Hutt are very small, and as Mr Woodrooffe says would hardly make a respectable sized person if they and their children were all put together. We have heard a report that Robert is to be ordained in Grahamstown instead of King William's Town, we had such a kind letter from Mrs Merriman awaiting us there. I am sure we should both like to go very much, we should ride by easy journeys. The Merrimans are such very *very nice* people, we hear from Mrs Merriman or the girls nearly every week, such nice merry letters, Mrs Merriman always calls us her children and treats us accordingly. The Archdeacon is not coming up here yet, on account of the drought which still continues, and gets worse if possible every day. The poor Kafirs are getting very hungry. Robert says he quite expects to see one [Jennie] someday come in with a very rueful face, and say "Oh Robert I am very sorry but the poor little children looked so hungry I have given them all our meal". We find we can get food in King William's Town, so the St Marks wagon was sent down and brought us up a wagon full, there is no grass on the road so the poor oxen had to fast the whole time. Our garden is beginning to look very nice, we water the things as often as we can, we have some potatoes, melons, pumpkins, beans, peas and cucumbers coming up. I hope we shall get some fruit from them but Robert thinks they are too late. We rode over to St Peters, Gwytyu, last Saturday, it is Robert's old station, a Mr Maggs<sup>10</sup> is there now. It is a very pretty place quite shut in by mountains, much more out of the world than we are. The Kafirs there seem much more wild than they are here. I am so vexed that you did not get our letters in September of course you know the reason long before now. I had a sort of hope that our letters might have escaped the general disaster, though why, I cannot tell. I am afraid Harry will not be able to come and see us now, I think he will be afraid to venture up the country at such a bad time. I look in the Cape Town paper every week but can see nothing about his vessel. I am very glad Mr Granger was not offended at our coming out in the *Cosmos*. We had such a nice Captain. Robert has just come from school, and he is playing on the harmonium again. He seems to enjoy it so much. The harmonium has been knocked about a great deal, but it is still very nice, we have not given up the idea though of getting one of Booseys good ones. I must say goodbye for today dearest mother. Sunday 7th - Although I began my letters soon this month, I am not very forward with them as this is my first and we must send them all tomorrow. We have had such frightfully hot days since I last wrote. One comfort is that it cannot get much hotter, summer has regularly begun now. I have such a dear little kitten, Mrs Maggs sent it to me from the Gwytyu, it is very troublesome and will walk over my letter. I heard from Emmie Oak last week, a very hearty nice letter. She and Mr Oak are so much heartier than Minnie, Mr Oak particularly seemed so delighted to see us and hear home news. I think Minnie is very much altered since she left England, it may be that she thinks new friends better than old. I suppose you are looking forward to Charlie's coming home, it will seem very strange to have a Christmas Day without you all, and with *such* [Jennie's emphasis] a sun pouring down on us. Our garden is getting on very nicely, we try to rival Mr Woodrooffe, but he has potatoes more forward than ours. He sent us some yesterday but they were not quite ripe. Robert has just come out of school and says it is time to dress for church and as the bell has been going some time I suppose I must say goodbye. Robert will try to write to papa, but he has not begun one letter yet, so I am afraid he will not have time. Please give my very very kind love to all. I shall try to write to you this mail, and with very much love to yourself.

Ever believe me

Your most loving child

Jennie

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10. See biographical notes.

St John Baptist  
Christmas Day 1862

My own dearest mother

I must write you a few lines this evening to wish you all a Merry Christmas. I have been thinking of you all so much today and wishing we could be with you. I can hardly believe it is Christmas Day, it seems so strange to be away from you all and to have a burning heat all day. We had such fun yesterday making a plum pudding, Robert made it and we, that is, Mr Woodrooffe, Mr Brown and myself looked on. After evening service Robert and Mr Liefeldt decked the chapel with peach boughs and willows, we did not like the latter but as we could not get nothing else we were obliged to be content with it. One of the girls made me a large willow wreath which to my horror, Robert proposed putting over Charlie's likeness. We have a small peach one instead. Mr Brown, a very nice person came from Keiskamma Hoek to spend his Christmas here, it is the first he has ever spent from home, so we were fellow moaners over the heat and all things that differed from old England. This has been a regular holiday today. Mr Woodrooffe gave all the people on the station meat and meal which they were very glad to get as they are almost starving now. Early this morning before we were up, one of the station men got some green boughs and decked our verandah for us. We had English and Kafir communion service at 8 o'clock after the morning prayers, then we came home to breakfast and I kissed all your likenesses and wished you all a Merry Christmas over and over again. I had such fun trying to make the Kafir women wish me a "Merry Christmas" in English, they could not say the words as they cannot pronounce Rs. At twelve a Kafir man was baptized, he is a very nice man a great favourite of Mr Woodrooffe's. We had evening service about six, then followed dinner when we drank all of your healths. Mr Brown and Mr Woodrooffe dined with us, then we made a dish of snapdragon<sup>11</sup> for the school children, which they seemed to enjoy very much. I was so glad to get your English letters last week, Robert heard the mail had arrived and sent a man to Queenstown for the letters which I knew nothing about, so you may think how delighted I was when they arrived on Saturday evening and I did not expect them until the following Wednesday. I am so glad you got all our letters and had at last heard of our safe arrival. Thank you all so much for sending us some Christmas boxes. I hope we shall get them when we go to King William's Town, as Minnie is going there this week for a fortnight or so and I hope she will take them with her. I think we shall go to Queenstown tomorrow in the wagon, so as we shall have to be up early, and I am very sleepy, I will say goodnight. Robert sends his kindest love.

January 5th 1863.

I have just said goodbye to Mr Drayton, who is on his way to Capetown to join Bishop Tozer.<sup>12</sup> We are so sorry to lose him from these parts. He came over here on Friday to stay a few days with us. Robert will miss him dreadfully. Mr Drayton is going to walk across the country to Grahamstown, he has taken a Kafir to guide him. I hope they will cross the rivers in safety. We have had some heavy thunderstorms, which made some of the rivers quite impassable, they are gone down very much now. We went to Queenstown on 26th December in the wagon, we had such a terrible jolting, we stayed one night at Mr Green's and came back the next day. We started at 12 o'clock we were overtaken by a thunderstorm before we had got half way and did not get home until half past eight,

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11. Snapdragon was a Christmas game in which children snatched raisins from a dish of burning brandy. (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1976)

12. Bishop W C Tozer DD (d.1899). An Oxford graduate, he was consecrated in 1863 to succeed Mackenzie in the Central African Mission. Tozer made Zanzibar the headquarters of the mission. He resigned from mission work in 1873 after a hurricane had wrecked his station.



very tired and sleepy. Mr Green, the rector of Queenstown has started for England with his wife and family, he has been to Blandford and lives in Hampshire, he says he shall be sure to come and see you. I did not like [him] much at first, he had such a conceited manner, but Robert says he thinks he is not really conceited. I like his wife very much and his children are dear little things. We hope to start for King William's Town on Friday 16th, the Conference is on the 21st and Robert is to be ordained the 25th, the Bishop could not leave Grahamstown earlier. Robert has been talking of our going down in a wagon but I hope we shall ride, as I do not like wagon travelling, it is so slow and tedious. Robert is so pleased at getting the *Guardian*. Mr Drayton used to get them and he lent them to us. Robert reads them over and over again and makes them last from the arrival of one mail until the next. Thank you so much for sending them. I have not seen your little sketch book since I left home, we did not bring it out with us as we have unpacked everything and I have not seen it. I saw it in the back of your sideboard drawer just before we left. By the bye have you seen the sugar tongs that Miss Mary Anne Allies sent us, they were fiddle pattern, we did not bring them with us, so I hope you have them at home. We do not want them here at all as Robert has a plated pair. We have had a few figs, and some Cape gooseberries from our garden, but everything is very backward this year. Our peaches are about as large as a walnut and Robert says will not get much larger, they are not nearly so fine here as in England. Please thank papa for his photograph. I like it very much, better than yours I think. I am afraid I shall not be able to write to him by this mail. Robert rode over to St Marks last Monday, he started about 10 o'clock. It was a beautiful day, very bright and sunny. About 3 o'clock a frightful thunderstorm began, the rain came down in torrents and in a few minutes the ground was covered with water. Mr Woodrooffe tried to persuade me that Robert would not come back that night as the river would be impassable in the evening. Just before seven he rode up to the door, drenched through and through. He left St Marks soon after the storm began as he was afraid the river would come down and he might not be able to pass for several days; the flat was a mass of water, more than a foot deep. I was so glad to get him back in safety. Sarah has at last heard from her father. I pitied the poor girl so, not hearing from home for so many months. We have named one of our kittens Frenchy after old Frenchy, but she is not nearly so pretty as the old cat. Give my kindest love to dear papa, Maggie, Johnnie, Kedgie and Aunt Sarah, and with very very much to yourself.

Ever believe me, dearest mother

Your most loving daughter

Jennie Mullins

Robert sends his kindest love, he will not be able to write this mail as he is busy reading.

St John Baptist  
February 3rd 1863

My own dearest mother

I have so many letters to write this mail that I hardly know when I shall finish them, as yours is the public one, I must write it first, and tell you of all our adventures since last month. We started for King William's Town, on Monday 19th January, the wagon left about five o'clock and we followed on horseback soon after seven, we passed the wagon before it got to the Swart Vlei drift, about 12 miles from here, the river was not very high so we rode across, Robert led my horse, and Mr Woodrooffe went the other side to make it quite safe. We rode a few miles farther and then stopped for the wagon and breakfast by the side of a very pretty little river called the Maqu. We got passed the Windvogelberg that night. I rode in the wagon from the Maqu as the sun was very hot. The next night we crossed the Kabousie, and about four o'clock the next afternoon we reached King William's Town. Every one was very astonished to hear what a quick journey we had made, as a wagon seldom goes so far under 6 or 7 days. We stayed with Mr Little, the master of the Grammar School, he is an old friend of Robert's and a very nice person. Emmie Oak called that afternoon, she did not know we had arrived, but brought a letter to ask us to stay with them, as Minnie had gone back to Grahamstown and they had a spare room. She is very well and strong and does not seem to feel the heat at all. The Bishop gave a charge very early Thursday and the Conference began at ten o'clock, it was held in Mr Little's schoolroom, all the Kafirland missionaries were present. I believe they talk about the best way of managing missions and how much money is to be allowed for each station. At two o'clock we all dined at Archdeacon Kitton's, they had a large marquee put up to make room for everyone, it was great fun. A great many healths were drunk, and ours among the number, the Bishop was very pleasant and kind. The Conference met again in the evening and the next morning. I went to see the Oaks on Thursday, but found only Emmie at home, as Mr Oak is at the bank the whole day. We dined at the Archdeacon [sic] again on Friday and in the afternoon had to return some calls. The Conference was going on all the evening until 11 o'clock. On Saturday Mr Oak came to see us, he sat with me a long time while Robert was at the Conference. We were invited to dine at Colonel Staunton's that evening but did not go as Robert did not care about it, and I was not very well. Mrs Staunton is a very nice person, she is a cousin of Robert's friend Mr Key. On Sunday dear old Robert was ordained, it was a very nice service Mr Greenstock, the Bishop's son-in-law read prayers, the Bishop preached, and Mr Waters, Mr Woodrooffe and Archdeacon Kitton read the other parts of the service. Robert read the Gospel. I am so glad I went down with him. The church was crowded and frightfully hot. On Monday morning there was a confirmation, very different from an English one. Emmie Oak was confirmed. We went to see the Oaks in the afternoon, and I had tea there in the evening. Robert came soon after eight, Mr Oak is very hearty and seemed very glad to see us. Minnie (Emmie says) had a letter from you to give me on Christmas Day, she took it to King William's Town with her and then back again to Grahamstown, she has not had the box yet. Mr Oak has written to her to send the parcel at once, and he will forward it here. I left for home in the wagon the next morning and Robert followed on horseback about 2 hours afterwards. We got home on Friday morning, I think we both thoroughly enjoyed our visit. We found our English letters waiting for us, such a large packet of them, it is so good of you all to write, they are the greatest treat of the month to us. I was so glad to hear about our little niece, I shall write to Tous by this mail. You must please make peace with all I do not write to, I know some of the letters are public, and we have so very little news to tell, that it seems stupid to write the same thing over and over again. We have had a great deal of rain since I last wrote, about three weeks ago we had a tremendous hailstorm, the hailstones were an immense size, they came down the chimney in great numbers. The water came

down in such torrents, that it quite washed away the garden of a Hottentot next [to] ours. Our pumpkins, and melons were buried with the earth washed from the top of the garden. Several peaches were knocked off by the hailstones and carried away to the river. The country looks very beautiful now the mountains are a bright green, and covered with good grass for the cattle. I have been expecting to hear from Harry, as I saw in the paper, the arrival of the *Flower of Galton* at Table Bay. We have written 3 times to him, but have not heard from him, I suppose he is very busy and has not much time for letter writing. I am very glad you think of sending Johnnie to Mr Pattendens I really think he is much too young to come out now, as he could not be ordained for many years, I think your plan of sending him to Cambridge a very good one. He is too young to make up his mind for a missionary's life. I must finish my letter to you dearest mother on this sheet as I have so many others to write. With very kind love to dear papa, Aunt Sarah and yourself.

Ever believe me dearest mother

Your most loving child

Jennie

February 4th 1863

St John Baptist  
May 3rd 1863

My own dearest mother

I know you will be delighted at the news I have to tell you in this letter. Last Friday Robert went to St Marks, soon after he came home in the evening, we heard a voice in the verandah say "I may as well try this door" and who should walk in but Archdeacon Merriman. They are all going to the sea to spend July, and he wants Robert to take his duty for him while he is away. He wrote to Mr Waters from Grahamstown to ask if any one could be found to take Robert's place here, but thought afterwards that the best way of settling the matter was to come up here himself, so he went to the Bishop and got his consent, and started directly. Is it not a delightful plan? Mrs Merriman wrote me such a kind letter about it, they say if Robert is obliged to come home the end of July they will take care of me and he must come down again and fetch me. I hope though that I shall be able to come home again with him. My dearest mother you must be quite comfortable about me as Mrs Merriman says we shall be able to see about a nurse when we get there, and there are plenty of doctors in Grahamstown. The chief difficulty seemed to be to find someone to take Robert's place, but it is almost decided that Mr Liefeldt will take care of the station and Miss Ende says she will come over to look after the boarding school and Mr Waters will come over now and then to see it is all right. So if all's well, we shall go down to Grahamstown next month in time for the Synod which begins the 24th. Is it not kind of the Merrimans? Of course the Archdeacon could find plenty of people nearer home to do his duty; I know Mrs Merriman must have thought of the plan. She said she did not at all like my being at a mission station, and I told her I should most likely go to Queenstown, but Grahamstown is so much nicer; we must have hired a lodging in Queenstown which would have been a great expense and not very comfortable and I don't think we could get a nurse; and Robert could not have staid with me; now we shall have the Merriman's house and be so comfortable and cozy together. Thank you dearest mother so very much for sending me clothes, I did not know what to do about them; Mrs Merriman offered to get the stuff for me, and I thought it would be a good plan but I wrote to tell her you had sent them and she says she thinks we shall get them in plenty of time. I can't think though dearest mother how you could get them ready by April it was such a short time. I should not know in the slightest what to get and it is so nice to know they are coming from home. Robert is going to write to Mr Hancock and tell him we expect a box and ask him to see that it comes on to us by the next steamer. If he does we shall most likely get it the end of June. I hope you will be able to make out this letter I am so pleased that I hardly know how to write clearly about it. The bell is going for English service, so I suppose I must finish this by and bye. May 4th - I think I will send you Mrs Merriman's last letter to me, the Archdeacon brought it on Friday. Maggie says she sent the book but I have not got it so I am afraid it is useless to send anything by the bookpost. Minnie Oak has not got the box yet, I hope ours will be more fortunate. Goodbye my own dearest mother with very very much love

Ever believe me

Your most loving child

Jennie.

Please don't show Mrs Merriman's letter.

St John Baptist Mission Station  
 Bolitisa [?] River  
 South Africa  
 May 1863

Reverend and dear Sir [Principal of St Augustine's College, Canterbury]

You will be glad to hear that the Central African Mission party sailed last month, April 20th, in H.M. steamer corvette *Orestes*. The *Cambrian* arrived on the 11th, so that Bishop Tozer only made a very short stay at Capetown. I heard from Drayton just before he sailed. He wrote in very good spirits indeed, and now that he is off to his work he seems quite settled in mind. He was very much tried by the death of Bishop Mackenzie, and also the sad affair that took place soon after. We were all very sorry to lose Drayton, as we much want such men on these missions, but I promised before he left England never to ask him to remain at this work.

We are greatly cramped just at present in our work for want of funds. The Governor has withdrawn a large grant that we used to receive under Sir George Grey, and this has necessarily put an end to boarding schools on some of the missions.<sup>14</sup> The natives generally are either too poor, or do not yet enough see the advantages of education to pay for their children. Although it is a loss in a pecuniary point of view, yet I think some of the stations will now have a more healthy work in hand, and the missionaries there will not so much be taken up by boarders. At this station, which is within the limits of the colony, the grant has not been withdrawn, so that I have fifteen boarders to look after. We have now ten stations out here.

Our work has been greatly blessed and increased during the nine years that it has been going on. Our first mission station, Old St Luke's (now a farm-house), was started Oct. 18. It was forfeited, with the surrounding country, by the tribe at the time of the cattle-killing. But still at our different stations we have residents who first heard the "glad tidings" at this mission, and have since been gathered into the fold. St Matthew's Mission to the Fingoes has been very successful indeed, and the work by native agents is going on well.

The Grahamstown Mission is also in a most prosperous state. I hear from Archdeacon Merriman that they are about to lay the foundation stone of a church there for the natives, to cost £700, and this is wanted immediately. The foundation stone is to be laid on St Peter's day during the Synod, so that you will think of us that day.

For this Mission I cannot say much. The residents were hastily gathered here during the famine in 1857, and of course they are of all sorts. Some appear confirmed heathens, and, in every way they can, hinder our work, and oppose such rules and laws as we are obliged to lay down for those residing on the station. At the last Conference it was recommended that we should as soon as possible remove such families off the mission, as being great hindrances to the work. One of these the other day told me, when I was speaking to him about the necessity of station rule, said, "Yes, but there are two rules of yours that we detest. First, that we may not marry a young wife, when our first gets old, as my wife has," and he pointed to her; "secondly, that we may not circumcise our boys." And these are the two great evils we have to fight against. With the first are included of course all the marriage rites, dances, paying with cattle, etc., which is, I think, likely to die out first. But the circumcision rite, which is accompanied with the most depraved customs and ceremonies, will, I fear, give very much trouble, especially with regard to boys who have been baptized when young. Within the last week no less than between twenty and thirty boys have gone away from one of our missions, to undergo the rite with all the disgusting customs. Some of these are Christian youths, and were thought most promising, but this seems to be a trial which but few can resist. I think in the present

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14. For information on the grants see Introduction, and note in Chapter 9.

case the missionaries' influence has been great enough to stop the full performance of the customs. We hope too, that if some of the young chiefs we now have under our care resist the rite, it may be the gradual means of its dying out. At present we have every hope that they will. They are now at Grahamstown at the Kafir Institution there, and go on well. There are twelve of the best boys from our boarding school preparing for missionary work. I saw a great deal of five of these boys when I first landed, as they came up with me from Grahamstown for their holidays, and I noticed with pleasure the manly reliance they had, not upon themselves as men, but as Christians. They had all been pupils of mine years ago, and two had been boarders with me when I lived at Peter's. One, the son of the chief, seems very determined to resist temptation; so much so, that although he came home for the holidays, yet he made the mission station his home during the six weeks, and went home to see his mother and brother twice only to say "How do you do", and "Good bye"; his reason being, he said, that he should only be persecuted to turn heathen again by his mother. Five of my boarders are the children of the chief Darola [sic; Darhalla]. He is most anxious all his children should be brought up as Christians, although when we try to show him that he ought to be their example, he says "I can't, I have so many wives".

We very much want a new church here. Our present place is used for school as well, and is in a rather tumble down state. The Bishop laid the foundation stone of a new chapel twenty months ago, but it has never been proceeded with, owing to circumstances which took place a few days later; (and these have to do with the reason of my not being able to say much about this mission); I hope though next year, if the natives are blessed with good crops, to try to begin it.

Mr Woodroffe is at present in charge of this mission, but will soon leave for England, to carry through the press the Kafir Prayer-book he has been translating.<sup>15</sup> We have hitherto been obliged to use a very poor translation by the Wesleyans, full of omissions and additions. I am much rejoiced to hear that there is a good prospect of our having Key in our neighbourhood. I sincerely hope other Augustinians will follow into the same field. We have never had a real Augustinian in the diocese, only "one year men", as we used to be called.

Archdeacon Merriman paid us a visit the other day, the first time he has been able to visit these missions. He had ridden about 200 miles in four days, and right glad we were to have him, although his visit was necessarily short. He has asked me to take the work at St Bartholomew's for a month when I am down at the Synod in June, as he wants to take a holiday during July. It will be a pleasant change from the monotony of a mission station.

I hope all goes on well at St Augustine's: I frequently see relatives of Edward and Arthur and they enquire after them. I also saw Arthur's father at King William's Town.<sup>16</sup>

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15. The first Book of Common Prayer in Xhosa was printed in April 1865. Translation into Xhosa was the work of Archdeacon Woodroffe and Mr T Liefeldt. (*Incwadi yemi tandazo neyemimiselo yokwenziwa kwe-sakramente, nezinye inkonzo kwe ze-kerike, engokwe; The book of common prayer in si Xosa*, SPCK London, 1916 reprint)

16. Edward and Arthur were evidently pupils at St Augustine's. The two groups of young men who went to St Augustine's from the Cape were the first Africans enrolled there. (See Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, pp.55-56)

St John Baptist  
May 31st 1863

Please don't send this to [?] as I have told them all the news in my letter.

My dearest old Father

I shall only have time to begin my letter now as it will very soon be time for English service. Thank you very much for your last letter, I think you were very fortunate to see so much of the marriage festivities.<sup>17</sup> I should very much like to have been at Portsmouth and seen the men of war. They have had great doings out here. At Queenstown they made an enormous bonfire and took the whole of two Kafir huts to start it. (Here Robert took away my things and made me get ready for English service). June 7th. Whit Tuesday was the day appointed by the Governor to be kept as a holiday so we had all sorts of games and races on the down behind the station. There were four very good horse races and an immense number of horses started, then we had a tub with several buckets of water in, and the men dived to the bottom for threepenny pieces, and we had a greasy pole with a shirt and some tobacco on the top. Besides this there were several foot races, and races in sacks, they seemed to enjoy the sack races thoroughly, one man jumped beautifully in them. We were on the down nearly the whole of the day and only got home just in time to have dinner before chapel. I think I told you in my last letter that our horses were both very ill with the horsesickness, they are both quite well again now. Robert was dreadfully afraid the little white one would die and used to wrap her most carefully at night and made her sleep in a hut by herself, although well again he says she is not strong enough for him to ride to Grahamstown so he will take old Koodoo instead. We have been waiting a long time for the carpenter to come from St Marks, and see to the roof of our house, it has been very windy lately and it was hardly safe to leave it any longer, so last Tuesday, Robert got a Hottentot Stoffell, our wagon driver, who is a very good hand at thatching and went to work himself; they took the old thatch off, cut out and put in a new rafter by the gable and thatched it on again, all in one day, and early the next morning Stoffell plastered the top and Robert mended the ceiling which was all coming down, and we got our room quite comfortable and cozy again before teatime. The St Marks carpenter said he should take three days to do it, and we got it done in two without any expense except the new thatch, which cost two shillings. I am so very glad it is done, as I was always afraid of its coming in on windy days. Mr Woodrooffe is going to Queenstown on Saturday and on to Grahamstown next Monday, he is obliged to get there before we do, as he is the Bishop's Examining Chaplain for the next Ordination. I am afraid I shall write very few letters this mail as I am very busy packing and getting things ready for Miss Ende who is coming next Saturday. I am so longing to get the box you have sent us, I hope it will meet us in Grahamstown. Thank you very much dear Papa for the hat, I am sure it will be very useful. There has been a dreadful kind of influenza all over the Colony, doctors say it is more like horsesickness than anything else. 1700 people had it in Grahamstown, it was very bad here, several of the people have lost their voices entirely and they cannot get them back again. Poor Robert had it dreadfully, but wonderful to say I escaped entirely. Mr Woodrooffe, Mr Liefeldt, Sarah, and all the Kafir children were ill with it, one heard nothing but coughing and sneezing from morning till night. They are all well again now. A number of oxen have just got into our garden, they are very troublesome, as they break and eat the fruit trees. Goodbye dearest Father, give my very kind love to all and with very much to your own dear self.

Believe me

Your most loving child

Jennie

Kind love to Aunt Sarah.

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17. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, was married to Alexandra, eldest daughter of Prince Christian (later King Christian IX) of Denmark on 10 March 1863.

Grahamstown  
August 8th 1863

My dear old Guv and Mama

You will be delighted to hear the news I have to tell. On the 28th of July at 10.45 p.m. good little daughter Jennie presented me, her proud husband, with a fine and handsome daughter, although I much regret to say that she has *no beard* [Mullins' emphasis]. Jennie was then quite strong and well and has been wonderfully well ever since. Kept up for the first time Tuesday 4th August and came out on her birthday into the dining room. I never saw anybody bear things of the sort better. She looks quite strong and healthy. The Doctor says she is wonderfully strong and well and also the baby, who is enormously fat and strong and they say like me. Baby is very precious indeed and already enjoys pulling my beard, and will soon I fear smoke. She is very large I believe for her age (not quite a fortnight). Her forehead is certainly like mine, and she has great dark blue eyes which stare and a turn up nose, big mouth, small ears and small hands, of course the women declare her a pretty darling. I do not think so, but then I never agree with other people in these affairs. Mrs Merriman and family did not return till the next day so that Jennie had a nice quiet 36 hours and has been famously well ever since. The old nurse that came could not sleep out so that the first three nights I had to act as nurse, however baby was very good and quiet. She howled a little the second night as she was hungry. I made a good nurse and you would have laughed to see me feeding the mite weak arrowroot which I made on the third night. However Mrs Merriman kindly insisted upon having a nurse in the house, and we got a very good one but I am sorry to say she has today been called away so I shall have to look after dear Jennie again I suppose, but I do not fear now like I did at first that I should squash the baby. She is so strong Jennie can hardly manage her. In fact she is rather afraid of her daughter I think. Fancy 10 minutes after she was born our English letters arrived having gone on to Queenstown. We have got on first rate so you need not be at all anxious. Dr [name illegible] says that for the first time it was perfectly wonderful. Of course I was very anxious indeed, my having to take so long a journey just before. We were out to supper the night before, and did not expect the little stranger quite so soon. Out at five, I had to call the nurse and soon the Doctor as is usual in such cases. Everybody around her has been willing which should do much for dear Jennie. Baby is very quiet, has a good appetite and thank goodness sleeps like a top. I have since the arrival of the nurse, been sleeping next door at a Mr Krohn's who most kindly not only takes me in but also Mrs Merriman who has been turned out by our being here. So you will see we are both well cared for. Jennie is now up and says she feels quite a [word illegible]. I am also much older the last week. Mrs Patten has a little boy and I hear there are heaps of young missionaries expected. We soon get let into their little secrets. So much for dear baby and Jennie. Now for the natter.

The Bishop not being able to help himself has asked me to take charge of a large mission just vacated [St Luke's Mission at Newlands] and I must go there. It is about 20 or 25 miles from King William's Town, and close to the sea, the station itself is much prettier than the Bolotwa and although I would gladly have stayed where I am, yet we must do as we are told in the army of the church as well as in the army for the Queen. So we go there. Sunday next, the 10th. I shall ride home and pack up and hope to be back by St Bartholomew's Day when we hope to have baby baptized. We have not quite fixed upon the name, but I think it will be "Jane Marion". I do not like Harriet Jane quite; but Jane it shall be after her mother and Aunt (my sister). Then I do not like baby Jane or Jane baby; Anne, and Marion as Bob has that name, so we think Marion will do. So you must consider that she is called after you and Maggie and Polly [and] as many more [as] do have the name of Mary. Jennie will of course write you all particulars. We hope to get to our new station by the beginning of September. We shall be 100 miles near Grahamstown; that is one comfort and not much farther from King William's Town than we are from Queenstown. Minnie Oak is quite well and flourishing. [She]



is I hear engaged to her cousin in the army, but I do not know this for certain. We shall go up in our own wagon again and I hope with great care we shall soon be all safe and well. Jennie is quite resigned to the change although she did not like it at first. You must please direct to St Luke's Mission, Newlands near King William's Town, this will find us all right (British Kaffraria). I must leave Jennie to tell the rest of the news, but I hope one good little bit of news will do instead of a long letter. Baby would send her love if she knew I was writing, so goodbye with kindest love to all.

Believe me

ever your affectionate son

Robert J Mullins

I will answer your questions in my next.

Grahamstown

September 7th 1863

My own dearest mother

We closed all our English letters last Thursday but I must open them again to tell you of our adventures. We got our wagon all packed and comfortable and started last Thursday afternoon soon after 4 o'clock. We hoped to get to Botha's Hill about eight miles from here that night. Mr Broom who I told you was to ride up with us, was to meet us there. We were nearly five miles out of the town, it was getting dark; we were lying very comfortably in the wagon and baby was asleep in my lap when Robert hears a creaking noise; he called to the driver to stop but he did not hear him, and before we could do anything there was a crash and we found ourselves lying with our feet above our heads. Robert called the driver and gave baby to him and we got out carefully. We found our left hind wheel about 4 yards behind us; the axle had broken and of course the wheel came off. We were on a very bleak flat, with a bitterly cold wind whistling over it. There was nothing for us to do but walk back to Grahamstown again. Just then Mr Broom came in sight, he had ridden to Botha's Hill, and not finding us there, had come back to meet us, he offered to ride on to Bishopsbourne and get a cart for us and we got our wraps out of the wagon and started on our walk. Robert carried baby the first part of the way but she screamed so much that I took her, she had been sound asleep in the wagon, but directly we got out she began to cry. When we were about a mile from town, we met the cart and got in and came back to the Archdeacon's, they were so surprised to see us. Robert went out to the wagon early the next morning and got the back wheels of another wagon to bring our wagon back to town. I hope it will be mended today and we shall leave again tomorrow, and I hope get safely to our journey's end. Bishop Twells arrived here on Thursday; he dined here Friday, and again yesterday. He seems a very hopeful man which is a good thing as he seems to have a very difficult post to fill. He is going into his diocese with nothing but a carpet bag. Mr Waters came down to town last week on business, we were all very much surprised to see him, as we thought he had gone to see Mr Gordon. The parcel arrived just before we started on Thursday, and when we got back on Friday, we had a grand opening, thank you so much for all the things, I will write to everyone next time. Everyone admired the dresses and pinafores very much indeed it is so kind of you dear mother to send to us so often. Please give my love to Aunt Sarah and thank her for the frock, I think it a very pretty one.

Goodbye dearest mother

Your loving child

Jennie

St John Baptist  
December 6th 1863

Give my very kind love to the Daniells and Gaskils.<sup>18</sup> Goodnight I am so sorry to send such a shabby packet this mail, but am so very sleepy and tired so please forgive me.

My darling old mother

I am all alone this evening, as Robert is gone to the boarders and baby is asleep, so I hope I shall have a nice time for my English letters. Thank you very much for your October ones, I was looking out so anxiously for them, it seemed so disappointing to see the English letters come and none for us, of course we knew the reason why. You say you think St Lukes would be a nicer place than this: I am so very glad we did not go there for it is very hot and unhealthy, and the water is very bad, we are so comfortable here too, that I should be very sorry to move.

Baby is growing so nicely now, you would be so amused to see Robert with her, he says he is quite sure there never was another baby so good as she is, she crows and laughs all day long - she holds out her arms and jumps directly she sees him. I think she will soon cut her teeth, we can see the two bottom ones in the front now quite plainly, she puts everything she can get hold of into her mouth. I shall be very glad when she is vaccinated, but I don't know when it will be done. Our horse Snowdrop has a little foal, we have given it to baby as we think it will be big enough to ride when she is old enough to ride it. We have been quite gay this last week, besides going to the Gwytyu we had three visitors from Queenstown here, Mr Newton, Mr Harvey and Mr Govan and yesterday Mr Warner; the magistrate passed through, he has been on a round of inspection and had a dreadful journey; the rain began the day after he left home about a fortnight ago, he has been obliged to swim rivers as they were too full for his cart to cross, he seems very tired and almost worn out. Please thank papa very much for getting me some boots; they will be most acceptable; this is a dreadful place for boots and mine are almost worn out. You will of course hear of the fight between the *Vanderbilt* and *Saxon*.<sup>19</sup> I hope it won't cause war, one account we had said that Harry had taken the men off, but you will hear more particulars than we do. I am very sleepy tonight, so you must not mind a dull letter. Nearly all our peaches have been blown off. We hear the locusts are a little way up the country, so I am rather afraid of them coming here. I must not forget to tell you, baby wore the little white frock you made her to St Peters the other day; she looked so very nice in it, it is not much too large for her now, as she is very fat and plump. About a fortnight ago, a whole party of Kafirs rode up in front of our house, eighteen of them formed themselves into a ring in the front of our house, I could not think what was going to happen; one of them got off his horse and came in and we found it was only a young chief come to see Robert, he was looking for a thief and came to ask Robert for some money to buy food to eat on the way. He (i.e. Robert) said he had none, so after staying a little time His Royal Highness rode away. I had never seen anything of the kind before but Robert says he has often seen great chiefs with fifty councillors riding behind him. There have been three murders here lately, one man murdered a woman by putting poison in her pipe. I have eighteen fowls now, some of them are very tame and run about after me. Baby always goes to church every Sunday, she is so very good and generally sits gazing at Robert. Good night dearest mother I am so sleepy so must say goodbye with very fond love to Johnnie and Kedgie and very much to your own dear self.

Believe me

Your most loving daughter

Jennie

Please thank every one for their congratulations about baby.

18. Jennie's mother's maiden name was Gaskell and her brother, Charles (Roe), married Elizabeth Gaskell in 1865. (*Who was who 1916-1928*)

19. On 30 October 1863 the USS *Vanderbilt* seized the English bark *Saxon* on suspicion of having met with and aided the Confederate raider *Tuscaloosa* off Angra Pequena. This was a minor incident in comparison with the 1862 *Trent* affair. (Information from Prof N Ellenberger, US Naval Academy)

St John Baptist  
December 6th 1863

My own dearest father

You will see that I am very late in beginning my English letters this month, we only got your October ones on last Sunday, we think they must have gone to Newlands, although I wrote to King William's Town, and tried to stop them there. We have had such storms and rain since I last wrote; the rivers have been very full, but I think summer has begun in earnest now, as Friday, Saturday and today have been very hot. Miss Liefeldt left us last Monday, she was going to ride all the way; her brother went with her, so now we are quite alone. The poor Kafirs are in a very wretched state now, many are really starving, they got such bad crops last year, and now have no food left. It is horrible to see them they look so thin, and are always coming to tell us how hungry they are. I wish we could help them. A poor Hottentot woman came yesterday she has four children, but her husband is dead, she said, they had nothing to eat but that every day the children went to the garden and cleared away the weeds from the pumpkins which are about the size of a walnut to make them grow faster. We were so very sorry for her, but could not help her very much, as they are nearly all in the same state. We have every prospect of a good year this year, so I hope starvation will soon be over. Last Wednesday we went to St Peters, I went in the wagon with baby, and several of the school children and Robert rode on Snowdrop. I wanted to go on horseback too, to give Robert baby to carry, but he was afraid of dropping her, so we went in the wagon. We had a very pleasant day, but no one was there from St Marks, so we suppose the Kei was too full for them to cross. Baby was so very good, and was very much petted by everyone. Robert rode back here in time for evening service and we got home just before dark. I see I have not told you the reason we all went to St Peters. They have built a new chapel there; it is a very nice little one; Robert was to preach the Kafir sermon and Mr Waters the English one, but as Mr Waters was not there Robert had to do it all. About a fortnight ago, one very windy afternoon, we were very much surprised to see a carriage draw up in front of our door. Mr and Mrs St Leger and their three children had come from Queenstown, we were very pleased to see them, the baby was only two months old and such a little thing, our baby looked so large by her side, they slept here one night, and went home the next morning. Mr St Leger made Robert promise to go to Queenstown to take the next Sunday duty for him, so as he had several things to do there, he went on Saturday morning, soon after he left Mr and Miss Liefeldt rode to St Marks, and lost their horses, so did not come back; so I was left in charge here. I was rather afraid the Kafirs would break into the store, but nothing happened. Robert was a very good old fellow, and rode out directly after service in Queenstown, I was very delighted to get him back again. Mr Waters went up to Mr Gordon's a fortnight ago and has not been able to get back again, as the rivers are full. I hope they won't be high at Christmas when Robert goes to King William's Town. Mr Woodrooffe is if possible coming to see us after Christmas. I have given one of the little dresses mamma sent me, to one of my pet school children, she is sewing it so nicely and is so pleased with it, she is a little Hottentot child. Goodbye my dearest old father with very very fond love and very many kisses.

Believe me

Your most loving daughter

Jennie

St John Baptist Mission  
 Bolotwa River, Queenstown  
 South Africa  
 May 9th 1864

Rev and dear Sir [the Principal of St Augustine's College]

I believe it is just a year since I last wrote to you, and since that time very little has happened upon this mission that can be called missionary news. We were all very sorry to hear of the death of Jeremiah. Samuel must have much missed his companion. The Bishop of Grahamstown tells me that he is expecting Henry and [sic] Duke out soon.<sup>20</sup> We shall be very glad of their assistance at mission work, as we are very short-handed just at present. I think I had better give a kind of journal for the last year.

I wrote just before the meeting of the Synod in June. When that was over I had a month's work in Grahamstown, taking the Archdeacon's services for him, whilst he was at the sea. The Bishop then told me he thought I had better remove to another mission station, and I rode back here 190 miles to pack up and go to St Luke's station, Nahoon; but the day I left all the plans had again to be altered owing to the Dean having to return home, and I was left in charge of the mission. I then returned to Grahamstown to fetch my wife, but we were unfortunately detained by the breaking down of our wagon just after we had started, and also by the heavy rains that set in, so that I did not get back till Sept 18th. Till January this year all my spare time was taken up with reading for priests' orders; and for the three last months of the year we were in great trouble owing to the starvation of the natives. The crops last year were very poor, and in some places quite burnt up for want of rain, so that they had nothing to lay by for the winter months. And the constant [*n*]dila**mbile** (I am hungry) was most painful to hear, and also to see, for the poor children were many of them reduced to skeletons. All kinds of food were at enormous prices, as much as £5 being asked for the weight of 180 lbs of meal. Two or three of the smaller towns inland were quite deserted by the colonists. The poor Kafirs of course fared worse. They had no money to buy with, and had great difficulty in procuring any kind of food; mealies and Kafir corn costing about 50s. a sack. So hungry were they that some to whom I gave or lent seed corn to plant confessed that they had eaten it from hunger. But I am thankful to say that the starvation is now at an end. The crops are most plentiful this year. So much so that they cannot find room in their tents to store away all their pumpkins and mealies. The Kafir corn is still unreaped. But, I am sorry to say, with their usual improvidence they are wasting the food very much again. Nothing I can say to them of the sin prevents their cooking and eating daily much more than they really require. They seem never satisfied. Whilst they have food they must go on eating all day long. They confess that they are wrong and wasteful, but go on in the same old way. All are alike in this waste, children and grown up people. And it is quite necessary that they should lay by a store of food for next year, for although they have more probably than they will require, yet we are threatened with a grievous plague next year.<sup>21</sup> For the last month or five weeks we have had daily swarms of locusts; they have done a great deal of damage to our crops, but still nothing like the damage done in the colony where the crops were green and young. There they have eaten them quite up.

You can hardly fancy what a flight of locusts is like. They quite darken the sun, and the noise

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20. Henry Duke, an ex-pupil of Zonnebloem studied privately in England for some years. He taught at the Kafir Institute but did not stay long in church work and reverted to traditional mores shortly after returning to South Africa. (Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, p.126)

21. The seeming improvidence is characteristic of subsistence economies where storage facilities are limited.

as they pass is like the distant roar of a river. In fact, I thought when I first heard them that our river must have risen suddenly. They are driven by the wind, and in fact have not the slightest power against it; so that when the wind is at all high they fly along tail first. The myriads that pass in a few hours is something astonishing. Looking up towards the sun it looks like a very heavy snow storm, as their wings glisten in the sun. In some districts they have been so numerous that the horses have not been able to feed without eating them, and some have died in consequence. They are not so large as I expected, but never till now was I able fully to realise the plague of locusts. In one of my mealie gardens, the damage they did in two hours was almost incredible. They do not seem to eat from hunger, but from a love of destruction. Unluckily we have had no locust-birds this year; the appearance of the locusts here was late in the season, after the birds had left. The locust-bird, a small black bird about the size of a pigeon, destroys great quantity of the locusts.<sup>22</sup> They also are insatiable. They fly in the rear of a flight of locusts, and eat the locusts on the wing. They quite darken the sun, and their movements can only be compared to a regiment of soldiers. They all seem to move as one bird, sweeping along right and left, and clearing off the locusts as they fly. They keep upon the wing the whole day long and are ever eating. I have not seen them myself yet, but this is the description I hear from old colonists. If you are standing under a flight of these birds, as they eat, you would fancy that you were in a snow storm, for they always drop the legs and wings of the locusts, so that they fall continually like snow. It is anything but comfortable to be riding through a flight, especially if the wind is against you. Going into Queenstown about three weeks ago I had to ride for some three or four miles through them, and the wind was very strong in my face. My horse could hardly stand the blows they gave him, and one that hit me in the eye quite caused me to reel in the saddle. The Dutch say that a blow from them in the open eye is very dangerous.

I heard rather a good anecdote connected with them the other day. The scene was in the main street in Queenstown, during a very heavy flight. The locusts were settling all over the ground till it was quite brown with them. Several gentlemen were talking together about their wonderfully destructive powers. "They are just like a horse," said an old gentleman. A burly farmer standing by, a man of about 6ft. 2., and proportionably large, took up a locust and said, "Well, really Mr B-, I do not see the resemblance at all. They have [word illegible] and hoppers, etc." Mr B-, "I know I am right, for somewhere in the Bible they are said to be 'like to horses for battle,' and also 'the appearance of them is as the appearance of horses'." After some examination of the insect, Mr B- was rather laughed at by the assembled gentlemen. But that morning, the farmer, having ridden out to his farm and returned, accosted Mr B- with "You are quite right, Mr B-, they *are just like horses*." "But why do you think so to-day?" "They have been and eaten up all *my forage*." [Mullins' emphases] (Forage out here is the oat cut just before ripe, and which is used for food for the horses.)

But in describing the locusts I have quite wandered away from my original subject, that is, that a plague is threatening for next year. The locusts deposit their eggs in the sand, and then leave them. These eggs do not hatch till the following summer, when thousands of young locusts appear all over the country. These are much more destructive than the old ones which are able to fly. They are called by the Dutch "Foot-gangers" [*voetgangers*], - those that go on foot; as having no wings they only hop along. These young locusts will turn aside for nothing; they march along straight over mountains and rivers, devouring everything in their line of march. They destroy the crops entirely, leaving the ground without a particle of green of any kind. Old hands prophesy that we shall have them badly next year; if so it will be the same starvation over again that we have had for the last five years, and therefore it is that I am most anxious that the Kafirs should take care of all they now have. I see they are now passing by again. Every day about midday they start. The cold nights stupefy

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22. Mullins probably meant the black winged pratincole (E L Gill, *A First Guide to SA Birds*, Cape Town, 1945) but the term 'locust bird' is also use for the wattled starlings and the storks. (*Standard Encyclopedia of South Africa*, 1972)

them till the sun is up and hot. They first came with the west wind, and that is the direction they generally come from when there is no wind at all.

At Easter I sent down three lads who have now been for some years under instruction here to Grahamstown. They will, I hope, make rapid progress. Two are very clever, and are sons of our chief Darala. Joseph, their elder brother, has just returned from the Grahamstown institution, and is now helping me in my work amongst the natives. It is quite wonderful to me that these poor youths can resist the temptations of falling back again into heathenish practices. The Holy Spirit alone can keep them aright; may they always have Him indwelling in them. Peter, the son of a neighbouring chief, has also returned from Grahamstown on account of his health. All his relations are much opposed to his profession of Christianity. I hope he will be able to persevere to the end. The poor heathen Kafirs, who last year were so humble and cringing, now they have food, rebel against all rules, even the few we are obliged to have for the well being of the mission. You will doubtless have heard that Mr Glover's pupil Emma Sandilli, is about to marry Qeya, the paramount chief of the Amatembu (Tambookies). He is not a professing Christian himself, but has shown a great deal of determination lately in contending against old heathen rites and customs. He is quite a young man, not much more than 22 or 23; but when his uncle died a few months back, to whom he was very much attached, he would not allow his counsellors to put anybody to death, for bewitching him, as the usual custom is. He can read pretty fairly, and is very fond of his books. I hope that with Emma Sandilli for his wife, he will be able to do much to aid our missionary work. The Tambookie agent, Mr Warner, tells me he has very great hopes of him.<sup>23</sup> Till lately we were in a most unsettled state here, as the Government offered to the Tambookies the Transkeian Territory recently forfeited by the chief Krel. I believe now it is pretty well settled that the Tambookies will not accept the offer, but prefer remaining where they are. I hope it is so, for I should be very sorry to have to begin a house and mission again, having had quite enough experience in that line.

The Government grants to this station are decreased this year. Last year I had fifteen boarders, this year only ten. The presence of a boarding school naturally takes so much of my time. I am now assisted by Mr Brown, but he has only lately arrived at mission work.

I am looking forward with very great pleasure to the arrival of Key, and I sincerely trust Dodd will be with him. I hope the Society will not give up the proposed mission to Independent Kaffraria, because there seems such a providential opening now there, to back up Qeya and his Christian wife. But anyhow I sincerely trust that Key will come out here. There is plenty of work for him to do. You will of course [before] this have heard of the movements of the Zambezi Mission. I see by the papers that they have all left and that Drayton started in the *Pioneer*, which has arrived already at the Cape. But whether he is in it I have not heard. I almost fancy that he may have gone on to Bombay with Dr Livingstone in the *Lady Nyassa*.<sup>24</sup>

I am sorry not to have more mission work to report; but hope next year with God's blessing that the work on this mission will be greatly increased. This year the circumcision dance is going on, and I am sorry to say that most of the residents on the mission were led there, though I am thankful to say that only two Christians went, both young girls. Still the station is degraded in the eyes of the natives by such doings. They well know what the difference is between a School Kafir and Red Kafir, or rather what it ought to be. Some of those who went were, I am sorry to say, catechumens, whom I had hoped to baptize on Whitsunday. The Christians in the boarding school go on very favourably.

The daily routine of work on the mission is as follows:- Morning service soon after sun-rise; school from 9 till 10 for all comers; sewing school for girls from 11.30 till 1; school for boarders from 2.30 till 4; evening service soon after sun-down; night school from 7.30 till 9. This last I have only

23. For a full account of the marriage see Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, pp.97-123.

24. The editor of St Augustine's occasional papers inserted a comment that Drayton had arrived in England bringing with him a young 'Angura' boy [sic], one of the slaves liberated by Bishop Mackenzie.

started lately, as I find that owing to the constant employment in minding the gardens the children were not able to attend the morning school. I also get now several adults. The last time they numbered thirty. This will be continued during the winter months, and I hope will be attended with some good. I am sorry to say that my health has been very bad all this year. In fact, I have never been so unwell that I can remember. It is not that I have had any real illness, but a great depression of spirits, and want of energy (I trust it is not laziness), which I never had before. I never feel now what the Dutch call "fresh" [*fris*]. The heavy rains we had in February and March did great damage to our houses. The gables had been badly built of raw brick and eight days' rain soaked them completely through. We have only just put the place all safe again.

Mr Woodroffe, who was here with me last year, has gone to England to carry a new translation of the Prayer Book through the press. We are very badly off for books here, and it will be a very great help to have our Prayer-book in full. We have hitherto been using the Wesleyan translation.

Rev Robert John Mullins



St John Baptist  
June 4th 1864

My dearest old mother

This month the English mail arrived safely and we got your nice letters last week, it was quite a treat to get them in good time. I seem to have a good deal of news to tell you, but I suppose it is not very important. First there has been a great excitement out here about a Kafir war. Last Thursday week just as we were going to dinner a Mr Jacob, a police officer, who we know pretty well, came by, as soon as he was in the house he began to ask us if we had heard any news and then told us that Krili the great Kafir chief had crossed the river Bashee, and was going that night to attack Fort Donkin the strongest police station up there. He said Krili had 6,000 Kafirs with him. He was on his way up. He is a very cool man, and though he said he could not stay a minute, he had dinner and a pipe afterwards. Directly he was gone Robert said "I don't believe it, it must be a false report". We heard nothing more until the Saturday afterwards when we drove to Occupation Post to see Mrs Harvey. She had been dreadfully frightened - an express had arrived in the middle of the night with the news, and there were only five men left to hold the Post; Mr Harvey and the others had gone to King William's Town for ammunition. They went off directly to Grahamstown and all over the colony. The people were in a dreadful state in King William's Town; women crying, soldiers under arms and all sorts of preparation made. We will send you a paper we got from Capetown, it shows how frightfully things get exaggerated. After all, the report turned out false. A Kafir went to Fort Donkin and talking as Kafirs do, said Krili was coming across to throw himself on the mercy of the English as Qeya the great Tambookie chief was coming against him with 300,000 men and he could not fight him. It is supposed the interpreter did not interpret properly as the officer left in charge, a Mr Wyld, was awfully frightened. About 200 police men have gone up and Sir Walter Currie with them. I don't envy Mr Wyld he will get it from Sir Walter. You would be amused to hear all the reports, I don't know where we should be if they were true - I am afraid I have made a great rigmarole of this, but it is very difficult to tell you such a long business in a few words. We had such a nice long letter from Harry the other day, he talks of going home when he comes back from Ichaboe, but says we must not expect to hear from him for 3 months. I shall be so glad to hear from dear old Madge; we have not heard since Janie was born. We are going to write to him by this mail. Goodbye my dearest mother. I have so many other letters to write, with very fond love to all

Believe me

Your loving daughter

Jennie

I was so glad to hear about the table in the church, I am glad you like it dearest mother. I wish I could see it.

St John Baptist  
August 7th 1864

My own dearest Father

I can't get on at all with my letters this month, as I do not know how to say things as I wish. I cannot bear to think of you in such great trouble. I know how dearly you love all your children, and what a trial it must have been to you to lose our dear Johnnie. I do so long to come home and see you now. We are always talking about it. You must take care of dear mamma. I am sure she will feel our dear Johnnie's death so dreadfully. I hope we shall get your July letters soon. I am so anxious to hear about you all. I know you will be glad to hear my dear old Robert is better, he seems really much stronger and I do hope will keep well. I think he will write tomorrow, he is too tired tonight. We were in such a bustle last week. A Kafir was murdered at a kraal close by here, not on the station. They had made a quantity of beer and were having a beer drinking; a number of Kafirs were there when a quarrel began as to which was the greatest, after squabbling a long time they began to fight with assegais, and one man was killed. The murderer escaped; Mr Harvey and some police men came up and took 3 men captive that night. The next night another lot of police men came from Tylden with orders for Mr Harvey to take more prisoners. They all slept in our kitchen and were out the next morning when they got six more prisoners. Mr Thorne, the doctor was obliged to come out, which was fortunate for us, as he saw baby and has sent her some mixture for her cough. We had nothing but people coming and going for three days. Mr Waters was here last Monday on his way to Grahamstown, he is going down with his son, and two other boys, who have been spending the holiday here. The Pattens were here again on Friday, but went home the same day. I am so sorry for them - they feel their baby's death dreadfully. I hope next month I shall be able to tell you we have the box you sent us in June. I hope it will come back with Mr Waters' wagon - Robert has had such a busy day today - at English service this afternoon he baptized seven little Hottentot children from his outstation, besides all his other services and school - it is so delightful to see him better. I have been very busy this last week, our Hottentot girl Grita has gone to the Gwytyu for a week's holiday - you would be amused to see me make the bread, I am always so dreadfully afraid of its being heavy. Baby can walk with one hand now. She is so fond of the crying doll mamma sent when she sees it, she cries "Baby dear, baby dear", she tries so hard to talk and is so saucy. You would have laughed to see her this afternoon playing with Robert - putting her face to be kissed and then pulling at his beard - I hope she will not get another attack of croup - it is such a frightful disease. Our stable is finished now, and looks very well. Robert took us for a drive yesterday to keep my birthday, but it got so very windy we were obliged to come home. Goodbye my own dearest Father, with very fond love and many kisses which I wish I could give you myself.

I am ever

Your most loving child

Jennie

Kind love to Aunt Sarah. I will try to write to her soon.

Grahamstown  
November 6th 1864

My dearest old Kedgie

I must write you a long letter this month as you have written twice to me lately. Your last letter made me dreadfully homesick. We should both like so much to see old England again, but now we are in Grahamstown I hope Robert will be quite strong again and so many of the clergy have gone home lately that he cannot leave. It was so very tempting to us when we had your letters. England seems quite a little paradise to people out here. I am all alone in the house now, Robert is gone to preach for the Archdeacon, baby is gone for a walk and Mr Key and Mr Dodd who are staying with us are gone out. Our goods came down from St Johns quite safely and got here last Tuesday. We have been very busy unpacking and getting settled. We are very comfortable now although our house is small and *very hot*, [Jennie's emphasis] it is not like a Kafir hut, which you declared we should have to live in. I must draw you a ground plan of it. We are going to make a partition across the end of the schoolroom to make a bedroom for Mr Key and Mr Dodd. We have no spare bedrooms. We are close to St Andrews chapel and have only about 50 yards to go to church which is very convenient. There was a cricket match yesterday between the marrieds and singles. Robert and Mr G. Cotterill were in the married side, and Mr Key played for the bachelors. I am very glad the marrieds won the match by nearly 40 runs. There is a great deal of cricket in Grahamstown; there are several clubs and they have made a very good cricket ground. Mr G. Cotterill, the Bishop's son, is a first rate player and Mr Key too plays very well. I wish you could see baby now, she is such fun, although very fond of her own way. Mr Dodd brought a little dog out with him which baby is very fond of. She hugs it and calls it after her and always gives it some of her cake and bread. I am so glad old Frenchy is well. Baby's cat Charlie was lost on its way down to us. They brought it safely for more than a hundred miles and then it got away in the night. Our dog Jerry would not come. We have one horse in town, Pious John the one Harry gave baby. Robert will find it very useful to ride about on. They had an attempt at a Guy Fawkes here yesterday. A very fat figure was stuffed with straw and carried about on a chair. 2 or 3 little Kafir boys followed behind shouting. I heard a few fireworks going off in the evening too. I seem to have so little news this month that I am afraid you will find this a very dull letter. Goodbye my darling brother with very fond love

Believe me ever

Your loving sister

Jennie

I must wish you a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. It has been so hot today I quite forgot Christmas was coming.

Kafir Institution  
Grahamstown  
South Africa  
November 8th 1865

Rev and dear Sir [Principal of St Augustine's College]

We seem to have advanced much nearer to England than I came out eleven years ago. *Then* we used to get a letter perhaps once in three or four months, and six months later. Now we have three mails a month, and hardly ever get them more than five weeks old. Letters I posted on Jan 16th here in Grahamstown were received in Oxford on Feb 16th. So we really seem much nearer to the mother country. Of course you will by this time have heard that I have been obliged to come to Grahamstown. I had better, however, as far as possible, give a sort of journal since last May. Until the end of August I carried on the usual work of the Mission (St John Baptist), and with the aid of two men who have been educated here, was enabled to open two or three new schools. Everything, however, was then in a very unsettled state amongst the natives, because war was talked of, and also because the Governor wished to move the Tambookie tribes over the Kei river. It was left for them to choose for themselves, however, and they refused from fear of Kreli. During these months my health got worse and worse, and I was gradually getting so weak that half a mile's walk or half an hour's work did me up. Towards the middle of August the doctor told me that I must have change of air, or that my complaint would become a serious one. I still hoped, however, to get through all right, without asking for change, but a friend at one of the Mission Stations, Mr Patten, wrote and told the Bishop the doctor's opinion, and I was immediately ordered to leave for Grahamstown. Mr Patten succeeded me at St John's, and I have been here ever since. We came down the first week in September, and I immediately derived very great benefit from the change of air, and also from being able to procure better food and a greater variety. I fancy that after being two years at home, on good beef and beer, the change back to mealies and pumpkins, with meat only now and then, did me no good. At any rate I have found very great benefit from bottled Bass,<sup>25</sup> which the Doctor ordered and also from being able to get beef daily. We found it almost ruinous in Kafirland owing to the drought. Thus far I wrote last May but extra work, and the absence of the Archdeacon prevented my finishing it, nor have I been able to do so until the present time. At first, when I came to Grahamstown, I had the care of the Kafir Institution here. But since January Mr Joseph Cotterill, the Bishop's brother, has had the care of the boys as far as teaching goes, and I look after the boarding and clothing part of the establishment. I am also curate to the Archdeacon, and have to look after the Hospital duties. In addition I am Diocesan secretary, but this is not a very onerous post. Grahamstown is very much cooler and more bracing than the Bolotwa, and I have been very much better during the last year than I have been since I left England. The boys are making good progress under Mr Cotterill. My Sunday work is as follows: Sunday school at St Bartholomew's from ten to half past i.e. catechising the boys in church; then assisting at the morning service; Hospital duty at three; school again at half past three; service at half past four, and, generally, Sunday school with my Kafir boys in the evening. Of course when the Archdeacon is absent I have the whole of the duty to do.

The arrival of Key and Dodd last year gave us great delight. I was so glad that I was enabled to entertain them till their ordination at Christmas. The Bishop was exceedingly pleased with Key's papers as was every body else. He has slowly advanced far enough with his Kafir to preach without the aid of an interpreter. I hope soon some more *Occasional Papers* will arrive, they keep us better

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25. Bass's ale or beer is identified as 'India pale ale' manufactured by Messrs Bass and Co., Burton on Trent. (*Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol.1, 1959)

informed than anything else of our old friends' doings. I also want to beg if you have them the Nos of the *O.P.* that I never received. I enclose a list. I shall be very glad to have a complete set, as I am going to get them bound.

I trust St Augustine's Mission will tempt out some more Augustinians Key and Dodd have gone to work bravely. If I could only count on good health I should very much wish to join them.

You will remember that the foundation stone of St Philip's Kafir Church was laid during the Synod, 1863, on June 30th. The nave is now nearly complete, and they have begun the chancel. It is a most churchlike building. The doors made by Key at St Augustine's are already up and look very well.<sup>26</sup> About £200 more is required to finish and complete the whole building. I have written to interest my friends in the good work.

The whole colony is in a dreadful state of bankruptcy. We hardly know whom to trust. Day after day brings accounts of more failures. This is owing to the low price of meal the staple export of the colony, and also to the dreadful droughts we have had during the last two years. I much fear we are about to sustain another partial drought, as the crops are already reported much burnt up. Locusts too have again appeared.

Good Archdeacon Merriman has been on another long visitation via Cradock, and Aliwal North, to Bloemfontein and Bishop Twells, and is now on the road back via Burghersdorp and Queenstown, Fort Beaufort etc. He has been away for five Sundays. I think he will be in on Friday and then I fancy that I shall be sent to Algoa Bay (80 miles) on Saturday to take the Colonial chaplain's duty, who is very ill.

We have now daily communication with the bay [Port Elizabeth] by means of carts. The distance is 81 miles, and is accomplished in about 12 hours, which is very good work on bad roads. This includes stoppages for breakfast and dinner. I occasionally hear from Hancock, who seems full of work at Table Bay.

I have not been up to the Missions since last October so that I know very little about them. Several new out stations have been started, and everything seems to go on well there. There is a great dearth of Clergy in the Diocese, a great many places being left entirely destitute. I trust the Bishop will be enabled to bring out some more men with him.

Servants as usual everywhere are not to be had, but I suppose we are not worse off than many in England.

Rev Robert John Mullins

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26. See chapter 10 and Introduction.

## APPENDIX A

### FRONTIER CONFLICTS

Separate episodes of major confrontation in the history of the Cape's eastern frontier are usually numbered in South African historical writing. For convenience, these wars are listed below, each with its conventionally accepted number, dates and, where appropriate, alternative designation.

#### ***The First Frontier War, 1781***

This was a struggle for the area west of the Fish River which the Company repeatedly claimed as the boundary of the Colony. An opening episode was the slaughter of Xhosa by Commandant Adriaan van Jaarsveld when they scrambled for the supposed gifts of tobacco he had scattered for them.

#### ***The Second Frontier War, 1793-1795***

A confused situation of cattle-raiding in the Zuurveld (area west of the Fish) merged into an abortive attempt to expel the Xhosa from the area and a rebellion of frontier farmers against the authority of Cape Town.

#### ***The Third Frontier War, 1799-1802***

This was a major crisis for white settlement in the eastern Cape when security was threatened both by Xhosa and insurgent Khoi.

#### ***The Fourth Frontier War, 1811-1812***

This was the episode when Xhosa were effectively expelled from the Zuurveld and Grahamstown and Cradock were founded.

#### ***The Fifth Frontier War, 1818-1819***

This was the conflict in which the prophecies and the leadership of Makanna featured and in which the attack on Grahamstown of April 1819 was a pivotal episode.

#### ***The Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835***

Years of tension, dispute and drought preceded a Xhosa invasion of the Colony which evoked harsh retaliation. For both sides the psychological repercussions were deep and long lasting. Settlers and their descendants remember it as an episode of unprovoked attack on homesteads where people had survived half a generation of struggle. Xhosa recall it for the murder of Hintsa.

#### ***The Seventh Frontier War, 1846-1847***

This is sometimes known as the War of the Axe because it was precipitated by the rescue of a Xhosa prisoner arrested for the theft of an axe at Fort Beaufort. The war resulted from the erosion of the Stockenström Treaty System by which the British had, during the previous decade, attempted to regulate trans-frontier relations. It ended in Sir Harry Smith's spectacular attempts to establish peace by annexing British Kaffraria and intimidating the Xhosa chiefs.

#### ***The Eighth Frontier War, 1850-1853***

This is increasingly known as the War of Mlanjeni. It was a bitterly fought conflict during which the whites were also confronted by a major rebellion of coloured people. Against a background of cattle disease, drought and deprivation, Mlanjeni, the prophet, called for a purification that would lead to renewal.

***The Ninth Frontier War, 1877-1878***

In earlier years this was known as the Ngqika-Gcaleka War since both groups of Xhosa people were involved. The modern name, the War of Ngcayecibi, recalls the Mfengu headman at whose kraal a beer drinking brawl and the consequent death of a Ngqika precipitated a Mfengu-Gcaleka clash which widened out into the last of the major frontier conflicts; the Ngqika, allied with the Gcaleka moved against the colonial authorities.

Between each of the 'wars' from 1781 to 1853 the effective frontier edged eastwards as white farmers took over more land and sought government protection from their African neighbours.

## APPENDIX B

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**RICHARD ADDISON (b.1832).** Ordained deacon in 1856 at Cape Town he was dismissed as curate in King William's Town by Bishop Cotterill in 1857. Returning to England he was ordained priest in 1858 at Lichfield. He was subsequently a curate at Wolverhampton, Taunton, and Benenden Kent, and chaplain at Pernambuco and in Madeira.

(H W Matthew, 'Grahamstown Diocese Historical Notes, vol.2, pp.3, 41, 57, 69; *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1860, 1887 and 1892)

**REVD JOHN THOMAS WALFORD ALLEN (b.1830)** was educated at Trinity College Cambridge, and taught at Mullins' old school. He was made deacon in 1854 and ordained as a priest in 1855. He was the founder of St John's mission but, having lost his wife and baby, he returned to England in 1857. Sir George Grey did not rate his work at St John's very highly; he complained that too much emphasis was given to 'English work' and that children were not properly taught and supervised. (USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 7.8.1857)

**ANTA** (died 1878) son of Ngqika and half-brother of Sandile he lived near Windvogelberg (the present Cathcart) where he was resolutely 'unbelieving' in the time of the Cattle-Killing. When German missionaries left he asked the Anglicans for a missionary. In later years Miss Bond worked as a missionary at his homestead. Both Maclean and Cotterill commented on his impressive appearance. Maclean noted too that he was a great orator and thought him intelligent. Cotterill recorded his easy good natured manners, but doubted his intelligence. He wished to be neutral in the War of Ngcayecibi but could not control all his followers. He died shortly before his people were moved into the Transkei area.

(USPG Archives Report of H Cotterill, 1863, p.25; M. Spicer, 'War of Ngcayecibi', MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1977, pp.151, 223)

**JOHN ARMSTRONG (1813-1856)**, first bishop of Grahamstown, was educated at Charterhouse and Lincoln College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1837 and served in various parishes in southwest England. He founded the Home of Mercy for the rehabilitation of unmarried mothers in Clewer in 1849. Responding to Grey's invitation, he and Colenso of Natal were consecrated bishops at Lambeth on 30.11.1853. In his brief episcopate Armstrong travelled about his diocese and concentrated on missionary work. He founded St Andrew's College, planned the Kafir Institution and started a reading room for artisans. He published tracts, sermons and composed a number of hymns. (T T Carter, *Armstrong*, 1858; *DSAB*, Vol.I)

**JONATHAN AYLIFF (1829-1885).** Fourth son of Revd John Ayliff and brother to Reuben, he served in the Seventh Frontier War. He became a leading attorney in Grahamstown and represented Victoria East in the House of Assembly 1864-1866 and again 1879-1885. He served on the Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission and contributed substantially to the code of law for the Transkeian Territories. He married Susannah, eldest daughter of the merchant George Wood, reputedly the richest man in Grahamstown.

(*DSAB*, Vol.II; M Gibbens, 'History of Grahamstown, 1862-1882' MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1979)

**REUBEN AYLIFF (fl. c.1860)** second son of Revd John Ayliff, the Methodist missionary. Reuben was a prominent Grahamstown resident living in Constitution Street. He commanded the native levies in the Mlanjeni War. He was mayor of Grahamstown (1869-72) and was elected to the House of Assembly (1864-1873).

(*DSAB*, Vol.I)

**REVD JAMES BARROW (1805-1891).** Nephew to Sir John Barrow, author and traveller. Ordained deacon in 1832 and priest in London in 1833, he arrived at the Cape in 1833 and was appointed colonial chaplain at Bathurst in 1835. He became chancellor of the Grahamstown diocese in 1859 and retired in July 1868.

(Matthew, 'Historical Notes', Vol.1 p.104)



**REVD W BOARDMAN (1775-1825)** resigned as headmaster of a grammar school in England in order to accompany an 1820 settler party. He opened a school and held services at Beaufort Vale, before moving to Bathurst in 1824. He conducted services in Grahamstown until 1823 when a colonial chaplain was appointed.

(DSAB, Vol.III)

**HANNAH and MARIA BOND.** Hannah accompanied Bishop Cotterill to South Africa in 1857 and worked at St Luke's where her quick fluency in Xhosa impressed. Maria Bond joined Hannah at St Mark's in January 1861. They came out as agents of the Female Education Society. One of the sisters married Revd Albert Maggs at the end of 1861. The other continued in missionary work and made the St Paul's mission among Anta's people her main work although she evidently ran St Peter's at Gwatyu for a few months in 1864. Working without remuneration, she had the help of an industrious native teacher and a few Christian families, she impressed with her cheerfulness and resource.

(USPG Archives, anonymous report to SPG, 3.9.1857; Waters to SPG, 22.1.1861 and 4.4.1867; Woodrooffe to SPG, 4.4.1867)

**BOTMAN or BOTOMANI (1767-1867)** imiDange chief. Known for his tact and debating skill, he was reputed to be a chief councillor of Sarhili. After the War of the Axe he moved with the Revd R Birt of the London Missionary Society to the Yellowwoods river valley where the Peulton mission was established. Though loyal to the colony in the Mlanjeni war, he nevertheless joined in the Cattle-Killing and could not protect the mission which was totally destroyed.

(USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 10.4.1857)

**WILLIAM MONKHOUSE BOWKER (1805-1876).** He was for a time a government agent with the Mfengu. He fought in the sixth, seventh and eighth frontier wars. He farmed at Thornkloof and was a notable merino sheep breeder. He represented Albany in the House of Assembly, 1864-5.

(DSAB, Vol.III)

**EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE (1811-1891)** was educated at Eton and Cambridge and became the Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1854, Bishop of Ely in 1864. He succeeded S Wilberforce as Bishop of Winchester in 1873. In his *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles (2 volumes, 1850-53)* he summed up his theological beliefs. This was a standard work for Anglican theological students. In the 1860s he tried to exert a moderating influence in the controversies over Biblical criticism and theology.

(F L Cross & E A Livingstone (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, London, 1974)

**DR HENRY CALLAWAY (1817-1890)**, first Bishop of Kaffraria (now St John's), was educated at Oxford and Aberdeen universities. He was ordained deacon in 1854 and priest in 1855. He accompanied Bishop Colenso to Natal and worked in Pietermaritzburg (1854-6), Ladysmith (1857) and at the Springvale Mission (1858-73). He developed the mission work at Springvale and at the Clydesdale mission which was originally an outstation of Springvale. He was consecrated Bishop in 1873. A skilled and devoted medical missionary, he was also a remarkable scholar who produced a number of works in Zulu as well as a revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* in Xhosa in 1879. His works included books on Zulu tradition and history and on their religious system. He compiled a list of native medicines which was not published.

(DSAB, Vol.I; C F Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG 1701-1900*, London, 1901, pp.312, ff.786, 803-4, 817, 898)

**REVEREND EDWARD CLAYTON (d.1895).** Educated at Oxford he was ordained a priest in 1842. After establishing a vigorous mission at Bathurst, he became the first missionary at Mhala's Great Place, where he was a founder of St Luke's. He returned to England in 1855 because of his brother's ill health.

(T T Carter, *A memoir of John Armstrong DD*, Oxford, 1857, p.104)

**JOHN WILLIAM COLENZO (1814-1883)**, first Bishop of Natal, and a formidable controversialist. He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge where he had a brilliant mathematical career. He taught at Harrow and at Cambridge. He married in 1846 and was in charge of a Norfolk parish. Interested in mission work, he edited the journal of the SPG. He was recruited by Bishop Gray in 1853, and consecrated bishop in the same year. He established himself at Bishopstowe, Ekukhanyeni near Pietermaritzburg (where St Peter's had been built). Four mission stations were established. Colenso mastered the Zulu language and published prolifically. He had unorthodox views on several topics and his Biblical criticism brought him into conflict with Bishop Gray who believed him to be heretical. Colenso contended that he was clearing falsehood from true doctrine to promote the mission work in which he was involved. After arranging a trial of Colenso in Cape Town, Gray deposed and excommunicated him. Colenso's legal right to retain the title of Bishop of Natal, the stipend of the Bishop and the control of Church of England property in Natal was upheld by a series of judicial decisions; but the SPG withdrew support and Colenso found it increasingly difficult to recruit clergy. He was bitterly disillusioned at the injustices of British imperial policy towards the black people of Natal and Zululand. He lost much white support in Natal through his championship of Langalibalele and the Hlubi, and subsequently of Cetshwayo and the Zulus. (DSAB, Vol.I, p.177 ff)

**GEORGE POMEROY COLLEY (1838-1881)**. Remembered now mainly for his death at the British defeat at Majuba, Colley trained at Sandhurst. He served in the eastern frontier of the Cape in the 1850s where he was appointed resident agent between the Kei and the Bashee rivers where (after an interruption of service in China) he completed a survey of the region. Appointed Professor of Military Administration and Law at Sandhurst in 1871, he nevertheless accompanied Sir Garnet Wolseley on the Ashanti Campaign and to Natal as one of the Wolseley circle. He returned to Natal after serving in India as private secretary to the Viceroy Lord Lytton. He was Lieutenant Governor of Natal and Special Commissioner for south-east Africa when he was killed at Majuba in February, 1881. (DSAB, Vol.III)

**CHARLES EDWARD CORNISH (1842-1936)**, fifth Bishop of Grahamstown, was educated at Oxford, ordained as deacon in 1869 and priest in 1871. He was consecrated Bishop in 1899. His was a difficult but fruitful episcopacy. During the Anglo-Boer War a large north eastern section of his diocese, including the mission stations at Herschel, Indwe and Lady Frere was in the control of the Boers. While he was Bishop, the Order of Ethiopia was incorporated as a separate Order in the Anglican church, on the understanding that Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa would conduct confirmations and ordain men to the priesthood. Cornish developed the railway mission that had been started by Fr Simeon under the previous bishop. Theological training was developed and modernised: for blacks at St Matthew's mission under the Revd F Binyon; for whites first at St Andrew's College under Canon Espin, then at St Paul's House (a gift to the diocese from Fr Simeon) which evolved into St Paul's Theological College. Bishop Cornish resigned because of ill health in 1915 and returned to England. (H P Thompson, *All Lands*, London, 1951, p.535 ff; DSAB, Vol.III)

**HENRY COTTERILL (1812-86)**, the second Bishop of Grahamstown (and subsequently Bishop of Edinburgh), was born in Norfolk, the son of a clergyman. A man of considerable intellectual gifts, he was fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Ordained in 1837, he spent the next ten years as a chaplain in Madrid. Ill-health brought him back to England in 1847, and he became the principal of a college at Brighton. In 1856 he was consecrated Bishop of Grahamstown. As Cotterill was known for his evangelical views, the Archbishop, Sumner, selected him to counterbalance the High Church stance of Bishop Gray. In fact Cotterill supported Gray in matters of ecclesiastical authority and church-state relations. The first Diocesan Synod met in Grahamstown in 1860. He continued to develop the mission work of the church. Even when he moved to Edinburgh, first as coadjutor Bishop and then as Bishop, he continued his interest in South African affairs and supported the creation of a separate diocese in the Transkei (St John's). His brother Joseph was a clergyman in South Africa from 1862-5, while his daughter married the Revd W Greenstock and his eldest son was headmaster

of St Andrew's College. He published several works on the history of the church, on missionary issues and on matters of contemporary intellectual dispute.  
(DSAB, Vol.I)

**SIR WALTER CURRIE (1819-1872)** was a tough frontier farmer of 1820 stock; he was also a relentless frontier commandant. He served in several frontier wars before taking command of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police, brought into being by Cathcart in 1855. In the aftermath of the Cattle-Killing he captured Fedana and Quesha and expelled Sarhili from the Colony. He was knighted in 1860. He subsequently saw service in East Griqualand, where he negotiated the boundaries of Adam Kok's territory with Natal, and in Basutoland, where he was agent for the High Commissioner. His last campaign was against the Koranna in 1870. He died in his home at Oatlands in Grahamstown after a brief retirement.  
(DSAB, Vol.I)

**DARALA or DAHRALA: see NDARHALA**

**REVD WILLIAM DOUGLAS DODD (b.1841)** trained at St Augustine's with Key and Drayton. He was ordained deacon in 1864 and priest in 1870. He trained as a missionary under the Revd J Gordon at All Saints' and worked with the Revd B Key to found St Augustine's mission. In 1868 he founded St Alban's mission among Ngangelizwa's Thembu at Egoza. His wife's ill health necessitated his withdrawal from the mission field and he subsequently worked at Port Alfred, Lady Frere, St Peter's on the Indwe and at Molteno.  
(Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, pp.310-11, 896, 930)

**REVD GEORGE EDWARD DRAYTON** was educated at St Augustine's College Canterbury, where he met Mullins. He came out to South Africa in 1862 and assisted at St Mark's mission for a while as a school teacher. He had joined the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, but the death of Bishop Mackenzie delayed his departure from South Africa. He finally sailed with Bishop Tozer from Cape Town to Zanzibar in May 1863. He resigned the following year and returned to England where he married. In 1866 he rejoined the Mission and went out to Zanzibar, where he died in 1867 shortly after his wife.  
(USPG Archives, Missionary Index; USPG Archives, UMCA records; Mullins to St Augustine's College, 21/9/1863; H Cotterill report to SPG, 1863, p.16G)

**CANON J ESPIN (1836-1905)** and his wife both played important roles in the development of educational institutions in Grahamstown. Espin was educated at Merton College, Oxford, and ordained deacon in 1860 and priest in 1862. He came to South Africa for health reasons and taught at the Diocesan College in Rondebosch before moving to the Zonnebloem Institution as its principal. He resigned from this post in 1874 to settle in Grahamstown where he became chancellor of the cathedral and theological tutor. From 1882-1902 he was headmaster of St Andrew's. During his period of office advanced classes were held which were to become the nucleus of what was subsequently Rhodes University College. After retiring from St Andrew's he was the first warden of St Paul's hostel for theological students, which developed into the theological college. He published a number of religious papers. His wife Catherine was the first headmistress of the Diocesan School for Girls which was founded in 1874.  
(DSAB, Vol.III)

**REVD M R EVERY (d.1885).** Originally a Wesleyan teacher and bound for Madras he was ordained Anglican deacon in 1856. He worked at Bloemfontein, 1855-1858, Hope Town, 1859-1866 and at Burghersdorp, 1867-1868. He married a Mrs Gould whose diary records great subsequent unhappiness.  
(Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, pp.894 and 900; Information: Dr M. Donaldson)

**FUBU.** A chief of the Qwati people living among the Thembu who assumed a greater measure of independence when Mtirira was absent from the Mbashe. His son, Dalasile, gave only nominal

allegiance to Ngangelizwe and was later involved in rebellion against white magistrates. (See *i.a.* E Wagenaar, 'A history of the Thembu and their relationship with the Cape 1850-1900', Ph.D thesis, Rhodes University, 1988, p.248)

**FADANA (c.1880-c.1870).** Of the royal Thembu (i.e. Hala) lineage, Fadana was the brother of the paramount, Ngubengcuka (d.1832), and regent to Ngubengcuka's heir, Mtirara, until he came of age in 1848. On the unexpected death of Mtirara (1848) the regency for the heir, Qeya (later Ngangelizwe) was divided between Nonesi (widow of Ngubengcuka and 'mother' of Mtirara) for the Thembu of Tambookie locations within colonial borders, and Joyi for the Mbasha Thembu in land beyond the colonial borders. Fadana was reduced to the status of a minor chief in the Tambookie location. He eagerly accepted the Cattle-Killing prophecies and then, as the prophecies failed, rampaged widely against all non-believers, including Ndarhala, in conjunction with Qweshe, the father of Ndarhala. Vengeful retribution came at the hands of Walter Currie's FAMP expedition of 1858. Fadana, captured beyond the colonial boundary, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. On his release from Robben Island in 1868 he vigorously opposed the removal of colonial Thembu into lands across the colonial boundary where he had once envisaged authority. He later backed a rival of Ngangelizwe who wished to establish an independent chiefdom.

(South African Archives, Cape Town, LG.261, communication of Commandant Currie, 24.9.1857; Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.58, 72, 100-01; E G Sihele, Who are the abaThembu and where do they come from?' (typescript c.1933), pp.62, 63 and 65; J Peires, *The dead will arise*, 1989, pp.274-76)

**REV WILLIAM HENRY FOWLE** BA Trinity College, Oxford, arrived in Port Elizabeth, January 1854. Appointed Colonial Chaplain and rector of St Mary's after the death of M'Clelland. He was an outspoken participant in the disputes of the day and published a number of sermons and discourse between 1855-57. He resigned in 1858 when Bishop Cotterill recognised the Dissidents. On returning to England he became vicar of Milnerton in Somerset.

(Matthew, 'Historical Notes', Vol.1, p.48)

#### **GANGELIZWE (see NGANGELIZWE)**

**WILLIAM GARDE** was a member of Armstrong's party, but he sailed to South Africa ahead of the main contingent. As a catechist he assisted in the foundation of St Luke's. Later he taught at the Grammar School in King William's Town.

(King William's Town *Gazette* and *Border Intelligencer*, Vol.3, No.75, 16.1.1858; USPG Archives, Armstrong to SPG, 10.4.1854)

**MAJOR JOHN GAWLER** of the 73rd Regiment was the son of a former governor of South Australia. He was appointed special magistrate to Mhala in 1856 during the Cattle-Killing. He organised the unbelievers into a police force for their own protection; consequently the amaNdlambe split into two factions, the smaller, the unbelievers, being relocated to the Idutywa reserve. Gawler and Currie commanded the vengeful military force that drove Sarhili out of Gcalekaland in 1858. He subsequently served in India. After a brief spell as military secretary in Grahamstown he returned to England and was appointed Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London. He was an ardent British Israelite.

(Peires, *Dead will arise*, esp. pp.187-214, 232-24, 284-86, 332)

**GECELO.** Son of Tyopo of the Gcina people, sometimes regarded as distinct from the Thembu, Gecelo was not the heir and for that reason may have agreed to move into Emigrant Thembuland in the hope of land and independence. He was 'loyal' in the War of Ngayecibi, but by 1881 his position had been so undermined that he acted in concert with the war party in the confrontation that took place. He was imprisoned in consequence. After his deposition his people were 'broken up' i.e. were dispersed.

(Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu' pp.180, 177 and 270)

**REVD E GILES (b.1825).** Educated at St John's College, Oxford, he was recruited by Bishop Gray for work in South Africa where he was appointed rector of St Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth in 1854. (USPG Archives, Biographical Index Card)

**GLOVER, E (1824-1894).** A Cambridge graduate, deacon (1851) and priest (1852) he responded to Robert Gray's call to missionary work at the Cape. He married a daughter of Robert and Sophie Gray in 1857. He was the first warden of the Kafir College, later Zonnebloem. Subsequently he became archdeacon of George, before returning to England in 1873 where he held a number of clerical posts before his retirement in 1891. (DSAB, Vol.IV)

**REVD JOHN GORDON ('Sidubu')** was the son of an officer of the 91st Regiment killed near Fort Hare on 29 December 1850 during the War of 1850-3. He was ordained deacon in 1859 and priest in 1861. He trained at St Mark's Mission under the Revd H Waters and went out from there to visit the Qwati Chief, Fubu. The chief consented to the founding of a mission station and on 1 November, All Saints' Day, he was assigned to the mission lands close to the Mbashe river. In 1863 Gordon married Miss Eliza Castle, who came out as an agent of the Female Education Society and was superintendent of the girls' school at St Marks. Waters regarded him as one of his most valuable staff members. He later left the mission field and worked in King William's Town where he was rector of the white congregation. He had nine sons and three daughters to educate. (USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 30.9.1857; C Lewis & G Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, London, 1934, p.275; Margaret Donaldson, 'The Female Education Society' in W J Sheils & D Woods (eds), *Studies in Church History*, vol.27; Gordon Family Papers in possession of M Antrobus; *Daily Dispatch*, East London, Friday 1 December 1950)

**REVD J GORHAM M.A. (fl.1860?).** He arrived in South Africa at the end of 1853 in the *Queen of the South* and succeeded Revd Bednall as vice principal of Bishop's. He brought with him a library of 400 volumes, donated by the clergy of Chichester. (D McIntyre, *The Diocesan College Rondebosch: a century of 'Bishop's'*, Cape Town, 1990, p.14)

**ROBERT GRAY (1809-1872)** was the first bishop of Cape Town. Educated at University College, Oxford, he was ordained in 1834 and because of his interest in mission work, he became the local secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was consecrated Bishop of Cape Town in 1847. He travelled extensively and sought to bring direction and coherence to the Anglican Church in South Africa. He founded a diocesan college, now generally known as 'Bishops'. This is a leading private school in Cape Town and South Africa. (See Note 11) He founded the college at Zonnebloem to educate the sons of chiefs. Recognising the need for the subdivision of his vast diocese he arranged for the collection of extra funds and the consecration of bishops to Grahamstown and Natal. He was involved in bitter contention with Colenso in the course of which he evolved a synodical form of government for the Church and sought to repudiate the authority of secular courts in spiritual and doctrinal matters. The Church of the Province of South Africa accepted its constitution as a voluntary association in 1870 while Gray was still bishop. His publications include the journals of his visitations. (DSAB, Vol.I)

**SOPHIA WHARTON GRAY née Myddleton (1814-1871)** was the daughter of a Yorkshire landowner. She married Robert Gray in 1836 and bore him one son and three daughters. A talented and energetic woman, she kept open house at Protea, where the entire Armstrong party was received. She acted as diocesan and provincial secretary. Her great interest was in church architecture and she designed a number of churches, including St Saviours Church, Claremont, where she and her husband are buried. Her sketch books show her to have been a talented artist. (T Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, Cape Town 1970; DSAB, Vol.I)

**REVD EDWARD P GREEN M.A. (fl.1860).** He was appointed rector of the newly established parish of Queenstown in 1855; he built a church and a parsonage there. He left for Britain in 1863.

(*Queenstown Free Press*, 10.2.1863)

**REVD WILLIAM GREENSTOCK (1830-1921)** was educated at St Mark's College Chelsea. He accompanied Armstrong to Grahamstown. He was ordained deacon in 1854 and priest in 1855. He worked as a missionary at St John's and at St Luke's before spending ten years at St Matthew's mission. Subsequently he started a mission at Port Elizabeth and then moved, first to the Transvaal (1875-6) and then to Natal where he spent ten years, becoming a canon of the Cathedral in 1882. He died at Bangkok. He helped to translate the Book of Common Prayer into Xhosa, and composed several Xhosa hymns. See also note on Cotterill.

(M Goedhals, 'Anglican Mission Policy in the Diocese of Grahamstown under the First Two Bishops 1853-71', MA Thesis, Rhodes University, 1979 p.29; USPG Biographical Index Card)

**SIR GEORGE GREY (1812-1898)** was Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa from 1854 to June 1859 and again from September 1859 to 1861. He had already won contemporary approval for his role as governor first of Southern Australia and then of New Zealand. Modern scholars are much more critical of his role in the Maori Wars in New Zealand than were contemporaries. In South Africa his policy envisaged the destruction of the traditional life of the Xhosa in order to mingle black and white in harmonious settlement. He favoured the scrapping of the Conventions of 1852 and 1854 which had guaranteed Boer independence. He wished to create a federation of white ruled states and colonies and extend British rule over the Transkei, between the Cape and Natal. In the Cis-Kei he tried to bring about a socio-economic revolution. He undermined the authority of the chiefs, encouraged the people to undertake paid labour. He supported the work of missionaries and the foundation of schools, particularly industrial schools which would equip blacks for employment in the colony. He also provided for the opening of a hospital at King William's Town. He sought, too, to transform the pattern of settlement among the Xhosa with the introduction of villages, and to change the overall demographic balance with the settlement of German ex-soldiers. The belief of some Xhosa that he 'caused' the Cattle-Killing is an understandable oversimplification. By the standards of an educated Victorian aware of the advances and prestige of science, the Cattle-Killing was an appalling demonstration of superstition that was difficult to comprehend. Grey's insistence that the Cattle-Killing was the result of a conspiracy of chiefs was probably in part genuine (and a reflection of his limited empathy with the people), in part a desire to exculpate himself by offering his superiors an explanation they could understand, and in part a justification for the ruthless measures he authorised to exploit the effects of the Cattle-Killing in the interests of his own policy. He was subsequently Governor of New Zealand but was dismissed in 1868 and retired to pursue a parliamentary career. He died in England in 1898.

(*DSAB*, Vol.I)

**CHARLES DUNCAN GRIFFITH (1830-1906).** Born in Grahamstown of settler stock he served in the seventh and eighth frontier wars. During the Cattle-Killing he was an inspector in the Frontier Armed Mounted Police and was responsible for the arrest of Fadana. In recognition his services he was appointed resident magistrate and civil commissioner in Queenstown in 1858. He served subsequently as resident magistrate for Albany and for King William's Town and moved to Basutoland in 1871. He was awarded the CMG for his services as commander of the FAMP in Gcalekaland in the War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878. He retired from the FAMP after the Sotho Gun War. He represented Thembuland in the House of Assembly, 1888-1893. In 1857 he held a position in the Anglican church - probably as church warden.

(*DSAB*, Vol.II)

**GUNGUBULELE (fl.1875).** Son of Yoliswa Gungubulele came of age in 1871 but was refused recognition as Tshatshu chief by the white authorities. For his part Gungubulele denied - and attempted to defy - the appointment of headman by the magistrate. In 1878 Gungubulele tried to recover part of his father's land by agreeing to purchase - at an exorbitant price - what was then a white-owned farm. When Gungubulele could not pay the whole amount of the purchase price, litigation and acrimony followed. At the time of the War of Ngcayecibi, Gungubulele denied reports received by the magistrate that he was in treasonable communication with Sandile. Missionary

advice encouraged Gungubulele to negotiate directly with the magistrate, John Hemming, but an attempted meeting ended in a fracas. The subsequent decision of John X Merriman to arrest all the Tshatshu leadership then precipitated Gungubulele into a small scale and hopeless 'rebellion'. After capture and trial Gungubulele was sentenced to death, but so great was the public outcry that the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Gungubulele was released in 1888 under a general amnesty.

(Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.282-88; Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', pp.186-93)

**REVD JOHN HARDIE (d.1894)** was educated at St Mary's Hall, Oxford and ordained in 1846. While visiting South Africa for health reasons, he was recruited by Bishop Armstrong to take Clayton's place at St Luke's and to be Superintendent of Missions and Commissary of the Diocese. He also acted as archdeacon of Grahamstown. He returned to England in 1857. In 1869 he was chaplain to the Bishop of Ely.

(Goedhals, 'Anglican Mission Policy' p.28; USPG Biographical Index Card)

**REVD JOHN HEAVYSIDE (1799-1861)**. He was the first Anglican priest to be ordained in India. In 1833, two years after his ordination, he was persuaded to stay at the Cape rather than continue his journey to England on sick leave. He was colonial chaplain in Grahamstown from 1833 to his death in 1861.

(Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records*, p.235)

**REVD HENRY HERBERT (fl. c.1860?)**. He was assistant master at the Diocesan College. An excellent cricketer he looked after the games of the College. Shortly after his ordination he left to serve the church elsewhere.

(McIntyre, *Diocesan College, Rondebosch*, pp.8, 12, 14-16; P Dobson, *Bishop's Rugby*, Cape Town, 1990, p.14)

**GEORGE HUDSON (1839-1900)**. Born in Grahamstown of settler stock he joined the colonial service initially as clerk to the resident magistrate and public prosecutor at Fort Peddie. He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1854 and subsequently served in a number of Cape districts. In 1880 he became colonial secretary in British Transvaal and served as British resident after the retrocession in 1881. His sister, Miss Hudson, travelled with the mission party. She came as an agent of the Female Education Society.

(G Armstrong in Matthew, 'Historical Notes', Vol.1, p.53; DSAB, Vol.III)

**REVD RICHARD GOODE HUTT (fl. c.1860)**. He accompanied Cotterill's party and was ordained deacon in 1857 and priest in 1858. He worked in the mission field but served temporarily as the principal of the Kafir Institution and as acting colonial chaplain from 1863-1866 when he returned to England. His Xhosa names were 'Jikomlambo' and 'Juindlu'. The first means 'turn the river' and was a tribute to his laying out the water courses at St Mark's and at St John's. 'Juindlu' means 'hut' and is a pun on his name.

(USPG Archives, H Cotterill, Journal 1860, p.12)

**JOYI (fl.1850)**. Of the royal Thembu lineage, the Hala, with his power base among the Mbashe Thembu, he was brother of the paramount Mtirara (Mthikakra) and, after 1848, regent for the young Qeya (later Ngangelizwe). He shared the regency with Nonesi, the widow of Ngubencuka, whose authority supported initially by the British, was exercised over the western or colonial Thembu in what the British called the Tambookie location. He equivocated over the Cattle-Killing which he may have seen as a Gcaleka movement. He nevertheless ensured that it did not spread very far among the Thembu of the Mbashe region nor in the Tambookie location where Nonesi appealed to him to help her resist the Believers. To preserve Thembu claims in the transKeian region he claimed ascendancy over the Bomvana in 1858 and in 1862, with tensions increased by the presence of the expelled Sarhili across the Mbashe, he appealed to the British to protect him as they 'protected' Mosheshwe. Ngangelizwe assumed the paramountcy of the Thembu in 1862. Mullins referred to Joyi as 'Joey' in the Diary.



(Spicer, 'War of Ngcayecibi', pp.13, 56-57; Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.57, 81, 126)

**KAMA (c.1798-1875).** Gqunukwebe chief, son of Chungwa and brother of Phato, converted by William Shaw the missionary at Wesleyville, from where Kama moved to Newtondale near Peddie in 1835. He was neutral in the Sixth Frontier War and moved to the north-eastern Cape in 1843 from where, following his assistance to the Colony in the Seventh Frontier War he was moved to land assigned to him at Kamastone near Whittlesea which he helped guard during the Mlanjeni war. In 1853 he moved to Middledrift on the Keiskamma. He opposed the Cattle-Killing but his people were divided on the issue.

(DSAB, Vol.III)

**REVD BRANSBY LEWIS KEY (1838-1901)** trained as an engineer but decided to study at St Augustine's College where he was a fellow student of Mullins. He came to South Africa in 1864 and in that year was ordained deacon. He was ordained priest in 1866 after training as a missionary under the Revd J Gordon at All Saints' Mission. From 1865 to 1882 he worked at St Augustine's Mission on the banks of the Tsitsa river in the Transkei, among the Pondomisi people, moving to St Cuthbert's after the mission was destroyed in 1880. In 1883 he became Co-adjutor Bishop, and in 1886 Bishop of the Diocese of St John's. He helped with the revision of the Xhosa prayer book, and wrote several Xhosa hymns. He married a daughter of the Revd H T Waters. His publications include devotional books and a number of tracts in Xhosa.

(DSAB, Vol.IV)

**REVD HENRY KITTON (1819-1892).** Ordained priest in 1846 he was curate of St Thomas', Preston in 1852. He arrived in Grahamstown in 1857 and was appointed rector at King William's Town where he became archdeacon from 1861. In 1863 he became secretary to the Kaffrarian missions. He was recognised as a careful analyst of Church history.

(USPG Archives, Minutes, Fifth Conference of the Church of England Missionaries, Kaffraria, 1863; *Church Chronicles*, Vol.XI, No.4, April 1890)

**REVD C LANGE (d.1881),** initially a German missionary of the Berlin Mission Society, he was ordained by Bishop Armstrong on 24 December 1853. His early work was among the convicts of Grahamstown. After 1857 he was based at St Luke's, Newlands, and worked in the East London area. He left the Diocese after a dispute with Bishop Cotterill over the unauthorised use of church lands, but continued working as an SPG missionary at Pretoria and Potchefstroom.

(USPG Archives, Armstrong to SPG, 28.7.1855; Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p.901)

**THEOPHILUS LIEFELDT (fl. c.1870).** Son of a German missionary at the Berlin Missionary Society station at Dohne, he became a catechist in the Anglican church. He joined Bishop Armstrong's party as a young boy, his father having requested that he be trained for the priesthood. He was, however, never ordained. He worked as a catechist at St Matthew's and St Mark's and Mullins mentions that he was at St John's, Bolotwa, in 1862. Fluent in Xhosa he assisted Woodroffe in translating the Book of Common Prayer and Greenstock in translating the Commission and Occasional Service. He was later asked to revise the Book of Common Prayer. Liefeldt evidently joined the colonial service. He succeeded Brownlee as resident with Sandile but at a much lower rank in the colonial service. Addiction to drink made his influence with Sandile questionable but West Fynn thought he might have prevented Sandile from joining Sarhili in the War of Ngcayecibi if he had been allowed to continue in office. He was removed to become resident with Anta in 1877.

(Minutes of the fifth annual conference of missionaries, *Church Gazette*, Vol.1, No.1, Jan.1863; USPG Archives, Missionary conference, 1874; Goedhals, 'Anglican Mission Policy', p.180; Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', pp.18-19; West Fynn, 'War of 1877', *Daily Despatch*, 1911, reprint in Cory SA Pamphlets, vol.XV)

**CHARLES FREDERICK MACKENZIE** was a Cambridge man trained in mathematics, who accompanied Colenso to Natal in 1854 where he became archdeacon of Pietermaritzburg. In 1859 he returned to England for health reasons but was nevertheless selected to head the ill-fated



Universities Mission to Central Africa. He was consecrated Bishop in 1861 in Cape Town by Bishop Gray. He settled at Magomera in present day Malawi. He and most of his mission party died of fever, and the mission was ultimately re-located to Zanzibar.

(O Chadwick, *Mackenzie's Grave*, London, 1959)

**MACKINNON** (also called Makinana, evidently named after Col Mackinnon), was Mhala's great son. Though he himself was sceptical about the prophecies, Makinana supported his father's authority during the Cattle-Killing. He fled after Mhala's arrest and lived across the Kei. When the War of Ngcayecibi erupted he tried to avoid conflict and moved westward to the Ngqika location within the Colony. His presence generated white suspicion and this contributed to the tension that impelled Sandile to join the Gcaleka in their war.

(Information: J Peires; Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', pp.126-34)

**COLONEL JOHN MACLEAN (1810-1874)** was a Scottish soldier and a prominent Cape frontiersman. He served in the West Indies and in the Sixth Frontier War before assuming administrative and civil posts. Prior to the annexation of British Kaffraria he was diplomatic agent with the Mfengu at Peddie and then with the Ndlambe. After the annexation he became Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria and then Lieutenant Governor from 1860-64. In 1866 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Natal but ill-health compelled him to return in July 1865. He was the editor of the *Compendium of Native Laws and Customs* which was intended to be a guide to magistrates. Bishop Cotterill did not regard him as a friend of missionaries, and he was plainly hostile to the Revd H Waters at St Mark's. (USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 14.10.61; *DSAB* Vol.I; Peires, *Dead will arise*, esp. pp.328-30)

**REVD ALBERT MAGGS (1840-1882)**. Originally a Methodist minister, he offered to serve under Bishop Cotterill and was ordained deacon in 1864 and priest in 1867. He worked at St Mark's, St Luke's, St Peter's, Gwatyu and at St John's from 1865. In 1867 he took over 'the English work' at Komgha where he built the church. In 1861 he married Miss Bond who died in 1879 at St Luke's where Maggs had been posted and where the missionaries were accused of harbouring rebels during the war of Ngayecibi. In 1882 Maggs committed suicide.

(*Church Chronicles*, Vol.III, No.12, Dec.1882; see also Goedhals, 'Anglican Mission Policy', p.125)

**MAPASSA (c1800-1852)** was chief of the Tshatshu among the Thembu people. He and his people fell within the borders of the Province of Queen Adelaide which was annexed and then abandoned in 1835-6. For the next decade he was one of the chiefs whose relations with the colonial authorities were governed by treaties. When this system was undermined and the Seventh Frontier War broke out, he fought against the Colony and destroyed the mission station at Imvani. After the annexation of his territory he became a British subject under the authority of a resident commissioner. He fought in the Mlanjeni war and died of wounds received during the sustained attacks on the military post at Whittlesea. His unexpected death provoked charges of witchcraft against a leading councillor and his great wife. His followers disintegrated and lost land. Yoliswa, his widow, ruled over a remnant of the amaTshatshu.

(Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', p.43, fn.80 and 'A Forgotten Frontier Zone', *AYB*, 1982, pp.175-76 and 187; *DSAB*, Vol.II)

**MAQOMA (1798-1873)**. Foremost leader and warrior of the Ngqika Xhosa he was the eldest son of Ngqika and the brother of Sandile for whom he was regent for a time. He resented his expulsion from the Kat river valley and vehemently contested the Xhosa loss of land especially after his humiliation at the hands of Sir Harry Smith. After the Mlanjeni war Maqoma and his followers were excluded from the Amatola and Winterberg region. Maqoma participated eagerly in the Cattle-Killing and in the sequel was convicted of murder of an unbelieving chief. He was exiled to Robben Island until 1869 but, because he refused to keep away from the lands he regarded as his own, he was again exiled to Robben Island in November 1871 and died there in 1873. In 1978 the Ciskei government interred what was described as the bones of Maqoma at the Ntaba ka Ndodo.

(*DSAB*, vol.II)

**REVD F MCLELLAND (d.1853)** accompanied Parker's party to the Cape in 1820 and after five years at Clanwilliam was among those of the party who moved to Port Elizabeth. Until his death he was rector of St Mary's which he and his son built in 1830. He claimed to have founded a congregation at Sidbury and to have started mission work at Uitenhage.  
(Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p.273)

**REV W MEADEN (d.1892)**. Ordained deacon in 1855 at Cape Town and priest in 1857 at Grahamstown he was colonial chaplain at Southwell. He served for a period at Post Retief and in the Winterberg where he built the church and parsonage and ran a school for the children of local farmers. He died in Grahamstown in 1892.  
(Reference: Matthew, 'Historical Notes', vol.1, p.98; vol.2, p.105)

**NATHANIEL JAMES MERRIMAN (1809-82)** was born in Marlborough and educated at Winchester and Oxford. He was appointed Archdeacon of Grahamstown in 1848 by Bishop Gray. His work among whites and blacks prepared the way for Armstrong, the first Bishop. He journeyed on foot over a vast area and his Journals are an important historical source. He would have preferred to be a missionary, but his skills ensured that he be used in other roles. He ultimately became Bishop of Grahamstown in 1872, having refused the post twice before. He also refused offers of the Bloemfontein Diocese in 1861 and the Cape Town Diocese in 1873. Ecclesiastical disputes were part of the context of nineteenth century clerical life and Merriman was much tried by the contention with Dean Williams which was not resolved until after both had died. He played an active part in setting up a system of synodical government for the Anglican Church in South Africa and continued and consolidated Cotterill's work in developing the missionary outreach and a native ministry. In 1840 he married Julia Potter, and they had nine children, one of whom, John X Merriman was Prime Minister of the Cape of Good Hope.  
(DSAB, Vol.I)

**JOHN X MERRIMAN (1841-1926)** was the eldest son of Nathaniel J Merriman, third bishop of Grahamstown. Educated at the Diocesan College, he spent a few years in London as a clerk before returning to the Cape in 1862. His political career began in 1869 when he was elected to the Cape Legislative Assembly. He was appointed to the cabinet in 1875 and again in 1881. He served as prime minister of the Cape Colony from 1908-1910. In the early twentieth century his correspondence with Botha and Smuts helped to pave the way for Union. He was a member of the National Convention which drew up the constitution. He was primarily responsible for the entrenched clauses intended to safeguard the Cape liberal franchise. Since Louis Botha from the Transvaal became the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa, Merriman ended his political career as an ordinary member of the Union parliament. Sir James Rose Innes, a contemporary, described him as 'a great Englishman, a great South African, and without doubt the most brilliant intellect in the political life of my time'.  
(DSAB, Vol.II)

**MHALA (1800-1875)** was the third son of Ndlambe, the uncle of Ngqika who, in earlier years, had been regent for Ngqika. When Ndlambe died Mhala gained control of the eastern Ndlambe, ousting his brother and rival claimant, Duyani. In the War of Mlanjeni Mhala, who had suffered defeat and loss in earlier conflicts, opted for a discreet and reluctant neutrality. He participated in the Cattle-Killing because, as he explained, he wished to see long deceased friends and relatives. In the debacle that followed he was captured and imprisoned on Robben Island until 1864. He returned to die in poverty and obscurity. In the meanwhile the section of his followers who were non-believers were removed to Idutywa, while others were assigned a place along the Buffalo river by Major Gawler, Mhala's magistrate. (DSAB, Vol.III)

**MHLAKAZA ( -1858)** was of the Mfene clan, a prophet whose reported visions helped precipitate the Cattle-Killing. He lived in the area of Kentani moving later to the Gxara River. He died in 1858 in the famine that followed the slaughter and destruction. Professor J Peires identifies Mhlakaza as the companion of N J Merriman when he walked about the frontier area. Sometime after Merriman had

set up his own home with his wife, Mhlakaza returned to his people taking with him a knowledge of Christian teaching which influenced his prophecies and the millennial expectations of the Xhosa. (Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.33-36)

**SIR THOMAS MUIR (1844-1934)**, after qualifying at Glasgow University and teaching mathematics at Glasgow High School, came to the Cape in 1892 as Superintendent of Education. He was responsible for a number of reforms designed to improve educational standards. He appointed more inspectors, encouraged the recruitment of graduate teachers from Britain, sought higher qualifications for primary school teachers and reviewed the content of primary school education. He promoted the school board system to foster local involvement in education and encouraged industrial education in black schools. He retired in 1915 and published a book on mathematics. (DSAB, Vol.I)

**WILLIAM MUSGRAVE (1792-1854)**. Having served under Sir Benjamin D'Urban in Antigua he came to the Cape in 1836 where he was the first English-born advocate to practise at the Cape Bar and the first advocate of the Cape Supreme Court to be elevated to the Bench. He was appointed First Puisne Judge in 1843. (DSAB, Vol.II)

**NDARHALA (or DARHALA, both versions variously spelt) (d.1884)**. A chief of the amaNdungwana Thembu, he avoided conflict with the British 1851-1853 in contrast to his father, Qwesha, who fought against the colonial forces and incurred disaster. In the aftermath Ndarhala supplanted his father as chief with the support of his people, and the British allocated him land in the Tambookie location where the farm 'Greysdale' is now situated. (Information: J Peires and H Weir). A firm non-believer, Ndarhala stood out against his father during the Cattle-Killing and, after being raided by Fadana, himself took part in the expedition against Fadana and Qwesha. Though well disposed to missions he avoided baptism lest this separate him from his people. Two sons were educated in Grahamstown. In 1865, after Qwesha's release from Robben Island and when Ndarhala was evidently heavily in debt, he agreed to move to Emigrant Thembuland where he made a large grant of land to the Anglican church. He was loyal during the war of Ngcayecibi. Although he was dismayed by the disarmament imposed by the Peace Preservation Act and protested against the proposed annexation of Thembuland, he did not join the disaffected in the rebellions of 1881. Only at the end of his life are there signs that his loyalty wavered when he was compelled to accept the confiscation of land to appease white claimants.

(USPG Archives Waters to SPG, 7.4.1856; Mullins to SPG, 31.12.1863; Woodrooffe to SPG, 8.1.1863; Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', pp.11, 234; Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.31, 97-98, 162, 165, 166, 170, 174, 207, 264; J Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, Johannesburg, 1987, pp.131-32, 137, 171; J Macquarrie, *Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford*, Van Riebeeck Series, 1958, p.24)

**NDLAMBE (1740-1828)**. Son of Rharhabe, he was regent for his nephew Ngqika when Rharhabe died in 1787 leaving his grandson Ngqika as successor to the 'paramountcy'. Bitter quarrels between uncle and nephew ensued which coincided and interacted with the pressure of whites on the frontier and the white clamour for security. Ndlambe and his followers were expelled from the Zuurveld in 1812 and animosity between Ndlambe and Ngqika increased. Ndlambe who was influenced by the Xhosa prophet Nxele defeated Ngqika at the battle of Amalinde near Debe Nek in 1818, and in 1819. Ndlambe was defeated when he attacked Grahamstown. Ndlambe died near Mount Coke, his power broken and his influence lost.

(DSAB, Vol.I)

**REVD ALFRED JAMES NEWTON (fl.1870)**. Arriving in Grahamstown in 1859 he was posted to St Mark's mission. He was ordained deacon in 1867 and priest in 1869. He worked at St Peter's Gwatyu, 1869-1878, and at St Peter's, Indwe, 1879-1896. He was involved in the production of the new Xhosa hymn book and in the revision of the *Prayer Book*.

(USPG Archives, Annual conference of the Church of England Missionaries, 1875)

**NONESI (1815-1880).** A very notable woman, Nonesi was the daughter of the Mpondo paramount chief, Faku, and the great wife of Ngubencuka, the Thembu paramount. Herself childless, Nonesi 'mothered' Mtirara who succeeded Ngubencuka in 1844, but died in 1848. With the support of the British, Nonesi then became co-regent for her grandson Qeya (later Ngangelizwe), exercising authority over the Thembu who lived on lands that fell within colonial boundaries after 1853. Joyi, brother of Ngubencuka, was co-regent with his authority concentrated on the eastern or Mbashe Thembu. Nonesi sought to avoid conflict with the British and, for a time, won the golden opinions of officials. With Joyi's help, she stemmed the spread of the Cattle-Killing movement. After that her dilemmas grew: white pressure for land increased; officials claimed more authority; and she was challenged by other Thembu leaders, i.e. Fadana after his return from Robben Island. In the 1860s she refused to comply with British pressure to abandon the Tambookie location and move eastwards across the Indwe into what became Emigrant Thembuland. After skilful intransigence she was caught breaking a newly imposed pass law and sent back to Pondoland where she died. (Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.24, 42 fn.75, 51-52, 61-62, 100-04, 109, 279)

**NONGQAWUSE (c.1841-c.1898).** The young prophetess whose visions of resurrection and prosperity after sacrifice and famine precipitated the enormous tragedy of the Cattle-Killing, claimed to be the niece of Mhlekeza who convinced Sarhili of the validity of her prophecies. After the appalling disappointments she was handed over to Major Gawler by the chief of the Bomvana. She was subsequently taken to Cape Town and housed in the Paupers' Lodge. Her later fate is obscure, but she probably ended her days in the vicinity of Alexandria where she is reportedly buried. (Peires, *Dead will arise*, esp. chapter 11)

**OBA, alias GONYAMA or NGONYANGA** was son of Tyhali and therefore grandson of Ngqika. His vigorous fighting against the colony in the Mlanjeni War earned him the name 'the lion'. He was placed subsequently in the 'Gaika location' but then bought farms to the west of the Keiskamma in Victoria East. He tried to keep out of the war of Ngcayecibi 1877-1878, but could not avoid suspicion. He was moved away from the area and his followers divided. After the war he petitioned for a grant of land in Victoria East. He was evidently granted a small tract but his followers were moved to the Kentani district. (Gibbens, 'History of Grahamstown', p.273, fn.111)

**WILLIAM PALEY (1743-1805)** was a Cambridge mathematician, philosopher and theologian of latitudinarian views. He published *View of the Evidences of Christianity* in 1794. This was a popular and influential work. He also wrote *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*. (Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed, London, 1974)

**PHATHO (PATO) (c.1785-1869)** Gqunukwebe chief. The son of Chungwa, brother of Kama and connected by marriage to Maqoma he suffered cruelly from the dilemmas of the frontier situation. He was expelled from the Zuurveld in 1812. He remained neutral in the Sixth Frontier War. The road from East London to King William's Town ran through his lands. He fought against the Colony in the Seventh Frontier War, but opted for neutrality in the War of Mlanjeni. He took part in the Cattle-Killing. He was sentenced to transportation on a grossly questionable charge of receiving stolen horses but was released while in hospital in Somerset West when Prince Alfred and Sir George Gray encountered him. He returned to the Ciskei but he was a marked man and lived out the rest of his days with his son Ndimba who lived in the Ngqika location. (DSAB, Vol.III; Peires, *Dead will arise*, see index references)

**REVD CHARLES FREDERICK PATTEN (fl. c.1875).** Educated at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead and arriving in South Africa in 1862 he was ordained deacon in that year, and priest in 1867. He worked at the Grammar School under Mr Little, then moved to St Mark's in July 1861. He worked at St John's, Bolotwa, from 1862-1887 during which time he assisted in the production of a new Xhosa Hymn book in 1874. (USPG Archives, Missionary Conference Minutes 1874)

**JOHN PEARSON (1613-1686)** was an eminent Cambridge divine who, with the collapse of the Royalist cause in the seventeenth century, devoted himself to study. He published his *Exposition of the Creed* in 1659, a highly regarded work of dogmatic theology. His career prospects improved with the Restoration although it was not until 1673 that he became Bishop of Chester. He published other scholarly works and he superintended the translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* from Latin. His *Exposition of the Creed* with his learned notes was very highly esteemed in the nineteenth century. Pearson had many admirers in England and America. Study of the *Exposition* was probably a staple part of the education of Anglican priests in the nineteenth century. (*Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.I, Oxford, 1961)

**QEYA (meaning 'Hottentot'; or Ngangelizwe, meaning 'great as the world') (1840-1884).** Of the Hala lineage, he was the eldest son and heir to Mtirara, the Thembu paramount who died in 1848. He was educated by missionaries and, after a regency, assumed the role of paramount in 1863. His proposed marriage to Emma, the Christian daughter of Sandile, the Ngqika king, did not take place because it would separate him from his people. As paramount he sought authority over all Thembu and quarrelled with the Gcaleka after his ill-treatment of Gcaleka women, one of them, his wife, a daughter of Sarhili. He was then vilified by missionaries and officials but, having been deposed by the British in 1875 and reinstated in 1876, he followed a loyalist line. He fought alongside the British against the Gcaleka in the War of Ngcayecibi and avoided involvement in the rebellions of 1880-81. He died shortly after the formal annexation to the Cape of Thembuland and Emigrant Thembuland. (Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', pp.iv, 13, 14, 29, 34, 43, 113, 116, 238; Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.235-60)

**QWESHA (or QUESHA).** Chief of the amaNdungwane Thembu, he fought against the Colony in the War of Mlanjeni. He was subsequently denied land in the Tambookie location and ousted from his chieftaincy by his loyalist son, Ndarhala. The father-in-law of Maqoma, he was hostile to missionaries and joined Fadana in his enthusiasm for the Cattle-Killing movement and in the subsequent wide-sweeping raids, including that on Ndarhala, Nonesi and other Thembu. Followers of Ndarhala, helped in his capture by Curries' patrol, and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On his return he was evidently a focus for the discontented and his presence may be one reason why Ndarhala decided to move east across the Indwe into Emigrant Thembuland. (*Church Chronicles*, Vol.IV, No.6, July 1883, pp.212-13; Wagenaar, 'History of the Thembu', pp.47, 58-59, 98; Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.107, 273, 276)

**HARRIET JANE ROE (1845-1924) i.e. Jennie Mullins** was one of the ten children of John Bannister Roe and his wife Mary Anne (born Allies). Her brother Charles had a successful career in the Indian civil service, while another brother Edward Madgewick was also successful in the navy. Her sister Elizabeth married Alfred Fripp, the artist. The Roe family was a devoted one and members kept in touch with one another across the oceans that separated them. As wife and mother Jennie infused the same loving warmth into her own family. She bore Robert fourteen children, of whom twelve reached maturity. She was young and inexperienced when she married but she was a valuable partner in all Robert's enterprises. She taught in the schools, kept the home, brought up the family, and cared for the needs of the boys at the Kafir Institution and St Andrew's. At one time she had sixty boarders in the Institution and 25 at St Andrew's in her care. She even found time for voluntary work in Grahamstown and was a founder member of the Women's Benevolent Society. 'Joy, selflessness and duty' were recognised as the distinguishing characteristics of this deeply religious woman. (*Church Chronicles*, 25.12.1924)

**REVD F Y ST LEGER (1833-1901).** A graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he was a gold medallist. On arrival in South Africa in 1856 he was appointed second master at St Andrew's Grammar School in Grahamstown, ordained deacon in 1857 and priest in 1858. He taught for a time at the Port Elizabeth Diocesan Grammar School then returned to St Andrew's as headmaster from 1859-1862. From 1863 to 1871 he was rector of St Michael's Church at Queenstown. He resigned to take up a career in journalism in Kimberley and in Cape Town where he helped to launch the *Cape*

*Times*. In 1898 he became a member of the House of Assembly of the Cape Colony. (DSAB, Vol.III)

**SANDILE (1820-1878)**. Son of Ngqika and his great wife, Sutu, he assumed the paramount chieftaincy of the Rharhabe in 1840 thus ousting his half-brother Maqoma from the regency. Lame from birth, he was caught up in the tragic history of his people who endured successive defeats and loss of land in the process of conquest. Exhorted by Brownlee, he stood out against the Cattle-Killing but could not in the end withstand the pressure of his people. He was then confined to the Ngqika location in the Ciskei. During the War of Ngcayecibi he opposed the peace party to join forces with Sarhili. Defeated in open conflict he conducted guerilla warfare in the pine bush near King William's Town where he was killed by a Mfengu.

(Spicer, 'War of the Ngcayecibi', esp. p.v and passim; (DSAB, Vol.III)

**EMMA SANDILE**. Daughter of the Ngqika chief Sandile she attended Zonnebloem College at Cape Town. Her proposed marriage to Qeya (later Ngangelizwe) did not materialise because Christians and traditionalists could not agree on the roles and undertakings involved. She then taught at St Philip's School in Grahamstown and subsequently married Stokwe Ndlela of Emigrant Thembuland, who is said to have had ten wives!

(USPG Archives, R J Mullins' report 31.12.1863; Hodgson, *Princess Emma*)

**SARHILI (1814-1892)** was the great son of Hintsu whom he succeeded in 1835 as chief of the Gcaleka, and nominally paramount chief of all the Xhosa. He participated in the Cattle-Killing and in the sequel was expelled across the Mbashe, thus compelled to abandon his great place at Hohita, across the Kei outside the colonial boundary. He was allowed to return in 1864 but to only a portion of his former territory. As pressures increased he decided to challenge the Mfengu and the British in the War of Ngcayecibi. When his enemies triumphed, he fled into exile in Pondoland, and subsequently Bomvanaland.

(Spicer, 'War of Ngcayecibi', esp. p.v and passim; DSAB, Vol.I)

**SEYOLO (d.1878)**. Ndlambe chief, grandson of Ndlambe, right hand son of Dushane, and half-brother of Siwane. Unlike most Ndlambe chiefs he fought against the Colony in the War of Mlanjeni. After he surrendered to Col. Maclean in October 1852, a court martial sentenced him to death but this was commuted to life imprisonment. He was released in 1869 and allowed to return to his old district but did not regain the power he once had. Nevertheless, indomitable to the end, he joined in the War of Ngcayecibi during which his forces sustained heavy losses and he was killed in June 1878.

(J MacLean, *Compendium of Native Laws and Customs*, Cape Town, 1858, p.131; Spicer 'War of Ngcayecibi', pp.153, 176, 181 and 183; Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.16-17)

**REVD JOHN WILLIAM SHEPSTONE (1796-1873)**. An 1820 settler who was ordained Methodist minister by William Shaw in 1827. He worked as a missionary and was the father of Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, Sir Theophilus Shepstone. He helped in the establishment of a chain of Wesleyan mission stations notably at Butterworth and Buntingville. He converted the Gqunukwebe chief Kama (q.v.) with whom he lived at Kamastone and where Shepstone continued to live to minister the roughly 3000 Mfengu who had been moved there. A quiet man of great courage, he was known as 'Sonzica', 'the admired one'.

(DSAB, Vol.I)

**SIR HARRY SMITH (1787-1860)** was a popular but unsuccessful Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape. He had a distinguished military career during the Peninsular War and came to serve in South Africa under D'Urban, identifying himself with the policies of that Governor. His ride to Grahamstown in the early stages of the Sixth Frontier War was a remarkable feat of horsemanship and resolution. After the recall of D'Urban and the abandonment of the Province of Queen Adelaide where Smith had established his headquarters at King William's Town, he served in India. He was appointed to the Cape to deal with the Seventh Frontier War and followed an annexationist policy

both with regard to British Kaffraria and the Orange River Sovereignty. The latter was subsequently abandoned. His theatrical humiliation of the Xhosa chiefs at the end of the Sixth Frontier War displayed the conquering and assertive spirit that evoked the Xhosa response of the Mlanjeni War. Always popular on the eastern frontier, Smith lost popularity in Cape Town because he could not order away the convict ship, the *Neptune*, until authorised so to do from London. When his policies disintegrated into expensive chaos he was recalled in disgrace. (DSAB, Vol.II)

**SMITH MHALA (fl.1850).** Named after Sir Harry Smith, he was Mhala's right hand son. He converted to Christianity. In contrast to his half-brother Mackinnon (Makinana), Smith resolutely opposed the Cattle-Killing and gained official recognition as Ndlambe chief. In the aftermath he and his followers were located by Gawler in the Idutywa reserve, created by Sir George Gray east of the Kei, where, however, he failed to retain a leading role.

(Peires, *Dead will arise*, see index references)

**JOHN OWEN SMITH** who arrived at Port Elizabeth in the 1820s was a prosperous merchant with a shop in the High Street, a fleet of ships, and a home on the Hill. He also had farming, mining and financial interests, and founded the Port Elizabeth Public Library. Mullins frequently mentions gifts and correspondence with the Smith family.

(*EP Herald*, 9 August 1984)

**TIYO SOGA (1828-1871)** The first black ordained Christian minister, he was of a nominally Christian family. After education at Lovedale he was taken to Scotland by the Revd William Govan to complete his education. During his brief stay he was baptised. Some years later he returned to study for the Presbyterian ministry and was ordained in 1858. His wife was a Scots girl. They worked at the mission station at Engwali but in 1868 founded the mission station Tutura in Sarhili's country. In a short life (he died of tuberculosis) he translated *The Pilgrim's Progress* and much of the four Gospels into Xhosa as well as composing numerous Xhosa hymns.

(D. Williams (ed), *The Journal and Selected writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga*, Cape Town, 1983; DSAB, vol.I)

**ROBERT SOUTHEY.** A member of the 1820 settler family he won the good opinion of Sir Harry Smith for the services he gave during the Sixth Frontier War. He settled at Graaff-Reinet as law agent and farmer but returned to government service when he became private secretary to Sir Harry Smith, 1848-1849. Subsequently he was employed as resident magistrate and civil commissioner in Swellendam and as acting colonial secretary, which post he held on a permanent basis from 1864-1872. He served as Lt. Governor of Griqualand West, 1875-1876 and was elected to the House of Assembly as representative of Grahamstown until 1878. He was opposed to Responsible government and a vigorous champion of colonial expansion. He was awarded a KCMG in 1891.

(DSAB, Vol.II)

**REVD WILLIAM STEABLER (1823-1894).** He came to South Africa with Bishop Gray's party and was stationed at Bloemfontein in 1854. He was ordained deacon in 1850 and priest in Natal in 1855. He served as colonial chaplain, school master and catechist at Southwell. He married the daughter of the Revd J Heavyside. As rector of Graaff-Reinet, 1856-1881, he took a very active part in the life of the town. He became canon in 1867.

(DSAB, Vol.IV)

**CHARLES LENNOX STRETCH (1797-1882).** A soldier by training he came to the Cape as a junior officer in the 38th Regiment and saw service in the early frontier conflicts. He is remembered mainly for his role as the Ngqika agent under the 'Stockenström treaty system' and the vigorous critic of colonial clamour against these treaties. He was a member of the House of Assembly, representing Fort Beaufort, 1854-1858 and Port Elizabeth, 1860-1863. From 1869-1873 he represented the Eastern Districts in the Cape Legislative Council.

(DSAB, vol.II)



**WILLIAM STUBBS.** 1820 settler, younger brother of the diarist Thomas Stubbs with whom he served in the Albany Rangers (or Stubbs' Rangers) in the Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars. Badly wounded at Theopolis in 1851 he lost the use of his right arm. He received money compensation and a pension of £50 p.a. He was granted the farm, Horizon, in the Queenstown district in 1854. (W A Maxwell and R McGeoch (eds), *The Diary of Thomas Stubbs*, Grahams Town Series, Cape Town, 1978, esp. p.229)

**R F SWAYNE**, first cousin and godfather to R J Mullins, helped finance Mullins' education and pointed him to the South African mission field. He later officiated at Mullins' wedding. In 1852 Swayne was curate to John Armstrong, subsequently first bishop of Grahamstown, at Tidenham, near Chepstow. In 1869 he was rector of St Edmunds, Salisbury, and subsequently a canon of Salisbury Cathedral.

(USPG Archives, G H Mullins to SPG, 6.5.1913; W M Levick, 'The Lives of Robert and Jennie Mullins 1945-7', p.4)

**REVD PETER JOSEPH SYREE (fl.1860).** A Prussian who had studied at the University of Bonn he taught modern languages at Brighton before accompanying Cotterill to Grahamstown. He was ordained priest in 1858 and worked at Port Alfred until he returned to England in 1865. He worked for a time with Smith's people in the Ciskei south of Potsdam and Encotsha. He assisted with the translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Xhosa. (*Church Chronicles*, Vol.IV, No.8, September 1883)

**REVD GEORGE THOMPSON (d.1874)** was a curate at Abbots Inn in Hampshire before accompanying Merriman to South Africa. Described as an eccentric, he was a lovable man with a high sense of duty. He worked for many years in the rural districts of Grahamstown. (*Church Chronicles*, Vol.III Nos.5-8, May-August 1887; Matthew, 'Historical Notes', Vol.I, p.103)

**REVD WILLIAM HOMAN TURPIN (b.1816).** He offered himself to the SPG as a missionary at the relatively young age of 21. He taught at Grahamstown, then worked at St Marks's and at St Peter's, Gwatyu, 1859-1860. He was ordained deacon in 1859 and priest in 1864. He commenced St Philip's mission in the Fingo village of Grahamstown in 1860. Cotterill said of him: 'His English is of the most questionable kind, his general knowledge little indeed, but he is proving one of our best young missionaries.' He assisted in the production of a new Xhosa hymn book. He married Miss Gray who was a lay-worker at St Mark's. (USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 15.1.1861; Missionary Conference Minutes, 1874)

**TWEED.** He sailed with Cotterill's mission party but was deemed unsuitable for mission work and remained at Cape Town when the party left for the Eastern Cape. In 1857 he was third master at St George's Grammar School in Grahamstown and subsequently taught at St Andrew's College. (USPG Biographical Index Card)

**EDWARD TWELLS (1828-1898).** Consecrated in Westminster Abbey in February 1863 he was Bishop of the Orange Free State from 1863-1869. His pioneering work was cut short when sodomy was alleged against him in 1876. He fled incognito to England and resigned as bishop. He did not again hold clerical office but occasionally officiated in the parish church at Clifton. He supported mission work in England and abroad. (DSAB, Vol.II)

**REVD HENRY TEMPEST WATERS (1819-1883)** came out to South Africa with Merriman in 1848. He was ordained deacon in 1850 and priest in 1855, while working at Southwell where he commenced mission work. His life's work was at St Mark's which he founded in 1855. In 1874 he became archdeacon in the newly created diocese of St John's. He helped in the production of the new Xhosa hymn book. Cotterill regarded him as 'an excellent missionary, full of energy and zeal'. His Xhosa name, 'Amanzi' which means 'water' is probably a pun on his name but may also allude to the irrigation works at St Mark's.



(USPG Archives Missionary Conference Report, 1874; Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p.280)

**J C WARNER (1806-1871)** was a Methodist missionary who had been ordained in 1845. He established missions among the Thembu, in particular at Imvani and Lesseyton. He was responsible for keeping most of the Thembu out of the War of the Axe but was less successful in the Mlanjeni War. In 1852 he was appointed government agent to the Thembu and lived in the Thembu Location. He contributed to John Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Law and Custom*. In 1865 he was appointed British resident with Sarhili in Idutywa, Transkei. He retired to live in the Thembu location and in 1869 became, for a brief spell, a member of the Legislative Assembly for Queenstown. (DSAB, Vol.II)

**DR ALLAN BECHER WEBB (1839-1907)** was educated at Oxford, ordained deacon in 1863 and priest in 1864. In 1870 he became the second bishop of Bloemfontein. He worked in that Diocese for thirteen years developing mission work in Lesotho, Bechuanaland and on the Kimberley diamond fields. In 1883 he was transferred to Grahamstown where he was instrumental in healing the rift in the church which had developed as a result of the disagreement between Bishop Merriman and Dean F Williams. During his episcopacy the cathedral of St Michael and St George was rebuilt and consecrated. He was also responsible for encouraging and supporting the foundation of a new Sisterhood, the Community of the Resurrection, founded in 1883 by Mother Cecile (Isherwood). He resigned in 1898 owing to ill health, but returned to his old Diocese of Bloemfontein for a short period during the Anglo-Boer War. He returned to England and ended his career as Dean of Salisbury. He published on a number of religious topics. (DSAB, Vol.III)

**GEORGE WELBY** was the son of Thomas Welby (1810-1890) who was archdeacon of George and was then consecrated first Bishop of St Helena in 1862. (Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, p.321)

**REVD HENRY MASTER WHITE M.A. (1820-1892)**. A brilliant scholar he was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, where he was fellow and tutor. Ordained deacon in 1844 and priest in 1846 he was invited by Robert Gray to found the Diocesan School at Protea in 1849. It moved to Woodlands, Rondebosch in 1850 and became known as the Diocesan College, or 'Bishop's'. He advised Archdeacon Merriman on the founding of St Andrew's College in 1855. White returned to England where he married but he came back to South Africa to be appointed archdeacon in the diocese of Grahamstown in 1871 when Merriman became bishop. He helped to found the Diocesan School for Girls in 1874. He was chairman of the governing body of St Andrew's for many years. From 1853-1857 he edited *The South African Churchman's Almanac* and *South African Church Magazine* from 1853-1857. (DSAB, Vol.III)

**PHILIP EDMUND WODEHOUSE (1811-1887)**. Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape Colony, 1862-1870, he succeeded Sir George Grey. During his governorship British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1865, and Basutoland to the Crown, to be transferred temporarily to the Cape Colony. Wodehouse exercised an informal ascendancy over the Transkei where 40 000 Mfengu were located in Gcalekaland, where Sarhile was allowed to return to a portion of his former land, and Adam Kok's Griquas moved to Griqualand East. The need for financial stringency blighted any prospect of his being a popular governor but he sought to win support among eastern Cape separatists holding parliament in Grahamstown in 1864 and establishing a division of the Supreme Court in Grahamstown. (DSAB, Vol.I)

**REVD HENRY READE WOODROOFFE (d.1913)** was an Oxford man who accompanied Bishop Cotterill. He was ordained deacon in 1857 and priest the following year. He seems to have moved from mission to mission: he served under Waters at St Mark's, at St Matthew's, St John's, Kabusi,

and at St Peter's, Gwatyu. After two years as principal of the Kaffir Institution (1860-62) he moved to St John's, Bolotwa. He was subsequently rector of Somerset East (1868-80) and rural dean of Graaff-Reinet (1880-86). He helped to translate the *Book of Common Prayer* into Xhosa, and was on the Editorial Board responsible for the revision of the translation of the Bible. (DSAB, Vol.I)

**REVD SAMUEL WYLD (fl.1865).** A missionary catechist, he came to South Africa in 1862. He worked at St John's Bolotwa under Woodrooffe and at St Mark's before taking charge at St Luke's in September 1863. He was ordained deacon in 1864 and priest in 1867. (USPG, Biographical Index Card)

**YOLISWA (often as YELISWA) (fl.1850).** Described by Bishop Cotterill as a 'stout good humoured woman full of life and intelligence', Yoliswa was the widow of Mapassa, the amaTshatshu chief who fought against the colony in the Mlanjeni war until his death in January 1852. As the mother of Gungubele, Yoliswa became the regent of the amaTshatshu who were assigned land in the Tambookie location on the Gwatyu river. She was instrumental in having the St Peter's mission founded near her village. Sarhili may have hoped that the amaTshatshu might collaborate with him in opening a path for an attack on Queenstown but, when the 85th Regiment was stationed there in 1856, the plan was blocked. At heart a traditionalist, Yoliswa hesitated over the Cattle-Killing but did participate in it. (*Church Chronicles*, Vol.IV, No.6 July 1883, p.215; Peires, *Dead will arise*, p.274; Wagenaar, 'Forgotten frontiers', pp.187-88)

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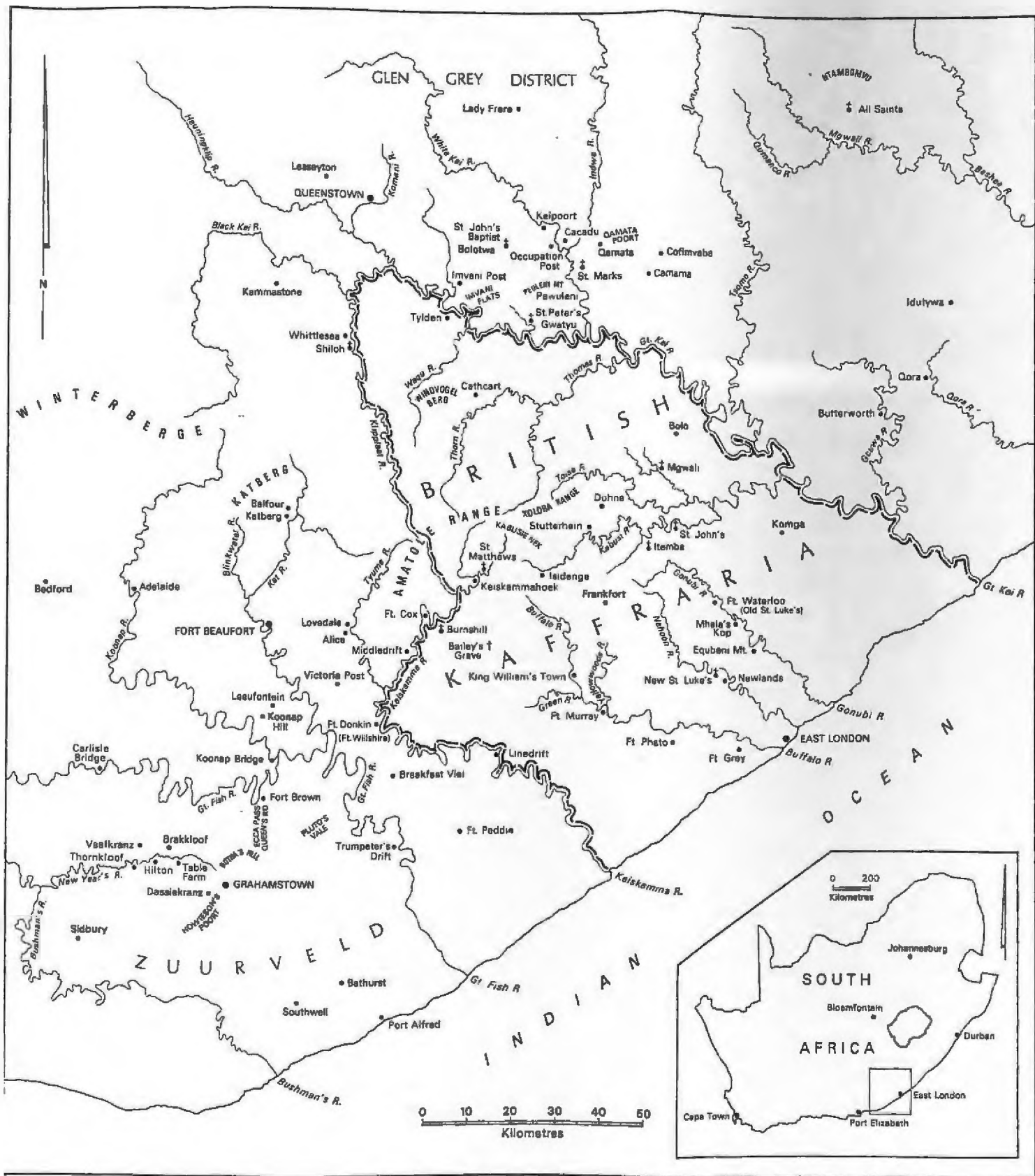
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## The Children of Robert and Jennie Mullins

1. **Janie 1863-1912**  
m. Rev Basil Hampden-Jones
2. **Ethel 1865-1940**  
Taught at St Andrews Prep all her life. Also used to drive her father about in his buggy.
3. **Robert George (Bob) 1867-1930**  
m. Evangeline Grace Tyler. Keeble College, Oxford (History) and a year later Keeble College, Oxford (Theology). Took over the headmastership of St Andrews Prep in 1904.
4. **Charles Herbert V.C. 1868-1916**  
m. Norah Gertrude. Keeble College. Lawyer. Severely wounded in the Boer War.
5. **Hubert died in infancy**
6. **Reginald Cuthbert 1873-1938**  
m. Winifred Maasdorp. Keeble College. Physician. Trained at Guys. Much respected and loved by all the family and everyone. GP in Grahamstown for many years.
7. **Bertha died in infancy**
8. **Mildred died in infancy**
9. **Edith Hilda 1879 - 1936**  
m. Arthur Temple Rovatt-Carnie (?). Taught at St Andrews Prep and then at DSG. Became a well known poultry farmer at Fort Brown. Wrote the Prep plays.
10. **Gyneth Helen (Nonie) 1880-1945**  
Gave her whole life to teaching at St Andrews Prep. Also loved by all at DSG and St Andrews - in fact by everybody. "Aunt Nonie" to so many.
11. **Henry Robert (Oxo) 1882-1943**  
m. Jocelyn Jackson. Keeble College, Oxford. Physician. Trained at Guys. GP in Johannesburg. Retired to England.
12. **Winifred Mary 1886-1971**  
m. Pat Levick. Taught at St Andrews Prep and DSG. For the family she wrote 'The Love of Robert and Jenny Mullins', followed by the family edition of 'Diary of Robert John Mullins'.
13. **Arthur Gilbert (Alec) DSO 1886-1964**  
m. Joan Tyrwhitt Drake. Keeble College, Oxford. Also was the first student to register for law at Rhodes University when it opened. Took over as headmaster of St Andrews Prep from his brother, Bob. He was the 5th son to go to Keeble.
14. **Ruth Geraldine 1890-1985**  
m. Arthur Knowling OBE (military). Arthur was the first housemaster of Mullins House, St Andrews College. The house named after Robert John Mullins and his son Charles Mullins VC. Arthur and Ruth did much for St Andrews.

Miss Battye, a staff member at DSG was the first head of St Andrews Prep (in the Christ Church schoolroom)

1887: Janie Mullins became head when Miss Battye resigned. Sister, Ethel, found her in 1889 and became head when Janie married. Hilda joined Prep staff in 1898 (and produced her first Prep play in 1903)

In 1903 Nonie joined the staff for the rest of her life (as did Ethel)

In 1904 Rev RG Mullins took over the school with new buildings. Robert's son, Griffin, became head of Prep when Alec retired.

Robert and Jennie managed to send all five sons to Keeble College. Two doctors, two lawyers, one priest. Five daughters taught and No.14 (my mother) deeply involved at St Andrew's College.

Dr Mary Knowling  
June 2000